Remembering a Nation's Historic Property: Ambiguities, Opportunities, and Poetries in the National Historic Preservation Act

by

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ABSTRACT

Since its implementation in 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) has greatly informed preservation practice in the United States. As a primary text for the professionalization of the field of preservation, it not only acts as a law, but establishes an ideological framework that informs practices which impact public memory in the US by determining what places remain, how they are transformed (or not), and whose stories they tell. The objective of this study is to explore the communicative dimensions of the NHPA to better understand how its rhetoric informs practice, and thus, informs public memory in the US.

This study employs a meta-method of crystallization which engages a range of analysis methods. First, I conducted a close rhetorical analysis of the NHPA's text which provided insight into ideologies within the law, opportunities for practice, and limitations on practice through the law's definitive conceptualization of public memory. Next, I completed a qualitative case study of a preservation organization. I participated in extended field observation, conducted interviews with organizational staff, and engaged in walking methods in the city. The analysis offered insight into local discourses (everyday talk) which built into Discourses (ideologies) and demonstrated how the NHPA informs d/Discourses of preservation, even when it is not required. Although local practice was informed by the NHPA, the analysis also revealed methods for challenging and resisting the NHPA. Finally, I engaged in arts-based methods to examine how National Register listings (products of the NHPA) provide aesthetic and narrative precedents for determining 'significance' and worth in preservation practice. Through a poetic exhibition entitled *Mythed Places*, I artistically analyzed the NRHP, arguing that by giving historic sites the quality of myths, the NHPA attempts to arrest multiple unfolding narratives of places in service of a national myth.

This project demonstrates that the NHPA communicatively constructs US preservation practice through its ambiguity, implied morality, and formation of a mythic national community. Although the current structure requires preservationists, even those not legally bound to the NHPA, to work within its framework, this study showcases ways to disrupt the discursive boundaries and practice preservation more critically.

DEDICATION

To the places that make life worth living—

the matter that composes them,

the creatures that inhabit them,

the forces that enliven them—

this project is for you.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ACHP – Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

AHD – Authorized Heritage Discourse

CLG – Certified Local Government

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

National Trust – The National Trust for Historic Preservation

NCPE – National Council on Preservation Education

NHPA – National Historic Preservation Act

NHPF – National Historic Preservation Fund

NPS – National Park Service

NRHP – National Register of Historic Places

OAHP – Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

SHPO – State Historic Preservation Officer

The Committee – The Special Committee on Historic Preservation of the U.S. Conference of Mayors

The Secretary – The Secretary of the Interior

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

US/ICOMOS – United States Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Preservation today is more than just buildings. It's about creating and enhancing environments that support, educate and enrich the lives of all Americans. Just as has been the case ever since Ann Pamela Cunningham rallied American women to save Mount Vernon in the 1850's, preservation today is rooted firmly in an appreciation of the value of history and tradition, but it is no longer concerned primarily with the past. It is essential to the quality of our life here and now.
>
> - Moe, 1999, p. 7

This statement, which was included in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's[1] reprint of *With Heritage so Rich*, reflects a deep sentiment that remains at the heart of the preservation movement. Beyond what may appear as frivolous obsession with beautiful old houses, the historic preservation movement[2] is motivated by a belief that places matter. They matter because they foster connections, build community, provide a sense of stability, foster identity, and support memory (Mays, 2018). While preservationists recognize the value of all places, old places,[3] in particular are viewed with special significance. As Moe (1999) alludes to above, "old" places are

[1] The National Trust for Historic Preservation is colloquially referred to as the National Trust. I will use this colloquial name throughout this document.

[2] Historic preservation is a term often used to describe a professional field which focuses on saving, preserving, rehabilitating, renovating, reusing, and rebuilding historic sites. Although, not every aspect of preservation is focused on places; some preservationists work with historic things, stories, history, historic landscapes, interpretation, and education.

[3] The term "old places" is used here rather than "historic places" to include a wider range of places that might come to be meaningful to people. The word "historic" typically suggests a sense of importance based on agreed upon norms, like those established in the field of preservation. This is why the term historic preservation is used rather than historical preservation, which may suggest that something is old, but does not fit the "norms" of significance within the field.

imbued with a power that "new" places are not.[4] This power, situated in an old place's materiality and ephemeral qualities, arises from a constellation of factors which elevate certain places for certain people. An old place may become immensely important to a community because it is an unofficial gathering place for community events. An old place may be significant to an individual because it remains a stable feature in their constantly changing life. An old place may be significant to architecture-lovers because of its unique aesthetic and agreed-upon quality. An old place may resonate with individuals, families, neighborhoods, communities, and even immense publics across the world. This resonance, which may involve deep identity, stability, and memory attachments, may be intense, signaling a deeply passionate or even familial tie between a person and a place. For example, an overwhelming outcry of grief followed the news of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris' near destruction in April of 2019, offering a representation of the way old places can come to occupy the imaginations, values, and souls of people on a large scale (Astier, 2019; Malaniff, 2019). The power of this place resulted in immediate, immense offers of funding to rebuild and "heal" the grieving global community (Mayes, Steckelberg, & Tierney, 2019), a demonstration of how our passion for places may foster extreme responses.

As the epigraph showcases, the particularity of an old place's power is often projected on a broad (i.e., global or national) level as evidenced by the author's attempt to make old places universally important to Americans. While an example like Notre-Dame demonstrates that resonance with places can go beyond borders, the truth is that not everyone resonates with or cares about that place (Dick, 2019; Zhou, 2019). This tension between global and local resonance of places remains an important conversation

[4] Determinations of "old" and "new" vary, but in the preservation movement there is a fifty-year rule that suggests a place is "old" when it has existed for 50 years.

in the field and is addressed in some legislation surrounding preservation practice. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 specifically attempted to address the tension by expanding the areas of significance for "worthy" preservation to include local, state, and eventually tribal places in addition to national places (Hosmer, 1999). Additionally, the act set in motion the formation of State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) and, later, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO) to help shift the register of significance for places receiving national designation and funding. It also provided a legitimation process for local preservation organizations and provided funding opportunities for those organizations which meet the law's guidelines. While these recognitions of local significance are productive, their constitution through a national law, the NHPA, invites serious questions about the autonomy of local, state, and tribal preservation practices. Thus, even though the NHPA intentionally disperses responsibility for and determinations of significance, it remains an inseparable dimension of preservation practice at all levels in the US.

The NHPA establishes "significance" as a primary determination for defining the heritage[5] of the U.S. It is a structuring force in the U.S. field of historic preservation, but its relationship with practice is not simple or reduceable to its words. It literally shapes the physical landscape of the built environment in the U.S. by influencing what aspects are considered historically "significant", and therefore, worthy of listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Though there are other influences on the built environment, the NHPA is interesting because of its ability to not only shape the material realm through physical presence (like buildings, landscapes, etc.), but also through socio-political narratives. In his research on the National Park Service (the

[5] The word heritage encompasses historic properties which are protected by the NHPA. While heritage is a broader term, it is often used interchangeably with historic sites, historic properties, old places, etc. The term heritage will be discussed further in the next chapter.

governmental entity who enacts the NHPA) Bodnar (1992) argues that the historical activities taken on by the agency have largely served to reinforce national ideologies, symbols, and discourses. This is to the detriment of places and stories that might be immensely important to people, but do not fit neatly within a national narrative. Similarly, Lowen (2000) points out that many historic sites tell stories riddled with lies in order to appease a select amount of primarilyprimarily white people. Through inaccuracies, ambiguities, removal of 'uncomfortable information', and straight up lies, historic sites reproduce inequality and discrimination. The sites are bound up in power-laden discourses that may conceal their nefarious qualities through the appearance of fact, authority, and historic integrity (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). Despite these perceptions, heritage discourse can also be understood as "time-specific and thus its meaning(s) can be altered as texts are re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale. Consequently, it is inevitable that such knowledges are also fields of contestation" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 18). These "fields of contestation" are especially intriguing in relation to the NHPA. As a law, it is carefully and purposefully worded in order to create a sense of certainty about preservation practice but remains ambiguous enough to warrant interpretation by professionals (Edelman, 1985). It is this intentional ambiguity that makes room for interpretations, and subsequently, practices that may reinforce power structures.

Historic Preservation & Communication

The NHPA begins by claiming, "the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage" (NHPA, Section 1.1). This bold, yet vague claim sets the stage for the structure and establishment of a governmental historic preservation program. Now a booming, widespread professional discipline, historic preservation in the U.S. is structured by this foundational document. As the NHPA

suggests, heritage is "a living part of our community life and development", so the document which dictates its creation and maintenance plays a role in the lives of people living in the US, even if they do not consciously know how (NHPA, Section 1.1). The sentiments illustrated in the NHPA are mirrored in scholarship on public memory. Heritage, even if not consciously addressed, is continuously at work. As a "living part" of everyday life, "'realities of the past' stay in the background" (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994, p. 90), guiding our understanding of the world. "When individuals encounter things that have been rendered collectively significant they are, essentially, enacting privately a public ritual" (Clark, 2004, p. 97). The impact of heritage portrayed in public memory research, however, is quite different than the transcendent "sense of orientation" presented by the NHPA (NHPA, Section 1.2). The preservation of heritage is seen as an ideological practice that at best maintains stories and at worst reinforces racism, sexism, homophobia, and blind patriotism (Lowen, 2000). The structure of heritage practices provides space for oppressive memory-making, using internal logic to justify ongoing ideological commitments. Through this project, I hope to better understand the ways the NHPA functions communicatively within contemporary heritage practice, illuminating possibilities for change.

Communication scholars have long studied the work of heritage professionals through analyses of museums (Chevrette & Hess, 2015), monuments (Foss, 1986), historic sites (Duquette & Bergman, 2010), archives (Finnegan, 2006), and historic landscapes (Dickinson, 2006). While studies have increasingly begun to engage with heritage professionals through interviews and observations, there has not been much focus on the communication practices of these professionals. Instead, studies have tended to focus on the product, exploring how a site communicates, facilitates public memory, and guides visitor experience (Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010). These studies

have been fruitful for understanding the ways heritage sites operate rhetorically and provided frameworks for thinking beyond the meanings presented, but they miss the opportunity to understand the rhetor's (preservationists) process of invention. If we are going to take seriously the idea that heritage sites are always in process, then we should consider when and why that process began. I argue that there is much to learn from these professionals and the ways they come to their decisions about constructing, preserving, and managing historic sites.

The NHPA and NRHP can be viewed collectively as a source of tactics and stances for preservationists. They guide heritage professionals by establishing rules, norms, and assumptions about proper practice. As the foundational text for professional practice, the NHPA offers a set of tactics and assumptions that are used by professionals as they analyze, organize, and interpret heritage. The NHPA, then, is an important document for understanding how heritage sites come to be. Additionally, the NRHP establishes a series of aesthetic norms surrounding what historic buildings look like and how documentation practices should be conducted. Together, the NHPA and the NRHP provide foundational ways of thinking about, making sense of, and acting on heritage sites.

Research Purpose & Goals

In light of the prominence of the NHPA, the influence of old places on everyday life, the potential impacts of preservation practices, and the lack of literature in the field of communication which addresses preservation practices in relation to the NHPA, this project will center the NHPA as a significant communicative artifact with wide-reaching impact. As demonstrated above, the impacts of the NHPA are broad and varied; it is a multidimensional text which informs professional practices that impact collective memories in the U.S. Although it is a legal text, its rhetoric depends on a set of beliefs, or

ideologies, which inform its legal dictates and its interpretation in practice. Therefore, a study of the NHPA's rhetoric could shed light on the way the text's language structures practice in concealed ways. The NHPA dictates that listing 'significant' properties on the National Register should be an ongoing practice in the field of preservation. The National Register listings provide aesthetic and narrative precedents for determining 'significance' and worth in preservation practice. Thus, an examination of the stories and symbols of the National Register can illuminate trends in inclusion and exclusion from this important value-system within the field. The NHPA is also a professional text for preservationists which can ideologically influence practice, even in settings where the NHPA as a law does not apply. Thus, an examination of the discourse of preservation in a local setting can showcase the dominance of the NHPA as an ideological force in preservation practice. Although each of the aforementioned examinations could be conducted independently, together they illuminate possibilities for encountering the NHPA in practice and theory. Therefore, this project will use crystallization as a meta-method through which engaging multiple methods enhances understanding of the research phenomenon.

In this project, crystallization is deployed to shed light on the rhetorical, aesthetic, discursive, and everyday uses of the NHPA, ultimately leading to a deeper understanding of the communicative power of the NHPA. Through rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, and poetic/arts-based inquiry, I gain insights into the processes, practices, and uses of preservation defined by the NHPA. Using a meta-framework that conceptualizes historic property (the subject of preservation practice) as communicatively constructed, this research will draw upon notions of nationalism, memory, and heritage. The purposes of this study are: 1) to understand the rhetorical aspects of the NHPA's text, 2) understand the ways the NHPA functions discursively in

preservation practice, and 3) respond to the aesthetic and storied curation of the NRHP through the NHPA.

Importantly, this research will shed light on the process which creates public memory in the form of both stories and places. To accomplish this task, three distinct but related studies will come together in a discussion chapter to inform possibilities for preservation practice, implications for public memory studies, and insights into the processes that form public historical consciousness. Using crystallization as a meta-method calls me to reflect on the ways my relationship to the research topic may inform my research process.

My Preservation Connection

I've ascribed these monuments
A false sense of permanence
I've placed faith in geography
To hold you in my memory
I'm sifting through these wreckage piles
Through the ruble of bricks and wires
Looking for something I'll never find
- Benjamin Gibbard, Yoko Ono, & Dave Depper, "Gold Rush"

An important reason for and aspect of this research is my connection to historic preservation. Although not a practicing preservationist (in the sense of a job title), I do consider myself a preservationist. I currently work for an organization whose mission is to protect, preserve, and interpret historic sites deemed to have national importance. My academic background includes a B.S. in Interior Design with a focus on historic preservation and an M.S. in Architecture with a Graduate Certificate in historic

preservation. Additionally, my interest in communication throughout my M.A. and Ph.D. studies have centered the role of communication in constructing public history, public memory, and places of public memory. My specific work and academic background have led me to ask questions at the intersection of communication and preservation practice. My arrival at this dissertation topic came from both an engagement in academic literature and preservation practice. While this deep professional connection to the topic was definitely an asset, I also had to remain aware of my existing biases and the ways I have normalized preservation practices because of my education and work experiences.

As a preservationist, I often think about old places as disappearing, as on the verge of being replaced, as needing protection. I'm often on the defensive, waiting for the next developer to snatch up my favorite place and turn it into bland condos. I think, like Ben Gibbard croons in the song "Gold Rush," that my memories will become "wreckage piles" when the old places I rely on are destroyed. There's always a fear, a bittersweet love for a place that feels on the edge of destruction. This orientation toward old places is one I had to grapple with throughout this project. As I dove into the discourses and languages of preservation, I began to see the fatalistic aspect of preservation as constructed through the ongoing need to preserve for the sake of the field. Participating in reflexive practices and dialogic engagement with a peer, I was able to better see the aspects of preservation that I had normalized through years of education and practice.

The role of a preservationist is to protect, to steward, to revive places that matter. But what matters is subjective, and what matters to an individual preservationist may be shaped by forces beyond them. Forces such as where they live, what they've been taught, aesthetic preferences, and more. And when a preservationist is formally trained, what

matters to them may rely on what is *supposed* to matter; what is deemed worthy of preservation by the profession, rather than the person. As I grapple with the reality of this throughout this research, I continue to ask, *what are the places that fill my life, that hold my memories, versus what are the places I've come to admire because I've been told they matter*? It is in the spirit of this question that I embarked on this research journey.

Chapter Overview

This project is born of both my own internalization of preservation discourses and my desire to dismantle them. In this research, I begin the process of better understanding the discourses that shape my own, and discipline-wide, decisions about preservation practice. In Chapter Two, I begin with a contextualization of the project by providing a brief overview of the field of historic preservation and the establishment of the National Historic Preservation Act. I provide a conceptual framework composed of literature on nationalism, heritage, and public memory, focusing on how these concepts contribute to or help understand the operation of preservation practices. I end the chapter by explaining the dissertation's meta-method, crystallization, contextualizing the choice as a way to articulate multiple facets of the NHPA in order to gain a deeper understanding of its operations and implications. The crystallization method occurs through three unique analyses employing distinct methods, each presented as its own chapter. Chapter Three employs rhetorical analysis to dive into the language choices and uses in the NHPA, exploring the potential force of the legal document. In Chapter Four, I use Discourse Analysis to explore a critical case study of preservation practice. Through participant observation and interviews at a local non-profit preservation organization and exploratory spatial methods in the organization's city, I explore the preservation d/Discourses prevalent in a space that does not require the use of the

NHPA. In Chapter Five, I engage poetic arts-based research methods to work through the mythic construction of places which are designated on the National Register of Historic Places through the NHPA. Through an artistic exhibition called *Mythed Places*, I artistically analyze the aesthetics of the NRHP's archive of place photos, drawings, and narratives. Finally, Chapter Six provides a discussion of the threads woven throughout the three analyses and offers theoretical and practical implications of the study. It concludes with suggestions for future research and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, & META-METHOD

> Preservation can fairly be charged with segregating the past. Consciousness of the past as a separate realm arouses the urge to save it; doing so then further sunders it from the present.
>
> - Lowenthal, 1985, p. 404

The urge to collect and preserve remnants of the past is not new, unique, or indebted to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Western notions of preservation have origins in ancient Rome and ideas about memory-making through memorials can be traced to ancient Egypt (Jokilehto, 2012). The practices we think of today began to simmer during the Renaissance when a "rediscovery" of antiquities ignited an obsession with particular types of historical remnants that could be used to showcase intelligence and taste in the present. Interest in restoration of historic sites boomed during this time, leading to the cleaning, altering, and adaptation of historic buildings. John Ruskin, one of the most notable figures in the history of preservation, rejected the idea of restoration, favoring instead conservation (Jokilehto, 2012). From Ruskin's (1849) famous *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, there was a shift to valuing authenticity, integrity, and truth in historic sites. These premises carried into conceptualizations of preservation in the U.S. and remain significant in contemporary practices.

Following in the footsteps of England, France, and other European nations, the U.S. implemented the Antiquities Act of 1905 (NPS, 2018). It was created to provide protection for the cultural and natural resources of the U.S. While the act made it easier to establish national monuments, and therefore protect historic and natural sites, it was

limited to the protection of sites deemed to have archeological value (Lee, 2000). Eventually, the nation expanded their ability to maintain the natural and cultural resources established by the Antiquities Act which lead to the National Park Service Act of 1916 to manage natural sites and the Historic Sites Act of 1935 to manage cultural sites. Management of both was delegated to the National Park Service (NPS). Though the Historic Sites Act began to record and document historic buildings through the Historic American Building Survey, the Historic Sites Survey, and the Historic American Engineering Record, it was limited in its powers to protect and preserve sites (Historic Sites Act, 2018).

The National Historic Preservation Act

The limitations of the Historic Sites Act became apparent over the following decades as widespread growth and change in the U.S. saw projects of urban renewal and infrastructure take precedence to preservation. Many preservationists felt that old places were losing to utopic misconceptualizations of "progress" (Hosmer, 1999). Anxieties over the loss of national history reached a boiling point during the civil and social unrest of the 1960's. The Special Committee on Historic Preservation was formed to research and make recommendations about the current status of preservation (Moe, 1999). They produced an aesthetically rich account of the destruction of what they deemed to be the nation's heritage. The report, titled *With Heritage so Rich*, begins:

> A nation can be a victim of amnesia. It can lose the memories of what it was, and thereby lose the sense of what it is or wants to be. It can say it is being 'progressive' when it rips up the tissues which visibly bind one strand of its history to the next. It can say it is only getting rid of 'junk' in order to make room for the modern. What it often does instead, once it has lost the graphic source of

its memories, is to break the perpetual partnership that makes for orderly growth in the life of a society (Hyman, 1999).

The report, which was deemed both provocative and moving, was published a few months before the NHPA was presented to Congress. In October of 1966, the NHPA passed, confirming *With Heritage so Rich* as a foundational and influential text.

Many of the recommendations made by the report found their way into the NHPA. In fact, exact phrasing and language use was lifted from *With Heritage so Rich* into the NHPA. The act begins by declaring the value of heritage to contemporary U.S. life, suggesting that historic sites are "irreplaceable", "vital", and "inspirational" (NHPA, Section 1.4). The declaration is followed by guidelines for the protection of "historic properties", including the implementation of governmental review over projects at historic sites, establishment of economic assistance and incentives for preservation, development of relationships with state and eventually tribal preservation offices, the formation of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the formation of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), and the establishment of the National Historic Preservation Fund. Unlike *With Heritage so Rich,* which was expressed through performative and artistic means, the NHPA is, in general, prosaic. Yet, the opening of the act establishes a value-imbued framework pulled directly from and referencing the report.

Amendments

Since its enactment in 1966, the NHPA has undergone significant revisions. The first came in 1976 after eight congressional hearings related to historic preservation (Kurtz, 2006). Though the amendments did not guarantee that interested and concerned parties would get what they wanted, it did enough to placate groups demanding changes to the law. The NHPA did not even include language to protect

indigenous sites until the amendment in 1992, and for many, this update has not done enough and maintains cultural othering through a refusal to understand cultural differences in what makes a site significant (Marincic, 2018). Even though language was added to protect Native Nations sites, the criteria for measuring significance has remained the same, essentially eliminating sites which may gain their significance through other means. The process is especially evident in relation to indigenous sites but applies to any which might be important to a group, but does not fit the scope of criteria as it is regularly interpreted. The NHPA was again amended in 2000, making adjustments to the "50-year rule" which dictates that a property must be at least 50 years old to be considered historic, and therefore, nominated for the NRHP. While the "50-year rule" maintains in place, the amendment added language which ensured that Section 106 review must be conducted if a property might be considered eligible for the NRHP once it is 50 years old. Additionally, the amendment reiterated that federal agencies were mandated to comply with the NHPA. The most recent amendment occurred in 2016, marking the 50-year anniversary of the act. These amendments occurred in response to Public Law 13-287 which moved the NHPA into a new section of the United States Code (NHPA, 2018).

The National Register of Historic Places

One of the significant products of the NHPA was the formation of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The NPS had already begun documenting historic sites through the Historic American Building Program (HABS), but it was limited to documenting buildings constructed previous to 1860 (Burns, 2004). Aside from this date, there were not many formal criteria for selecting buildings or sites for documentation, and as the program grew, so did the range of structures. The NHPA established criteria for the inclusion of properties on the NRHP and established a series

of professionals who would act as authorities in determining how well a proposed place met the criteria. Thus, a building recorded through HABS would not necessarily meet the criteria for inclusion. The NHPA includes "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture" as possible places for inclusion on the NRHP (NHPA, 2018, Section 302102). The register is meant to account for the many historic resources in the U.S., and it serves as a standard for national protection of historic properties. If a property is listed or meets the criteria for listing, a review must be conducted before the property can be altered.[6] While the register is often thought of as a list, it is actually an archive including historic narratives, images, and drawings of the listed places. "Today, the National Register of Historic Places is a million-page history textbook that illuminates five decades of Americans documenting their past" (Sprinkle, 2014, p. 210). Because the NRHP collects historic places, it can also be understood as a set of physical sites. Many NRHP listed properties have a plaque proclaiming their inclusion on the list. Thus, the NRHP is a list; a collection of narratives, drawings, and images; and a diffuse archive comprised of physical sites. In this way, the NRHP serves as a symbolic and material argument for what counts as "significant" to the history of the U.S.

Conceptual Framework

Historic Preservation

The field of historic preservation in the U.S. began before the NHPA, but substantially increased after its enactment. Not only did the NHPA declare the importance of historic preservation as a practice, but it also provided the means for the professionalization of the field (Longstreth, 1999). Numerous preservation jobs were

[6] This rule applies to properties owned by the government or receiving government financial assistance.

created through the NHPA on the national, state, local, and tribal levels. Though the act attempted to emulate Britain's comparable act by limiting federal control over the field, many local, state, and tribal organizations mimicked the NHPA in their own regulations (Shull, 2002). Additionally, the need for federal funding forced many to fit within the NHPA's regulations, even though they were not legally required to do so. Thus, the NHPA remains highly significant to contemporary preservation practice. A quick job search on a preservation listserv showcases this as the majority of jobs require knowledge of or experience with NHPA-related content like Section 106 review, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation, and National Register nominations (Preservenet, 2019).

All levels of preservation, including governmental, for profit, and non-profit organizations can apply for and receive various types of federal funding for a range of preservation projects. Federal Historic Tax Credits are perhaps the most controversial form of federal aid, as they are considered to favor extremely wealthy people. They are also often accused of involvement in gentrification because they provide the opportunity for developers to move into urban areas and cost-effectively generate a profit at the expense of existing communities (Ryberg-Webster, 2015). Designation on the National Register of Historic Places, especially in the form of historic districts, can also generate gentrification when used in specific ways. National designation has been found to significantly increase property value over time (Oba & Noonan, 2017). Despite concerns over the immediate costs of preservation (Lowenthall, 1989), numerous studies have shown both economic, social, and environmental benefits (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2013; Merlino, 2014).

Many federally funded state, local, and tribal preservation grants are not limited to material sites, providing funding to record and preserve intangible heritage as well

(NPS, 2019). This recognition of the benefits of both tangible and intangible heritage speaks back to the obsession with material heritage that has been perceived as problematic over the past few decades (Lowenthal, 1989). Singular focus on material aspects of historic sites can lead to a problematic relationship with the past signified by overcollection, waste, and misplaced value (Lowenthal, 1996). For some preservationists, a turn toward values-centered preservation is the best way to deal with both the tangible and intangible aspects of historic sites. Rather than focusing on things like material authenticity or historic integrity (Starn, 2002), "values-centered preservation makes cultural significance the linchpin of preservation decisions and takes a broader and more problematized look at significance based on a full range of historic and contemporary values" (Mason, 2006, p. 45). Through this process, the ambiguity of the word "significance" (Mason, 2003) becomes an opportunity to seek out variations that reflect both past and present concerns. While this is a promising turn in preservation practice, Mason (2006) points out that value "does *not* refer to ethics or morals, but rather to the simple insight that any particular thing or place has a number of different values in the sense of characteristics" (p. 22). Though this approach to practice presents possibilities for critically engaging communities to determine localized value, its insistence on remaining out of the ethical realm may open possibilities for maintaining structures of power.

The reification of practices leads to a legitimatization of limited interpretations of the law, restricting the possibility to use ambiguity for liberating purposes. King (2013) suggests that the ways that we use laws like the NHPA have become reified and he calls for but has little hope in the possibility of a paradigm shift in practice. In their globally expanded retrospective on *With Heritage so Rich*, the United States National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS) (2016) points to

some key shifts in practice over the 50 years since the implementation of the NHPA: community engagement, increased inclusion of underrepresented communities, expansion of what "counts" as heritage, attention to climate change, and consideration of intangible as well as tangible heritage. While each of these shifts in practice is note-worthy, there seems to still be an overall resistance to challenging the way professionals think about and conduct preservation.

An adamant critic of preservation, Lowenthal (1989) argues that, "To confine consideration of preservation only to our own narrow traditions disserves the treasures and diminishes the pleasures the past has left us to enjoy" (p. 77). In this spirit, DeSilvey (2017) offers an alternative to our sedimented notions of how preservation should be done. Her concept of *curated decay* ruptures traditional notions of what preservation is at its very foundation. In relation to the NHPA, curated decay showcases the limitations of current practices, and offers a new way of determining significance in historic sites. Though curated decay may be seen as too radical by strict rule-following preservationists, it has the potential to invite new modes of practice to the field. As Lowenthal (1989) suggests, "Destruction and preservation are, in the most profound sense, bound up in a cyclical process" (p. 73).

A National Project

The establishment of a national preservation act is intricately linked to the role history and historical remnants play in forging national identities. The NHPA explicitly states, "the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage" (NHPA, Section 1.1). The belief that historic property can be used to unify and direct a nation, as presented in the NHPA, has strong support. Munz (1977) argues:

> Since the doctrine of nationalism required people to believe that every nation had existed for many centuries even when its existence was not socially and politically noticeable, the proof for its existence depended on the continuity of its linguistic and cultural coherence. Since not even that coherence was obvious to the naked eye, historians had . . . to demonstrate that the ruins and documents of the past . . . were part of the cultural heritage of each nation, monuments to the existence of cultural continuity (p. 154).

The history of a nation—specifically, a long history—helps create the illusion of a nation as a natural, longstanding entity. For this reason, when Adolf Hitler was forging a strong German national identity, he supported the construction of national monuments and buildings which would corrode quickly, creating the illusion of age (Antoszczyszyn, 2017). The aesthetic of age can be used to create visions of national history that are not always rooted in reality but serve the desired national discourse. In this way, even historic properties that are old can be used to confirm a national narrative in ways that do not reflect the reality of their past yet create a shared identification for people in the nation.

A nation's narrative is constructed through discourse and legitimized through remnants of the past. Anderson (1983/2006) argues that nations are 'imagined communities' constructed through communication practices which frame people within a specific location as having shared identity, beliefs, and heritage. Within a conception of nation in this manner, national history becomes a story which "projects a unity that overrides social and political contradictions" (Bommes & Wright, 1982, p. 264). The story of a nation is presented as an inheritance, as something we acquire from the people, events, and places of the past—even if we have to imagine what they left us (1983/2006). Thus, in a colonial nation like the U.S., "The nation-state required

national heritage to consolidate national identification, absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions, combat the claims of other nations upon its territory or people, while furthering claims upon nationals in territories elsewhere" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 183). Thus, the story of the nation is used to assimilate different types of people into the imagined unified national public. In the case of colonized places, remnants of the past are used to justify that colonization while simultaneously uniting the nation around a perceived shared human history (Anderson, 1983/2006). For example, the government's ownership of indigenous sites and interpretation of them through a colonial lens by the National Park Service, suggests that indigenous histories unite people as U.S. citizens (think, "They're Your Public Lands") while actively erasing the historical acts of colonialism that resulted in the creation of the U.S. in the first place. But because the U.S. is not an ancient nation, and nationalism requires aesthetics of age through which a national narrative can operate (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000), the appropriation of indigenous historical property as national heritage was necessary for building a strong national narrative.

Historic properties are significant aspects of building and maintaining a national narrative. Lowenthall (1985) points out, "To be certain there was a past, we must see at least some of its traces" (247). The presence of historical remnants validates our belief in the past but does not narrate the reality of the past. Thus, remnants are useful tools for constructing a national narrative. They prove the past is real while leaving possibilities for interpreting their role through a national narrative, and because their power lies in their materiality, they can maintain their use even as the national narrative changes over time. For example, Independence Square in Philadelphia was once part of a national narrative of newness, the site of the birth of a nation grounded in ancient ideals of

republicanism and democracy. Over time, it lost its newness and, rather than relying on ancient ideals for its historicization, became historicized in the context of the US, wherein the governmental ideals are presented as purely American. And today, as a World Heritage Site, it's narrative serves to frame US history as important to global history. Lowenthal (1985) suggests that the presence of remnants makes it possible for national stories to maintain a sense of authority and permanence, even though many historic sites have been reinterpreted to suit changing ideas of national identity.

To maintain a national narrative, the nation-state is given primacy on circulating, narrating, and protecting public history. The National Historic Preservation Act acknowledges the work of local entities to preserve important places but suggests that their work is not enough and does not adequately maintain the "spirit of the nation." The NHPA is a way for the federal government to gain power over the way heritage is preserved in the U.S., and explicitly claims authority over the practice, even as the NHPA is just being created. Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2000) point out that the national control over heritage is highly prevalent in Western societies because it is such an important part of forming controlled national narratives. Because historic remnants are important to a nation's memory (Assman, 2011), having control over which historic properties are saved, how they are interpreted, and who has access to them is essential to maintaining control over the national story. To help facilitate this, "Regional or local heritage may be treated as merely a variant of a wider national heritage complex and even as a source of strength as in 'unity in diversity'" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 196). This strategy is evident in the NHPA, which provides money to and therefore has control over state and local preservation organizations, and maintains categories of significance (national, state, tribal, and local) for listings on the National

Register. In this way, the local and regional heritage serve the national narrative through federal authority over preservation practice.

Heritage

Heritage is a slippery concept that describes a range of artifacts, practices, and even intellectual and professional endeavors. As a field, heritage encompasses museums, archives, libraries, memorials, historic sites, heritage tourism, and a pocket of academia. Historic preservation fits within the broader field of heritage, which is sometimes professionally referred to as Cultural Resource Management (CRM) (King, 2013). As a set of practices, heritage is loosely defined as the use of the past in the present (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). As an artifact, heritage is remnants of the past that are used in the present (Smith, 2006). Within this framework, heritage is a social, economic, and political resource for myriad contemporary uses (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007). Within the field of historic preservation, the word heritage is often used to indicate the subject of preservation practices like a historic building, site, or museum.

Beyond its definition, heritage comes with a set of theoretical discourses that can be useful to understanding the communicative aspects of historic preservation practices. First, Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2000) articulate a theory of heritage bound up in socio-spatial power structures. They suggest, like Lowenthal (1988), that because heritage is a contemporary resource, it is used to further certain agendas. Lowen (1999) sees heritage practices as intrinsically bound to race, with many historic documentation programs serving to stabilize Euro-American identity as dominant in the U.S. However, there are always ongoing struggles to define, and therefore, productively use heritage for various groups and purposes. The theory of heritage dissonance (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) is a productive means to understand how "discordance or lack of

agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage" provides a means for the circulation of power (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 24). Dissonance reflects the plurality and zero-sum aspects of heritage. In other words, heritage requires a singular definition of artifacts that is necessarily exclusionary. At the same time, heritage artifacts are host to varying ideologies that circulate through socio-historical periods. Heritage dissonance, then, reflects the ongoing contestation of heritage and its meaning.

Smith (2006) has argued for the existence of an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) which shapes the theoretical and axiological landscape within heritage practice, placing constraints on not only how professionals can act, but also what can be defined as heritage and thus, is worthy of saving. The discourse operates through uncritical practice in which "the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places" (p. 29-30). This influential work has been critiqued and extended since its publication and remains highly influential in contemporary heritage research. Harrison (2012) argues that Smith's work may be too rooted in discourse to the expense of the material and its impact on bodies. While the argument is strong, I would argue that studying discourse does not necessarily have to result in the subjugation of the material because meaning can operate through/as material. The Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) can be traced to world heritage organizations, many of which have originated from Western countries or organizations, like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The NHPA in the U.S. was modeled off the French and British equivalents, and subsequent revisions to the act have incorporated global discourses. The NHPA is thus, part of a global AHD which functions nationally in

the U.S. Both heritage dissonance and authorizing heritage discourse provide applicable theoretical conceptualizations for understanding the functions of the NHPA.

Public Memory

Heritage, as defined above, is used as a resource for public memory construction. Heritage is one of the ways collective memories are woven together between groups of people. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) was the first to present the term collective memory as an analytic for understanding the ways that memory was situated within and between individuals. Though some have challenged this notion, public memory has served as a fruitful conceptual framework within the field of communication, particularly rhetoric (see Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010). Rhetoricians who study public memory see it as foundational and trace it back to ancient roots (Yates, 1966). Some scholars even see rhetoric as predicated on public memory (Phillips & Reyes, 2011). Though contemporary use of public memory is quite different, these foundational roots support this type of study as important and valuable to the field.

To discuss public memory, many scholars begin with Maurice Halbwachs. Though certainly not the first or last to talk about memory, Halbwachs made a significant contribution by discerning between three major types of memory: collective, historical, and individual (Halbwachs, 1992). Though today we may see these categories as accepted, Halbwachs was writing and thinking in a time when history was not often challenged and collective memory was rarely seen to have an agenda (Coser, 1992). He was eager to show that the individual was the driving force behind both collective and historical memory. In other words, there is no ephemeral "mind" of the collective; rather, there are individual minds that are part of collectives, and through their membership, they forge memories that become shared. This idea was a reaction to Bergson's emphasis on subjective time (Coser, 1992) which highlighted the individual

over the collective (Deleuze, 1988). To Halbwachs, the individual consciousness was only one aspect of memory that needed attention. He feared that if we lost sight of the collective, we may fall prey to some of the imaginaries that take form in the collective. History was to Halbwachs one of the ways that memory could take hold of people. He argued that:

> the past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present. It is necessary to show, besides, that the collective frameworks of memory are not constructed after the fact by the combination of individual recollections; nor are they empty forms where recollections coming from elsewhere would insert themselves. Collective frameworks are, to the contrary, precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 40).

He is showcasing that memory, past, and history, are all products of social construction. Yes, they are held in the individual, but they are *used* by the collective. The emphasis on *used* is important because it shows that memory can be manipulated, and thus, what we think the past is and means can also be manipulated. He shows that memory, within a collective, can begin to forge 'truths,' or "ways of thinking of life and of people" that become naturalized (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 78). The argument seems to reveal that memory and its constructions of the past create ideologies that sustain collectives by structuring thought. Therefore, collectives to maintain a sense of permanence and stability, an illusory presentation of a community.

Halbwachs' ideas shifted the trajectory of memory studies (Heinrich & Weyland, 2016). Significantly, his writing engaged the idea that memory, in its collectivity, could be used to forge identity. While this statement is quite simple, the process is not, and is

best understood complexly. Other scholars have reiterated this idea. For example, Benedict Anderson (1983/2006) offers a rich thesis about the collective consciousness of groups which forge imagined communities. These communities (i.e., nations, states) rely on the strategic maintenance of collective memories which use the past to create the illusion of stability, tradition, and heritage. Identity is then formed around these curated memories of the past. The NHPA relies on the imagined community of the U.S. and is one of many resources that help create the illusion of community.

Hannah Arendt (2013) describes memory as necessary for reality. In other words, the present would be meaningless without the past; but the past is malleable in the present. The two co-construct each other, and thus, identity is formed by using the past to shore and manipulate existing value systems. Browne (2013), writing of Arendt's views on remembrance, states that it is "through speech and action, words and deeds, that humans enact and affirm their collective identity as political creatures" (p. 51). David Lowenthal (1988) echoes this idea, claiming that without "the memory of past experience, no sight or sound would mean anything; we can perceive only what we are accustomed to" (p. 39). Thus, he argues that the past helps us be familiar with the present. It helps us make sense of what we are doing now, why we are doing it, and what it means. Memory, then, is not only co-constructed with the present, but it also serves to validate our very existence. Our identity is curated through the continuous process of being both past and present. Kendall Phillips (2003), citing the work of Pierre Nora, describes a "sense of 'living' memory" which suggests "that societies are both constituted by their memories and, in their daily interactions, rituals, and exchanges, constitute these memories" (p. 2). Thus, we are made and remade through memories, both individual and collective (Lowenthal, 1988, p. 43). This presumed connection to identity emphasizes the significance of a law like the NHPA. Through its effects, the NHPA

places constraints on possible identities which can be part of the U.S. imagined community.

Much like Anderson (1983/2006), Lowenthal recognizes the illusory nature of collective identities. While critiquing the turn to public memory as a way to curate a collective past, Lowenthal also (1996) recognizes the innate human *need* to be part of these collective communities. His discussion speaks to the humanity of being part of a group; first for safety, second for identity confirmation. Although he acknowledges the need, he does not see memories as ineffectual. Rather, he suggests that legacies of the past become points of power and privilege, helping those at the top maintain their rule through a continuous past-oriented justification. Thus, while "collective memory serves interests of the present," (Blair, 2006, p. 53) those interests typically belong to those historically in power. While this sentiment is echoed by many memory scholars, there is a danger in oversimplifying how memory functions within systems of power. While discussing cultural hegemony, Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2000) assert that, "Reality is rarely so simple, however, as one dominant elite imposing its values on a subordinate group . . . There are usually many ideas communicated with varying success to others who may, or equally may not receive the messages as intended" (p. 24). This brings us back to Halbwachs who told us that we must not forget about the individual within the collective memory. An analysis of power within a memory artefact may be deemed surface-level and lacking in reality if it merely sees people as subservient to persuasive messages emanating from an artefact. There is always the possibility that curated memories will not resonate with a collective or will be resisted by the collective.

We can turn to Foucault to better understand how power may be forceful, but not determinant within a society. Halbwachs pointed to the formation of naturalized "truths" that helped perpetuate the illusion of a stable collective through memory.

Foucault (2003) explains that truth, within a society, may be seen as the "types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true" (p. 316). He goes on to explain that "truth" is not prescribed and ordered but is "linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it" (p. 317). In other words, "truth" itself is a form of power which is both used and made use of to maintain social structures. However, this notion of "truth" also reveals that it is constructed and can be challenged. Thus, a memory artefact may help produce and maintain "truths," but the collective always has the ability to destabilize the apparent power within those "truths." Thus, the "truth" of historical significance curated by the NHPA, may serve as both a stabilizing agent of an imagined U.S. community, but it might also serve as a point of departure, an opportunity for resistance and remaking of U.S. public memory.

Collective Memory/Public Memory. An interest in the role of power in memory studies points to a seemingly insignificant squabble amongst memory scholars; is it collective or public memory? While some communication scholars utilize the anomer collective (see Zelizer, 1995), many use public because it better emphasizes the communicative aspects of memory and memory artifacts. A large portion of memory studies within the field of communication has been within the sub-realm of rhetoric, making the distinction of public even more important because of "rhetoric's emphasis upon concepts of publicity" (Blair et al, 2010, p. 6). Additionally, the word public indicates that the memory being discussed is rooted in a specific group that is not necessarily bound by geography but situated within "profound political implications" (Blair et al, 2010, p. 6). The political dynamics of public memory play a significant role in the meaning(s) intended and interpreted from memory artifacts. For example, Blair and Michel's (2000) eloquent reading of the Civil Rights Memorial in Birmingham is

presented as a counter-argument to Abramson's reading of the monument as a conservative political statement. Both accounts recognize that the memorial makes a political statement, but the readings differ dramatically and offer two different understandings of what the structure does in the world. Blair and Michel's (2000) account is careful not to focus solely on symbolism, breaking their analysis free of constraints that might render the reading incompatible with the political materiality of the memorial and its history. Though this is not the first account of rhetoricians discussing public memory's materiality (see Blair, 1999; Blair, Jeppeson, & Pucci, 1991; Foss, 1986; & Gallagher, 1995), it is an example that demonstrates how publicity as enmeshed in the political calls for a rhetorical approach to memory studies. We also begin to see in this article, the importance of a rhetorical approach that recognizes the political as material and calls for a change in the way(s) public memory artifacts are studied. This change is apparent in subsequent publications by communication scholars. Though the NHPA appears to be merely a text, it has material consequences and effects. The NRHP, a vast diffuse archive that spans the U.S., is just one example of the NHPA's materiality. Thus, the theorizing presented by the previously mentioned scholars provides a necessary component to understanding the NHPA.

Remembering/Recollecting. Aristotle was particular about the differences between remembering (*mnemoneuein*) and recollecting (*anamimneskesthai*) (Krell, 1990). The difference between the two is important because processes of encoding depend on perceptions being translated into "representations" in the mind (Caruthers, 2008). Remembering involves an active process of finding and translating representations of the past so they are useful in the present. Recollecting involves being reminded. In other words, "recollection or reminiscence is a being reminded; it involves one thing putting us in mind of another" (Krell, 1990, p. 13). In this way, the

representations stored in the mind are brought to the surface through something else. For example, I might try to remember a specific event from my childhood because I think it might be interesting to discuss with my sister. This is different than recollecting a specific event from my childhood after finding an object that was germane to that event. In the second example, the event is brought back to my perception by something exterior to me; I am reminded of the event because of the object. In the first scenario, the event is brought to my perception through an active process of searching for a memory amongst the traces of the past in my mind.

These ideas remain foundational to the ways that memory is discussed in current scholarship (Phillips, 2010). The idea that memories can be written onto and thus, recalled through physical objects is still utilized by many rhetorical scholars who study memory. The creation of monuments has relied on these principles for years (Lowenthal, 1988), and without them, validating the construction of monuments is challenging. If the purpose of a monument is not to help us remember, then what work does it do? In fact, Caruthers (2008) points out that although many of these principles were disregarded for a time, recent research has started to explore the validity of the remembering and recollecting process as described by these ancient philosophers. Thus, we see a returning to these concepts that makes them significant to any study that relates to memory and place. This returning looks different for various scholars. For some, it is a reiteration of the representational nature of memory, and thus, of what we "know" about the past. For others, it is a return to the concept of place as a *loci* for memory despite recent philosophical contestations about the importance of physical space in a time when place can be uprooted from physicality into a virtual dimension. The NHPA and the field of historic preservation in general rely on these assumptions, otherwise, the

effort, money, and time spent on preservation would be painted as a frivolous endeavor. If, however, places can be sites of recollection and remembering, then it is important.

The lack of control in the act of recollection amplifies the force of memory, especially in situations in which a person or group wishes to forget or deny something in the past. We can see this occurring at some sites of tragedy where no memorial is built, but a physical space remains a haunting *loci* for memories of the tragedy. This is exemplified in the case of the Superdome after hurricane Katrina. Throughout the horrifying events that followed the storm, the Superdome remained a "rhetorical backdrop" for discussions about the tragedy (Corrigan & Edgar, 2015). Thus, to pass the looming building was to once again be faced with the memory of the tragedy. Even as the city attempts to reframe itself as 'recovered,' and even after the Superdome received a dramatic renovation; the public cannot seem to dissociate the structure from recollecting memories of the tragedy (Kohan, 2017; Thomas, 2016). Despite the desire to reshape and rearticulate what this place means, the tragic memory remains and reappears again and again and again. This aspect of memory is worth considerable attention to scholars of memory places; particularly memory places that appear and cannot be forgotten. The continuous reemergence of memory in these sites, despite considerable rhetorical framing to dampen or remove that memory, reflects an elusive aspect of memory; even memory which seems to be visually and spatially materialized in places.

Linearity. There is nothing 'true' about the idea that time moves in a linear fashion (Vivian, 2004), and, in fact, that conceptualization negates some of the foundations of memory studies by forcing us to speak around the problem of memory repetition simply because we cannot envision memory as other than linear (Bergson, 1988). Rejection of linear time opens up possibilities for understanding how memory

may appear to be gone, and then suddenly reappear in full force. This notion is significant as it challenges the ideas of absence and presence in memory texts. If we think of memory as always involving forgetting (Vivian, 2010), then we may be hasty to suggest that a particular memory place creates a sense of forgetting. This oversimplifies the relationship between past and present, and remembering and forgetting. Instead, we should consider memory as a continuous oscillation within the past, present, and future. This is especially apparent in Derrida's (1994) conceptualization of memory as spectral, which frames the past as simultaneous to the present and constitutive of the future. Vinegar and Otero-Pallos (2011) explain that

> our history is not only not past, but neither has it been fully actualized. Our history is to come. It should be clear that this orientation does put much-needed pressure on the equation of memory with the past, and also calls into question the view that memory is the very matter and meaning of the monument (p. iv).

Here, Vinegar and Otero-Pallos (2011) push back against our traditionally linear notions of time as past, then present, then future. Instead, they reorient us toward the idea that past, present, and future can exist within the same realm of time. Derrida (1994) argues that time can involve "speaking at the same time several times—and in several voices" (p. 16). This circular and simultaneous conceptualization of memory helps resist, like Vinegar and Otero-Pallos (2011) suggest, the simple equation between a version of the past and a materialization of that past. Simultaneous memory exists outside of traditional understandings of memory, resulting in a strange, almost other-worldly experience with memories. They take hold of us, haunt us and direct us, and as seen in the example of the Superdome, we often have no control over their recollection.

When we speak of forgetting, we are more so talking about amnesia, where the past is not actually gone, just lying in wait to be revived. Vivian (2004) defines forgetting

as “a repeated inducement of amnesia” (p. 189). The repetition is crucial as it recognizes the spectral-in-wait and the “re-membering” of amnesia (Vivian, 2004, p. 90). As we travel through the present, we are constantly encountering the spectral pasts which dissolve and separate as we move through time and space (Della Dora, 2008). This re-membering also serves to conceal modes of power by writing and re-writing “truth” as past, present, and future oscillate in time and space (Lawlor, 2002). In other words, “truth” becomes disconnected from “all factual or actual subjects,” leaving it open to continuous reinvention as memory reappears (Lawlor, 2002, p. 107). Through this understanding of memory as spontaneous, simultaneous, and repetitive, the NHPA can be seen as a hopeful generator of recollection. Though memory may be in many ways out of our control, we can still foster recollection through the curation of memory places which induce it. The NHPA may create more opportunities for spontaneous recollection through the maintenance of memory places.

Place

Memory places provide an opportunity to engage what Massey (2005) calls the eventfulness of place. Unlike Casey’s (2004) understanding of place as something that is filled with stories and memories, Massey rejects any notions of place as stable. For Casey (2004) a place is intimately tied to memory because the stories of the past are anchored there. Massey (2005) sees this conceptualization as unnaturally flattening of real experiences in and with places. She suggests that each encounter with a place invokes a constellation of “stories-so-far” that are always in the process of being told and retold (Massey, 2005, p. 142). She paints a picture of a multi-dimensional “presence” that is always being renegotiated. This resonates with Deleuze’s (1988) interpretation of Bergson in which he states, it is “memory that makes the body something other than instantaneous and gives it a duration in time” (p. 26). Duration, as a spatio-temporal

dimension, helps us understand how time and place are inextricably intertwined in a way that resists the simplicity of pure affect. Rather, Deleuze (1988) reveals that

> perception is not the object plus something, but the object minus something, minus everything that does not interest us. It could be said that the object itself merges with a pure virtual perception, at the same time as our real perception merges with the object from which it has abstracted only that which did not interest us (p. 25).

The eventfulness of place, or the continuous presenting of place, is enriched when we view it as more-than-instantaneous and reliant on pasts which focus our perceptions, and thus, experiences. This description of perception helps us understand the spectrality of memory and the impossibility of complete annihilation of pasts. Understanding how heritage is perceived (or not) invites inquiry into the process of preservation. Knowing how and why preservation professionals make decisions may reveal something about the tensions between recollection and remembering.

The concept of place is complex and has been theorized in a variety of ways. In this project, I borrow Cresswell and Hoskins' (2008) understanding of place used in their research on the process of evaluating historical significance for the National Register and National Historic Landmark nomination processes. They understand place "as location, as a material setting for social relations, as a field of care and center of meaning, and as a coming together of disparate practices and flows that together produce something unique" (p. 393). This definition combines notions of place debated in academic literature in an attempt to create a more robust and complicated understanding of the concept. Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) use this notion of place to better understand how places are imbued with memory through preservation standards. While place is central to preservation standards, they argue that a hierarchical and

incomplete understanding of place contributes to choices about what places become part of the US public memory through national designations. In this dissertation, I continue in Cresswell and Hoskins' (2008) line of thought by questioning the foundational discourse and rhetorical framing of place and memory through the NHPA.

I attempt to make sense of the process of historic preservation which lead to the formation (or not) of memory places through several differing paradigmatic frames. Thus, this project deploys several lines of thinking through crystallization (Ellingson, 2009) which may, on the surface, be seen as unrelated or incommensurable, but all help answer the projects meta-research question: How does the National Historic Preservation Act communicatively frame historic preservation practice, and thus, public memory?

Meta-Method: Crystallization

This broad question led me to consider the breadth of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) as a law, as a text, as a discourse, and as a force on the preservation field in the US. The NHPA is a multi-dimensional communicative artifact. Not only is it a legal text, but it is also the foundation for an archive of places, the creator of a significant portion of preservation jobs in the U.S., and a director of preservation practice on all levels. To study just one dimension of this artifact would only reveal a portion of its forcefulness. Thus, crystallization is used as a meta-method for this project, wherein multiple methods will be utilized to explore the NHPA through different frameworks. Crystallization rests on the idea that there is not a singular truth "out there", and through a multi-faceted exploration of a phenomena, we can better shed light on the multidimensionality of the phenomena. Crystallization calls for the use of different methodologies and the collection of various data, which help illuminate a richer picture of the phenomena. Tracy (2013) suggests that crystallization can enhance

qualitative quality by adding to the credibility of the research. Unlike triangulation, which is critiqued by some scholars as being a two-dimensional understanding of phenomena, crystallization draws upon the way crystals "reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays, casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose" (Richardson, 2000, cited in Tracy, 2013, p. 236-235). My overarching interest in the NHPA lies in its nebulous essence, its ability to take various shapes which influence practice, perception, and reception of U.S. historical memory rooted in places. It is not just a text, but a force functioning through language, material, and practice. Crystallization honors this complexity by providing a way to research, understand, and complicate the dimensions of the NHPA. Crystallization also invites the researcher to combine

> multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them (Ellingson, 2009, p. 4).

Following this advice, I approach the NHPA through interpretive, critical, and artist inquiry. Generating a series of related texts which engage in different methods and genres of interpretation, this research attempts to reveal, like the facets of a crystal held at myriad angles (Janesick, 2000), different aspects of the NHPA. Figure 1 showcases the relationships between dimensions of the NHPA and the intended methodologies to understand them.

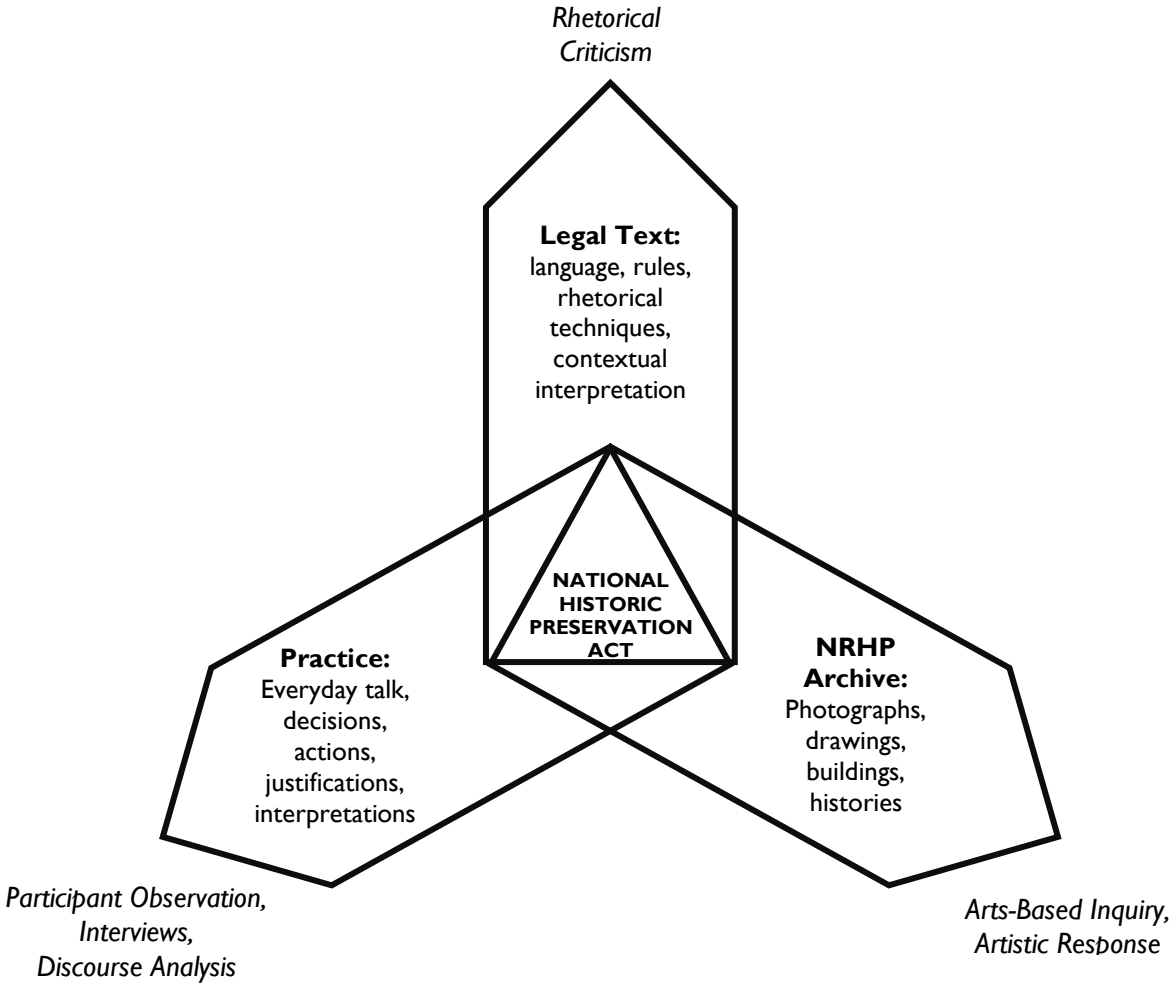
I begin by doing a close rhetorical analysis of the NHPA and its constellation of related texts. From an intersubjective perspective (Jasinski, 2001), we can understand

rhetoric as a force in the world (ephemeral, but real). Diving into the NHPA's rhetoric will offer insight into the ways its language constitutes, confines, and presents possibilities for preservation practice, and therefore, heritage-based public memory. The analysis begins the process of digging below the surface of a legal text, which may "obscure the pragmatic or ideologically motivated or structured" outcomes of a law (Goodrich, 1987, p. 122). Thus, the analysis attempts to dig into potential ideologies, rhetorical strategies, and modes of controlling interpretations to better understand the NHPA's potential force. This analysis lays some contextual groundwork for the following analysis.

Next, I explore the practice of preservation through a bounded case study (Creswell, 2007) in a preservation-oriented town by conducting participant observation and interviews within the local non-profit preservation organization. By observing preservationists and related professionals while they practice, I gain access to the behaviors, values and beliefs of the participants (Spradley, 2016). This, in turn, illuminates how preservation professionals make use of or challenge the resources outlined in the NHPA in their everyday practice. As a preservationist, I am aware of the ideologies that circulate throughout the preservation field, including the discourses present in the NHPA. Through this research, I begin to understand how those discourses appear in the practices of preservationists. Using discourse analysis, I analyze the data through Gee's (2011) understanding of Discourses (shape values and beliefs; ideologies) and discourses (everyday communicative practices), unpacking the interactions between local guiding Discourses and macro-level Discourses which serve as authoritative ideologies structuring preservation practice in the U.S.

Figure 1

Crystallization method to explore the National Historic Preservation Act



Note: This model showcases the way crystallization will be conducted in this research project. Each "crystal" showcases a dimension of the NHPA and points to the method that will be used to better understand it.

Finally, responding to Ellingson's (2009) call for artistic and impressionist methods within crystallization, I utilize poetic arts-based research to curate a response to the aesthetic of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). A product and significant aspect of the NHPA, the NRHP is an ever-expanding catalogue of "places worthy of preservation" ("National Register," 2018). The register serves as a visual and material instantiation of the values underlying the law, and consequently, the field of historic preservation. If a site is determined to be "worthy," its application, which includes photographs, drawings, and a place narrative, is added to the archive of the NRHP. Thus, the NRHP fosters norms and conceptions of what historic places are "supposed to look like" and "supposed to represent." Responding to this aesthetic ideology, I explore the NRHP as a collection of *mythed places* intended to enact a mythic imagined identity. Through "good enough poetry" (Lahman & Richard, 2014) and visual arts-based inquiry (Savin-Baden & Wimpenny, 2014) I curate an "aesthetic intervention" (Leavy, 2015) intended to provoke thought, feeling, and discovery about the NHPA.

One limitation of crystallization is that it takes a wide range of knowledge and skills to successfully cross genre and analysis. Ellingson (2009) warns that many educational programs do not provide training in artistic as well as academic methods. Fortunately, I have split my time in academia oscillating between design and communication, so I not only have training in design, but have practice moving between epistemologies. This transforms the limitation into a strength of the method, allowing me to utilize the skills and knowledge I have developed throughout my academic career. Crystallization allows for a robust examination of the communicative elements of preservation practice. By engaging multiple methods and paradigmatic epistemologies, this research provides an entry point for engaging the meta-research question, and more specific research questions through the individual studies. Rejecting the notion of a

singular truth, crystallization creates space for tensions and dissonances which arise between different paradigms and methods. Therefore, in the following chapters the reader may note seemingly incompatible arguments between the three analyses. These dissonances, which will be discussed in the final chapter, provide opportunities for better understanding the communicative aspects of preservation practice. Although each of the following three analysis chapters is distinct, they inform each other in various ways, each providing contextual information for the next. The final chapter of this project will address and illuminate the implications among and between each analysis.

CHAPTER 3

RHETORICAL FRAMINGS OF PRESERVATION IN THE NHPA

> Any city gets what it admires, will pay for, and, ultimately, deserves. Even when we had Penn Station, we couldn't afford to keep it clean. We want and deserve tin-can architecture in a tin-horn culture. And we will probably be judged not by the monuments we build but by those we have destroyed.
>
> - Ada Louis Huxtable, 1963

Light streams through a gaping hole where a roof once lay, punctuated by severed steel beams and crumbling granite walls. As we sat in the dark classroom gazing at the projected image, the room fell still, almost as if everyone was overcome with the kind of grief-stricken shock that arises from hearing a loved one has passed. "The man who took these pictures risked his own life to give us a glimpse at Penn Station's final days," my professor softly remarked. "Preservation is about love. We risk our safety to protect what we love." A murmur of agreement rose and despite the dark, nodding heads could be seen. Though I've never found proof the photographer in question risked his life, it makes for a good story, a story which has become part of the mythos of historic preservation in the United States. Mythologized as a spiritual site of capitalistic expansion and the fetishized aesthetic of grandeur which accompanies it, the late Pennsylvania Station in New York City remains a dominant fixture in the architectural history of the United States.

Covering two city blocks, the colossal building flaunted vast historical fixtures and employed opulent building materials often reserved for religious and governmental sites, signaling its importance to both city and nation (Churella, 2004). Inspired by Roman architecture, the station was an exuberant space intended to impress visitors and

locals with its towering Doric columns, soaring arched ceilings, and luxurious Italian granite (Sipes, 1905). The largest public space in the city when it opened in 1910, the building was a testament to democratic architecture through both access and aesthetics. The excess money spent on the building was part of its demise as wealthier patrons began travelling through other means when automobile and airplane travel became more accessible. Expensive upkeep and declining traffic lead to a significant shift in the building's history, and by the 1950's talks began of plans to renovate or demolish the now decayed and outdated station ("Pennsylvania Station"). Desperate to rid itself of the hemorrhaging property, railroad executives sold the property's air rights for fifty million dollars (Kimmelman, 2019).

A hyper-modern event arena and office building composed of steel and glass were presented as the new tenants. By leveling the old behemoth piece by piece, the new plan enabled uninterrupted train activity while the changes were enacted. Despite the insurmountable cost of saving the building, local activists did not let it go without a fight. A group called the Action Group for Better Architecture in New York (AGBANY) organized citizens to gather outside the building to show support for its preservation. On August 2, 1962 a group of around 250 people picketed outside the building with signs reading, "Action not Apathy," "Save Our Heritage," "Don't Sell Our City Short," and "Save Our Station" (Polsky, 1999). The demonstration, documented by the *New York Times*, was praised as an example of "civic pride" ("Saving Fine Architecture," 1962). Participants included people in the art and architectural elite, like Ulrich Franzen, Aline Saarinen, Philip Johnson, and Bliss Parkison. These and other white-collar participants made this demonstration strange, because in "1962 people picketed for better wages or shorter hours; they gathered at rallies to protest segregation and to ban the bomb. It was not a time when well-dressed professionals fought for art or principle" (Diehl, 1985).

Yet, this train station had united people, as it still does today, around an aesthetic ideal precipitated on the belief that architecture influences and defines culture. Though AGBANY failed to save Penn Station, they succeeded in leveraging the story to galvanize the historic preservation movement.

The Fall of Penn Station & Other Threatening Myths

This retelling of the Penn Station story, as I have heard it over and over again, serves as a critical point of critique for the broader myth of historic preservation in the U.S. Today, Pennsylvania Station stills operates in the same location, just buried below New York City's famed Madison Square Garden. A feat of a different type, the new Pennsylvania Station is seen as a significant failure architecturally, democratically, and spiritually. As architecture critic Vincent Scully proclaimed, "One entered the city like a God. One scuttles in now like a rat." Disdain for the current station and longing for the original remain a part of the conversation surrounding architectural history. A nonprofit group has even proposed a plan to rebuild the original Penn Station as part of urgent infrastructural and cultural needs in the city (Rebuild Penn Station, 2019). This proposal, though perhaps unrealistic, points to the rhetorical force of Penn Station's story. While the answer to infrastructure issues is unlikely to be the reconstruction of a 20th century building, it is proposed because of the powerful myth offered through the telling and retelling of the building's history through nostalgic frames. The story, now presented as a warning of what happens when historic preservation is not supported by governmental structures, confirms the continuous threats to "our heritage" and affirms the need for federal support for preservation. It is no wonder that the Penn Station story is featured in the report which lead to the creation of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA).

Despite its staying power, and in direct opposition to its rhetorical force, stands the story of a neighborhood woefully razed for the now-mythic Neo-Classical monolith. What was touted as a masterpiece of democracy began as a brutal uprooting of an established neighborhood comprised overwhelmingly of people of color. Displaced for "public good," residents were moved quietly through the deafening neglect of coverage and muting repetition of "civic." Does the Roman aesthetic make it democratic? Do the perching (eagles) symbols of U.S. nationalism? Does its "publicness"? The failures of an early 1900's project may seem obvious, even elementary, but the eagerness to point out the irrationalities of a democratic project which displaces residents may disguise grim ambiguities in its rhetorical recirculation.

What does the myth mean for the "historic preservation movement, which rose from the vandalized station's ashes" (Kimmelman, 2019, para. 5)? Ada Louise Huxtable's (1963) sonorous assessment of the station's loss showcases ideological foundations for preservation by equating architecture and culture. She paints a moral and ethical picture surrounding what is selected for preservation, suggesting the decay of architectural monuments parallels the decay of culture. As the story is retold, this pairing remains prominent, creating an entanglement of aesthetics, materials, relations, and principles. This fractured composite cultivates a reactionary rhetoric focused on threats derived from its own structure and culture. The Penn Station myth, and more importantly its continued circulation, offer a glimpse into the way an imagined community (Anderson, 1983/2006) creates and curates origin stories and memories to bond its public.

Curation of collective history is as much about rejecting stories as selecting them. While amplifying the efforts of Penn Station picketers, the story backgrounds the contemporaneous Civil Rights protests in which people picketed for their very lives.

Exactly two months before AGBANY united outside their beloved building, hundreds of thousands marched on Washington for basic human and civil rights. While people praised AGBANY for standing for "art or principle" (Diehl, 1985), mainstream coverage of the Civil Rights march offered thinly veiled racist praise for being "orderly" and "polite" (Kenworthy, 1963). The parallels cannot be discarded as remnants of a different time. They show us the signification of the AGBANY sign reading "Save Our Heritage" and the contemporary claim that the "station was the people's station, and it will be again" (Rebuild Penn Station, 2019). Though ambiguous and undefined, the "people" whose heritage needs protecting is differentiated from the people whose lives need protecting.

Contemporaneous timelines between the Civil Rights movements and the historic preservation movement of the 1960's demonstrate a critical distinction about whose heritage is rhetorically constructed as at risk. In the Penn Station myth, and others like it, we see a decontextualization of the historicization resulting in a scenario where threats to heritage can be perceived outside simultaneous threats to human lives. As a rhetorical move, the decontextualization creates an environment where threats to heritage are perceived as urgent. In this rhetorical context, the historic preservation movement gained significant ground by crafting an imagined community with shared history, identity, and values whose heritage was imminently at risk. Bonding the fate of demolished buildings with the values and culture of the community, stories of lost places served as proof of the danger befalling their heritage.

Rallying cries from concerned community members around the nation resulted in the formation of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation of the U.S. Conference of Mayors in 1965. After extensive research on preservation and heritage in the U.S. and Europe, the committee produced a now canonized report titled *With*

Heritage So Rich. Brimming with tales of places lost and saved, the report forms an elaborate discourse for the "new" preservation movement. Crafted from the recommendations in the report, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was signed into law on October 15, 1966 by President Lyndon B. Johnson (Rogers, 2016). The act was part of President Johnson's "Great Society" initiative which was intended to tackle poverty, racial injustice, environmental issues, and loss of American history. The framing of preservation practice around stories goes beyond the story of Penn Station. Yet, as an example, Penn Station helps contextualize the U.S. at the time the NHPA was passed. Utopic visions of the U.S. occurred alongside violent unrest born of trauma and injustice. The NHPA situates within a utopic vision of the U.S. which would grasp its beautiful heritage to materialize a better, stronger future.

The rhetorical framing of the NHPA supports the utopic vision of the U.S. that was emerging in response to growing unrest. In this chapter, I dive into the constellation that enacts the NHPA. I argue that the NHPA rhetorically frames worth in preservation practice through ambiguous language, the perception of neutrality, self-proclaimed authority, and a construction of national public memory in relation to historic properties. The construction of worth in preservation has resonances with and in other ideological spheres that inform public life in the U.S. Here, I begin by providing additional contextualization for the NHPA and animate its constellation of authoritative texts.

The National Historic Preservation Act

Since its codification, the NHPA has significantly professionalized and proliferated the historic preservation movement. Before the NHPA, the federal government was already documenting and protecting some historic sites. The Antiquities Act of 1906 was the first federal historic preservation law and focused on

both natural and cultural heritage (McManamon, 2000). Though the act effectively boosted public interest in and provided protection for historic sites, its focus was on archeological sites, and therefore, did not protect more recent historical sites. When the National Park Service (NPS) was established in 1916, it became the administrator of programs like the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings and the National Historic Landmarks programs (Special Committee, 1966). The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) was created during the Great Depression as a way to both document buildings important to U.S. history, but also to provide jobs for struggling architects (Burns, 2003). The HABS played two major roles in passing the NHPA: 1) it provided a model for listing and documenting buildings which visualized one of the outcomes of the NHPA, and 2) it was used to demonstrate how many historic buildings had been lost since its inception, articulating the imminent threat to historic sites. In 1949, the National Trust for Historic Preservation was created to acquire and administer important historic sites (16 U.S.C. §§ 468-468d). The National Trust was viewed as a positive step in federal preservation, but not enough. When signed in 1966, the NHPA articulated funding for the National Trust[7] and expanded upon their work through additional federal programs (NTHP, 2020). One of the main justifications for the NHPA was the inadequacy of these existing programs to protect, broadly, the heritage of the U.S. Thus, the authors recommended expanding existing programs and "broaden[ing] and deepen[ing] the scope of national historic preservation activity" (Special Committee on Historic Preservation, 1966, p. 204). The report goes on to assert:

> The current pace of preservation effort is not enough. It is as though the preservation movement were trying to travel up a down escalator. The time has

[7] The National Trust is no longer funded through the NHPA. A mutual split between the National Trust and the U.S. government was arranged in 1996, after which the National Trust became a non-profit.

> come for bold, new measures and a national plan of action to insure [sic] that we, our children, and future generations may have a genuine opportunity to appreciate and to enjoy our rich heritage (p. 204).

Although the NHPA was not the first U.S. law that dealt with historic preservation, it extensively expanded the practice on the federal level and established programs that solidified the professional field through funding, education, and legal status. The NHPA is responsible for creating several key programs: (a) the National Historic Preservation Fund, (b) State Historic Preservation programs, (c) Tribal Historic Preservation programs, (d) Certified Local Government programs, (e) Federal Agency Historic Preservation programs, (f) the National Register of Historic Places, (g)the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, (h) the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, (i) preservation grant programs, (j) the National Building Museum, (K) preservation grant programs, and (l) the World Heritage nomination program. Some of these programs were not initiated immediately when the NHPA passed as it took time to implement, but all are currently important aspects of the law.

The National Historic Preservation Fund (NHPF) was established through the U.S. Treasury to fund federal programs, administer grants, and support state, local, and tribal preservation programs. Currently, the fund is subsidized through revues from the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1338) with up to $150,000,000 per year (between 2012 and 2023). These funds, however, must be appropriated by Congress and may actually be considerably less depending on the passed federal budget each year. The NHPA specifies the use of funds for preservation grants which may be awarded to state, local, or tribal programs; the National Trust; National Register properties; and non-profit organizations representing ethnic or minority groups. The NHPA also establishes

requirements for State[8] Historic Preservation programs through which states receive federal assistance, maintain a statewide historic property survey and preservation plan, educate the public about historic preservation, and nominate properties of state significance to the National Register. State programs must be approved by and periodically reviewed by the Secretary of the Interior to maintain their status and federal support. Tribal preservation programs receive the same status and treatment as state preservation programs. Certified Local Government (CLG) programs are overseen by State programs through which they can receive federal assistance. Additionally, each federal agency is required to maintain their own preservation program in order to uphold the requirements of the NHPA and consider their impact on historic resources.

The National Register of Historic Places, which will be explored further in the next chapter, is a list of properties which have been deemed nationally significant because of architectural, historical, archaeological, and/or cultural values. The NRHP plays a significant role in the administration of other NHPA programs, as listing or potential for listing on the register is used to determine significance broadly. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) supports preservation activities generally by advising the President and Congress, developing policies, conducting research, creating guidelines, producing educational content and establishing relationships with federal agencies. The National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT) is charged with scientific research on preservation practice and the development of new technologies, dissemination of knowledge, and training for preservation students and professionals. The National Building Museum, operated in a

[8] The NHPA defines state as: "(1) a State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Northern Mariana Islands; and (2) the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau" (53 U.S.C. § 300317).

partnership with a non-profit, offers education to the public and creates research about the "building arts." Finally, the NHPA offers guidelines for participating in World Heritage activities and nominating U.S. properties to UNESCO's World Heritage List. Together, these programs have significantly increased preservation activities in all levels of government, and through attention to public education and participation, have increased interest and involvement in general.

As a foundational text for the proliferation of the field, the NHPA remains essential to preservation practice in the United States. In fact, during the 50-year anniversary in 2016, the National Park Service celebrated its continued impact through a series of events, programs, publications, and discussions. A multi-agency initiative titled Preservation50 brought together preservationists around the country to share success stories, analyze resulting policies, educate current policymakers, educate the public, and imagine the next 50 years in U.S. preservation practice (Preservation50, 2018). A key part of this commemoration was the online publication of *With Heritage So Rich,* labeled as "The Seminal Report," on the Preservation50 and National Trust's websites. As the report that lead to the NHPA, making *With Heritage* publicly accessible was a step toward historicizing the field (which now meets its own 50-year rule of historic significance) and reasserted its prominence. The U.S division of the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS) celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the NHPA by releasing a partner report titled *With a World of Heritage So Rich* which aimed to extend the original imagine future changes. These are merely a few examples among many, but they showcase how both the NHPA and *With Heritage* remain active in shaping contemporary preservation.

Blueprint for Analysis

Though the NHPA undergoes periodic changes, as a text it offers possibilities and constraints for preservation practice. Using Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) understanding of rhetoric as a set of theoretical stances and critical tactics that help us understand human activities, I analyze the NHPA through myriad frameworks and scales of analysis. Bringing together theories, texts, and analysis strategies, I aim to expand the possibilities for making sense of the NHPA, and as Brummett (1984) suggests, craft a mosaic through which a new image of the law brings to light previously shaded aspects and implications. I understand criticism as a process, not a method (McKerrow, 1989), allowing an interplay between text(s), context(s), and theories which resists simplified categorizations. Thus, my analysis moves between different scales and theoretical frames, conceptualizing the NHPA as a dynamic text within a constellation of texts, ideologies, materialities, and symbols. With the hope of beginning a "conversation about data" (Palczewski, 2003), this analysis is intended to start a fruitful dialogue about the language of preservation.

In the remainder of this chapter, I argue that utilizing typical legal rhetoric, the NHPA relies on both ambiguity and comprehensive definitions. The interplay between the two creates an interesting space for interpretation wherein those applying the law are offered both strict rules and generous opportunities for individualized applications. Liberties offered by ambiguity are generative areas for reliance on or deviation from the foundational myths for the imagined community created in 1966 through the formative discourse of *With Heritage So Rich*. Conceptualizing the NHPA and *With Heritage* as intertextual,[9] or composed of and reliant on other texts, creates opportunities to explore

[9] My use of intertextual relies on the understanding that no text is a discrete text. What we call a "text" relies on other "texts" for construction and interpretation. Specifically, I understand intertextuality as having both external and internal relationships, meaning that texts are composed of portions of other texts.

how the NHPA's language guides interpretation of ambiguous terms through a discourse for an imagined community. Additionally, by proposing an understanding of how memory operates for the community, the NHPA invites interpretations through a limited theoretical and practical frame.

Need for a Federal Preservation Program

As the story goes, the 1950's and 1960's were a time of death and destruction for old buildings and sites. Owing in part to new ideologies of architecture and urban design which often rejected historical ways of building and organizing,[10] many cities saw significant alterations to their material fabric through mass demolition to clear "blight" and make way for new construction. These changes were accelerated through the frame of "urban redevelopment" ascribed into law through the National Housing Act of 1949 which authorized "Federal advances, loans, and grants to localities to assist slum clearance and urban redevelopment" (42 U.S.C. § 1471). By infusing federal funds into redevelopment projects, the act ensured the spread of a "demolition ideology" in which the poorest neighborhoods were razed and replaced (Ammon, 2017). Through the rhetorical frame of "development," this act enabled the displacement and material erasure of entire groups of people. This scheme proved to create an economic burden on local governments, so the Housing Act of 1954 pushed a new agenda of "urban renewal" through which a mixture of demolition and rehabilitation were made possible through federal grants, but also funded by private organizations through selling razed or "renewed" land (42 U.S.C. § 1434). By seizing land through eminent domain, the local government was able to successfully move populations and profit through both federal

[10] For example, Le Corbusier's (1929) famous *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning* proposed an ideology of urban structure that eliminated historical reference in favor of a "purer" way of organizing that was "future-orientated" and technologically sophisticated.

and private investments. Though the 1954 revisions allowed for rehabilitation, demolition remained a major part of the urban renewal project.

Mass clearings of historical areas spawned fear and outrage in those concerned with history and material culture preservation. Though the implications of these mass demolitions had significant impact on those experiencing poverty, in general the preservation movement was fueled by a desire to sustain existing physical structures more so than the communities and cultures residing in and near them. To them, historic buildings, landscapes, and objects held special significance in maintaining and establishing heritage, a stabilizing force amongst increasing technological and social change. Though the National Trust was created in 1949 alongside the National Housing Act, preservation and urban development clashed, even in rehabilitation projects which spared urban historic fabrics. In comparison, the National Trust had very little power to enforce its beliefs and desires for preservation. By 1965, the threats to heritage were perceived as reaching an ultimate high. The Special Committee on Historic Preservation of the U.S. Conference of Mayors (Special Committee)[11] was formed to gather research, communicate findings, and make recommendations for the future of historic preservation. Specifically, the Special Committee was charged with developing strategies for crafting and enacting a federal law about historic preservation.

With Heritage So Rich

With the fate of U.S. material history in their hands, the Committee carefully crafted a beautiful, artful report featuring full-color photographs, charged prose, and delicate poetry, as well as recommendations for a federal preservation law. Their extensive project published in 1966 involved historical and archival research, providing a

[11] For conciseness, The Special Committee on Historic Preservation of the U.S. Conference of Mayors will be referred to as the Committee from this point.

version of the origins of the U.S. which built into the argument for preserving certain historic properties. Additionally, several members of the committee traveled to Europe to learn about local preservation practices and to witness the successes of European legislation in saving culturally significant properties. The report is organized into essays which tackle different aspects of preservation, some focusing on history, others on contemporary issues threatening heritage, and concluding with the committee's official recommendations for historic preservation law. When the NHPA was published only a few months after the publication of the report, "nearly every major recommendation in the report was translated into law" (Preservation50). Thus, while the histories, anecdotes, and perspectives from the full report are not directly present in the NHPA, they offer an origin story to the law, offering a framework for understanding and interpreting it, especially in moments of rhetorical ambiguity.

The essays in the report showcased the committee's value-infused perspectives on the current state of preservation, with some essays, like "Empire for Liberty," directly equating the preservation of historic properties with the moral and democratic health of the nation. Though purportedly presenting a history of the U.S., the essays are infused with grandiose notions of Euro-American Christian origins which both disguise perspectivism as fact and create an opportunity to lament the loss of "history" in an increasingly diverse contemporary society. They named the report, *With Heritage So Rich,* calling upon the use of "heritage" in the Book of Common Prayer (Moe, 1999):

> Prayer for Our Country
> Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our
> heritage: We humbly beseech thee that we may always prove
> ourselves a people mindful of thy favor and glad to do thy will.
> Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and

pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion;
from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way. Defend
our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes
brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue
with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in thy Name we entrust
the authority of government, that there may be justice and
peace at home, and that, through obedience to thy law, we
may show forth thy praise among the nations of the earth.
In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness,
and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in thee to fail;
all which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen. (The Online Book of Common Prayer, 2019).

In this naming, a Christian value system is wedded to the practice of historic preservation. In this prayer, heritage emerges as a god-term which continues to shape the way practitioners and researchers approach preservation. As Burke (1961) argues, a god-term is a "title of titles," or a word with "maximum generalization" which "serve[s] as motivational grounds for subsequent action" (Sullivan, 2009, pg. 2). Here, the prayer offers heritage as spatial, moral, and political; an abstraction of the "gift" presented to the U.S. by a Christian God.[12] While the God in the prayer is the ultimate higher power (in a theological sense), heritage serves as the motivation for actions and attitudes because it is presented as the human, worldly version of God's essence. In referencing the prayer, the writers of *With Heritage So Rich* present heritage as a god term authorized and given by a Christian God who has clear expectations of how that heritage

[12] The word God is capitalized here to differentiate it from "god" as used in Burke's "god-term." It also reflects the Christian capitalization of the word.

should be used, presented, and protected. Those doing perseveration are, thus, safeguarding a sacred, God-given gift.

Transcending Legislative Language

Though a Christian undertone may not obviously resonate with contemporary preservationists, a theologically-minded understanding of the language used in *With Heritage*, and subsequently, the NHPA offer interesting insight into the rhetorical structure of preservation law on the national scale. In his book, *The Rhetoric of Religion*, Burke (1961) discusses how religious language can impact interpretation of non-theological language. Carter (1992) suggests that Burke's idea of logology focuses on "those moments when the users of a language achieve insight, individually or as a group, to which they themselves remain blind" (p. 3). By studying the "words about words" used in theology, Burke reveals how religious language "transcends" the natural realm, and how this transcendence impacts secular interpretations of words borrowed for religious purposes. Through the creation of language for a "supernatural" realm, words have been imbued with meanings beyond their natural denotations. For example, as Burke points out, the term "spirit" had a natural meaning (breath) before it was used in a supernatural sense. When "borrowed back as a secular term for temper, temperament and the like," the term was imbued with a "new dimension that the theological analogies have added to words" (p. 8). The borrowing back from theological meanings offers a "transcendence" of language which reveals the complexity in linguistic motivations and interpretations. Words filtered through religious ideology are impacted in subsequent secular use. A collection of words which have been used to describe a supernatural realm are also changed in their collective use in a similar manner. The NHPA, a text born of the heavily Christian value-laden *With Heritage So Rich*, has undergone a "transcendence" which impacts contemporary secular understanding.

Thus, even if a Christian understanding of the NHPA no longer resonates, its birth through religious ideology lingers in its secular rebirth.

Burke's theory of logology suggests that "language is always already operating in two modes at once, the linear and the holistic" (Carter, 1992, p. 6) such that narrative and logic are blurred. Through a narrative we might uncover a reigning "logic" or way a group makes sense of words. Residues of Christianity encapsulate historic preservation in a tale of victimhood and redemption. In this narrative, the nation's heritage is under continuous threat from various entities, ideas, and people. *With Heritage* asserts the ideas of "progress" as a substantial threat to heritage. The idea of "progress" is paired with the modern adoption of cars as a primary means of transportation, modernist architectural ideologies, and urban planning policies, which articulate both the public and the government as culprits. While specific examples are presented in *With Heritage*, the ambiguity of "progress" guarantees the threat is continuous, situating heritage as perpetual victim always in need of saving. The victim is rhetorically framed as central to the future of a group, in this case the nation, with the fate of the victim paired to the fate of the group. In his essay, Zabriskie (1966) notes that there is "value inherent in many older structures: not that they are old, but that they contain so much of ourselves" (p. 58). Humanity's fate is effectively tied to the fate of historic buildings. Tunnard (1966) argues, "our preservation of the past is a responsibility to the future" (p. 29). We see this rhetoric sustained in the NHPA in repeated references to "future generations" as the beneficiaries of the practice of historic preservation. Ultimately, humanity's fate resides in the redemption of heritage. Stories about martyrs who have either been long suffering or given the ultimate sacrifice in death serve to rhetorically charge the victimhood. Penn Station, lost to the threat of "progress", serves as one of many martyrs, taking on an air of sainthood as its story is canonized in the narrative of

preservation. Other stories, like George Washington's Mount Vernon, demonstrate how a long-suffering victim may be saved from the evils of progress.[13] The story offers an aspirational resolution for heritage victimhood, showing that although progress (like sin) will always be a threat, there are possibilities for redemption (though, like with sin, the battle is never over).

Through the victimhood and redemption narrative, heritage is tied up not only with the narrative components of Christianity, but also the ideological commitments. If the meaning of heritage is tied to the Christian concept of victim, then it represents the values inherent in that conceptualization. Persecution by those with inferior morals is the ongoing plight of the victim. Filtered through its religious past, heritage takes on a transcendent form of universal goodness in which all opposition is morally subordinate. An inherency of righteousness is afforded to heritage, setting up an ethical system with heritage at its center. Section 1 of the NHPA states, "the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage" (Pub. L. No. 96-515), showcasing a national moral center in heritage. In this statement, the purity of morality is demonstrated. Heritage is said to be both the beginning and the future of a national essence, leaving open only the present as a site of possible deviation. Yet, heritage is said to "reflect" the essence (a present action), tightening the moral center by attaching it to past, present, and future. In this way, heritage is afforded a sense of timelessness[14] in

[13] This story features prominently in many texts on preservation and is articulated in *With Heritage So Rich*. Mount Vernon, the home of President George Washington, was under threat of demolition, but was saved by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. The VLA remains a major part of the story of preservation in the US and is often used as a means to gender and diminish historic preservation efforts as frivolous. Today, as the field engages more critically with past traumas and inequities, calls are being made to do more to articulate the history of slavery at Mount Vernon. If Mount Vernon is a foundational example of the origins of preservation, then preservation should be examined for its racist origins.

[14] My understanding of timelessness here differs from other conceptualizations of timelessness in heritage which may refer to the idea that heritage will stand the test of time, can take a person back in time, or exists out of traditional notions of time.

that once it is deemed heritage, it is understood to have *always been important*. Thus, even though the process of becoming heritage requires aging related to a specified amount of time (i.e., the fifty-year rule), once something has become heritage, it acquires importance that exceeds the boundaries of time, gaining future and past significance.

Heritage Timelessness

Becoming timeless is an integral part of the heritagization process. "Heritagization is the production of cultural meanings, the presentation and interpretation of heritage, related to practices and ways of living associated with artifacts of the past" (Birkeland, 2017, p. 61). It is widely accepted that heritage is constructed in the present, involving the use of the past for contemporary means (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). This process always unfolds within existing power contexts, and "as power relations and national identities shift, the meaning and agency of history, memory, and authenticity shift with them" (Fuentes, 2017, p. 48). Timelessness ebbs and flows as those in power harness its force; what exists beyond temporal categorization is defined and refined by its social and political context. Thus, "by simultaneously constructing and erasing histories, the preservation frame renders heritage objects both timeless and contemporary, foregrounding and backgrounding the past relative to the present while crafting and instrumentalizing collective memory for political gain" (Fuentes, 2017, p. 48). The perception of timelessness deflects preservation's politicality, a time-dependent characteristic which could not exist in a timeless frame. In this apolitical void, the morality ascribed to heritage becomes naturalized, existing both outside of and contemporaneous to present social contexts. Preservation is thus ascribed an inherent morality which is unaffected by changing political circumstances. A poem in *With Heritage* laments:

It is not alone what we save from the past,

but how, and with what dignity. Speaking

for our own sense of fitness: do we

value the future less than convenience?

Each is a temporary generation: the losses

we inflict upon ourselves for short

and seeming gain increase with time,

scaling down our dimensions. We

need old buildings in the sun to gage

our humanness against indifferent skies.

(p. 88)[15]

Paired with a snowy scene foregrounded by a decaying wooden building, the poem suggests a moral duty to future generations to save such places. Outside of any timescale, the poem offers an endless call to the American people. To preserve is to guarantee the humanity of the future, and to not preserve is to fall prey to greed and laziness. An inherent connection between what it means to be human and remnants from the past is key to naturalizing the moral code, weaving together destruction of heritage with destruction of humanity.

The timelessness afforded heritage dually suggests a timelessness of threats against it. Any threat to something deemed heritage is seen as also always existing, even if the construction of the threat is simultaneous to the imbuement of heritage status. Even if for a time, a historic site was collectively viewed as insignificant, any threats or changes during that time are viewed as reprehensible. Thus, a home remodeled by

[15] This poem is included in a full-color photo essay which pairs images of historic sites with poems about their threatened future. The essay is uncredited; titled, "America: Disappearing Sights"

owners to suit their contemporary taste is admonished once the home is seen as historic. Zabriskie (1966) argues in his *With Heritage* essay:

> Not least among the indignities suffered by older buildings is tampering with the design. Such tampering has a long and often honorable history in American architecture. The Maine sea captain who built a framework of carpenter gothic around his square New England house was to be surpassed later by the conversion of Federal style Hudson River Valley mansions into French mansards and other architectural whimseys of the owners [sic]. Some of these early rebuildings were done with care and taste: others were grotesque at best, and the passing of time has done nothing to improve them. In our time, tampering has become more than a desire to change the basic style. The grocery store stuck into the side of a historic mansion, a façade interrupted by freakish fenestration, buildings of all shapes and conditions botched by conversions which could have been accomplished without destroying the integrity of design are familiar to all of us (p. 62-63).

From a perspective of heritage timelessness, tampering with design is a threat to heritage, even if one can recognize the purpose, care, and meaning behind a change in a property's design. The threat, then, is one of both aesthetic illiteracy and an appetite for profit. Tunnard (1966) echoes this idea in his *With Heritage* essay, claiming that people should know that what *was* considered beautiful will likely be considered beautiful *again*, so we should not judge beauty based on contemporary conceptions of taste and aesthetics. While his suggestion has a ring of propriety, the suggestion that everyone should maintain buildings as-is in case they are deemed beautiful again is entirely impractical and contradictory to the idea proposed that historic buildings should remain in use. Additionally, it rings of classism and ableism, suggesting that any changes—

including those out of necessity—are wrong and worthy of scorn. The aesthetic knowledge and appreciation Tunnard expects from his amorphous audience also neglects differing opinions about beauty and value which may be tied to cultural and class differences. The assumption of a shared understanding of beauty wreaks of privilege in many forms and drawing on the examples of "beauty" provided, demonstrate an air of white supremacy in which beauty is defined through whiteness (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2014). Together, these ideas ensure the maintenance of threats to heritage, which ensures the need for historic preservation.

As an intrinsic aspect of heritage, threats provide an ever-present validation for preservation. Section 1 of the NHPA states, "historic properties significant to the Nation's heritage are being lost or substantially altered, often inadvertently, with increasing frequency" (Pub. L. No. 96-515). It goes on to pinpoint specific threats including highways, property development, lack of education, and inadequate preservation programs. Drawing on fears of rapid change, the NHPA sets up a sense of urgency in addressing threats. If the threats are "ever-increasing," then action must be taken to "expand and accelerate" preservation programs (Pub. L. No. 96-515). Thus, the time for action is *always now*. The inherency of threats relies on the belief that heritage has nonrenewable value. The meaning and conception of value can be molded, but rest on the fear of loss, even if the *only* value is in impending obsolescence. Value worth saving is determined by people, but more often than not, by voices of *authority*[16] for "the people." Heritage, its value, and the threats it endures are, thus, "ever reshaped by this or that partisan interest" (Lowenthal, 1996, p. 147) which determine what is worthy of saving. Unstated value in the NHPA allows heritage to be determined by political

[16] The word "authority" is one of the most used in the NHPA. There is a clear perspective in the law that it is and works through an authoritative frame.

interests while deflecting the appearance of doing so. The intentionally ambiguous language of the NHPA provides opportunity for curation in which authority and power are used to demystify ambiguity.

Salvaging Ambiguity

The intentional ambiguity of the NHPA is not inherently a negative aspect of its rhetoric. In fact, Burke (1969) suggests that ambiguity is essential for transformations, a characteristic necessary in laws which may age quickly, but take time to revise. Ambiguity provides possibilities for interpreting based on context, which is necessary for a document attempting to address such diverse contexts as the U.S. and its territories.[17] These are, according to Burke, resources of ambiguity which make it a fruitful rhetorical concept. While understanding these resources, it is also important to recognize who controls them, and therefore, benefits from them.

The resources of ambiguity in the NHPA provide generous opportunity for those who have authority to gather and use them for their benefit. The NHPA relies on the production and maintenance of its own authority, which extends to those people who maintain it. Through the NHPA, the federal government must "provide leadership in the preservation of the historic property of the United States and of the international community of nations and in the administration of the national preservation program" (54 U.S.C. § 300101.Policy). Through this self-proclamation of leadership, the federal government establishes authority in the realm of preservation. This authority is proliferated throughout the NHPA in the hierarchical system established to defer responsibility to state, local, and tribal programs while maintaining the authority to oversee and regulate their activities. Establishing knowledge authority, the NHPA

[17] The phrase "the U.S. and its territories" is used to indicate that the NHPA is a law which equally impacts countries currently occupied by the U.S.

creates several federal programs with educational roles, like the ACHP, NCPTT, and National Building Museum. Additionally, by taking on an assistive role by offering guidance and help to other programs, the NHPA establishes the federal government as the knowledgeable benefactor. Through this hierarchy, people who represent or who were selected by the federal government hold more power in interpreting and using the NHPA's resources.

This distribution of power is evident in the use of supplementary documents to assist with interpretation of the NHPA and related policies. In 1976, the NPS began producing a series of technical documents called "Preservation Briefs" which provided expert knowledge about preservation techniques. In June of the same year, the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) of the NPS began publishing a bulletin titled *11593* which was "designed to provide technical and other program-related information as required by Section 3 of Executive Order 11593" (NPS, 2011, para. 1). The bulletin published examples of successful preservation practice. Publication in Preservation Briefs and *11593* became a point of pride as it was an endorsement from the federal government for specific interpretations and enactments of the law. According to Rogers (2016), during the early years of the NHPA, these publications helped practitioners apply and learn how to use the new standards. While *11593* ceased publication in the 1980's, Preservation Briefs continue to be published, are easily accessible online, and maintain their status as standards of practice. The NPS maintains a robust website featuring educational guidance to a range of preservation activities. For example, Interpreting the Standards Bulletins articulate NPS preservation decisions and provide insight into "expert" decision-making (NPS, 2020). Though not presented as the only interpretations, these educational documents offer an authoritative interpretation which is often presented as "good guidelines" if seeking federal or state funding for a

project. In this way, the resources of ambiguity are, as Burke would say "congealed," tempering divergent interpretations.

Similarly, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) provides a material and aesthetic guideline for understanding what historic sites are or are not significant. Ideally, the concept of "significance" is productively ambiguous, allowing national recognition for a variety of sites which hold significance for different people. When describing the creation of the NRHP, the NHPA states, "The Secretary may expand and maintain a National Register of Historic Places composed of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture" (54 U.S.C. § 302101). To clarify which sites and objects qualify as significant, the Secretary is called upon to establish criteria which are articulated in the Code of Federal Regulations. According to the NHPA, these criteria are established "in consultation with national historical and archeological associations," groups which already have a sense of authority. Historic properties may be considered to have a "quality of significance" when they are properties:

(a) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

(b) that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

(c) that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(d) that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (36 CFR § 60.4).

These criteria provide a certain level of clarification about what could be deemed significant. From them, we might specify that significance comes from relation to historic events, famous people, architectural style, and important information. These are still large categories, though, and each description relies on the word "significant," or "important" to describe how to determine if something is "significant" enough for listing on the National Register. As such, in order to determine if a property is significant, we must *already know* what counts as significant in relation to the four categories. Authorities in each field become the resources from which to determine significance. For example, for an event to be seen as something which contributed to history, it must be historicized in some way; events discussed are events which are perceived as significant.[18] In this way, the criteria deflect significance determination to other preauthorized authorities, maintaining a perception of neutrality. The language suggests an exterior significance which cannot be defined by the law but is upheld by it.

Recognizing the slippery nature of the criteria, the Code also states, "Guidance in applying the criteria is further discussed in the ''How To" publications, Standards & Guidelines sheets and Keeper's opinions of the National Register. Such materials are available upon request" (36 C.F.R. § 60.4). Through this statement, the Code offers an authoritative voice through which to make judgements about significance. Relying on previously made decisions to determine future decisions means that ways of interpreting become congealed once approved. These previously made decisions also apply to properties already listed on the National Register, which serve as examples of "proper" evaluation of significance, and thus, form a blueprint for future determinations. The inaugural NRHP listings also had a foundation for knowing which sites were important.

[18] Through the necessity of historicization, many groups' important properties are deemed unimportant because their stories have been excluded from formal histories.

Even before the official Register existed, the NPS bestowed significance on historic sites through the documentation, management, preservation, and ownership as allowed by the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (54 U.S.C. § 3201). A plethora of existing decisions regarding significance means a burden is placed on anyone wishing to challenge this already approved means of interpretation.

Guides for interpreting federal preservation law are not just produced by the NPS. In addition to their official guides numerous books, white pages, articles, and websites offer help for interpreting and using the NHPA and resulting laws.[19] This proliferation suggests that while the NPS offers an authoritative voice, ambiguity is still productively operating. Discussing the operation of ambiguity, McClure and Cabral (2009) assert that,

> Although the ambiguity of meaning and substance creates potentialities for division, it also provides for identifications among multiple meanings and realities. In this sense, rhetoric is the advocacy of realities; it is partisan, as it seeks to decide among the paradoxes of substance and definition (p. 76).

Though existing interpretations shape how ambiguities are used in specific situations, they cannot completely construct a reality of historic significance. Rather, the ambiguities offer differing "rhetorical construction of realities" (McClure & Cabral, 2009), which make use of the extrinsic character of significance. Obviously, there are people and organizations who attempt to disguise this character, suggesting that significance exists outside of the realm of determination, concealing the partisan nature of designation. In this way, the decisions made are framed as the only ones possible,

[19] For example: King, T. (2012). *Cultural resources law and practice* (4th Ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

creating a false sense of determinacy between the materiality of historic property and its significance.

Narratives about lost or unprotected buildings also help determine future decisions. The story of Penn Station's loss supports the idea that grandiose classical architecture is an aesthetic worth mourning, and worth saving. Through stories of tragedy, certain types of historic places are rhetorically elevated, creating a sense of urgency to protect places similar to those already lost. This rhetoric is used widely in *With Heritage*, which uses mourning as validation for selecting certain historic sites for preservation. For example, the loss of Gilded Age mansions on East Avenue in Rochester, NY is used to bolster the need for saving similar neighborhoods like Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. and Commonwealth Avenue in Boston's Back Bay. *With Heritage* relies on narratives of tragedy and success to bolster its argument for the urgent need for strong protections, simultaneously presenting examples of what "should" be saved because other similar places have been lost or because places are deemed to be exceptional in some way. The report speaks fondly about specific historic sites including buildings, monuments, neighborhoods, and avenues, bolstering these chosen sites as meeting the criterium of significance created through the report itself. The sites presented in *With Heritage* thus offers ideal examples of the NHPA in action. When asking, "What counts as significant?," or "What is worthy of preservation?," one can turn to *With Heritage* for prime illustrations. The phrase "Significant Historic Site" might be replaced with any of the numerous examples in the report, as listed in Appendix A.

The ambiguity in the NHPA is a strategic linguistic choice which offers both liberatory possibility and potentiality for domination. As a rhetorical device, ambiguity is a site of opportunity which may be used positively and negatively simultaneously. As Burke (1969) suggests, it is not the rhetorician's job to point out ambiguity, but to

understand how it operates within specific circumstances. The NHPA's ambiguity leaves open opportunities for reinterpretation based on changing ideas. Yet, the intertextual relationship with texts such as guides produced by the NPS, the National Register, and *With Heritage* may solidify the ambiguity, leaving less room for differing interpretations and maintaining certain modes of understanding the law. The resultant concealment of different interpretations may prevent diversification of heritage by promoting the preservation of places like those already being preserved and making it more challenging to preserve different types of places. The ambiguity in the NHPA can be salvaged, however, through the acknowledgement and consideration of its operation. Questioning how it is being used, by whom, and for what purpose may broaden the ways the NHPA is used to maintain materializations of heritage in the U.S. and its territories.

Heritage and/or Historic Property

Although heritage is the titular word for the report which led to the NHPA, it is sparingly and strategically used in the most recent iteration. For the authors, the use of the word heritage was a meaningful gesture which helped define the object of historic preservation and signal its importance. Heritage was the thing historic preservation saved, so a shift in language indicates a possible change in priorities. There is no universal word or phrase to discuss the object of preservation practice, with phrases like historic sites, heritage, historical landscapes, old places, old places and things, artifacts, and historic property circulating in different contexts. Though naming differs, it remains integral as each naming limits what can or cannot be preserved. The strategic step away from heritage is informative about its meaning in a contemporary context. And, despite its infrequent appearance, it suggests an interpretive framework of the NHPA through

the concept of heritage. Heritage is deployed in three meaningful[20] instances: the Committee's findings, discussions of World Heritage, and references to tribal culture.

Heritage in the Committee's Findings

The word heritage is deployed frequently in Section 1 of the National Historic Preservation Act (Pub. L. No. 89-664). The findings statement, which directly reflects wording in *With Heritage*, has been removed from the most recent version of the NHPA when it was moved to title 54 in the United States Code from title 16. According to the ACHP, the "findings are still current law," but have been removed "for editorial reasons" (ACHP, p. 1). While the meaning of the phrase "editorial reasons" is unclear, the ACHP has elected to reprint Section 1 at the beginning of their publicly accessible version of the NHPA. This action may suggest the ACHP understands the findings to be important to the contextualization of the NHPA. The findings, which directly result from those presented in *With Heritage*, speak of heritage as a general term for places, stories, artifacts, and memories of the past. Throughout the rest of the Act, which is codified into title 54, the term heritage is rarely used, while the phrase "historic property" is frequently adopted. Chapter 3003 provides a succinct definition of historic property:

> In this division, the term "historic property" means any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included on, or eligible for inclusion on, the National Register, including artifacts, records, and material remains relating to the district, site, building, structure, or object.

The limited use of the term heritage proposes a specific focus and meaning throughout the NHPA. The phrase and its definition suggest the NHPA is a technical document outside of emotional or aesthetic attachments. On the other hand, heritage, especially as

[20] The word heritage is used in one additional instance: the phrase National Maritime Heritage appears once.

it is used in relation to *With Heritage*, suggests a deeply aesthetic and sentimental understanding of remnants of the past. The apparent stripping of sentimentality throughout the law reflects bureaucratic language systems which are meant to eliminate the appearance of bias in law and its subsequent interpretation. However, the continued insistence on using heritage to frame the law by the group most influential on federal preservation policy suggests a maintenance of the meanings imbued in heritage as previously discussed.

After declaring that the "spirit and direction of the Nation" depend upon heritage, the removed, but still enacted, findings state: "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people" (Section 1, NHPA). If read as a fundamental frame for understanding the NHPA, these findings prompt the reader to understand historic property as part of heritage. Thus, while the term heritage may be sparingly used in the NHPA, the reader is prompted to read the document through an understanding of heritage as reported in *With Heritage* and translated into Section 1.

World Heritage

The term heritage is also used when discussing the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972. Its use in this context reflects UNESCO's definition of world cultural[21] heritage which involves monuments, groups of buildings, and sites that have outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 1972). The term heritage is always paired with the word "world," distinguishing its meaning from the one crafted in *With Heritage*. Rather than drawing upon a "national spirit," the use of "world heritage" relies on UNESCO's artfully crafted understanding of universal

[21] The World Heritage Convention specifically differentiates between cultural and natural heritage. The NHPA deals with cultural heritage in relation to World Heritage List nominations.

human history and the prestige attached to World Heritage status (Meskell, 2013). Heritage takes on a position of grandeur; heritage is more than historic property and carries more prestige. Thus, the NHPA specifies the need for the federal preservation program to nominate properties to UNESCO's World Heritage List. In fact, direct grants administered by the Secretary of the Interior are specified for properties having "World Heritage significance" (§ 302904.c.1.A.ii). This means the Secretary has the opportunity to determine which properties could be nominated to the World Heritage List and provide grant funds to help make the property more appealing to the World Heritage committee by preserving, repairing, marketing, and interpreting the site. While these special grants may also be administered to other NRHP properties, their ability to elevate for the purposes of securing World Heritage status is notable. Through investment, the federal program communicates a value attached to this form of heritage.

Tribal Heritage

The final noteworthy use of heritage in the NHPA is in the context of tribal culture. Specifically, within the section establishing an assistance program for indigenous tribes, heritage is used instead of historic property. The section titled "Tribal Values" states that "tribal values" should be "taken into account" and requirements should "conform to the cultural setting of tribal heritage preservation goals and objectives" (54 U.S.C. § 302701). In this context, the term heritage takes on another meaning separate from the "national spirit" and "outstanding universal significance." The strategic use of heritage in this section amplifies its reliance on broadly defined group "values." In this instance, a differentiation between the unstated, normalized values of the NHPA and tribal values are articulated. This section recognizes a growing movement toward a values-based approach to preservation in which "significance is determined from the values held by the various stakeholders" (Jerome, 2014, p. 4).

Values-based preservation is intended to operate within the understanding that values are not universal, change over time, and cannot be wholly determined by non-stakeholder entities. However, the current phrasing of the NHPA utilizes a values-based orientation to territorialize its impact. By only indicating a values-based approach in relation to tribal culture, the document implies a baseline, normalized set of values for all other preservation. The need for values-based preservation is presented as being determined by the presence of Others, rather than being a universal practice. This use of heritage, thus, implies a set of values that differ from the inherent set of values indicated by *With Heritage*, essentially flattening the object of preservation while Othering indigenous people.

Although the NHPA relies on "historic property" to name the object of preservation rather than heritage, its strategic appearance reveals a framework for interpreting the law and a definition of the term. The use of the term "property" situates preservation as a fully capitalistic practice, which paves the way for programs like historic tax credits and preservation grants, while heritage provides a validation system for unequally distributing those funds. Even though it is used sparingly, heritage plays a role in establishing whose stories are worth protecting and what is worthy of preservation. The god-term, which promotes unquestioned motivation, is laden with values, which on the national level are generalized into a "national spirit" that is elaborated in *With Heritage*. Relying on colonization as the point of origin for U.S. heritage, the report establishes that U.S. identity relies on its early European "settlers." Much of the historicization provided describes architecture through the lens of colonizers' countries of origin.[22] This narration of U.S. heritage is apparent in the

[22] For example, the origin of the log cabin from Swedish settlers who built based on the architecture of their country of origin.

discussion of tribal heritage as value-laden and existing outside of the general framework of the NHPA. The distinguishing markers between heritage and historic property are apparent as heritage exists as an implicit foundation for a Euro-American national identity, while historic property is operationalized as a seemingly value-free term for historic remnants. Thus, heritage is deployed to establish the Euro-American frame, then to provide explanations for variations (i.e., tribal and world heritage).

Remembering Our Heritage Together

The NHPA, as part of a constellation of laws, executive orders, decisions, and stories, offers a way of making use of memory in an official public realm. It works within an existing nationalist symbol system created by the federal government, but it also offers a system for remembering through a particular use of heritage. Together, *With Heritage* and the NHPA provide definitions of heritage and public memory which establish a baseline for how the U.S. as a nation should remember and use the past. By defining not just what should be remembered, but *how memory operates in relation to heritage*, the law is well-suited to function for the benefit of contemporary understandings of the nation.

Memory and heritage are entangled in the NHPA; they collapse in on each other, creating an inherency of each in the other. In this way, the characteristics which differentiate the two become shared characteristics, which has consequences for using and interpreting the law. Memory gains the feature of inheritance, becoming something passed forward through relations in a linear conception of time. Past is, thus, singular, but multiplied through people and things which touch each other. Through memory, people are in "collaboration" with their ancestors (Tunnard, *With Heritage,* 1966). This vision of memory suggests a shared epistemology among people, allowing the ancestral passing of memory to take on a public form as "the spirit and direction of the Nation are

founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage" (Pub. L. No. 96-515). "The public" was born into a set of memories which both constitute its composition and define its future actions. The memories which are inherited are those which must be maintained because they form "the public" today. This way of constructing memory deflects reassessment of stories and myths in public consciousness as their loss would weaken the structure of "the public." A façade of relationality, a shared foundation built on inherited memories, forms the basis of the imagined community (Anderson, 1983/1996) of the "nation."

The NHPA, as a federal law, directly benefits from and requires the maintenance of a national illusion. Without a community to protect through the preservation of history, the law would not have a purpose. I do not mean that historic preservation is only purposeful in the context of a national community, but that the NHPA specifically addresses a need for protecting an "American history" (16 U.S.C. § 302101). While it recognizes and supports preservation important for local and state communities as well, it places consequential emphasis on the shared, national value of specific historic property. It, thus, views memory as operating on various scales, with the national as a primary, bonding scale. While a community may determine the significance of their historic properties, only some of them will meet the standard of significance on the national scale and be included on or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Through the encouragement of communities to submit to the NRHP, the NHPA promotes the idea of a shared, national memory to which all communities in the U.S. contribute. Thus, the NHPA supports the preservation of "our" shared heritage by saving the historic property significant to "us." In service of this public understanding, "personal and emotional commitment[s]" are replaced by "careful and reasoned demonstration[s] that there is something worth saving" (Whitehall, *With Heritage*, 1966,

p. 47). Rules are authorized to ensure listed properties are valuable to and represent "the nation," possibly diluting the heritage represented to those which most resemble or support "the nation's" foundational memories.

A national inheritance of memories is presented as operating in the contemporary moment. Thus, while presented as part of a linear and singular past, remnants of that past are seen as an active aspect of contemporary life. The NHPA suggests they "should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development" (Pub. L. No. 96-515). In this way, memory is more than just recollection or remembrance; it frames existence. While this may appear to suggest that memories are shaped in the present like many memory scholars have suggested, it suggests the opposite; the present is shaped by memories. Through this conceptualization, the NHPA confines memory as a mere resource for the present, rather than a continuously unfolding aspect of the present. Restricting memory in this way makes it possible to see heritage as something used in the present, but not necessarily shaped by the present. Through the NHPA's understanding of memory, historic property has an inherent value outside of the contemporary practice of preserving, restoring, listing, and documenting. This allows the buildings which are deemed significant through the NHPA to be perceived as *inherently significant* outside of contemporary decision-making. Through this logic, obvious biases in preservation practice can be dismissed. For example, the prevalence of "significant" sites related to wealthy Euro-American men can be justified because those men appear significant in historical accounts. One can point to the remnants of their lives and marks they made on the earth as signs of the innate significance of related sites.[23] Understanding memory and heritage as of the past, not of

[23] For example, the Alfred Kelley House in Ohio is a fairly unremarkable Greek revival home. It is celebrated in With Heritage and considered to be at risk of demolition, a fact which caused

the present, creates a permission structure through which inequality can be perpetuated through preservation.[24]

Although memory is presented as something of the past and used in the present, its use in the NHPA is future-oriented. As previously discussed, the idea that preservation is for the future plays a major role in the law's rhetoric. Specifically, the NHPA references the importance of preservation to fulfill the needs of future generations (54 U.S.C. § 300101), a future-orientation which requires substantial imagination based on contemporary knowledge and ideas. Beyond the use of the future as a rhetorical device, it is painted as an element in the operation of memory. In other words, the fate of the future relies on its ability to remember; which relies on a contemporary ability to preserve the material in which it lives. In this sense, memory exists in material forms which allow "physical contact with the past" (Tunnard, 1966, p. 26). That memory may take a material form is a well-considered idea. Thus, "material remains" from the past are often considered to play an important role in maintaining memory for the future (54 U.S.C. § 300308). For this reason, an emphasis is placed on the physical aspects of historic property as significant to keeping important memories alive. *With Heritage* argues that although there may be instances wherein a historic property maintains its historical integrity despite losing the majority of its original material,[25] every effort should be made to maintain original material. The report establishes a hierarchy still in place today; preserve first, repair second, replace third, reconstruct fourth, and

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members of the community to band together and advocate for saving it. The home is a physical manifestation of the wealth gained by exploiting labor.

[24] This does not necessarily mean that all preservation operates in this way, because there have been strides toward creating a more just and equal practice in the field. It merely points out how the language used can perpetuate a way of thinking about memory and heritage which allows and justifies certain actions.

[25] The Ship of Theseus is used as an example of the "problem of preservation" in *With Heritage*. In the story, a historic ship slowly loses all of its original material as pieces are repaired and replaced. The philosophical question posed in the story is, "Is it still the Ship of Theseus?" The Temple of Hera at Olympia presents a similar philosophical question.

simulation fifth.[26] In this hierarchy, material is sacred and "authenticity," in the sense of original material, is revered. An "authentic" past is woven together with hope for the future, essentially suggesting that without remnants from the past, the future will have no foundation. According to the NHPA, maintenance of historic property is essential to "fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations" (54 U.S.C. § 300101). Memory, as both material and future-oriented, is conceptualized as critical and fragile; an essential element of future life, constantly threatened by those who refuse to see beyond the present. Whitehall (1966), in *With Heritage*, blames the consumeristic and individualistic culture of the U.S., claiming that Americans are wasteful and reckless. In this way, contemporary society, whatever that means at any given time, is posed as an ever-present threat to the future, and the memory it relies upon to succeed.

Through a specific framing of memory in relation to heritage, the NHPA and its contextual documents, successfully place constraints on understanding relationships with historic sites. Memory is presented through a linear conception of time which negates other ways of understanding time in relation to the present, such as circular, simultaneous, and an always unfolding present. While a linear conception is useful to the practice of preservation, it does not necessarily represent the actually felt conceptions of time of people whom it is intended to support. A specific conception of memory as "public," particularly in relation to a "national public," similarly constrains rich understandings of memory. Generalizations of what matters to whom produce an ill-conceived and limited conceptualization of "the past" in relation to Euro-American, idealized conceptions of the American public. Centering memory around an American

[26] Reconstruction and simulation as a last resort is played up in *With Heritage* in a section which mocks Williamsburg, VA. The "pioneer village" is a mix of reconstructions and simulations of historic places, people, and events.

imagined community prevents understandings of "the past" as pasts which exist simultaneously for individuals and groups. Finally, by suggesting that memories are a resource of the present and a material foundation for the future, memory is contained as existing within, rather than through contemporary conceptualizations of both ideas and material. Though the framing of memory supports ongoing preservation by validating its practice and professionalization, it constrains conceptualizations which may enhance preservation, diversifying its practice while maintaining its worth.

Conclusion

The NHPA provides a framework for decisions which materially structure the United States landscape. Dovey (2009) argues that places silently frame existence and those in charge of shaping places "inevitably manipulate modes of spatial encounter" (p. 39). The decisions that arise from use of the NHPA are thus, not merely important for those in the field of historic preservation, but for everyone whose existence is materially framed and manipulated through the built environment. The presence or absence of different historic sites silently determines the organization of people (Foucault, 1986) and can have substantial impacts on the quality of life for groups of people (Soja, 1989). Dovey (2002) explains, "The more that the structures and representations of power can be embedded in the framework of everyday life, the less questionable they become and the more effectively they can work" (p. 2). The NHPA is one of many structures which weds power into the historic built environment as experienced in everyday life. By influencing decisions about what historic sites will or will not remain, it structures a portion of the physical reality for people living in the U.S. and its territories.

The rhetorical force of the NHPA resides in its ability to control decisions about the historic built environment while evading the appearance of control. By funding state and local preservation programs, the NHPA appears to defer while maintaining control

over a large portion of historic preservation decisions. Yet, the NHPA dictates both state and local programs through oversight and the assertion of quality "examples" which help frame decision-making around what historic sites are or are not significant. The use of funding as a means of control allows the NHPA to emphasize the importance of "nationally significant" sites as holding high importance, even in the context of local preservation activities. The criteria for significance for the NRHP guide and structure preservation decisions on multiple levels, creating an aspirational relationship between local and national programs. Thus, the invention of an imagined history and memory for the nation are used to unify and control public conceptions of historic sites (Said, 2000). As Massey (1994) argues, bounded and fixed notions of place are tactics of domination, and the NHPA offers limitations on understanding historic sites, specifically in relation to what is significant for the imagined community of the United States.

The NHPA uses traditional legal language throughout; but despite the often assumed value-free aspect of legal language, the NHPA features transcendent language which can be understood through its originary report, *With Heritage So Rich*. The Euro-American Christian origins of the NHPA seep into the NHPA through rhetoric which narratively and linguistically frames historic preservation through religion and timelessness. With heritage serving as a god-term in preservation context, its strategic use amplifies a specifically Euro-American frame for determining which historic sites are worthy of saving. At the same time, the imagined community of the U.S. is proved as a given, with politicality of historic sites deflected through the illusion of an already existing significance related to a shared, linear notion of the past. Thus, the importance of historic preservation as a practice is conceived as a natural element of maintaining a strong, moral society. In this way, the ambiguity of the law's language simultaneously

justifies and maintains existing ways of understanding what historic sites have value and are worthy of preservation.

While this analysis critiques the rhetoric of the NHPA, it also offers hope for salvaging its power in a way that harness its strengths in service of a broader good. The NHPA is a powerful document which has the potential to strengthen people, enact social justice, and reframe the relationship between nation, history, and place. Mobilizing the NHPA for good lies in the hands of those who use it to make decisions on a daily basis: preservationists, architects, public historians, educators, politicians, and government employees. Historic sites structure our material and ideological environment, and through the NHPA, their power can be used to facilitate a more just, diverse, and generous atmosphere. Preservation, recontextualized and historized, may exist alongside contemporary experiences, so when the next Pennsylvania Station is threatened, we can see it as one of many factors impacting the existence of humans. Ultimately, we will, as Ada Louis Huxtable says, "be judged not by the monuments we build but by those we have destroyed," and it is up to preservation professionals NHPA to save those which contribute to a better existence for all.

Through its authority, ambiguity, transcendent language, and framework for public memory, the NHPA rhetorically frames worth in preservation practice and subsequently, the built environment in the U.S. Although the NHPA disperses responsibility to the state and local level, it also acts a structuring and disciplining force on a national level. Rhetoric is a foundational means for the NHPA to accomplish this but is not singularly responsible for the force of the act. My use of rhetorical analysis focused on understanding what the language of the NHPA does or has the capability of doing. In this sense, the analysis had an outward directionality, seeking to understand how the language may offer or constrict possibilities in contemporary or future

situations. This analysis relies on a belief that rhetoric is forceful and has the potential to sustain, grow, and restrict power.

In Chapter Four, I use discourse analysis, a similar but distinct method, to focus on understanding how the language of the NHPA does or does not inform practices in a specific case study setting. The analysis has an inward directionality, seeking to understand how discourse creates a reality which informs what is normalized, visible, and powerful within the discourse community. It relies on analyzing localized discourse to better understand how social relations, institutions, and forms of capital are contextually curated. My uses of these methods are not the only possibilities, but in constructing the methodologies in this way, I see value in using both. Each affords different focal points, tools for analysis, and theoretical lineages which illuminate aspects of the NHPA uniquely.

CHAPTER 4

"THERE'S SO MUCH HISTORY HERE":

PRESERVATION DISCOURSES IN GALVESTON, TX

> Preservation is not a siloed sort of achievement or goal in and of itself, but it's situated within a broader context and that materializes at a very small level to a very grand level.
>
> - Jordan, participant interview

The communicative power of places of memory has long been discussed, theorized, and researched in the field of communication (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott 2010). Since early rhetorical studies featuring sites of public memory, the communicative power of places to hold and transform public memory has been explored in a variety of contexts (see Foss, 1986; Blair, Jeppeson, & Pucci, 1991; Blair & Michel, 2000; Gallagher 1995). While some sites of memory are created through construction (like a memorial), many are created through rhetorical practices of interpretation and preservation, which often go hand in hand. In other words, public history professionals rhetorically frame an historical site through interpretation (meaning the framing through stories, exhibits, signage, etc.) and historic preservation (meaning the deliberations and choices made surrounding restoring, saving, rehabilitating, and renovating parts or all of an historic property). Many communication studies exploring places of public memory do not dive into the creation processes related to interpretation and preservation, instead focusing on sites which have already been interpreted and preserved (for example, Duquette & Bergman, 2010). This study seeks to understand the processes of preservation/interpretation, rather than just their products. Specifically, this study attempts to begin an inquiry into the ideological frameworks that structure preservation

practices, and consequently, shape the products of preservation, such as public memories of and about historic places and related people, stories, and events.

From a public memory perspective, the practice of historic preservation is a rhetorical act which can sculpt a group's memory about an historic property and can provide a starting point for understanding why a group understands the past in a particular way. In this study, I take an additional step back in the process, reaching to what happens *before* the act of preservation to understand the discursive context which might frame preservation actions and outcomes. Within the specialized field of preservation, notions about appropriate practice are distributed through professional channels (Bresnen, 2013) such as federal and state guidelines, university programs, funding and grant programs, practicing organizations, and professional membership organizations. While historic preservation may be viewed as a relatively new profession, the professionalization of the field in the US has been prolific since the introduction of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) which provided both rules and opportunities for expanding preservation practice. Kong (2014) suggests that professionalization has two motivations: "the increasing need of specialization and the exercise of control through language" (p. 1). Both are visible in the professionalization of preservation. As I argued in Chapter Three, the NHPA created a need for a specialized workforce who could take on tasks that were in addition to those taken on by people whose profession previously included preservation work (like architects or construction workers). New mandates for preservation activities (like the perpetual call for National Register nominations) in the NHPA offered new jobs and asked for a new skilled workforce to take them on. Building on these new skills, a professionalized language was sedimented and perpetuated through the mandates of the NHPA (i.e., phrases like "historic integrity," "criteria of significance," etc.). Though a federal Act with limited

power, the NHPA was dispersed through its maintenance of funding for preservation work which is distributed through a variety of channels including funding for state and local preservation programs. By using the ongoing need for money to fund preservation work, the NHPA became foundational to much preservation activity in the US, requiring the expanded workforce to know and apply it.

Yet, professional discourses do not occur in a vacuum, and exist within complex social, geographical, and ideological contexts. Though the NHPA has served as both a foundation for the professionalization of the field and a framing text for practice, it does not have total control over preservation in the US. The powers of the NHPA are limited and, as previously mentioned, may[27] depend upon the need for federal funding. Therefore, every preservation project in the US does not have to work within the guidelines and ideologies of the NHPA. For example, a nonprofit preservation organization which does not rely on federal funding may not frame their work through professional discourses like the NHPA. However, even without need, organizations may still rely on the NHPA in order to work within the established and sedimented professional discourse of preservation. Understanding what discourses frame preservation work in contexts that do not rely on professionalized discourse will provide insight into the ideologies that structure practices.

Discourse & discourse

In this project, I conceptualize discourse through Gee's (2005) definition of big-D Discourse as "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (i.e., ideologies) and little-d discourse as

[27] The word "may" is used here because of the penetration of the NHPA into preservation discourse is quite deep. Framing projects on the NHPA may be engrained through training and professional norms.

everyday language use or stretches of language (i.e., ideas) (p. 7). The use of both Discourse and discourse (d/Discourse) allows for a close study of language *and* broader socio-political meanings (Gee, 2011b). Through a dual conceptualization, D/discourse can be studied as both practice and the ideological structure framing practice, providing a socio-historical understanding of localized communication practice.

I understand discourse as involving more than language, seeing it as composed of a variety of communicative phenomenon. Gee (2014) argues, "We continually and actively build and rebuild our worlds, not just through language, but through language used in tandem with actions, interactions, non-linguistic symbol systems, objects, tools, technologies, and distinctive ways of thinking, valuing, feeling, and believing" (p. 29-30). In addition to language, D/discourse operates through sound, image, color, arrangement, material and space. A group of scholars attempting to expand disciplinary notions of language-as-discourse developed a method called Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) in the 1990's to account for the various "modes" which combine to create and enact discourses (Shortis, 2011). Kress (2012) explains that MMDA relies on an understanding that D/discourses, as well as research, are comprised of various texts which are woven together either by a culture, entity, person, or in the case of research, a researcher. These "textual 'threads'" are "materially diverse: gesture, speech, image (still or moving), writing, music (on a website or in a film). These as well as three-dimensional entities, can be drawn into one textual/semiotic whole" (Kress, 2012, p. 36). Each mode "is understood as doing different kinds of communicative work" which is curated into meaning by people (Jewitt, 2011). Thus, analysis of texts of various modes can help researchers understand the ways D/discourse shapes social life.

Building Preservation Discourse

Using Gee's conceptualization of discourse and Discourse provides the tools for understanding how everyday communication in its various forms can be understood through and impacted by larger sociohistorical practices (2015). Gee (2011) offers several tools for discourse analysis that suit the goals of this project. The tools can be used to understand how discourses frame, build, and deconstruct actions, practices, and communications. First, Gee (2011) suggests that discourse has situated meanings such that communication takes on a specific meaning based on its immediate or broader context. In the case of preservation, terms and practices may take on unique meanings based on their immediate case context. Thus, exploring the situatedness of meanings will provide a means to understand how broader ideas and languages within preservation may take on unique meanings in specific contexts. The intentionally ambiguous language used in framing preservation Discourses can, thus, be defined and deployed situationally. Through exploration of situated meanings, one can better understand the ways that discursive ideologies are localized through everyday communication. Second, discourses can be understood as framing social languages which are "associated with a particular social identity," meaning they are used as social cues for a person's inclusion in a group. Professional jargon can be used to indicate inclusion in a specific profession. Thus, use of preservation terms, phrases, and ideas can indicate that a person is a preservation professional, and is an authority on historic property. In this way, social languages confer not only group inclusion, but status and power as well.

Third, Gee (2011) suggests that practices are both created by communication and create the context for making sense of communication. For instance, the NHPA created many preservation tasks (like NRHP nomination writing) while also providing the language-set needed to enact these tasks (like the phrase, "National Register"). Through

communication, practices are made conventional (Gee, 2017), so a person writing an NRHP nomination in one state will know how to complete this action through an understanding of the shared language of preservation (as detailed in the NHPA) and an ability to use the shared language to complete their own actions. Thus, looking at practices within the field of preservation will benefit from understanding how communication builds and is (internally) built by the shared ideologies spelled out in governing texts like the NHPA. Finally, Gee (2017) argues that what is considered significant (or not) is often constructed through language or other symbols (Gee, 2017). Through discourse, significance of historic properties and their stories are built. For example, an old building that no one cared about may be discovered to have a connection to a famous person, and thus, through telling that story, the property gains significance. On a broader level, a property may seem unimportant until it receives a plaque that states that it is listed on the National Register and becomes significant through the plaque's discourse. Exploring the function of d/Discourse in constructing significance showcases how power can circulate such that what does and does not become significant is defined by authoritative ideologies. For example, what can be made significant through the NHPA is limited by its ideological framing, meaning there is not equal possibility to build significance through what is considered the authoritative text in the preservation field.

Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD)

The conceptualization of preservation through discourse is not new. Smith (2006) conceptualizes a macro-level Discourse called the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), a concept bestowed with inciting the discursive turn in heritage studies. The term "heritage" is used to describe historical stories, ideas, and things, especially material things like historic properties, that are perceived to have been inherited from the past by people in the present.

Smith (2006) argues that the AHD is a professional discourse that structures the ways heritage is understood for national and international decision-making entities and is often used in service of maintaining power and control. Despite differences in application, the AHD maintains assumptions about heritage:

> The ADH emphasizes the materiality and the assumed innate universal value of heritage, draws on and reproduces a consensual view of nationhood and national history, and affirms that it is heritage experts that must act as stewards of the past to protect and maintain heritage places and heritage values, so that they may be passed on to 'future generations' (Smith, 2008, p. 162).

Through its assumptions, the AHD proliferates domination and marginalization by normalizing some practices and interpretations over others. By presenting itself as natural, the AHD creates a logic wherein it reproduces a validation of itself while excluding outside perspectives.

The NHPA as an Authorized Heritage Discourse

It is important to distinguish the difference between the NHPA as a law and the NHPA as a structing Discourse for practice. As a law, the NHPA must be followed in certain circumstances, such as when using federal money for historic preservation projects. In those cases, the NHPA is a set of requirements for procedure. However, the NHPA also serves as one of the Discourses a preservation professional might engage when communicatively defining themselves and their work. In this sense, the NHPA is not a requirement, but a defining text for the professionalization of preservation which "enact[s] a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (Gee, 2011a, p. 201). In other words, being a preservationist may be enacted through the use of symbols, actions, and words that arise from the NHPA. The language used to discuss preservation practice is legitimized and professionalized through the NHPA, creating a "social language" which

indicates that someone is part of a particular social or professional group (Gee, 2011b, p. 156). Use of the language from the NHPA and its subsequent documents showcases that a person is a professional, is knowledgeable, and will likely take particular actions guided by the framing Discourse. Thus, words take on "situated meanings" in which the professional context frames how people within the discourse community understand and use symbols, words, and actions. For example, the phrase "historic integrity," a preservation phrase, has a specific meaning for those within the preservation discourse community, allowing the use of the phrase to both legitimize the user as a professional while delegitimizing the opinion of someone outside of the community who can be understood to not fully comprehend its meaning within the professional framework.

The Discourse of the NHPA mirrors that of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) in many ways. In the preamble of the NHPA, the tenets of the AHD are laid out clearly and forcefully, showcasing that the Discourse of the NHPA, or what guides the thinking and believing about preservation in the NHPA's rules, is a pervasive ideology about what matters, what should be saved, and who should have the authority to save heritage. Importantly, the reproduction of "a consensual view of nationhood and national history" (Smith, 2008, p. 162) assists with the framing of local heritage and preservation projects through a national lens, and thus, through the guidelines of the NHPA. In this way, the NHPA functions as the Authorized Heritage Discourse for projects in the US, promoting a specific view of heritage and, subsequently, a specific view of how heritage should be preserved.

Tension & Malleability in Multiple AHDs

The concept of the AHD is widely perceived as integral to not only the discursive, but also the critical turn in heritage and preservation studies. It remains one of the most cited works in the field (Skrede and Hølleland, 2018). Scholars drawing on Smith's work

have used the AHD as a way of understanding local forms of authority through communicative practices (see Högberg, 2012). Additionally, scholars have used the framework to demonstrate how communities can challenge and expand the AHD to better suit their cultural values (see Pruecel and Pecos, 2015). Some scholars have argued for the presence of multiple AHDs, rather than a singular AHD, which may be in tension and, thus, malleable (see Parkinson and Mark, 2016). This may be why the NHPA can operate as an AHD within a community which also appears to have another AHD guiding practice.

Smith's AHD has been criticized for its focus on language, and lack of attention to the relationality between people and material heritage (i.e., historic properties, artifacts, etc.). AHD is built upon the idea that "There is, really, no such thing as heritage," positing that it is actually a set of intangible cultural processes (Smith, 2006, p. 1). Though Smith is theorizing about heritage in general, Cresswell and Hoskins' (2008) understanding of places as having both intangible and tangible qualities pushes back on Smith's (2006) conceptualization of heritage as wholly discursive. Skrede and Hølleland (2018) argue that Smith's conceptualization of the AHD has itself become an authorized way of understanding heritage which conceals the things and people who are supposedly involved in its use and reification. By focusing primarily on language, they argue, Smith fails to fully conceptualize how the tangible and intangible come together in heritage in a dynamic way. They argue that the AHD does not necessarily or always dominate experiences of heritage which can be multi-layered and dynamic. Despite the critiques, Skrede and Hølleland (2018) see value in using discourse analysis to study heritage, calling for scholars to "unpack local and diverse occurrences of AHDs (plural) . . . Instead of just taking the existence of a universal AHD for granted" (p. 91).

Recognizing the malleability of, tensions within, and multiple iterations of the AHD provides opportunities and constraints for resisting framing Discourses. Although the NHPA functions as an AHD in the US, it does not necessarily frame all preservation practice in the US. However, as Smith (2006) points out, the AHD is a dominant force within the practice. Understanding the relationship between an AHD and a local context is a generative way to understand how a Discourse can structure action while simultaneously being resisted. By not taking the AHD as a given, this project attempts to better understand what d/Discourses actually frame preservation work in a local context, how they might relate to an existing or create their own AHD, and how the ideological force of an AHD might be resisted to enact a more liberatory preservation practice. To achieve these understandings, this project is situated in the local context of Galveston, TX and its local preservation organization: Coastal Heritage Foundation. In this context, I pose the following questions:

RQ1: What, if any, d/Discourses influence preservation in Galveston, TX and the Coastal Heritage Foundation?

RQ2: How, if at all, does the Coastal Heritage Foundation work within or in opposition to the NHPA and the Authorized Heritage Discourse?

Methodology

To answer my research questions, I conducted a qualitative case study of a community and its local heritage organization. Case study research is "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real life' context" (Simmons, 2009, p. 35). Because case studies are bounded, the researcher can provide in-depth description and analysis which can not only provide insight into the case, but may resonate with other cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). Case study research provides depth

through the collection of different types of information over time, resulting in detailed description (Creswell, 2007). Conducting a case study helped illuminate the ways preservation professionals make use of, challenge, or deny the resources outlined in the NHPA in their practices. By studying a bounded case over time, I gained an understanding of both authorized and unauthorized heritage D/discourses, avoiding the generalizations which can occur in research on heritage discourses (Skrede and Hølleland, 2018). The chosen site serves as an exemplar "where the phenomenon in question can be easily observed and studied" (Zanin, 2018, p. 273) and thus, provide depth in understanding the d/Discourses used to navigate preservation decisions.

Research Site Considerations

My drive to study the d/Discourses of preservation stemmed from my own background in historic preservation. In choosing the site and topic for this research, I considered the compatibility, yield, suitability, and feasibility of the project (Tracy, 2013). Because a goal of this research was to better understand the communicative aspects of preservation practice, a site where I could both participate and observe practices was ideal. Gaining access to the research site occurred through my existing network of preservationists. Having studied architecture and historic preservation for a master's degree, I knew about CHF and through a friend, obtained contact information for the director. After explaining the research project, I was invited to come to Galveston to conduct research and complete projects with CHF. Because they frequently host university field schools, they invited me to stay in the student housing during my research. After obtaining a letter of support from the director and permission to conduct research from my university's Internal Review Board, I travelled to Galveston to begin my research.

The community of Galveston, TX is a prime exemplar for the present study. The small city has a relatively large collection of historic properties and a commitment to preserving them. The local preservation organization, the Coastal Heritage Foundation (CHF), is one of the largest nonprofit preservation organizations in the United States and the oldest preservation organization in the state of Texas, originating in 1871. Additionally, the city has strong local preservation laws and a Landmarks Committee who help make preservation decisions and enforce local laws. Galveston is an island located in the Gulf Coast, an hour outside of Houston, TX. Its coastal location adds an additional element to its connection to preservation. Frequent coastal storms, including devastating hurricanes, are a regular occurrence. Thus, preservation of properties is often done and re-done as coastal storms harm historic properties over and over again. A more contextual and placefull history of Galveston is provided through a rich description of the scene in the analysis section below.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred over a 5-week period in May and June 2019, during which I was fully immersed in the city of Galveston. During four weeks of my stay in Galveston, I was emersed in CHF as a participant observer. Throughout the data collection process, I wrote analytic memos, engaged in dialogic reflection, and considered my positionality. Data collection was not linear, but iterative, with ongoing initial analyses driving the process (Tracy, 2020). The table below (Table 1) provides a summary of the data collected, followed by a description of the data collected process.

Table 1.

Summary of Data Collected

Data Type	Participants	Amount	Time	Total Data
Formal Interviews	Employees of GHF	20	12.2 hours (17-44 mins)	402 double-spaced pages
Participant Observation	Employees & Volunteers of CHF	~105	164 hours	109 double-spaced pages
	Citizens of Galveston		~28 hours	32 double-spaced pages
Photographs & maps			~50 hours	2,253 photographs, 10 digital maps

Participant Observation

Much of my time in Galveston was spent as an "active participant" with the Coastal Heritage Foundation (Spradley, 2016). The day after arriving in Galveston in late May, I began spending my week days with CHF staff and working on CHF projects. My time with CHF was spent attending meetings, going on site visits, sharing meals with staff, working on projects in the office, and attending events. I spent Monday-Friday from 8:30am to 5:00pm with CHF for 4 weeks. There were a few additional opportunities for observation on the weekend and evenings when CHF hosted an event or held a late meeting. This amounted to 164 hours of participant observation. As a participant observer, I was able to have open discussions with participants and ask questions about what they were doing and why in the moment (Ravitch & Karl, 2015). When possible, I wrote down the participant's words verbatim. Throughout the observation process, I wrote down scratch notes which were expanded to full fieldnotes within three days. If able, while moving from one location to another, I would record

voice memos which were also expanded into field notes. This method of data collection resulted in 109 typed, double-spaced pages of notes.

My role during the research process was what Tracy (2013) calls the "play participant" (p. 109). Not only did CHF allow me to observe their activities, but they also allowed me to work on a preservation project during my time with them. Because my work on the project was not formal, I was able to improvise in the field, dropping work on the project when needed to shadow a member of CHF during an important meeting or site visit. Though I had not worked for CHF before, I entered the scene as member of the broader preservation community, and because of the personal connections that helped me attain access, I was viewed as part of the in-group in some respects (Tracy, 2013). For example, during site visits, I was asked my opinion on preservation actions. Additionally, I already had access to language, norms of practice, and knowledge sets that are prevalent within the profession. In the field, this allowed me to have an understanding of insider language, although I often took Tracy's (2013) advice and asked questions in a naïve manner to better understand participant's conceptualizations of preservation terms rather than relying on my own conceptualizations. While my past knowledge was an asset in many ways, it required a commitment to reflexivity to overcome my own embeddedness in preservation d/Discourses.

Interviews

To gain a deeper understanding of the types of d/Discourses structuring preservation work at CHF, I conducted interviews (N = 20) with 18 full-time CHF staff and 2 CHF part-time associates.[28] Interviews were conducted in the participant's office or workspace, with the option to close doors for privacy. I used a semi-structured

[28] There were five additional full-time employees that I was unable to interview for various reasons.

interview protocol to guide interviews, asking probing questions when needed (Creswell, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006) to understand how d/Discourses function in preservation practice. The protocol (Appendix C) was designed to elicit information about d/Discourses, including the NHPA, without directly asking about them (e.g., *are there guidelines that you follow in your work?,* and *how would you describe your preservation philosophy?*). Eighteen out of 20 interviews were recorded and transcribed by the author. Two of the interviews were not recorded; one at the request of the participant and one because of technological failure. In both cases, I took generous notes during the interviews and attempted to write down verbatim information when possible. Interviews ranged from 17-44 minutes; 12.2 hours total. The interviews resulted in 402 pages of double-spaced transcripts.

Participants

Participants in interviews were full-time employees of CHF. The participants ranged in length of time working for CHF, with some having only been there a few months and others having been there for over 30 years (average = 8.6 years). The types of tasks performed by participants varied from person to person, but each had a unique role to play in the preservation of the built and maritime history of Galveston. Three people on staff had degrees in historic preservation, but most employees, including staff directly involved in preservation work, did not. One staff member, Amanda, had strong ties to national preservation Discourses as she previously worked for a national organization, but she openly spoke about distancing from those Discourses in our interview. The organization is composed of people who are both directly and tangentially involved in preservation. Participants in CHF were from the following departments: preservation services, administration, museums and museum programs, Galveston historic seaport, communication and events, and membership. In addition to

the 20 full-time CHF staff interviewed, I observed a range of people engaged in work with CHF including: volunteers, board members, contractors, local government, librarians, university students, sales representatives, homeowners, and citizen committee members. While it is challenging to know how many people are part of this group, I estimate that I observed and interacted with approximately 85 people. Their connections to CHF ranged from a first interaction to over 30 years of working with CHF (as learned through casual conversation). Additionally, during my time in Galveston, I made it a point to be in the community and regularly interacted with community members. When encountering behaviors or discussions that related to my project, I took scratch notes or voice memos that were later expanded to full field notes (32 double-spaced pages).

Walking, Photographing, & Mapping

My time outside of the CHF offices was spent walking around the town, photographing buildings, and visiting local businesses. By embedding myself into the town and engaging with the local community, I gained insight into the ways the CHF influences, interacts with, and comes across to the Galveston community. Additionally, being in the city and mindfully experiencing its spatiality provided additional insight into the d/Discourses informing CHF's practices while recognizing the embeddedness of d/Discourses into place. As Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) note, place is "a coming together" where meaning is produced, practices are enacted, and social relations unfold. Walking as method is "a self-conscious, reflective project of wandering around to better understand an area's physical context, social context, and the spatial practices of walking" (Pierce and Lawhon, 2015, p. 2). As a supplement to other qualitative methods, walking as method enhances the researcher's ability to make claims and capture information that would otherwise be unknown (Moles, 2008). Jung (2014) suggests that

walking can help qualitative researchers think deeply and engage in embodied inquiry that can enhance the researcher's insights. Pierce and Lawhon (2015) argue that walking methodologies can help a researcher triangulate, enhancing the trustworthiness of the research.

During my time in Galveston, I spent roughly 50 hours walking in the city. During the walks I recorded insights, observations, and feelings by writing notes, recording voice memos, and taking photographs. Each weekend, I used the notes and photographs to create maps showcasing my journey, which provided additional reflection about the relationships between the community, places (Powell, 2010), and d/Discourses of preservation. Insights were recorded in my research journal which, in addition to photographs, maps, and notes, were used in the data analysis process.

Researcher Positionality

As the researcher, my positionality greatly influenced this research (Bourke, 2014). I am a white, heterosexual, cisgender female who lives in and grew up in the United States. I occupy a similar position to the majority of people working in the field of historic preservation in the U.S. My experiences with historic preservation in the past played a role in how conducted the research, approached the scene, and analyzed the data. As someone who desires to work in the field of historic preservation, I was not only already knowledgeable about the field, but actively participating in a professional fellowship program for emerging leaders in the field called the ARCUS Leadership Fellowship. The fellowship program emerged out of the 2016 celebration of the 50th anniversary of the NHPA and provides access to online courses to help professionals refine their leadership skills in the field. The 2020 fellowship also included virtual workshops centering inclusive and antiracist approaches to cultural heritage work. The ongoing education and interaction with other preservation professionals during part of

my research process was both illuminating and limiting to my research. During workshops with fellows, I was able to present some of the findings and ideas from my research during discussions and receive intelligent, insightful information from professionals. Yet, the ongoing immersion and active education about the field kept me immersed in the Discourses of preservation.

To better understand how my experiences with preservation informed my research, I engaged in a reflexive process. The process involved working through reflexivity prompts and dialogic engagement with a peer (Ravitch & Karl, 2018). Writing through reflexivity prompts in my research journal helped me to continuously question how I arrived at arguments and how my own background and experiences informed my understanding of the field and data. Additionally, through dialogic engagement with a peer throughout the research collection and analysis process, I had another voice questioning my assumptions. While a researcher's positionality cannot be eliminated through reflexivity, I was better able to understand how it influenced my understanding of the research and placed limitations on my ability to see some aspects of the research data.

Data Analysis Methods

Data Immersion & Primary-Cycle Coding

The analysis process began with data immersion, a phase during which the researcher gains familiarity with the data by reading, discussing, and engaging with data deeply (Tracy, 2013). This phase began during data collection, allowing me to seek needed information during the collection process. While engaging in data immersion, I began "primary-cycle coding" which "begins with an examination of the data and assigning words or phrases that capture their essence" (Tracy, 2013, p. 189). This coding process at this point was descriptive or explanatory rather than interpretive

(Schwandt, 2015). Through this process, I asked, as Creswell (2007) suggests, "What is going on here?" (p. 153). As Gee (2011) suggests, I was open to the data and noted anything that stood out as interesting, unique, patterned, or relational in analytic memos which "capture[d] analytical thinking" (Ravitch & Karl, 2015, p. 252).

Second-Cycle Coding

After engaging with the data in an immersive way, I began to critically engage the data using Gee's (2011b) discourse analysis inquiry tools. Keeping in mind my own goals for the project (i.e., understanding what d/Discourses frame preservation practice and if the NHPA is a framing AHD), I approached the data with hunches about what is happening in the data. This began the second-cycle coding process which moves beyond the initial codes "and begins to organize, synthesize, and categorize them into interpretive concepts" (Tracy, 2013, p. 194). Using Gee's (2011a) previously discussed inquiry tools—significance, practices, situated meanings, and social language—I began to understand the d/Discourses present in the Galveston preservation context. Through critical engagement with the data, the relationships between discourses of the everyday and Discourses which structured knowledge, values, and ideas began to emerge. During this process, I began to better understand how Gee's inquiry tools related and worked together to help reveal and define d/Discourses. Therefore, I revised my research questions, which initially focused on distinct questions for each inquiry tool, into broader questions which could be answered through a combination of inquiry tools. Through hierarchical codes, which group codes conceptually (Tracy, 2013), I developed a codebook which situated discourses as structural elements of Discourses. By engaging with the inquiry tools, I was able to identify sixteen discourses. I was then able to group discourses into four tentative Discourses by looking for how discourses combined to reveal "ways of thinking, believing, valuing" (p. 156).

Critical Questioning

The final phase of analysis engaged the data in critical questioning based on the theoretical framework. In this phase, I began to question the d/Discourses which emerged through second-cycle coding. Gee (2011b) poses questions that researchers should ask during the discourse analysis process. Building off Gee's questions and posing additional questions related to the Authorized Heritage Discourse, I began to make sense of the ways preservation practice in the Galveston context is framed by multiple, contradictory Discourses. Additionally, I began to engage with the malleability of Discourses in specific contexts (Parkinson and Mark, 2016), and how participants used the malleability to create opportunities for practice outside of the Discursive frame. Finally, I developed assertions which were, "summative statements [that] are generated from an interpretive review of the data corpus and then supported and illustrated" (Saldana, 2011, p. 119). Through the assertions, I began to answer my research questions and expand upon the relationships and tensions among the preservation d/Discourses in Galveston.

Qualitative Quality

As suggested by Tracy (2010), I engaged in a variety of practices to enhance the quality of my qualitative research. Though some scholars resist the idea of "criteria for good research" because it could possibly set discriminatory limitations on practice (Bochner, 2000), standards for research practices can enhance the meaningfulness of qualitative research. In this project, I utilized several of Tracy's (2010) standards and Gee's (2011a) standards for conducting trustworthy discourse analysis. First, I attempted to gain "rich rigor" through using theoretical constructs (Tracy, 2010), collecting a range of (and enough) data (Freeman et al, 2007), and engaging in long-term involvement with my participants (Maxwell, 2013), as demonstrated through the above

discussion of my methods (i.e., 182 hours of engagement). Next, I attempted to engage in a reflexive and transparent process. Freeman et al. (2007) argue that the entire process should involve transparency and the researcher should make it clear what methods were conducted, what reflexive processes were engaged, and even what failures researchers faced. I used reflexive analytic memos and dialogic engagement with a peer to maintain and work through reflexive practices (Ravitch & Karl, 2015). As an additional reflexive practice, my voice and experiences are present throughout the analysis to better showcase my role in interpreting the data (Tracy, 2010). Third, I attempted to achieve Tracy's (2010) idea of credibility through crystallization by gathering many genres of data in various ways to gain a deeper understanding of the research phenomenon, as articulated in my methods (i.e., participation, observation, interviews, informal discussions, visual and spatial data collection). Additionally, I engaged in thick description (Geertz, 1973) to illustrate the context and nuances of the research field. Finally, I conducted ethical research from start to finish. This required that I obtain IRB approval before conducting observations or interviews. Additionally, I consistently considered the ways that my presence in the research scene was impactful. Because of my presence, there were moments when participants had to do things differently to accommodate me. Upon exiting the scene, I was mindful of their hospitality and attempted to leave the scene without any messes to clean up (Tracy, 2013). I tried to say goodbye in person to all participants and wrote thank you notes to everyone to ensure they knew their participation was appreciated.

Analysis

In this analysis, I attempt to better understand the d/Discourses present in the Galveston preservation community, specifically in the Coastal Heritage Foundation (CHF). To accomplish this, I provide a thick description of the Galveston preservation

context and answer two primary research questions 1) what, if any, d/Discourses influence preservation in Galveston, TX and the Coastal Heritage Foundation?, and 2) how, if at all, does the Coastal Heritage Foundation work within or in opposition to the NHPA and the Authorized Heritage Discourse? To answer these questions, I elaborate on four local Discourses framing preservation work in Galveston (*community assistance potential*, *ethical practice*, *guidelines matter*, and *guideline-bending necessity*), show how CHF relies on and resists macro-level Discourse from the national AHD of the NHPA, and discuss possibilities for challenging the NHPA in Galveston.

Contextualizing Galveston's Commitment to Preservation

> The whirling of cars on I-45 as I drive through Houston always creates a sense of unease in my body. Shoulder muscles tight, fingers clenched on the steering wheel, I feel frantic as I pass the towering clusters of skyscrapers on either side of my car. *Ten more miles*, I think to myself as I attempt to relax my back. *Ten more miles. Ten more minutes. Then, I'll be out of this mess and almost to the island.* The sun is setting as I drive into the Gulf of Mexico on a bridge so long, I can't see its end. The dark waves gently ebb and flow as I glide over the ocean and land in Galveston. The interstate ends and suddenly I am on O Street, meandering past old Victorian homes snuggly wedged next to each other and families taking their evening walks in the street. I breathe a sigh of relief. *I made it*.[29]

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[29] To demonstrate aspects of Galveston and its relationship to historic preservation, this section is interspersed with writing from my research journal. By showing, rather than telling, I hope to also provide the reader with some reflexive information about the researcher and my relationship to the subject.

Galveston is a small island town in the Gulf of Mexico. Approximately one hour from Houston, the fourth largest and most diverse city in the nation, Galveston is a tourist town that attracts Houstonites, other Texans, and people from around the nation who want a change of scenery. While the beaches, cruise ships, and Pleasure Pier are major attractions, it is also famous for its thousands of Victorian-era buildings in several large historic neighborhoods. Unlike other nearby cities and towns, Galveston has retained a core of historic buildings that almost make it feel like another time (lest you catch the Taco Bell or McDonalds sign glowing at night). The small city includes nine historic districts and sixty-eight[30] historic sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Within the Galveston historic districts, hundreds of properties are listed on the NRHP and maintain their historic look and feel. Though smaller, Galveston's historic character has been compared to other famous historic towns like New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston—all known for having in-tact historic districts that attract heritage tourists. Galveston's status as an island makes it unique, although each of these similar towns are also coastal.

Galveston's location in the Gulf of Mexico presents challenges. In 1900, the town was ravaged by a hurricane so powerful it remains the deadliest natural disaster in U.S. history. Since then, the town has experienced sixteen harmful hurricanes, and in 2008, another deadly hurricane that once again threatened to demolish the town—Hurricane Ike (National Hurricane Center, 2020). Markers of these tragedies can be found on nearly every corner of the town—from bronze plaques marking the water level during a hurricane to concrete foundations stripped of their structures. The Coastal Heritage Foundation even makes coveted 1900's Storm Survivor plaques that are proudly

[30] Five additional properties have been removed from the NRHP because they were damaged or lost to hurricanes.

displayed on the front porches of homes. And, like the shotgun houses in New Orleans, many buildings are propped up on stilts to prevent the frequent storms and flooding from decimating the first floor. Despite the challenging climate conditions, or perhaps because of them, Galveston remains a beloved place for residents who continue to weather the frequent storms and rebuild the city when necessary.

Figure 2

View of the Galveston Channel

Note. View from Pier 21 featuring several aspects of Galveston's commercial enterprises: a cruise ship, an historical harbor tour boat, and offshore oil rigs.

For many who do not live in a place like Galveston, the rebuilding may not make sense. In Galveston, a devastating coastal storm occurs approximately every 26 years (Hurricane City, 2017). The concept of place attachment, which is a bond between a person and a place, sheds some light on why people may continue to rebuild in Galveston

despite knowledge of inevitable destruction. Through a review of literature on place attachment and natural disaster risk, Bonaiuto, Alves, De Dominicis, and Petruccelli (2016) found that a strong bond with a place can create an unwillingness to relocate and cause a person to return to a risky site even after experiencing a natural disaster. The attachment to a place can be related to a self-understanding which includes the place. It may also relate to the historic elements of a place. Wells (2020) found that people who encounter historic sites create "spontaneous fantasies" about what happened in the place, causing a deeply personal and emotional experience. These experiences may strengthen place attachment, leading to deep connections with historic places. Thus, the large proportion of historic buildings in Galveston may strengthen commitment to the town and its preservation, despite the ongoing risk and challenges associated with its coastal location. This is evident in the many ways hurricanes have become part of the lore and history of Galveston, so much so that plaques are used to mark buildings that have survived the biggest storms in the town's history.

The commitment to preserving the historic aspects of Galveston is widespread in the city. The town has a strong Historic Preservation Program administered by the city's Historic Preservation Officer and the Galveston Landmark Commission (Galveston, 2020). Through locally designated landmarks and historic districts, the city can apply historic preservation rules which limit what owners can do to historic properties and limit designs of new construction in historic areas. These rules are said to help "promote the community's vision for sustainable preservation by guiding appropriate stewardship of historic resources and compatible redevelopment in locally-designated historic districts" (Winter and Company & HDR Engineering, 2012). The city is also home to a nationally recognized heritage organization which is the oldest of its kind in the state of Texas: The Coastal Heritage Foundation.

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My eyes widen as I travelled down Broadway Avenue for the first time. The grand boulevard stretching across the island was home to some of the most decadent mansions I had ever seen. Rising like castles from the lush, wet ground, they spoke of their original owners: oil barons, entrepreneurs, and old money families. Though conflicted about the gross display of wealth, I couldn't help but admire their beauty. *Thank goodness they were preserved*, I thought as I recalled the fate of similar homes in other places. I would soon find that not one, but two of these lush manors were now owned by the Coastal Heritage Foundation.

Figure 3

Mansion on Broadway Street

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The Coastal Heritage Foundation (CHF) is one of the largest local non-profit historical foundations in the United States. The foundation serves Galveston county in Texas, with headquarters in the city of Galveston. The city has been home to Karankawa tribes, a pirate colony, Spanish colonizers, Mexican revolutionaries, the Republic of Texas, and now, United States citizens and other residents. During its hey-day in the mid-to-late 1800's, the island was one of the largest ports in the Gulf Coast and an immigration port for thousands. It was also the capital city of the Texas Republic for a short time. In 1871, the first historical organization, the Coastal Heritage Foundation (CHF), was formed to maintain records and document the island's history. The focus of the organization dramatically shifted in the 1950's to focus on the built heritage of the island. As stated in the employee policy manual, CHF's mission today involves "*preserving and revitalizing the architectural, cultural, and maritime heritage of Galveston Island*" (2017, p. 5, emphasis original).

To achieve their goals, CHF participates in a range of preservation activities from owning historic properties to hosting history-themed events. At the time of this writing, the organization owns twenty properties including a fully functional Tall Ship and an historic bar. Some of these properties are preserved as museums open to the public, some are in public space, some are offices for the organization, one is a theatre that shows history films, and others are used as rentals for events. Additionally, through their Revolving Fund, the organization regularly purchases historic buildings, renovates them, and sells them back to the public with covenants that require future owners to protect the building's historic integrity. The organization operates programs like Paint Pals to aid people who own historic homes, but struggle to afford upkeep on them. They operate a store which sells historic architectural features to help people preserve their historic buildings in-kind. They provide educational opportunities through internships,

university field schools, and sailing programs. They provide assistance to community members who want to learn about their properties and sometimes offer classes to teach preservation practices. CHF hosts several events each year, some of which attract hundreds of thousands of visitors to the island, including the Historic Homes Tour and Dickens on the Strand. Additionally, they successfully create nominations for national, state, and local historic preservation designations and strategically use preservation tax credits to further their mission. The ability of CHF to succeed as a preservation organization is also evident in the many ways residents and visitors support preservation in Galveston.

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> I wander through the residential East End Historic District snapping photos of perfectly trimmed Victorian homes nestled along the street. 'You like the houses?' A man walking toward me beamed as he gestured toward the home I just photographed. 'I do. I think they're beautiful,' I responded. 'Well if you like this one, you should go down that way,' he pointed ahead. 'That's my block and we have lots of houses that are on the Historic Homes Tour. Have you been to it? You get to go inside some of the best homes on the island. We spent four years restoring ours before it was on the tour. The Richardson and Miller homes were also on the tour that year.' We chatted for a few minutes then he walked me to his house where he talked about the history and how he and his wife researched every aspect so they could restore it to the original colors. 'But,' he said rolling his eyes, 'the Kiefer's . . . theirs is the tacky yellow one on the corner . . . they chose colors willy nilly.' He sighed, 'That beautiful house . . .'

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Figure 4

Property Owned by CHF

The city of Galveston's investment in maintaining heritage is pervasive. The number of historic properties that have been maintained, the incredible amount of plaques and markers adorning properties, and the persistent rebuilding of places all point to a collective community identity that features and relies on heritage.[31] As such, the formation of the community relies on social constructs which validate a past-

[31] Obviously, not everyone who lives in a place that has strong connection to heritage notices, cares about, or is influenced by it. However, collective memory as a concept seeks to understand a group's relationship to the past in key identity-forming areas which would be impacted by primarily historical material setting.

orientation wherein historical places, stories, and identities are given high-value. Thus, historical places are given extra significance and prominence: a store in the Strand Historic District is more desirable and expensive than one elsewhere in the town, and a well-maintained historic home (especially one with a 1900 Storm marker) is more expensive than a comparable home of more recent origins. And though some might argue that the beaches are more impactful on the collective identity, much of the island-oriented places and stories are also historicized and placed within a history-oriented narrative.[32] Heritage features prominently within the community's social constructs, with the city's large percentage of historic properties bringing history, and thus those who opt-in to the community's collective memory, to the forefront of everyday life.

A community such as Galveston, in which public memory frames community identity, is an ideal location to better understand historic preservation practice. The community's heritage is based in a strong local identity which tangentially revolves around its connection to the state of Texas and the broader US. Finally, the community has a prominent heritage organization which, because it is a non-profit, does not necessarily need to follow or use federal frameworks for historic preservation.[33] Thus, Galveston and the Coastal Heritage Foundation provide a critical case study for understanding if or how the NHPA operates as an influential discourse in preservation practice not directly implicated by the law. First, I will discuss the d/Discourses that do frame preservation practice in Galveston, followed by a discussion about the NHPA as a framing Discourse in Galveston.

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[32] For example, the Annual Beach Revue features an old-fashioned "bathing beauty" contest and the Pleasure Pier which juts out into the ocean has been rebuilt to mimic its original early 1900's form.

[33] As stated in previous chapters, the NHPA's influence is largely over federal projects, state historic preservation offices, tribal historic preservation offices, and certified local governments.

Figure 5

Home in the East End Historic District

Framing Preservation d/Discourses in Galveston (RQ1)

The analysis presented four prominent, localized Discourses within the Galveston preservation context: community assistance potential, ethical practice, guidelines matter, and guideline-bending necessity. These Discourses, which operated on the local level, helped structure preservation practice in Galveston, and more specifically, in the work of the Coastal Heritage Foundation (CHF). Table 2 introduces the four Discourses as framing ideologies enacted through everyday discourses in Galveston (Gee, 2011a).

Table 2.

d/Discourses Framing Preservation Practice in the Galveston Context

Discourse	Description	Data Exemplar
Community Assistance Potential	A Discourse that assumes that preservation can help communities but does not inherently do so.	"I would say that every community has, has historic buildings . . . it's not just the big building, it's the house in your neighborhood. It's the broken-down thing that has been in peril . . . So, we take on those kinds of projects; we fix so much of the problems that local communities have" (Cameron, Interview).
Ethical Practice	A Discourse that presumes an inherent significance and goodness in the work of preservation.	"We put a legal covenant which puts restrictions on the deed which it says . . . the owner of the house ensures that all the work that we've done is maintained and cared for. And people need to understand that, while they are the property owner of these historic properties, they're also stewards of them. And we use this covenant program as a . . . as a means to both remind them that they're stewards and to exercise remedies as needed to ensure that they stay the stewards" (Jordan, interview).
Guidelines Matter	A Discourse that assumes the presence and use of guidelines for preservation practice are necessary, because without them, preservation (and thus, important history) is threatened.	"We support the Secretory of the Interior's Standards for rehabilitation of properties, historic properties. So we support those guidelines and promote those guidelines in what we do . . . But yeah, it's those guidelines. That's the Bible" (Jada, interview).
Guideline-Bending Necessity	A Discourse that presents rule-bending as a necessity for the Galveston preservation context	"We are way more practical than I'm going to say that some hard-nosed preservationist are. More rules are meant to be broken kind of thing . . . But even in our own buildings, like, I'm not putting original glass back in that Conservatory, you know, there are some…there are some groups that would… Like, to put glass back in this conservatory is $45,000 for this little building for historic glass" (Amanda, interview).

Community Assistance Potential Discourse

One Discourse prevalent in the context of Galveston assumes that preservation can help the community if used in specific ways. The *community-assistance potential* Discourse sets up a logic that *good* preservation activities are community-oriented and do more than 'just' save old properties. Within the Discourse, the term "community" is used in a broad sense. The Discourse does not require a specification of who the community comprises, and in fact, thrives on the broadness of the term, a strategy Eisenberg (1984) calls strategic ambiguity. This way, the community who is being assisted is broad enough to always *be* assisted, even as some are left out in every instance of the term's use. Using the phrase "the community" allows CHF to cater to locals, tourists, and vacationers—even when the interests of these groups clash.

This Discourse was prevalent in internal and community-member talk about the work CHF does, sometimes in contrast with the work of other preservation organizations and "old-fashioned" preservation discourses. During a discussion with Cameron, a CHF employee, he explained that CHF's work extends beyond the traditional perception that historic preservation is about saving grand buildings associated with wealthy people. He said, "I would say that every community has, has historic buildings . . . it's not just the big building, it's the house in your neighborhood. It's the broken-down thing that has been in peril . . . So, we take on those kinds of projects; we fix so much of the problems that local communities have." The statement creates a bond between historic buildings and community issues, suggesting that fixing an historic property automatically improves the community. He went on to say, "the sad thing is, in so many communities, those historic buildings are in a state of disrepair. They need so much attention. And we . . . we tend to make sure those things get attention." In adding an emotional element (i.e., 'sad'), the discussion further sediments the building/community bond, asking us to

feel for the buildings in "disrepair" as we might about a person "in peril." CHF, then, takes on a 'benevolent' role as not only an organization who *sees* the connection between saving buildings and saving communities, but also provides the "attention" required to assist communities in need. Community members echoed this idea. During a discussion with a local shop owner, she sighed and quietly expressed, "They do *so* much for Galveston."

The *potential* aspect of the community-assisting Discourse was demonstrated through discussions about how CHF differed from other preservation organizations. Richard commented that CHF's "arm stretched a little bit further than some preservation groups, because we want to buy and sell our property and to make a difference by demonstration, as well as by instruction." Here it is evident that the community-assisting potential of preservation is not always met by organizations, and that CHF believes a way to assist the community is by doing preservation work in a particular way. During a discussion about workshops led by CHF, Cade asserted, "We don't just tell people what to do; we show them how to do it." In this claim is not only an assertion of how CHF assists people, but a counterclaim to assumptions about what preservationists do (i.e., "tell people what to do"). Jada, a CHF employee, argued that a community-member might call and ask if they can "rip off their double gallery and put a wraparound porch with the access to a sun deck on the roof of their 1886 house," and CHF has to direct them to the city preservation department who could actually prevent someone from altering their home (Jada, interview). Because people sometimes confuse them with the city office, CHF may have to "talk them [community members] down off that ledge" because they are "miffed" about preservation rules (Jada, interview). In this example, Jada points to a distinct difference between the way the city enforces preservation rules and the impact it has on how community members perceive

preservation. In contrast with the city, who makes community members "miffed" about preservation, CHF provides an "open-door" for the community and works to tackle projects that are, as CHF employee Raegan stated, "important to the community" (Jada, interview; Raegan, interview). Jordan solidifies the contrast between CHF's work and other preservation entities by stating in relation to their community-assistance programs, "for what we do, we think we do a better job than most people do." By pointing out that helping the community is what CHF does, the statement further demonstrates that assisting the community through preservation is not inherent in the practice, but something preservation organizations have the potential to initiate. And, as each example demonstrates, within the Discourse's logic, there are "better" and worse ways to provide community assistance, but "good" preservation requires community assistance. Through these everyday discourses, practices and values are created through communication (Gee, 2011a).

The Discourse was further demonstrated through the everyday practices related to CHF's Revolving Fund. Nearly every employee discussed the Revolving Fund during their interviews (16 out of 20), explaining it as an important part and a point of pride for the organization. As explained by Richard, the Revolving Fund is a restricted pool of money used explicitly for purchasing, renovating, and selling historic properties. Through the Revolving Fund, CHF is enabled to provide community assistance. Cameron explained, "We have a section of the historical foundation that's that's set up to buy historic homes that are going to be condemned or shut down. And they restore them and fix them up, you know, as best they can to keep up with current standards. And then they sell those back to the public." According to Alex, many of these homes are considered "lost causes" by others (see figures 5 & 6). In this situation, CHF is providing community assistance by ensuring that historic properties are preserved, even if there is

no profit in saving them. Jordan argued that through the Revolving Fund CHF takes on "projects that ordinarily wouldn't have been taken on. I don't think most contractors, private entities, investment firms, banks, or even the city of Galveston has that as a . . . as a guiding principle for the work that they do." This statement again sets up a contrast between CHF and other entities, suggesting that assisting the community through preservation work is both unique and something that few are willing or capable of doing. As an example, CHF partned with the University at Texas Medical Branch (UTMB) located in Galveston to save five historic homes the university planned to demolish to build a student center. Jordan discussed the project:

> And we worked in partnership with UTMB to move all five of those houses in the last two and a half years. Two years really. And that is, so we acquired these houses, we rebuilt these houses, and one we sold . . . But we still do very well in terms of how that project sustained in the particular neighborhood where we moved those three [to Mechanic Street].

Here, Jordan validates what he called the "lost cause" work CHF does by disclosing the brief timeline for the project, its financial success, and the success of a neighborhood which now has three additional historic homes. The project was so successful, they included one of the moved homes in the Historic Homes Tour the previous year (which I discovered by encountering the informational signs during a site visit). Through several site visits and walks to the neighborhood in question, it was apparent that the neighborhood was having a "revival"; some new structures were appearing along with several other historic building rennovations. In this example, using preservation to assist the community is posed as a challenge, but a worthy task with multiple benefits (both organizational and for the community). The Discourse facilitates and makes meaningful the practices taken on by CHF, and through everday talk, symbols, and

spatial arrangements, the practices are made conventional within the discourse community (Gee, 2017).

Figure 6

Example of a "Lost Cause" Historic Property

Note. This building was the first African American firehouse in Galveston. CHF has chosen to rehabilitate it despite its dire state.

The *community-assistance potential* Discourse was also demonstrated through the way covenants placed on Revolving Fund projects were discussed. After CHF has renovated a property, they typically place a legal covenant on that property which requires future owners to maintain historic aspects of the property and dictates how they can use the property. Alex explained:

> But the point of all these houses [restored through the Revolving Fund] is when we do sell them back or put them back on the market, we put covenants on them that further preserves these properties. And it also . . . one of the things that we put in the covenant is that it has to be . . . it has to be retained as a single family home and it can't be used as short term rental. So our goal is to have families living in these houses. People that are going to stay in the community and they're going to contribute to the community. That it's not going to be, you know, a weekend home. There's going to be actual people living here.

In Alex's description, covenants are portrayed as part of the way preservation assists the community. Tourism and vacation rentals are posed as an issue for the community; one that can be helped through the requirements—which extend beyond the foundational scope of preservation—placed on properties by CHF. In this instance, community-assistance requires a form of bundling wherein the preservation organization recognizes a community issue and 'bundles' it with preservation work for the good of the community. The community-assistance Discourse may thus be used in the preservation field to call on professionals to go beyond their traditional scope of work and engage with broader social issues—an idea which resonates with other discourses discussed later in this chapter.

The Revolving Fund also more directly provides community assistance by funding projects intended to support preservation work for people in "lower to moderate income brackets" (Jordan, interview). Everyday practices and talk about these assistance programs further demonstrate the community-assistance potential discourse. One of the major projects that was ongoing during my observations was the renovation of a large single-family residence into a duplex designed to provide affordable housing to teachers. Jordan, who plays a prominent role in the program, explained that it had two

goals: (a) preserve the historic house, and (b) provide incentive for good teachers to come to Galveston, which notoriously has little affordable housing. He said, 'We are actually out in the community' which is how they know what the community needs and how they keep their work from reverting to the traditional model of preserving big, beautiful buildings (excerpt from fieldnotes). Instead, they are continuously thinking about ways to, in the words of another CHF employee named Josh, "keep the local community . . . going and thriving in the nature of history." In this example, building the community goes hand-in-hand with preserving historic properties. During a site visit to the teacher's housing project, Jordan and Alex explained the desire to not only preserve the history of the home, but to provide a beautiful, modern space with all the amenities that someone would want in a home (like granite countertops and large closets). While standing in the framed-out living space (see Figure 7), Alex pointed to the missing pieces of oak flooring. She said, 'see where the wood is missing? You can tell there used to be a wall there. We decided to take it out because it would make the living and dining spaces feel so small. Nobody wants a separate formal dining room anymore, even though that's what was here historically. We want to preserve the history, but know we also have to make people want to live in it now' (field note excerpt). The example showcases that, in the CHF context, the community-assistance Discourse includes a recognition that helping the community through preservation means understanding areas where compromise and going beyond expectations is necessary. The Discourse frames the understanding of how preservation practice 'should' occur, thus building practices and norms within the community (Gee, 2011b).

Figure 7

Teacher's Housing Project During Renovation

Jordan further animated the community-assistance Discourse by explaining why CHF fully renovates a property rather than simply "keep[ing] it from falling over" and "find[ing] the developer to buy it up" like other preservation organizations. Because, he explains,

> it really limits who can buy the house. It's going to be somebody who has cash or enough collateral to get a construction loan. So you're now working with a very specific demographic that has the capacity to live in, finish off these historic houses. . . A number of our revolving fund projects are from acquisition to close outs; you know, turnkey ready, as the realtor would say. So that a family can get an FHA loan, and that's a big deal. The last house we sold . . . It was [to] a family. The wife was pregnant. She's since had healthy baby and they had an FHA loan and that's a big deal. I want to emphasize *with an FHA loan*. Because they were able to do that . . . because of our strategy of thinking more about the kinds of accessibility that we're building for the people that want to live in these historic homes and making sure that more people can.

In the story, the community-assistance potential of preservation goes beyond doing the minimum, expected actions. Jordan emphasizes a "strategy" for "accessibility" used by CHF, further animating the idea that with some work and planning, preservation can make a difference in the lives of all types of community members.

The *community assistance potential* Discourse was prevalent in a range of everyday talk and actions by CHF staff and Galveston community members. Additionally, the spatial discourse of the city, wherein preserved neighborhoods thrived in ways others did not (successful businesses, frequent foot-traffic, etc.), showcase the potential for preservation to help the community in which it is practiced. Specifically in the Galveston context, the Discourse was built upon the ideas that community

assistance: (a) is possible, but not inherent in preservation work, (b) is challenging, but comes with benefits, (c) is not typical in preservation organizations, or is not done well in many preservation organizations, (d) requires going above and beyond traditional preservation practice, and (e) can make a difference people's lives. Taken together, these ideas support the ideology that preservation which assists the community is benevolent, rather than the norm. Thus, rather than normalizing community-oriented practice, it treats it as special and worthy of admiration. It may also serve as a means for 'forgiving' preservation actions that are harmful, because of its simultaneous assistance to the "community" (broadly defined) at large. The deployment of the Discourse also showcases, as will be discussed later in the findings section, the ways local preservation practice can concurrently support *and* reject field-structuring, professionalized Discourses like those within the National Historic Preservation Act.

Ethical Practice Discourse

Another Discourse present in the Galveston preservation context centered preservation as an *ethical practice*. In contrast to the *community assistance potential* Discourse, this ideology presumes an inherent goodness and importance in the work of preservation. Through this Discourse, the act of preservation is given a social significance which places the act as contributing to the greater social good. Unlike the community assistance Discourse, which suggests that preservation *can* help, this discourse suggests that preservation or investing in preservation is the 'right thing to do' and is as necessary as public health or infrastructure work. In this Discourse, 'ethical' is used to describe a perceived sense of right and wrong in the work of preservation. And 'important' is used to describe a perceived essentiality of the preservation practice. Together, these elements of the Discourse present preservation as fundamental, and

thus, requiring expertise, funding, and truth to ensure this critical practice operates smoothly.

The *ethical practice* Discourse is evident in the spatial aspects of Galveston which create a spatial discourse informing the everyday lives of residents. In the words of Mel, "The island's very small. It's a little sandbar, really." Because of its small land mass, Galveston has to make choices about new construction: to tear down historic sites to make space for new buildings or to build in the areas more vulnerable to frequent coastal storms. The city has historically chosen not to tear down old buildings when possible; a deliberate choice to retain much of the historic built environment. This choice means a large portion of the island's properties are historic, and as previously discussed, much of the island is part of an historic district. The prevelance of historic properties which are cared for and activiely used, spatially normalizes preservation practices in the city. Additionally, the city has invested in an array of signage to further emphasize the historic aspects of the city: street signs indicate their status in historic districts or point to historic place names, subject marker plaques stand at street corners to tell of the history of places, plaques commemorating storm survival or landmark status adorn buildings, and walking tour kiosks explain the importance of buildings (see Figure 8). Beyond the vast stretches of historic properties, people are constantly reminded of their importance through numerous bronze and silver adornments (i.e., plaques, historic markers, etc.). Thus, in this place, preserving historic properties is the norm, and new construction, pushed to outer edges, is the exception. While new buildings may have neon signs, they are stunted as to not interfere with the historic viewscape. Though new buildings are allowed, they must respect their historic neighbors (City of Galveston, 2012). And while some historic properties have been destroyed by recurring coastal storms, they can be

rebuilt.[34] The prevelance, adornment, and preference of historic properties contributes to the important and ethical Discourse by normalizing preservation and making it spatially dominant in the everyday lives of Galevstonians.

Figure 8

Walking Tour Informational Kiosk in Downtown

[34] For example, the *Galveston Island Historic Pleasure Pier* was opened in 2012 and is therefore not historic. It does, however, sit on the site of a historic pleasure pier, destroyed in the devastating 1961 Hurricane Carla. Built using a Disneyfied vision of the pier's history, the new *Pleasure Pier* evokes history and therefore participates in the discourse by normalizing preservation as important, even in the rebuilt form (rebuilding is one form of preservation specified in the S.O.I.'s Standards for Historic Preservation).

Figure 9

Recorded Texas Historic Landmark Plaque

The important and ethical Discourse can also be seen in the history of preservation in Galveston, and the way that history is manifest everyday. As mentioned in the previous section, CHF has participated in the moving and raising of historic properties as a means to save them. According to Richard, this is not a new practice, and

in fact, “Galveston . . . has moved historic properties and raised them since the 1840's.” In this statement, we see not only a normalization of the practice because of its historic precedence, but also a historicization of the act of preservation in Galveston. The history of preservation plays an important role in defining the act’s importance. As an example, one of the most challenging moments for the island was the Great Storm of 1900 (a.k.a., the Storm)[35], a hurricane which killed over 6,000 people and remains the deadliest natural disaster in the history of the United States. Nearly every participant discussed the Storm during our interview (16/20), I heard countless retellings of it during casual interactions with community members, and visual reminders of it were seen on nearly every corner of the city. In the aftermath of the Storm, as told by CHF employee Mikel during a site visit to Bishop’s Palace[36] (a Storm Survivor), the people of Galveston had a choice to either save the city or leave. Mikel noted, while we stood in the elaborate stairwell of the mansion surrounded by stain-glass windows and intricately carved finials (see Figure 10), ‘the Gresham family,’ who originally owned the mansion, ‘could have gone anywhere, but they chose to stay and rebuild Galveston’ (fieldnote excerpt). In this statement, the importance of preserving the city is bolstered by the idea that it was a choice made by significant people, noted by their palatial mansion and its stringent preservation. Addison notes that “People are interested in the 1900 Storm and you get it in snippets in different places. . . People are fascinated by it . . .” The allure of the Storm, as Addison suggests, is spatially and visually integrated into the fabric of the city. Reminders of its impact can be found adorning the facades of buildings which

[35] The Storm is capitalized because of its colloquial capitalization and reference as ‘the storm’ even though there have been significant storms both before and after. It also serves to differentiate it from the other storms.

[36] As a reminder, Bishop’s Palace is one of the properties owned by CHF. It was purchased by CHF in 2015 thanks to a massive fundraising campaign. It features rooms restored in different time periods reflecting the two different owners of the building—the Gresham’s and the Catholic Church. CHF operates it as a historic house museum wherein visitors purchase a ticket to enter and use an audio tour.

prominently display the 1900 Storm Survivor Plaques (see Figure 11) administered by CHF or plaques marking the height water reached during the Storm (a practice continued for subsequent storms). These symbolic elements mark the 'first' instance where preservation arguably did not make sense financially but was chosen as a practice anyway because of its ethical contributions. The importance of preserving what was there—the places, the memories, the stories—was worth more than leaving a site of utter devastation.

Figure 10

Stairway in Bishop's Palace

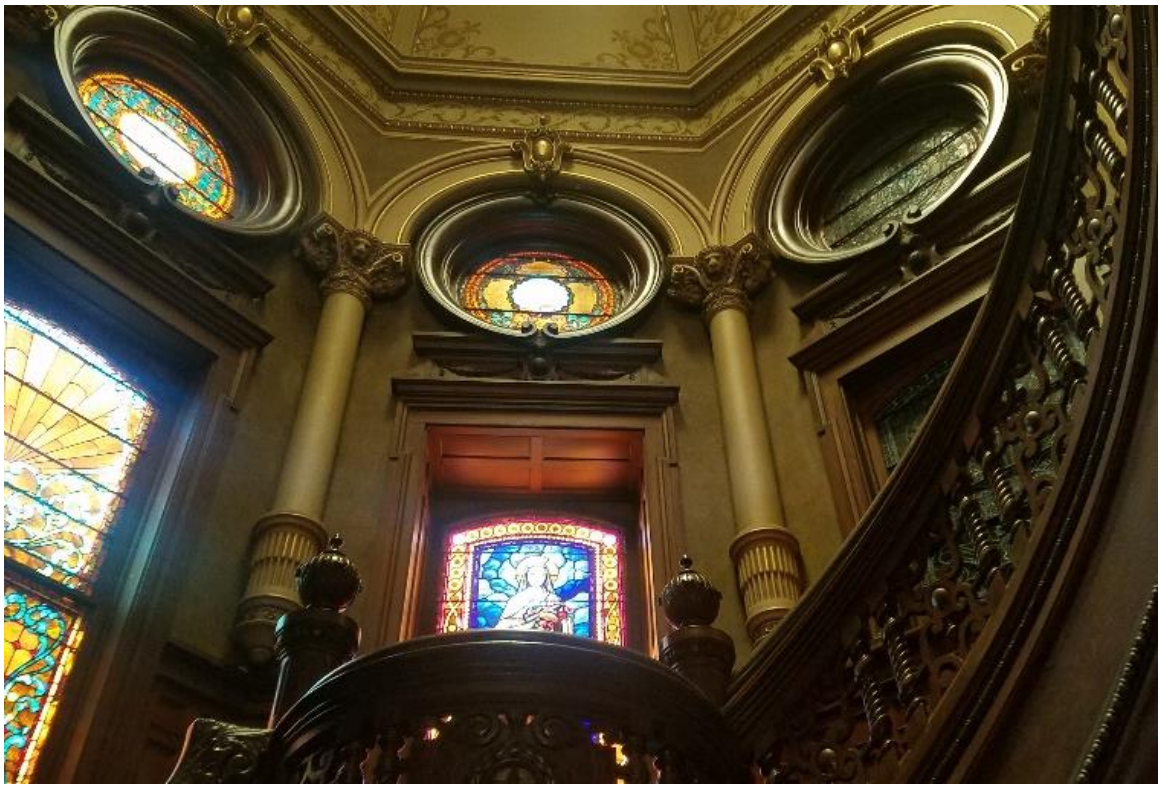


Figure 11

Three Plaques on Bishop's Palace Exterior

While chatting with a local during a downtown ghost tour, he said of the rebuilding after the Storm, 'I can't believe they did it, but I understand *why* they did' (fieldnote excerpt). He went on to explain that he moved to Galveston because of the history and beauty of the place. He beamed as he told me his home was a 1900 Storm

Survivor. In this encounter, the notion of preserving Galveston after the devastating Storm was the 'right thing to do' because it *still* benefits people over 100 years later. The preservation efforts continue to benefit people through their literal re-sculpting of the land. As discussed with Alex during a site visit and recorded in fieldnotes, almost the entire city was raised after the Storm by jacking up buildings and filling underneath them with dirt sucked from the surrounding ocean floor. 'We have always raised houses—they raised thousands of buildings! They found a way to keep the city alive' (fieldnote excerpt). Again, a connection is made between the precedent of a preservation action (raising houses) and contemporary actions. But the statement also points to an equation of the built environment and the city as a whole. By saving the buildings, the city was kept "alive," though in the context of the Storm, much of the city did *not* live. Although, subsequent lives have been saved through the building of the Seawall (part of the grade raise project), which is now an important historical element of the island's geography. Running all the way across the Gulf-side of the island, the Seawall is a prominent spatial element which is an ongoing reminder of Galveston's preservation efforts. Through the continuous re-telling of the Great Storm of 1900 (through everyday talk, symbols, and spatial discourses), the significance and virtuousness of preservation is constructed within the discourse community.

Beyond the preservation after the Storm, the *ethical practice* Discourse is evident in discussions about the history of preservation from the 1960's forward, which coincides with the preservation boom in the U.S. after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. According to Jada, "there was a big push here in the 60s to get buildings on the Register"[37] and "every building we own has been on the National Register since the 1970s." In this explanation, it is proposed that the time period was a

[37] The Register is often used colloquially to mean the National Register of Historic Places.

moment when Galveston strengthened its commitment to preservation as evidenced through the number of properties listed on the National Register during the time. Jada went on to discuss the listing of The Strand Historic District[38] in 1976, which during another conversation, she said was the 'rebirth of downtown' (fieldnote excerpt). Alex explained that the National Register listings in the 1970's 'helped revive Galveston' (fieldnote excerpt). In these statements, the preservation occurring in the 1960's and 1970's is presented as pivotal to the success and future of the city, again structuring preservation as an important practice.

The preservation boom in the 1960's and 70's is deemed important enough that the act of preservation itself should be preserved. For example, I was riding with Jordan to a site visit when he received a phone call. 'Are you kidding?' he said, voice tense. As we turned around and headed back to the office, he explained that a building CHF has covenants (legal restrictions on property owner decisions) on had been painted overnight without CHF approval. Back in the office, Alex noted, 'Our covenants today don't cover paint colors, but this building was owned by CHF in the 70's. And they *did* put covenants on the paint colors back then—because it was part of the big revitalization of downtown when it was listed on the National Register' (fieldnote excerpt). Richard said, 'I talked to the owner and got him to stop painting, but the damage is already done' (fieldnote excerpt). I asked why the paint color was so important and Jordan explained that the building was not just painted a single color, but had been painted in a trompe l'oeil style in the 70's to imitate the look of a nice building from the 1800's (see Figure 12). In this story, the importance of the preservation work done in the 70's is constructed as significant. Later, Daniel lamented that the building had been "painted baby blue . . . that is obviously not . . . not right. Like, something's wrong with that

[38] The Strand Historic District is considered Galveston's "downtown."

color." The color, though in line with the "island look" of other parts of Galveston, was deemed "wrong" in the historic setting of The Strand. Throughout the interactions about the 'paint problem,' the underlying assumption was that CHF would have to repaint it in the trompe l'oeil style.

The day after the incident, Alex, Jordan, and I met with a representative of a paint company. Though the meeting was more generally about establishing an agreement for paint, Jordan brought up the idea of the company sponsoring the repainting of the building in the trompe l'oeil style. In these interactions, the importance of maintaining and preserving the preservation work done in the 70's is evident. There was no discussion about *if* the building should be returned to the trompe l'oeil style, but instead *when* and *how* it would happen. Jada mentioned that a member of the Preservation Outreach Committee,[39] who conduct dashboard surveys of covenant property, alerted CHF to the painted building. 'It's such a shame,' she said. 'That was one of the successes of the downtown revitalization. If we let this go, the whole Strand would end up looking that bad' (fieldnote excerpt). Again, the work done in the 70's to revive The Strand is upheld as something "good" in opposition to the "bad" that would come if people made their own decisions about how to treat their historic property, even though the building originally did not have a trompe l'oeil façade. Through the response to the incident, the *ethical practice* Discourse is evident in the talk about the building and lack of talk about (and presumed obviousness of) returning the building to its 1970's (in the style of 1800's) appearance. Additionally, the Discourse informs the assumed authority of CHF to do what is best for the building, because the building's owner could not.

[39] This group serves as a citizen watch-group; protecting the island's heritage by being CHF's eyes across the island. Jada spoke about their efforts with admiration. She said, 'Without them, several of our properties would be gone or severely damaged' (fieldnote excerpt).

Figure 12

Building on the Strand That Was Improperly Painted Blue

Note. The trompe l'oeil painted façade that CHF wanted to protect is visible on the top half of the building.

The *ethical practice* Discourse relies on the need for preservation experts who can perform necessary tasks for the imperative work of preservation. Because in this Discourse there is an ethical aspect to the work, experts are those who both know how to do preservation work and can make choices about the 'right' or most 'truthful' way to do it. The reaction to the painted building on The Strand is one example of how CHF asserts themselves as authorities. Using covenants like the one on the aforementioned building, CHF has 'protected over 100 properties on the island' (Jada, fieldnote excerpt,

see Figure 13).[40] In this statement, CHF takes on a protector role, where they are the experts needed to safeguard properties from an unstated enemy. Jada goes on to state that anyone could buy an "unprotected" property and "massacre the historic integrity of [the] building" (fieldnote excerpt). Here, the enemy is reduced to a property owner; one who does not follow CHF's vision for maintaining "historic integrity." This preservation buzzword is part of the professional language used by experts within the discourse community. Within the field, the term maintains a certain ambiguity, allowing a professional to assert their expert status while maintaining the agility to make decisions based on their opinions.[41] The statement also nimbly contrasts the professional with the property owner, a person who massacres—a term associated with cruel and atrocious murder of innocents. In this way, CHF acts as the ethical protectors of would-be massacred properties. Jordan provides information about how CHF protects, stating:

> We put a legal covenant which puts restrictions on the deed which it says . . . the owner of the house ensures that all the work that we've done is maintained and cared for. And people need to understand that, while they are the property owner of these historic properties, they're also stewards of them. And we use this covenant program as a . . . as a means to both remind them that they're stewards and to exercise remedies as needed to ensure that they stay the stewards.

In the statement, the owners are perceived as people who are likely to not protect the property on their own, leading CHF to make them forced "stewards," another buzzword within the preservation discourse community. The covenant is placed on the property preemptively, with the assumption that whoever owns it in the future will not do the

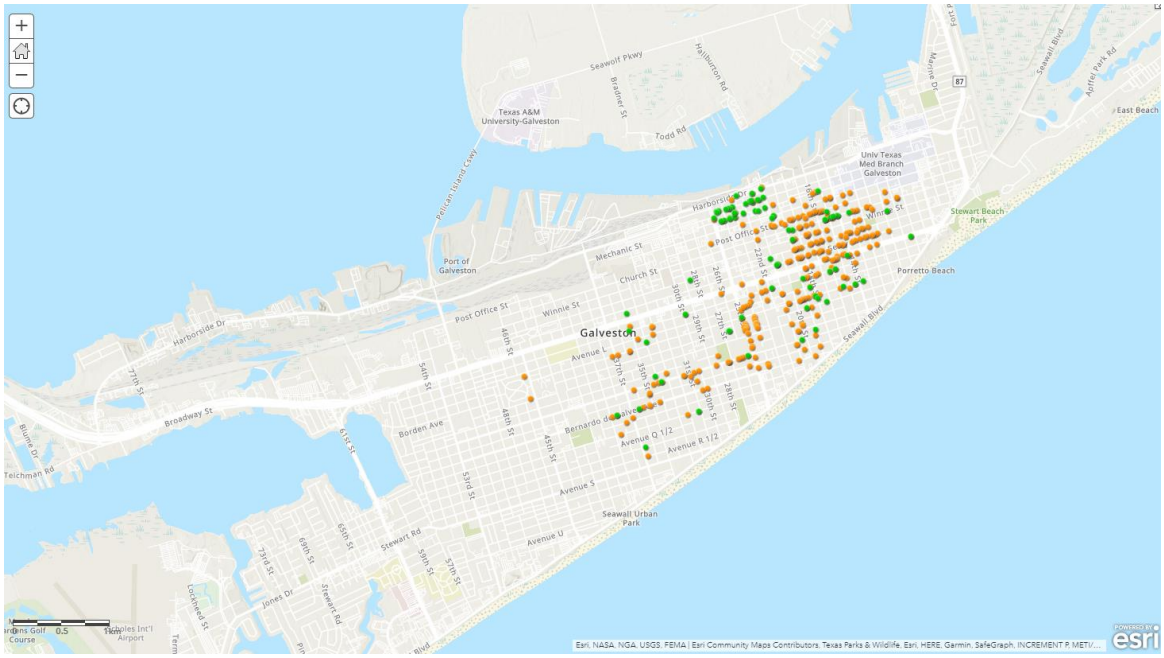
[40] See StoryMap of properties that have covenants on them or current ownership from CHF: https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/f1017445c946480d968927d25475e10b

[41] In other words, as a professional, they 'know' what historic integrity means, and therefore, their vision of it takes precedence over what a lay person may think about the right decisions for an historic property.

'right thing,' and may need to be guided by CHF (like the owner of the painted building on The Strand).

Figure 13

Map of Buildings Featured on CHF's Historic Homes Tour and Buildings with CHF Covenants



Note. Buildings with CHF covenants are in green. Buildings featured on CHF's Historic Homes Tour are in orange. Note the concentration of buildings in certain areas. Author-created map using ArcGIS Online.

In addition to using a professionalized language, CHF exerts authority through the "truth" in their work, furthering the idea that preservation has an inherent ethical dimension. During a site visit to Ashton Villa,[42] a CHF property, Alex mentioned that the

[42] Ashton Villa is a mansion owned by CHF. They operate the Heritage Visitors Center out of the carriage house and rent the main building out for events.

Emancipation Proclamation had been read from the balcony of the home on June 19, 1865. The date is an important moment in the history of Galveston (and arguably the US in general) as it was when Union soldiers arrived to enforce freedom for all enslaved African Americans who should have been freed when the Civil War ended in 1865. In Galveston, the freedom guaranteed by the Union victory in the Civil War was maliciously and intentionally ignored to keep people enslaved for the benefit of white people. The monumental announcement of General Order No. 3 by Gen. Gordon Granger required the freedom of enslaved people in Galveston. Starting in 1886, June 19th was celebrated in Galveston as "Emancipation Day," later called Juneteenth, which is now celebrated across the US and its territories.

When the subject of reading of the Emancipation Proclamation from Ashton Villa came up the following day during a CHF staff meeting, Richard exclaimed, 'You still believe that?!?' Alex retorted with, 'It was on the marker!' To which Richard responded, 'No! That's why we took the marker down! After so many years it became its own story.' 'It's an urban myth,' said Jordan (fieldnote excerpt). In this example, both the belief in the truth of preservation practices like historic marker writing and the need to continue searching for truth in the practice are displayed. Although the marker contained inaccurate information, and had since its installation in 1967, CHF believed enough in the practice to not just take down the faulty information, but to replace it with new information on the marker. CHF employee Jada explained,

> We left the state of Texas medallion on the front of the house, but we removed what little marker text there was, because that was granted in 1966[43] and there

[43] According to the State of Texas records, the marker was installed in 1967, rather than 1966 as stated in the quotation. See Texas Historic Sites Atlas. (2020). Details for Ashton Villa, 1859 Historical Marker—Atlas Number 5167009924. Retrieved from https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5167009924/print

> was no documentation at that time to verify any of those claims. And extended research has confirmed that there's no documentation to verify any of those claims. So, we updated its National Register listing and updated its Texas Historical Commission Recorded State Texas Landmark listing and we got a new marker—a huge marker—a standing marker. It's on its side downstairs until [we] are at a point where we can have that dedicated in front of the house.

Here, Jada reveals the significance of the markers and defends the extensive process used to debunk the original and validate the new marker. She mentions "documentation" as a form of verification; a way of gauging the truth in the preservation work. In this case, the truth was 'found' and rectified by CHF. When asked why it was so important to update the marker, she said,

> Well, that creates a false sense of history. Stuff like that creates a false sense of history. And then it spreads on social media and it picks up momentum. And pretty soon everybody believes this false history. So that's, that's why it was important to correct that.

In this explanation, another preservation term makes an appearance: false history. In the statement, false history is depicted as something akin to a wildfire which catches on, "spreads," "picks up momentum," and, though left unstated, creates a form of destruction. If preservation is about truth, then false history is the destruction of it. In the words of CHF staff member Kevin, "When it comes to CHF, one of the most integral—I think—things, is honesty." CHF is presented as having a morality, and in relation to false history as in the Ashton Villa marker story, the authority to determine the "real" truth. Josh furthers this idea by stating, "And we always try to look up facts and gain multiple sources for that information. So, we're not telling people something someone wrote on Wikipedia, which may not be correct." Josh is suggestion that CHF

acts as an authoritative voice among potential sources of misinformation.[44] Thus, the importance of preservation, and having authorities to properly uphold it, is conveyed. In this sense, the use of a "social language" (Gee, 2011a) within the profession of historic preservation provides a foundation for preservation practices.

The *ethical practice* Discourse was prevalent in the spatial discourse of Galveston and the everyday talk and actions of the CHF staff. In the Galveston context, the following ideas supported the Discourse: (a) the city is spatially and historically organized to reinforce the idea that preservation is important; (b) the work of preservation is so important, Galveston preserves past preservation efforts; (c) the significance of preservation requires experts (and the presence of experts signals its importance); and (d) preservation work requires ethical decision-making regarding truth and falseness. These ideas work together to enforce the ideology that preservation inherently matters in Galveston and is not up for debate. Through this ideology, the work of CHF is both supported and validated, ensuring that their status in the community will remain and work will consistently be needed. But this idea has unintended consequences which will be explicated later in the analysis. In particular, this Discourse bumps up against preservation Discourses while simultaneously invoking them.

Guidelines Matter Discourse

Another Discourse present in the Galveston context suggests that preservation *guidelines matter*. In this Discourse, the presence and use of guidelines for preservation practice are necessary, for without them, preservation (and thus, important history) is threatened. This Discourse relies on the *ethical practice* Discourse to solidify the need

[44] Based on the context of this quotation, Josh is presenting Wikipedia as a source of potential inaccuracy. Although his assumption is not necessarily true, Wikipedia serves as a colloquial scapegoat for inaccurate information on the internet.

for preservation and, therefore, preservation guidelines. It also relies on the *community assistance potential* Discourse to validate the imposition of guidelines on the community because of the potential positive impacts they may create. The Discourse is enacted through the idea that there are good preservation guidelines that should be followed because they protect historic properties from ongoing significant threats.

The *guidelines matter* Discourse is evident in the relationship CHF has with the local community. "It sounds pretentious like, oh you know the community looks to us, but they do," said Addison. As presented in the *ethical practice* Discourse, CHF is validated in their work through the creation of a need for an authority on preservation. In the *guidelines matter* Discourse, CHF is presented as authoritative purveyors of guidelines which help protect the 'important' historic properties that matter to the community. Jada said when the public comes to CHF with a question about preservation, they direct them to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties (Secretary's Standards).[45] She said, "Yes, that's the end. That's the first thing we direct them to." In this statement, federal preservation guidelines are presented as both the "first" thing people are directed toward, and the "end," or the last word on the matter. In other words, the Secretary's Standards serve as final authority on good preservation practice. Jada claimed, "We support the Secretory of the Interior's Standards for rehabilitation of properties, historic properties. So we support those guidelines and promote those guidelines in what we do." The argument claims that CHF not only asks others to follow the Secretary's Standards, but displays their utility through their own projects. Jada goes on to state, "But yeah, it's those

[45] As a reminder, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards are a set of guidelines maintained by the US Department of the Interior. They provide best practice guidance for a variety of preservation work. They are considered the highest level of federal guidance for preservation in the US, followed by the NPS Preservation Bulletins. Within the discourse community, they are referred to as the Secretary's Standards.

guidelines. That's the Bible." Here, the Secretary's Standards are not just presented as guidelines, but as a sacred text. Thus, the Secretary's Standards are offered as unquestioned, ultimate rules for how to practice preservation. Through this, the ideology that *guidelines matter* in preservation extends beyond the community to a larger context in which federal guidelines provide the truest form of guidance that should be followed.

The Secretary's Standards were brought up during interviews with every employee who was directly involved in preservation work. They were referenced casually during site visits as a metric for determining actions taken on during preservation activities. They were also used by the local historic preservation commission (Landmark Commission) and city preservationist to validate decisions about preservation activities in the local community. According to Jordan, people "reference the Secretary of the Interior's guidelines for historic rehabilitation a lot because it's just a good, sound reference that anybody can look up." Again, the idea that anyone can and should use the Secretary's Standards is evident. During a statement to the Galveston Landmark Commission, one citizen, who clearly indicated they were not a preservation professional, referenced the Secretary's Standards as a way to validate their request to enclose their back porch. This citizen's reference suggests that the standards are digestible to those outside of the preservation discourse community, making them an accessible way for community members to follow and support 'proper' preservation work. Of the Standards, Hanson said, "What I've always liked about them is their simplicity and clarity." In the claim that the standards are "clear" there is an important perspective on the way preservation guidelines function. First, it suggests that the Secretary's Standards have "clarity" in ways that others do not. Additionally, it suggests that any person who reads the standards will "clearly" know how to interpret them and

use them. And finally, because of the perceived clarity of the guidelines, it is suggested that they are not ambiguous in a way that allows for unique and possibily biased interpretations. In the example of the Secretary's Standards, the *guidelines matter* Discourse incorporates the ideas that guidelines provide necessary and clear instruction for preservation practice.

The *guidelines matter* Discourse is also evident in everyday talk surrounding threats to historic properties and methods for protecting them. In this sense, *guidelines matter* because historic properties are continuously in danger. As an example, Damien[46] talked about the devastation after Hurricane Ike in 2008, citing loss of property, museum collections including objects and papers, and documentation on historic properties. She discussed the importance of using FEMA funds to recover, which require adhering to federal guidelines and require the maintenance of eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places in order to receive federal funds. With the knowledge that hurricanes and other coastal storms are iminent threats in the area, working within federal guidelines is often a practice for CHF because it will allow them to recover historic properties using much-needed federal funds. Jada pointed out that coastal storms can also cause people to replace historic building elements with those not suited to maintain the historic integrity of the building. She explains:

> To get a windstorm exemption it has to be at least 50 years old, and it has to be eligible for the [National] Register in some way or another. And once it attains this exemption, if a catastrophic event damages the building, the owner is allowed to repair in kind; they don't have to repair up to code. So, if the two-over-two wood windows are blown out, they can come here, they can buy old two-over-

[46] Damien's interview was not recorded, so her conversation has been paraphrased based on interviewer notes.

two windows. They don't have to put in the latest and greatest storm windows. So, that's another layer . . . a layer of protection.

This example showcases that threats to historic property are perceived not only as the destruction caused by a coastal storm, but the choices made when repairing a property after the storm. The solution, however, remains tied to federal guidelines which allow a building owner to "repair in kind" when National Register eligibility is maintained. In this instance, the "layer of protection" comes from having eligibility *and* maintains eligibility by allowing a building to maintain its historic integrity. In both examples, the *guidelines matter* Discourse is validated through the use of guidelines to recover in the face of imminent coastal storms.

The Discourse was also prevalent in discussions about the threat of building owners and their ignorance about historic preservation. For example, the threat of "house flippers" came up in casual conversations with CHF staff frequently. Jordan suggested that even if "house flippers" are 'historically-minded,' they are often seeking, in Kevin's words, 'profit over preservation' (fieldnote excerpt). As Alex suggests, this is why 'we need rules that protect buildings.' Otherwise, says Jada, they are 'completely unprotected' (fieldnote excerpt). From this, profit is posed as a threat to preservation, a sentiment echoed during an interview with Jordan who said, "when a project comes along where we're going to lose a whole bunch of money, that's what makes us nonprofit, right?" (interview). Profit-seeking, like "house flipping," is posed as oppositional to preservation, and assists in allowing CHF to be an authority on preservation through their status as an entity which does not seek profit. Jada's comment that historic properties are 'unprotected' from owners like house flippers, further highlights the need for an entity like CHF to provide protection. Jada elaborates on this idea by stating:

> if they're outside of a [historic] district, they typically know that they don't have to follow those guidelines. They can rip those windows out if they want. They can, you know, extend those porches and put on rooftop decks. But we try through demonstration—classes and preservation lectures, other sources of community outreach, other programs of community outreach that we support here—we try to get through to those people and make them see you're just devaluing the . . . property when you do that—both historically through historical accuracy as well as financially—you're devaluing the value of that.

Jada's statement points to an understanding of building owners as people who do not understand the value of preservation, and are therefore, threats to historic properties. Within the statement, the owner is perceived to both know that they do not *have* to follow preservation rules, while simultaneously not knowing how preservation contributes financially to historic properties. Here, again, CHF as the authority, is presented as providing a solution through education. However, the use of a term from within the preservation discourse community implies a logic to protection that relies on the public accepting a discourse that is not readily available to them. In other words, the public must accept that "historical accuracy" has value, while that term is primarily used by preservationists *internally* to conduct their work and has little valuable translation outside of the field. The public is perceived as not being able to tell the difference between "accurate" and "false" building materials or designs. Still, the *guidelines matter* Discourse is bolstered by the disconnect between the public's (mis)understanding of historic property value because it validates the 'need' for protection, which Jada points out, can effectively come from preservation guidelines upheld by preservation authorities.

Through everyday talk by CHF staff, the *guidelines matter* Discourse is evident. The ideology aligns with federal preservation discourses which, in the words of Jordan, "flow down" to state and local understandings of preservation practice. Within the discourse, the ideas that guidelines (a) protect historic buildings, (b) are necessary because of imminent threats, and (c) validate funding for local preservation projects, were presented by CHF staff. These ideas are closely aligned with the discourse of the National Historic Preservation Act as an Authorized Heritage Discourse. They do not, however, align with the idea that Galveston is a unique city that requires a unique approach to preservation, which is supported in the next Discourse.

Guideline-Bending Necessity

The final Discourse present in the Galveston preservation context is *guideline-bending necessity* which suggests that because Galveston is unique, preservation guidelines must be bent. In this Discourse, the idea that Galveston is an exception to some preservation guidelines because of its uniqueness plays a role in dissipating some of the tension between this Discourse and the *guidelines matter* Discourse. Some guidelines, this Discourse suggest, are not created for the special context of Galveston's history, spaces, community, and geography, so they must be challenged. Additionally, the idea that preservation is about feeling, rather than following rules, feeds into the Discourse, because what feels right might not always fit within the set guidelines.

The idea that Galveston is unique was prevalent in discussions and interviews with CHF staff and conversations with Galveston residents. During a conversation with a local bar owner, he said, 'Galveston is special. The buildings, the history, the people. It's just unique' (fieldnote excerpt). Through this statement, the uniqueness of Galveston is tied to three major aspects of preservation: people, places, and stories. Daniel echoes this by saying, "Galveston is super unique. The history of the island is really special; the

concentration of houses, especially its history, is really special." Again, the use of the words unique and special appear in relation to the historic built environment and history of Galveston. Both words not only suggest a greatness of the place, but also invoke comparison to other places which are unlike Galveston. Trista also makes a comparison by suggesting, "I feel like it's a different world here on the island." In this instance, Trista is not only invoking comparison, but suggesting that the uniqueness of Galveston is so great, it mirrors the differences between entities comprising worlds. Josh, speaking of choosing to move to Galveston, says he moved there because it "didn't feel too cookie-cutter," unlike the town he left. Implied in the phrase "cookie-cutter" is a sameness within a place, signifying that not only is Galveston unique from other places, but has many different types of places *within* it. In this sense, Galveston is presented as not only being different from other cities but having an uncommon spatial diversity. Everyday talk about the uniqueness of Galveston's history and heritage supports bending preservation guidelines, when they do not address the unique needs of the city. This was further witnessed in talk about the community's commitment to preservation.

The overarching interest in and commitment to preserving Galveston's built heritage was presented as uncommon, and a factor in the need to disregard some preservation guidelines. As explained previously, the city of Galveston has a high proportion of buildings which are considered historical either because they are over 50 years old, or they are considered great works of architecture. In many spaces on the island, new construction cannot be found because it is either absent or made to look historical.[47] Because of this, many people either live in, own, or work in historic buildings. The community has developed a value system around historic preservation

[47] The CHF recently award their annual preservation award to a new-build in a historical neighborhood that accurately captured the aesthetic of its historic surroundings.

that may not be present in other places. CHF employee Daniel suggests, "By and large, we're in a very preservation-friendly and preservation-oriented community and we see that in the city as well. A lot of times –not always—but probably more so than you'd see in Houston down the road." In his statement is an understanding that many communities are not 'preservation-oriented,' which makes Galveston a unique place in comparison with other nearby cities. But, according to Jada, the orientation toward preservation in Galveston goes beyond simply being okay with it; it has become a way to gain significance, similar to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973), in the city, wherein owning, preserving, and marking historic properties is a way to construct status withinn the community.

Owning and being a steward of an historic building in Galveston is presented as a significant action within the community. One of the ways a person can gain status in Galveston is to not only own an old building, but to adorn it with various plaques signalling its age and importance. CHF employees and community members often spoke about these plaques as "porch candy." Jada acknowledged that, "there's an obsession with markers. We call it porch candy. Once they get their first one, they want more." The idea that collecting plaques becomes an obsession points to how much value they incur onto building owners. The beautiful old building is one thing, but dressing it with some "candy" makes it even sweeter. "Porch candy" comes in a variety of forms: National Register, Texas Recorded Historic Landmark, City of Galveston Landmark, 1900 Storm Survivor, Ike Storm Survivor, storm water-level, subject marker, and Historic Homes Tour participant plaques or markers. Walking through Galveston, the pervasiveness of "porch candy" is readily evident (see Figure 14). They appear in numbers on commercial buildings, homes, schools, public parks, and even empty lots

where historic properties used to reside. When asked why CHF recently began adding covenant plaques to buildings, yet another form of marker, Jordan said,

> One, people love porch candy. Two, people like to buy things that they feel like are historically significant. That's a big deal. That's why anytime a house goes up for sale, one of the very first pictures on Realtor or Redfin or Zillow is that big 1900 Storm plaque because people want to showcase that my house means something. It means something to such an extent that we have this plaque on our door. So, you know, it's a status thing. It's a stewardship thing. It's a mission thing. And plus, you know, it's like tinting your car windows, it's just those little things that make it look a little bit cooler, you know?

Here, the plaque-as-status-symbol is tied not only with aesthetics, monetary value, and community cultural capital, but also with a sense of purpose for the owner. Jordan goes on to say that, "I think people like to live in houses that they know need to be protected because it gives us a sense of duty." Thus, "porch candy" is not only about status, but about status tied to fulfilling a purpose within the Galveston community. But this purpose, because Galveston has unique social and geographical aspects which simultaneously praise and destroy historic properties[48], cannot be fully fulfilled without bending preservation guidelines.

[48] As an example, much of the "porch candy" that would earn a resident or building owner cultural capital is only possible because of the frequent coastal storms (i.e., storm markers, water markers, etc.). Without frequent destruction of historic properties, those which "survive" storms would not be as unique.

Figure 14

Building With National Register of Historic Places, 1900 Storm Survivor, and Hurricane Ike High Water Plaques

The unique socio-geographical conditions of Galveston are presented as creating the need for specialized preservation practice which does not always work within broader preservation guidelines. Hanson, a CHF associate, commented that, "This island is a very unusual place to observe architecture and the relations that are . . . that are required for either preservation, restoration, or new work." In this statement, the uniqueness of

Galveston is coupled with the work of preservation. He goes on to say that unlike preservation groups in big cities, CHF and the city preservation commission have to be "agile" and "fluid" in how they practice preservation. This fluidity was evident during a Galveston Landmark Commission meeting in which the commission overturned the decision of the city preservation officer. During the meeting, a man who owned a home in a protected historic district, asked for permission to rebuild part of his historic home's roof in order to accommodate his air conditioner. Because of the unique way homes are constructed and situated in Galveston, in addition to the consistent threat of floods, there was nowhere else to place a new air conditioning unit on the home. The city preservation officer, following the local and federal guidelines which structure preservation practice within historic districts, denied his request (fieldnote excerpt). But as Hanson explained during a discussion after the meeting, "Sometimes it goes against the grain of the greater principles, which the preservation officer here was bound to adhere to in her staff decision about that case, but upon the review of the eight or 10 people sitting on the committee, the logic prevailed. Where else is he to put it?" In this example, the uniqueness of Galveston's spatial location and arrangement made bending preservation guidelines necessary. In Hanson's statement, it would be *illogical* for preservation guidelines to be followed in this instance *because* of Galveston's uniqueness. He went on to explain that because of how many historic buildings are on the island, each one cannot be perfectly preserved. Jada echoed this sentiment by pointing out that 'it is not practical to keep every building exactly as it was' (fieldnote excerpt). Rather, as Richard suggests, 'We have to choose. Do we want it perfect or do we want it preserved?' In this statement, preservation guidelines are posed as possibly being a deterrent from preservation, and that ignoring guidelines may be the only way to save some historic properties.

Bending guidelines was also a point of discussion regarding the preservation of Rosewood Cemetery, the city's first private African American cemetery, which CHF owned and was considering possiblities for interpretation. A group of students from a Texas university were creating potential plans for the site for CHF. The site had historically not been cared for and the construction of cheap hotels around it had caused the cemetery to become a retaining pond for runnoff from the buildings. Frequent rain and flooding presented challenges for preserving the site, and Alex mentioned that, 'the perception is that we don't care about the cemetery' (fieldnote exerpt). The students and their professor presented the idea of letting the site flood and using the water to create visual living walls that would hide views of the surrounding hotels, but Alex insisted that something must be done about the water because it is not only harming the site, but fuelling the idea that the site is not important. Richard explained, "I had never really considered doing National Register. For years I really didn't feel confident in the integrity of the Rosewood Cemetery. So I hadn't really pushed it and then all these . . . all this money became obviously available because of the eligibility." The lack of care had resulted in the ground being uneven and many of the gravestones were broken or illegible. But, to restore the site and make the ground even again so people could visit the graves, would pose a problem with preservation guidelines. 'That's a problem because the second you start filling in, you lose your National Register eligibility and there goes your funding sources,' Alex said (fieldnote excerpt). Thus, a tension between caring for the site, and funding the site arose. But, as Richard explained, Black history is a significant part of Galveston's history, and preservation which acknowledges its importance is what needs to be prioritized. This presents another aspect of tension, in which funding and National Register status is an important aspect of demonstrating the significance of a site that represents a group's history that has historically been

marginalized in preservation work. Yet, accepting status and funds imposes guidelines which are at odds with the unique context of Galveston. Thus, a discussion about how to "bend" the rules, by shifting what contibutes to the significance of the site (for National Register eligibility) was held. Richard pointed out that a case could be made for significance only holding after preservation was complete, because "I think it's integrity. . . . is tied up in what we expect an African American cemetery to look like from the 20th Century. We don't expect it to be covered in water. And we don't expect it to have broken tombstones." In this sense, bending the use 'historic integrity,' commonly used within the discourse community to mean "the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes" (NPS, 2020), would achieve all the goals of the project. Rather than showcasing that the cemetery already has historic integrity, they must make a solid case for how the site's historic integrity relies on predetermining that it *will* have historic integrity once funding is used for its preservation. In this sense, bending the guidelines may be the only solution to a unique Galveston problem.

Discussions about and the reality of Galveston's coastal context contributed to the *guideline-bending necessity* Discourse. During my first discussion with Alex, she brought up the issue of raising buildings, an act that, as previously discussed, is not only prevelant, but in some cases required in Galveston (see Figure 15). She explained how the threat of flooding made it impossible to preserve buildings in some areas of the island without taking the measure of raising buildings above the flood plain. She said they 'sometimes have to fight with the SPHO or THC'[49] about how 'raising buildings is necessary' even if it requires bending preservation guidelines (fieldnote excerpt). The metaphor of 'fighting' aligns with the idea that preservation is a reactionary practice

[49] As a reminder, a SHPO is a State Historic Preservation Officer. The THC is the Texas Historical Commission.

dealing with ongoing threats. In this Discourse, unlike the *guidelines matter* Discourse, threats arise from the guidelines themselves and the authorities who impose them. Jordan echoed this idea, stating, 'It's just not always possible to do everything just right. We have to think about what makes the most sense for Galveston' (fieldnote excerpt). Here, what is considered historically accurate is posed in opposition to what 'makes sense' for Galveston for feasiblity and livability. Thus, guidelines are presented as an obstacle to doing what will actually preserve historic properties. Jordan explained that CHF not only raises houses, but also moves them, a fact that for many, would harm the historic integrity of the property by taking it out of its historic setting. But, for CHF, the risk of losing a property to either coastal conditions or development, is more important than maintaining an idealized version of historic integrity. Jordan said, 'it just matters more to save the building.'

Amanda sees CHF as "very understanding of the need to negotiate things, and then sometimes stretch the standards or the precise principles that you stand by." In this statement, the dissonance between the *guidelines matter* and *guideline-bending necessity* Discourse are showcased. Amanda recognizes that in preservation you can both "stand by" principles while recognizing that they do not work in every instance. She goes on to explain

> We are way more practical than I'm going to say that some hard-nosed preservationist are. More rules are meant to be broken kind of thing. We are not going to be so terribly hardline on a lot of issues because there's a practicality to it. So, you know, there's some things you've got to be like, well, we wouldn't want you to take your wood windows out in the East End. That's because that's that . . . we don't have any purview over that. But even in our own buildings, like, I'm not putting original glass back in

> that Conservatory, you know, there are some . . . there are some groups that would . . . Like, to put glass back in this conservatory is $45,000 for this little building for historic glass.

Within Amanda's statement, a contrast between the 'practical' work of CHF, and 'hard-nosed,' guideline-following preservationists is presented. CHF is posed as having a pragmatic approach, which recognizes the need breaking rules, as opposed to the impracticality of sticking strictly to guidelines which might make preservation impossibly expensive and unreasonable, as is the case of spending $45,000 for historic glass in a location where frequent storms destroy glass. Amanda went on to say,

> We also live in a hurricane zone, and I was here for two hurricanes. So, I need tempered glass, it's not gonna become shards and shatter across the street. You know, I need tempered glass. So, it's maybe a little more practical than being perfect.

Here, following all the preservation guidelines is presented as "perfect," while practicality falls short of perfection. In this instance, the reification of preservation guidelines occurs *while* justifying the act of bending them. The statement is also structured in a way that demeans perfection, which through the example provided, would create a nightmare situation where "perfect" preservation creates a public danger and wastes valuable financial resources. Thus, Amanda acknowledges that guidelines may create perfection, but it is a twisted, fantasy perfection that does not translate into reality. Richard said, "We take a pragmatic approach to preservation," because 'if preservation stops growth and life and community, then what is the point?' (interview and fieldnote excerpt). He went on to say that preservation should be useful to everyone, not just those who like beautiful buildings and want to visit a house museum. Within these statements is an understanding that preservation is not always pragmatic, and can,

if entirely reliant on guidelines, be a negative force in the world. Bending guidelines, then, is perceived as an essential aspect of good preservation practice.

Figure 15

Raised Building

Note. Building that has been raised to prevent flooding. The space underneath the home is often called "sacrificial space" and used for parking cars and storing things that can be moved quickly in the event of a flood.

The *guideline-bending necessity* Discourse appears throughout the spatial organization of Galveston, symbols with community value, and everyday talk of CHF staff and community members. The ideology that preservation guidelines need to be

bent was evident in discussions about 1) the uniqueness of Galveston, 2) the specialized preservation practice required for a unique place, 3) the way rules are bent to achieve preservation practice in Galveston, and 4) the pragmatism of bending guidelines. The d/Discourse appeared in tandem with the ideology that preservation is an *ethical practice*, reifying the need for preservation by posing guidelines and their advocates as additional threats to 'good' preservation practice. While the d/Discourse circulated through discussions about Galveston as a unique place that needs unique preservation, other cities could easily be presented as equally unique and needing unique preservation solutions. Thus, while the d/Discourse appears to rely on a specific, local circulation of ideology, it could easily structure preservation practice in other places. Despite the d/Discourses promotion of bending guidelines, it does not fully negate or reject broader guiding principles in preservation, like the National Historic Preservation Act or the Authorized Heritage Discourse; in fact, it nestles within and supports them, as will be discussed later in the discussion section.

Working Within and Against the AHD of the NHPA (RQ2)

Through research question one I attempted to understand the d/Discourses of preservation that were prevalent in the Galveston preservation context. Research question two builds upon the previous analysis, asking "How, if at all, does the Coastal Heritage Foundation work within or in opposition to the NHPA and the Authorized Heritage Discourse?" In this section, I present the ways that the local d/Discourses in Galveston rely on or feed into the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) of the NHPA. Theorizing the NHPA as an AHD showcases how the Galveston preservation context is influenced by macro-level ideologies perpetuated through the NHPA as a foundational professional text. To understand how preservation in Galveston works within and against the AHD of the NHPA, I begin by discussing NHPA ideology within local

d/Discourses, then I point to the tensions between the NHPA and local d/Discourse, and finally, I discuss how the tensions present opportunities for working outside of the AHD of the NHPA.

The four d/Discourses found in the Galveston preservation context operate at the meso level, within the Galveston discourse community. This community, however, is not siloed and operates within broader state, national, and even international Discourses which structure preservation practice. Through this project, I ventured to understand how and if the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) played a role in structuring d/Discourses of preservation in a context in which the NHPA was not an essential guide for preservation practice. Theoretically, a local nonprofit organization can choose if and how they want to engage the NHPA, which only has authority over federal projects, or state and local projects using federal funds. However, upon engaging with the CHF and Galveston community, it became clear that many of their projects did rely on federal funds or funds filtered to states and local communities through the NHPA. Additionally, because the city of Galveston faces frequent devastating coastal storms, they often rely on FEMA funds to rebuild after the devastation, which triggers adherence to the NHPA. Thus, even though CHF, in theory, should not have to adhere to the NHPA, they do have to in many of their projects. Knowledge of federal preservation guidelines is prevalent throughout the staff at CHF, and at times, even frames projects which do not *have* to follow them. In this way, the NHPA and its subsequent Discourses *do* structure the practice of preservation in Galveston. This structuring was not only evident through an examination of the way the NHPA is required, but in the everyday discourses in the Galveston preservation context.

NHPA Authority in Local d/Discourses

The presence of the ideologies of the NHPA are evident throughout the four identified local Discourses. The NHPA, functioning as the purveyor of the Authorized Heritage Discourse in the US, appears in the everyday talk and spatial discourses in Galveston. In this way, some of the d/Discourses which appear to be highly localized, are structured by an AHD that comes from a top-down, federal professionalized Discourse. Turning to the preamble of the NHPA, where the ideologies guiding the law are presented, I point to local discourse structured through a national AHD.

The NHPA preamble states, "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life" (Section 1, NHPA). The "foundations of the Nation" referred to are not necessarily the structures in the US, but the stories told about them. Smith (2012) asserts that Authorized Heritage Discourse is a process of making material heritage important through discourse. Thus, the "foundations" presented in the NHPA are those which have been deemed important for a narrative of US national history. In this way, the AHD suggests a "consensual" understanding of national heritage, which it is in the best interest of the nation's people to preserve (Smith, 2006). In Galveston, this framing of national heritage was present in the ongoing national contextualization of local history. When discussing an important local historical moment and its relationship to historic properties, participants often framed the importance of the story through a national lens. For example, the story of the 1900 Storm, participants almost always reiterated that it was the 'deadliest storm in American history' and it 'changed the way people travelled to the US' (Alex, fieldnote excerpt). The ongoing repetition of the story as a national story suggests a commitment to framing historic properties associated with a local event through a unified national history. During a discussion with a community member at a local coffee shop, he stated, 'Though not a lot of people know it, Galveston played a huge role in American history'

(fieldnote excerpt). Lamenting over the lack of widespread knowledge over the "huge role" played by Galveston points to the ideology that history related to the nation is somehow more valuable than history only related to a locality. The NHPA's implementation of the National Register further creates a hierarchy in which properties eligible for the National Register are also eligible for funding at local, state, and federal levels. Thus, in Galveston, it is beneficial to feed into the Discourse that builds a unified national history. If Galveston's heritage is framed as American heritage, there are opportunities to maintain preservation practice that are not available when Galveston's heritage is only framed as local. Thus, even if preservationists are not aware of the reasons they are framing heritage through a national narrative, the framing occurs frequently in Galveston, bolstering the authority of the NHPA as an Authorized Heritage Discourse in this local preservation context.

The preamble states next, "historic properties significant to the Nation's heritage are being lost or substantially altered, often inadvertently, with increasing frequency" (Section 1, NHPA). In this claim are two major ideologies which frame the national Authorized Heritage Discourse. First, it asserts that historic properties have an inherent value that does not need to be explained (Smith, 2006). The properties are "significant to the Nation's heritage," and are thus, in need of preservation. Second, the statement points to the eminent threats to heritage that might destroy these inherently important properties. This aspect of the NHPA is widely evident in the Galveston preservation context. Discussions about threats, destruction, and loss occurred everyday in Galveston while an explanation of why it mattered to lose a property was never brought up naturally in conversation. When asked why it was so important to save a wood shop building during a site visit, Alex spoke to the history of the site. She mentioned, 'You will find architectural elements produced by this shop on buildings all over the island. And it

survived the 1900 Storm. It would be a shame to lose it' (fieldnote excerpt). In this example, the significance of the building is not actually addressed, other than it is old and related to other important aspects of history on the island. The construction of meaning for the property occurs through an inherent importance built through age, story, and threat. In this way, although the significance of the building is framed entirely as local, the macro-level Discourse of the NHPA shapes how that significance is built.

The NHPA preamble continues, "the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans" (Section 1, NHPA). Three major ideas about heritage are presented in this statement: first, heritage is a nonrenewable resource that the public needs; second, heritage has inherent public benefits (i.e., economic and educational); and third, preservation is not for the present, but for future generations (Smith, 2006). These elements of the NHPA Discourse appear in the local d/Discourses in Galveston. For example, during a discussion with Cade about CHF's Heritage at Risk list, he said, 'It's important because once it's gone, it's gone. The list shows people what our community could lose' (fieldnote excerpt). Cade emphasizes the idea that heritage is something that benefits the public and is precious because there is no way to get it back once it's gone. This affirms the ideology that historic preservation is inherently good for the community. In Galveston, the *ethical practice* Discourse is structured around this macro-level Discourse. Additionally, the idea that preservation is important because it helps pass heritage on to future generations is supported by discussions around future planning in Galveston. During my research, several participants brought up the Vision Galveston plan, a strategic plan for the city's future, which included—because of community insistence—an emphasis on preserving the built heritage of Galveston island

for future generations. CHF's emphasis on placing covenants on properties to ensure their protection in the future. The NHPA's Discourse appears in local preservation d/Discourses and practices as a future-oriented practice attempting to protect vital, non-renewable resources for future generations.

Finally, the NHPA's last three preamble stanzas assert that preservation experts on the federal level are necessary. The final stanza offers a compelling understanding of how expertise in preservation relates to the future of preservation practice. It states:

> although the major burdens of historic preservation have been borne and major efforts initiated by private agencies and individuals, and both should continue to play a vital role, it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities, to give maximum encouragement to agencies and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, and to assist State and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities (Section 1, NHPA).

Here, local efforts to preserve are posed as necessary, but in need of federal assistance. Additionally, the statement invokes the need for an acceleration in activity, which is possible through the federal involvement in preservation practices. In Galveston, the idea that preservation experts are necessary is an important aspect of the *guidelines matter* Discourse. As discussed in the section about that Discourse, the need for experts to do preservation work is a prevalent idea supported by discussions about the lack of knowledge that people have to do proper preservation without experts and the significance of the work being done necessitating experts so the important work is done properly. Additionally, as Alex, Jada, Cameron, Hanson, Richard, Amanda and Jordan pointed out, federal guidelines help experts (like CHF) do their work. For instance, Alex

discussed how CHF made choices about preserving an old African American firehouse by relying on federal preservation guidelines. Participants also discussed six active projects that relied on and would not be possible without federal preservation assistance. Yet, there was no discussion about the possibility that those six projects did not necessarily have to occur. Rather, the assumption was that if they could rely on federal assistance for projects, they should because it allowed them to take on more projects. The NHPA's insistence that experts are needed and should rely on federal guidelines to accelerate their preservation work clearly frames preservation d/Discourse in Galveston.

The Discourse of the NHPA appears prominently within the four local preservation d/Discourses in Galveston. As an Authorized Heritage Discourse in the US, the NHPA structures the practice of preservation in this local context, even though it does not necessarily need to. Yet, the ideas that make up the Discourse of the NHPA create a logic in which preservation in the US is necessarily always accelerating and therefore, always in need of more funding, experts, and potential historic properties to frame as nationally significant to pass on to future generations. To step outside of this macro-level Discourse in the field of preservation would require an ideological shift or an exploitation of the weaknesses of the Discourse. In Galveston, although the NHPA clearly frames d/Discourses of preservation, there are also instances where tensions between the macro and meso-level Discourses create opportunities for restructuring preservation practice.

Tensions as Opportunities for Re-Situating Meanings

In the Galveston preservation context, the tensions between the Discourse of the NHPA and the local d/Discourses created opportunities for what I call *re-situating meanings* in order to create other possibilities for preservation practice. Gee (2011b) presents situated meanings as the ways that communicative phenomena take on specific

meanings based on "the context and how the context is construed" (p. 153). I argue that in the context of Galveston, participants embarked in the task of re-situating meanings from the professionalized context structured by the national AHD into the local context as needed. In other words, participants moved meanings between discursive contexts in order to achieve or validate the practice they wanted to enact. In this way, participants made use of professionalized preservation language and ideas in ways that restructured their meanings for local purposes.

The concept of expert in relation to preservation practice was moved between contexts to achieve CHF's goals. Both the AHD of the NHPA and the four local d/Discourses support the idea of the need for preservation experts. In the context of the NHPA, an expert has knowledge of federal guidelines, the professional language of preservation, and a set of specialized skills. An expert knows what terms like historic integrity, eligibility, and risk mean in the US preservation field. Yet, the ambiguity of these terms, even in the professional context, makes them points of tension wherein their meanings may be re-situated to suit local needs. In the Galveston context, preservation experts re-situated the meaning of historic integrity in the case of Rosewood Cemetery. As previously described, by situating the meaning in the local context, CHF was able to both create historic integrity and retain the importance of the site to the local community. In this way, they worked within the professional context *and* the local context by re-situating the concept as needed to serve both contexts, and subsequently, acquire the desired result.

CHF also relies on both the professional need for preservation experts while situating the definition of expert within the local context. For example, CHF relies on a range of community experts to serve on preservation committees. The members of these committees are not necessarily preservation experts in context of the national Discourse,

but they are experts on Galveston, its history, and its spaces. Still, CHF as an organization relies on being considered preservation experts in the broader professionalized sense, as their existence as an organization requires that they offer skills, knowledge, and ability in relation to preservation that the general public does not have.

Within the Galveston preservation community, members are aware of differing meanings in different contexts. Their awareness was evident during a small CHF staff meeting wherein participants moved between meanings of the word 'significance' as they discussed projects relying on the NHPA and those which did not. During the meeting, they never stopped to explain the different meanings of significance, but all recognized the difference between significance (meaning eligible for the National Register) and significance (meaning important to Galveston) (fieldnote excerpt).

The idea of threats to heritage was agilely moved between its meaning within the NHPA and its meaning within the local community. Although an ambiguous term, the NHPA names three explicit threats to heritage: urban sprawl, development, and highways. While these three threats speak to the historical context in which the NHPA was enacted, subsequent rules developed through the NHPA suggested a more extensive list of threats including poor preservation programs and lack of preservation standards. The meaning of 'threats to heritage' through the NHPA is useful in the Galveston preservation context where they have successfully enacted local laws that address development and highway construction. Additionally, CHF can use this meaning to validate their restrictive covenants which prevent these threats from occurring. Yet, by re-situating 'threats to heritage' within the local context, preservation guidelines and their strict adherence also become 'threats to heritage.' In the words of Richard, 'Do we want it perfect or do we want it preserved?' (fieldnote excerpt). Amanda seconds this by

saying of federal preservation guidelines, “I think sometimes they’re just stupid” and “ridiculous.” She goes on to explain that some preservation rules are so arduous that they actually prevent preservation from occuring. In this sense, in the Galveston context guidelines can be re-situated as threats. For example, in the case of raising or moving houses, a practice required in Galveston because of the threat of coastal storms, a guideline preventing raising or moving would also be a threat. According to Richard, they have to make the case over and over again when working within the NHPA context, that raising and moving buildings are actually the only ways to preserve in Galveston. Thus, by framing the guideline as a threat bigger than the loss of some ‘historic integrity,’ they are able to achieve their preservation goals. The irony within the process of using the same language for different purposes within the same practice both creates and is a result of re-situating meanings.

Figure 16

Cottage House Protected by CHF Covenants

The idea of heritage as presented in the NHPA as the "spirit and direction for the Nation" is also re-situated within the Galveston context. Within the Discourse of the NHPA, heritage is exceptional and contributes to a shared national history. As discussed in the section above, this meaning of heritage is widely used in Galveston. It serves a practical function in which framing heritage through a national narrative provides the possibility to obtain federal resources for preservation. Thus, while CHF makes use of this meaning, they also re-situate heritage within the local context when necessary. As mentioned by Alex, Cade, and Cameron, a widely held belief about preservation is that it upholds a broader nationalist perspective in which wealth and whiteness are criteria for defining significance in heritage. In other words, the shared national history presented by the NHPA's Discourse results in favoring historic properties associated with wealthy white men (as respresented by the properties listed on the National Register). Alex suggests that they can situate heritage in this way, for example, through their ownership and stewardship of Bishop's Palace. Yet, she points out, they don't always want to celebrate that type of historic property which is favored by the NHPA's meaning of heritage. Rather, she suggests that they also focus on "the cottage . . . the little house . . . the alley house . . ." because they were popular and important to Galveston (see Figure 16). Resituating what counts as heritage helps them achieve their local preservation goals.

The tensions between local and NHPA Discourses provide opportunities to re-situate meanings and thus, practice preservation differently. In the Galveston preservtion context, re-situating meanings creates space for the co-existence of the US Authorized Heritage Discourse (the NHPA) *and* local d/Discourses to frame preservation practice. By re-situating meanings, preservationists can retain the benefits of working within the NHPA while simultaneously bending it to suit local needs. This creates more

possibilities for preservation practice and offers a way to work within and against dominant Discourses which might be exlusive, unhelpful, or even harmful to some communities.

Practicing d/Discourse

Throughout this chapter, I have explored the how d/Discourses that frame preservation practice are used, reproduced, and challenged in the Galveston preservation context. Through participant observation in the city and with the Coastal Heritage Foundation, interviews with staff at CHF, and exploratory walking methods, I have explored what d/Discourses frame local preservation practice, how those discourses are structured by the Authorized Heritage Discourse of the National Historic Preservation Act, and how tensions between macro- and meso-level discourses provide opportunities for challenging the dominant AHD. Here, I synthesize the implications of this project.

This study illuminates the d/Discourses which frame preservation practice in a local preservation context. Four Discourses (ideology that frames value, belief, and behavior) were identified and supported by discourses (everyday communication) that emerged from discussions with CHF staff and Galveston community members, as well as the spatial aspects of the city. Drawing on Ravelli and McMurtrie's (2015) idea that spatial discourse can inform and work within other types of discourse, this study explicitly engaged methods to explore the spatial discourses in Galveston. Taking the idea of place seriously and complexly (Cresswell and Hoskins, 2008), this research wove together the material, social, and spatial aspects of the Galveston preservation context within the conceptualization of d/Discourse. Because this project centers historic preservation, a professional field that deals primarily with buildings, landscapes, and properties, place played an important role in this project, and could be more

prominently used in future discourse analysis research. Drawing on the placefullness of Galveston provided important links within the identified d/Discourses.

While presented as distinct Discourses, the four identified local Discourses often relied on one another and were enacted through similar everyday discourses. The Discourses were also in tension with one another, wherein the acceptance of one seemed to contradict the acceptance of the other. A tension like this does not necessarily mean that a person has to choose to believe one idea or another; the two can co-exist consciously and may amplify the power of both (Roppola, Uzzell, Packer, & Ballantyne, 2019). In the Galveston context, the perceived dissonance between the Discourses was actually a strength. For example, rather than negating each other, the *guidelines matter* and *guideline-bending necessity* Discourses validated each other and provided both protection for the practice of preservation (through the need for guidelines) and the agency to act outside of guidelines when necessary.

Through Gee's (2011) understanding of discourse and Discourse, and Smith's (2006) concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, this study also showcases how local preservation discourse can be structured by the AHD. While everyday communication can be rooted in local ideas, creating the perception that it is in the best interest of the local community, it may be framed by a Discourse which has a different interest in mind. Skrede and Hølleland (2018) argue that there is not a singular, but multiple AHDs which structure practices like preservation. In the case of Galveston, the fundamental tenants of the AHD appeared in the local discourses and Discourses. While this might be conceptualized as a local AHD, it is important to understand how a macro-level Discourse becomes embedded into local d/Discourses, even when unnecessary. Therefore, I find it more productive to understand the local d/Discourses as being framed by a national-level AHD (as in the NHPA).

By questioning the NHPA as a framing Discourse, this project attempts to understand the dominance of the NHPA in the field of preservation, and particularly, in contexts where it does not legally structure practice. The role of the NHPA in the professionalization of the preservation field in the US provides a clue into its dominance. As Gee (2011b) suggests, practices are both created by communication and create the context for making sense of communication. Thus, the professional language created by the NHPA is not only used in preservation practice but creates the context in which practice is possible. For example, in Galveston the importance of maintaining "historic integrity" of an historic site like the Rosewood Cemetery is only possible through the creation of the phrase "historic integrity" through the implementation of the NHPA. Thus, the work being done is facilitated by the formation of a language which deems the work necessary. In a local preservation context, the NHPA's discourse remains foundational to any practice because it *created* the practice. No matter if the NHPA applies legally to the context, it applies practically.

This study also indicates there are ways to work within the NHPA while simultaneously challenging it. Gee's (2011b) concept of situated meanings provides a way of understanding how d/Discourses can function within a specific context. However, in the context of Galveston, situatedness was not stagnant, but agile and active. Rather than a meaning being derived of a single context, participants nimbly situated concepts within multiple contexts at once. Through the ongoing movement between contexts, the meaning of discourse changed from one moment to the next. The ongoing re-situating allowed participants to accept and work within the AHD of the NHPA while simultaneously challenging it for their benefit. The movements of meanings created space for conceptualizing discourse for highly localized purposes. The examples of re-situating meanings in Galveston may also occur in other similar contexts and could be

used to stay within the dominant Discourse of the preservation field while still achieving personal or local goals. Although discussions about the validity and usefulness of the dominant Discourse are ongoing,[50] re-situating meanings is a possibility for working within the framework while it remains dominant.

Beyond Discourse

> So, my philosophy is one that you . . . you can't look at it just from a textbook on architectural preservation. That you have to be a humanist, you have to be a material culturalist, you have to be a bit of an environmentalist, maybe for the first time in your life. You have to understand why people live by a place that is so vulnerable to the elements and certainly to hurricanes—start to understand that it's . . . it's . . . it's something you have to deal with in every project here in that environment (Hanson, interview).

The local discourses and AHD which frame preservation practice in Galveston play a significant role in the community's memory practices and everyday spatial environment. They help determine whose history is saved and whose history is discarded. They shape the literal landscape of the city, determining what surrounds and frames everyday life. They choose what stories are told and retold, and therefore, whose history is deemed important. They govern possibilities for what spaces can be, who can own them, and what they can do with them. Yet, they do not have totalizing control over the choices, relationships, and feelings about historic properties in Galveston. As Hanson suggests, preservation goes beyond discourse. There are feelings, relationships, and experiences that cannot be distilled into discourse. Theories of affect, dialogue, and attachment have been explored as ways to better understand these aspects of

[50] These conversations are currently informal and have occurred during conversations within a heritage professionals Facebook group and during discussions with a heritage professional fellowship cohort.

preservation (Harrison, 2013). This project focused on discourse as a theoretical framework to better understand preservation practice but could not escape moments that remained unexplainable through the theoretical frame. These moments of intuition, seduction, relationality, and inexplicability stood out as reminders of why crystallization, or studying a phenomenon through multiple perspectives, theories, and methods is so important. Though outside of the realm of this project, future studies could benefit from engaging the aspects of preservation practice that go beyond the discursive.

Conclusion

This research was a critical case study and can be applied to other similar contexts. Building on the concept of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, this study offers a new perspective on how the AHD of the National Historic Preservation Act structures local d/Discourses of preservation practice. This case site was specifically chosen for its separation from the NHPA as a local non-profit organization that does not foundationally receive resources that would require it to legally adhere to the NHPA. However, the AHD of the NHPA was prominent within the identified four Discourses framing local practice. While the NHPA structured preservation practice, it was also resisted through what I call re-situating meanings. Thus, this study reveals how the NHPA remains a dominant force in preservation practice, and while framing local d/Discourse, can be challenged to allow for practices specific to local contexts. Because of the dominance of the NHPA within the US preservation context, possibilities for challenging it are essential for unique localities where the Discourse of the NHPA may prevent meaningful practice.

While this study offered interesting conclusions, it also has several limitations. First, although I spent a significant amount of time in the field, it was concentrated within a few weeks. Preservation projects take months, and sometimes years, so a

deeper understanding of preservation practice and the d/Discourses guiding it would occur over a longer period of time. This would allow a researcher to better understand how everyday talk about a project evolves throughout its entire tenure, including initial discussions about if a project should be conducted and how a project is sold once completed. Second, I began this project with the intent to use discourse analysis. While the process was iterative, I remained within the framework of discourse even though it became evident as the project unfolded that was data which could not be fully explained or explored through discourse analysis. Future studies could benefit from a starting place that does not assume the proper analysis method from the beginning. Third, as a member of the dominant demographic within the US preservation community (white women), my perspective on preservation discourses is limited. Inherently, my standpoint (Harding, 2004) prevents me from having the experiential knowledge that others do in relation to preservation d/Discourse. Because the researcher is the 'research instrument' in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), future studies from non-dominant perspectives would provide much-needed insight into the operation of d/Discourses in the field.

This study began a conversation about the discursive structures framing preservation practice. Recognizing preservation as one of many practices which frame public memory (Lowenthall, 1998), this study begins to take a step toward understanding the ideologies which frame decisions that lead to public memory places. Although the staff at CHF did not call their work public memory-building, they did call it history-building, community-building, and future-building; all tenets of public memory (Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010). Public memory studies in communication often center places of public memory in their end-of-project materialized form, and while they are well contextualized, there is little research that dives into the process and d/Discourses

which frame places of public memory while they are being constructed. Through this study, I began to make sense of the communicative practices that result in public memory places, and the dominant Discourse which frames much of it. While this research had limitations, including the short length of time spent observing a long ongoing process and the broadness in scope, it lays a foundation for future studies which can dive deeper into the process and make more direct connections—from start to finish—within projects that construct public memory. There is much more to research and learn about the communicative aspects of preservation practice, because as Mel says, "We save heritage, which is our mission, basically its preservation. But it takes a very diverse group of us to make it whole. This is not one thing."

CHAPTER 5

MYTHED PLACES: A POETIC INQUIRY INTO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

> *We live in a time of planning our obsolescence, or tearing down the walls about our ears: the manufacture of ruins which look bombed-out is profitable and quick. Here was an indoor space soaring to assert human importance, the glory of our enterprise. We value ourselves as deserving less than these vaulted spaces, living in cubicles, watched and watching by electronic eyes.*
>
> - *With Heritage So Rich*, 1965, p. 115

The rhetoric of the NHPA takes on physical form in the built environment of the U.S. and its territories. An essential piece of the NHPA puzzle is the formation of a list which documents all the valuable places, sites, and objects in the nation, effectively bolstering the case for the discipline of historic preservation by calling for perpetually increasing the list of things which must be saved. As of 2019, the National Register included more than 95,000 properties which "represent 1.8 million contributing resources – buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects" (NPS, 2020, para. 13). These properties are located in almost every county in the nation. This means that every citizen is near one of these significant properties, but it does not mean that important structures are equally distributed. Some counties are home to hundreds of thousands of N.R. properties, while others only have one.

In *With Heritage So Rich* (1965), the authors made a compelling argument not only through rigorous historical and experiential research, but also through poetry and

photography. Their rhetoric was compelling, affective, and beautiful; such compositional style has since remained foundational to the practice of historic preservation in the US. In this chapter, I attempt to, beyond beautiful rhetoric, explore historic preservation through image and poetry—a response of sorts to *With Heritage*'s persuasive strategy. Here, however, poetry and image are more-than-argument, instead participating in the act of research itself. Thus, it is *through* poetry and image-making that inquiry, discovery, and reporting occurs. By adopting an art and/as research perspective (Pas, 2017), I can pose a unique inquiry into the NHPA, and develop responses through the exploration of color, word, form, and aesthetic. Focusing on the National Register of Historic Places, both the documents and the structures which are listed in them, I use poetry and painting to inquire about the aesthetic and material dimensions of the NHPA. In the style of *With Heritage So Rich*, this chapter includes theoretical framing, images, poetry, and commentary. Together, these elements argue for a tangled understanding of historic remnants which considers memory, aesthetic, discourse, and the power of the NHPA. I offer the concept of *mythed places* as a descriptive and theoretical title for those places which have been given the quality of myth within the material, legal, affective, and ideological constellational which composes the National Register.

Myths

In this chapter, a myth is understood as a fundamental element in the development of human life (Blumenberg, 1988). As Burke (1989) suggests, myths are social and are tools of cooperation through which groups establish relationships and agree upon ways of being and behaving. Armstrong (2005) complements this idea by arguing that myths tell us how we should live and organize our lives. Through their cultural embeddedness, myths help us with sense-making processes (Hart, 1992) and

understand our self-identities (Hall, 1997). These understandings of myth see beyond the commonplace idea that a myth is merely story, sometimes make-believe, and inconsequential to our lives. Burke (1989) argues:

> "Myths" may be wrong, or they may be used to bad ends, but they cannot be dispensed with . . . In this sense a myth that works well is as real as food, tools, and shelter are. As compared with the reality of material objects, however, we might say that the myth deals with a secondary order of reality. Totem, race, godhead, nationality, class, lodge, guild—all such are the "myths" that have made various ranges and kinds of social cooperation possible. They are not "illusions," since they perform a very real and necessary social function in the organizing of the mind. But they may look illusory when they survive as fossils from the situations for which they were adapted into changed situations for which they were not adapted. (pp. 267-268).

Through this understanding, myths are more than falsehoods; they are real purveyors of cultural assumptions which have meaningful material consequences. Citing Michael McGee and Roland Barthes, Frentz (2006) suggests of myths that "beneath their narrative innocence they disguise ideological preferences that gloss over human oppression and squeeze all cultural complexity into a nice, simple story line such that one size fits all" (p. 243). Myths are thus distinct from ideology, but carriers of it. By simplifying the complexities of social life, myths can clarify ideologies and embed them into cultural norms.

Sometimes bound up with public memories, myths can draw upon historical events and stories, giving them a sense of truth and importance. Myths tied to places can be especially impactful. For instance, the myth surrounding the Salem witch trials exemplifies the resonances historical events, "imaginatively reenacted on the soil," can

have, causing the idea of Salem to be "even more powerful than the history of the place itself" (p. 21). Now intimately tied to ideas of good and evil, horror and religion, Salem has become a *mythed place* of national significance; not because it was more important than other places in the history of the nation, but because of the power of its myth. A place becomes a mnemonic for the myth. Lowenthall argues, "History and memory usually come in the guise of stories which the mind must purposefully filter; physical relics remain directly available to our senses" (p. 245). A place then, particularly a "historical" place with remnants of the past, is the physical entity which embodies the myth.

A *mythed place* is, thus, one which has been given the *quality* of a myth. This means that, as Armstrong (2005) suggests about myths, the place has a more-than-reality quality to it, embodying worlds outside of reality which best fit the cultural norms proposed by the myth. In other words, a *mythed place* has been given the characteristic that it is more than it ever was, or ever could be in the future. The physical qualities, like building materials, location, and style, are given the quality of the myth, despite their complete separation from it. The material that makes up the buildings (brick, wood, mortar, etc.) is not inherently attached to a myth but is given the quality by preservationists, historians, and interpreters who narrate the myth. I use the word mythed (past tense) rather than myth or mything to indicate the pastness and sense of finality in the process of attaching a myth to a place. Once a National Register nomination is complete and accepted into the NRHP, it is unlikely to be updated or changed,[51] leaving the myth in the state it was in when created. Lowen (1999) points to the date that preservation occurs as an important part of historicizing places. The moment and its current ideological norms play a major role in how a place is narrated

[51] There is the possibility to make changes to a National Register nomination form, although the process is long and not undertaken often.

and understood publicly. The places in the NRHP are thus mythed when they are nominated and listed, rather than during the "period of significance" or during a contemporary moment.[52]

In the context of the National Register of Historic Places, a *mythed place* is intimately tied to a US national myth.[53] Because the places listed on the register are supposed to be of "national significance," they are framed through ideas about national stories, people, and culture. Even though the register also has categories for local, state, and international significance, there is still a national framing which differentiates sites listed on the National Register versus state or local registers. For example, Malbis Plantation is listed as a locally significant site, yet its significance narrative features a national framing around European immigration to the US and hard work put in by those who worked on the plantation and similar immigrants across the country (Malbis Plantation, 2010). Though important to local history, the place is still framed around a national conceptualization of European immigration and what that means for "the nation."

To get listed, a place must go through a rigorous nomination process which includes a description, significance statement, history, and documentation (photographs and maps). Through the significance statement and history, the nomination form solidifies the mythic quality which will define the *mythed place*. These narratives remain an important source for place-based research, and as the National Park Service works to digitize these files, they will become more accessible to the public, and thus, more important to curating the myth of "nationally significant" places. As "memory places,"

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[52] The lack of revision in these narratives means many are left with violent ideas and language in place, framing many who are not Euro-American as Other.

[53] Scholars have written extensively on the idea of an American national myth tied to places. A few examples include: Shackel (2001), Aden (2018), Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki (2010), and Clark (2004).

sites listed on the National Register have what Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) deem to be characteristics of memory places. One of these characteristics is the "significance" the site claims to have in the memory of a collective, and its subsequent "claim to represent, inspire, instruct, remind, admonish, exemplify, and/or offer the opportunity for affiliation and public identification" (p. 26). National Register sites are often adorned with plaques announcing their importance. Official plaques may be purchased, and sites may include additional unofficial historic markers which detail the significance of the place in situ. Lowen (2000) contends that "Sometimes the historical marker becomes more important than the site itself" (p. 13). The markers are part of the "mything" process in which a site becomes marked as part of the national memory. Without the marker, some National Register sites may appear to just be old places; with a marker, they are more than places, they are significant sites of American heritage.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the criteria which are used to evaluate National Register nominations are ambiguous, leaving nominators to craft their significance statements based on what they *assume* will be deemed significant. Because myths are used to create commonalities between disparate people, they can be used productively to frame the history of a property as nationally significant. Drawing upon national myths like rugged individualism, American exceptionalism, and "discovery," provides authors with accepted frames which can lead to the determination of "significance." Properties listed on the National Register are mythed in order to fulfill and support a national myth of an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) to which the property is important. *With Heritage* demonstrates this process in one of their poems about preservation:

> *Without some relics the total past becomes less*
> *than a myth: neither useful nor believable, but*

Only a sense of unknown loss of knowledge which might
exist—a vanish world left for conjecture of
imagined cities in the sun.

Of some buildings

we are glad to have a foundation stone. A lintel
fallen, or vestigial traceries of villages, excite us.
What will we leave our descendants, we
who level things completely, obliterating
every trace of buildings except in the
fallible shadows of human memory?
(*With Heritage So Rich*, 1966, p. 63)

The poem showcases the power of the National Register as material and rhetorical. The building itself becomes bound up in the myth, which suggests particular remnants are part of a non-renewable cultural resource (Lowenthall, 1989). In this way, the significance of historical traces depends upon human memories of its significance.

Method

Inspired by the rhetorical power of *With Heritage So Rich*'s artistic argument, I articulate the concept of *mythed places* further through my own artistic engagement. An arts-based approached to understanding the National Register offers the opportunity to explore the language, images, and maps in nomination forms as artistic expressions of the mything process. Cahnmann (2003) explicates the value of such research:

> The available traditions for analysis and write up of research are not fixed entities, but a dynamic enterprise that changes within and among generations of scholars and from audience to audience (Gioia, 1999, p. 32). We cannot lose by acquiring techniques employed by arts-based researchers. We must assume an

> audience for our work, an audience that longs for fresh language to describe the indescribable emotional and intellectual experiences . . . (p. 35).

Seeking to understand the more-than-reality aspect of *mythed places*, I use poetic and artistic inquiry to explore the "indescribable" aspects of the National Register for Historic Places. To begin, I review literature on poetic artistic inquiry, beginning with Prendergrast's (2006) poetic literature review:

why are we concerned with art?

to cross our frontiers

exceed our limitations

fill our emptiness

fulfill ourselves

not a condition

(a process)

what is dark

slowly becomes

transparent

(the theatre)

to peel off

the life mask

(in us)

full-fleshed perceptivity

place of provocation

imaged in breath

(body)

inner impulses

defiance of taboo

(transgression)

Poetic Inquiry

> Because of its rhythms, silences, spaces, breath points, poetry engages the listener's body, even when the mind resists and denies it . . . By settling words together in new configurations, the relations created through echo, repetition, rhythm, rhyme let us hear and see the world in a new dimension. Poetry is thus a practical and powerful means for reconstitution of worlds *(Richardson, 1993, p. 705)*.

Poetry can serve as not only a representation of research, but as a practice of research. Poetic inquiry is a method which uses poetic writing to generate and interrogate epistemological frames (Wu, 2020). It can be used to represent findings, collect data, or analyze data (Redman-MacLaren, 2020). Researchers have used poetry for a variety of purposes: conducting literature reviews (Prendergast, 2006), reflecting on methods (Faulkner, 2005), re-presenting participant stories (Glense, 1997), critiquing and expanding methods (Ohito & Nyachae, 2018), critiquing paradigmatic boundaries (Leavy, 2009), autoethnography (Iida, 2018), self-understanding (Pillay, Pithouse-Morgan, Naicker, Cannella, & Koro-Ljungberg, 2017), reflexivity (Breckenridge, 2016), and social justice activism (Hoffman & Martin, 2020). A dynamic and thoroughly theorized research practice, poetic inquiry is a valuable, and productive research method.

Poetic inquiry seeks to stimulate responses in audiences rather than merely present information. For some, the use of poetry in research is problematic because of

the challenge of determining its "quality" (Lahman & Richard, 2014). Poems do not merely represent words of texts or participants, and thus, may be characterized as too ambiguous. Yet, as post-modern scholars have pointed out for many years, all research write-ups and methods are laden with biases, ambiguity, and complexity which appear in the research narrative, no matter how true it stays to "traditional" forms of reporting (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). "A poem as 'findings' resituates ideas of validity and reliability from 'knowing' to 'telling.' Everybody's writing is suspect—not just those who write poems" (Richardson, 1993, p. 704).

Lahman and Richard (2014) address the issues of "goodness" and "trustworthiness" in research and archival poetry by pointing to the inappropriateness of judging a poem's merit based on standards of professional poets or typical social science standards. Rather, they advocate for the idea of *good enough poetry* which acts as a stepping-stone in the researcher's trajectory. Through *good enough poetry*, researchers are given permission to step outside traditional standards and work through research in affective, generative ways. Cahnmann (2003) echoes this idea and calls for new researchers to develop their poetic skills because "developing a poetic voice prepares scholars to discover and communicate findings in multidimensional, penetrating, and more accessible ways" (p. 29). If "excellent qualitative research" is meant to find resonance with its audience (Tracy, 2010), then poetic inquiry—which invites the reader to *feel* findings—has the potential to captivate and teach readers in ways other research write-ups cannot.

Richardson (2000) suggests that writing, particularly writing which bridges traditional disciplinary boundaries, can lead to more complex and interesting understandings of research phenomena. Because writing itself is a form of inquiry, *and* "truth" about a phenomenon is multifaceted, writing in various forms, like narrative and

poetry, enhance research. "The poet makes the world visible in new and different ways, in ways ordinary social science writing does not allow. The poet is accessible, visible, and present in the text, in ways that traditional writing forms discourage" (Denzin, 2014, p. 86). The power of poetry lies in its ability to invite the reader *into* the story, rather than transmitting information *to* them. As Faulkner (2020) points out, "researchers use poetry in their work precisely because of its slipperiness and ambiguity, its precision and distinctiveness, its joyfulness and playfulness" (Defining Poetry section, para. 2). Through poetry, researchers can come to know and make known ideas that otherwise would be absent from academic research.

Researchers craft and voice poems through participants, self, and texts. Lahman and Richard (2014) discuss archival or found poetry where authors create poems from "existing texts, for example poetry, novels, and speeches" (p. 348). Found poetry uses archival and other found texts as the base for evoking emotion and creating layered meaning. A "double meaning," arising from both the found poem and the original text (Dillard, 1996), can complexify interpretation, bringing new ways of understanding a text to the forefront. To do this, authors use primarily the words from the text, rearranging and stylizing them much like a linguistic collage (American Academy of Poets). "Whether found poetry is used as a public form of representation or as an analytic tool within the inquiry process, it will bring the researcher closer to the data in different and sometimes unusual ways that can yield new and important insights" (Butler-Kisber, 2002, p. 235). Through abstractions and language-play, poetry makes research glimmer with possibilities: for interpretation, for (re)imagination, for change.

In this chapter, poetry, image, paint, and canvas collide. Playing with ambiguity (one of the many rhetorical resources of the NHPA) I bring together words, colors, and textures to inquire about the NHPA's darling, the National Register of Historic Places.

Much of the National Register can now be accessed online through the National Park Service's online gallery and the Library of Congress. Once accepted as part of the Register, nomination forms which include images, histories, and sometimes drawings compose the archive of the National Register. Forms range in length with some early nominations only have a few pages of information to some multi-property forms containing over a hundred pages.

Arts-based methods "often emerge organically, sometimes slowly and even laboriously, and unexpectedly from the material being examined" (McNiff, 2013 p. 112). Therefore, openness to spontaneity is fundamental (Levine, 2013). I began by meandering through the archive, taking in the images, and letting aesthetic patterns emerge. To add some structure to the process, I searched for National Register forms in each US state and territory which is included. I randomly chose nomination forms from each state and territory to open and read. Using painting, collage, digital manipulation, and *good enough poetry*,(Lahman & Richard, 2014)—both found (Butler-Kisber, 2002) and research-generated—I present a poetic exploration of the NRHP.

Mythed Places

not natural,
but super
more than –
structure, sound
story-source
sense made

The origin of
    me
    you
    them;
built to last
beyond the mortar,
built stronger—
on paper
in ephemeral visitations
legally bound in
keyed cabinets

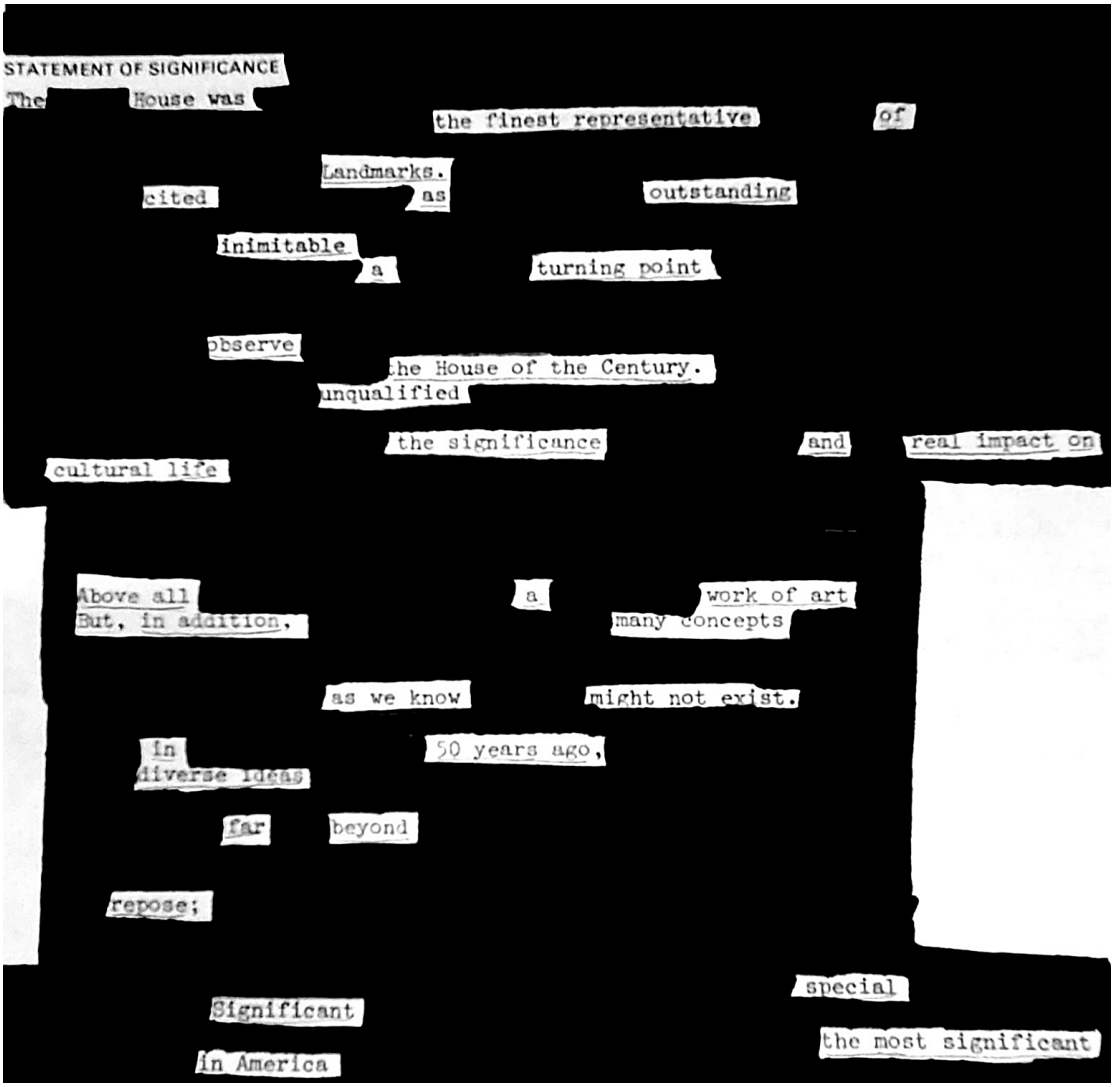
passed, kicked down the line to
a new generation
Our Legacy

myth e d
        (given)
        (quality)[54]

[54] This poem was crafted from theoretical understanding of myth from the following scholars: Patton (1999), Frentz (2006), Sciullo (2019), Barthes (1972), Coupe (2005) and Burke (1989). Additionally, it centers the particular use of myth in the NHPA and NRHP by centering the built environment and "American heritage."

Figure 17

5757 S. Woodlawn Ave.[55]



[55] In this blackout poem (a version of found poetry) I attempt to pinpoint the language used to justify the significance of a property listed on the NRHP. Through this exercise, it became clear that significance itself was used to justify the significance of this property. Stripping away all references to the property name, architect, and location, this poem points to the "transcendence" of significance and the mythed nature of some properties even before they are listed on the NRHP. In this case the property's significance arises from the myth of American exceptionalism—a bold architect in an important American city designed this place which is considered significant by those who recognize the exceptionalism of both artist and city.

All the while[56]

Horror show
Death box
Torture chamber
Built by
Forced labor

All the while,
you perfume the
room to hide
the smell of
rotting flesh

So your guests
are not asked
to see who
you are

But death has
a way of
cutting through
flowers

[56] Exploitative places (like plantations) abound in the National Register. The "significance" of these sites is presented in ways that defy the reality of occurred there. Rather than presenting them as sites of torture and genocide, they are praised for their architectural features and attachment to "great people." The myth of the plantation as a beautiful part of American history is still part of the NRHP.

Posterity
It is up to us

more than before

to provide protection

for there is nothing

more important than

keeping safe

what matters to them

will surely be

the ones selected by

those wiser than me

who previously

came to know

what matters to *us*

is bigger than

they ever imagined

until we were in

their places with

our offerings[57]

[57] "The National Register is an authoritative guide to be used by Federal, State, and local governments, private groups and citizens to identify the Nation's cultural resources and to

To whom it may concern:

I do believe in my heart of hearts and soul of souls that this place of places is significant. Please, allow me to explain, for I know, deep down, you will agree (or you will be wrong, indeed). The place of places is, as you know, more than just a place, but is, in fact, a place *of places*. You see, my ancestors, many years ago, built a place of places just like this one! But for the difference in shape, size, color, use, and decoration, it could be the very same. Didn't your ancestors build a place of places, much like this one too?

When I see it, I know it is special for the very reasons my ancestors and future offspring knew/will know it was. Will/did we not protect it for its specialness? Don't/won't they protect it for its specialness? And then and now we and they will know *for sure* it matters and mattered then and now.

What else can I say that hasn't already been said?

It is for these reasons, past and present, future and past, that I recommend, to the fullest of my capabilities, the listing, for now and then and beyond, this *place* of places.

Kind regards,

A.[58]

indicate what properties should be considered for protection from destruction or impairment" (46 FR 56187 §60.2, 1981).

[58] Though not as hollow as these, the words used in many nomination forms are superfluous, hyperbolic, and empty. Through extended frivolity, this poem attempts to poke fun at the language while showing just how empty it really is.

What Shape?

what shape

is the myth

without the

place?

Reflecting on idea, story, myth—

hands slid over canvas,

creating the shadow of a

place now gone

We record. We document. We draw. We photograph.

The moment will come when these places are ripped and scattered.

All we have of what was

is this listing, this form, this story

where

is the myth

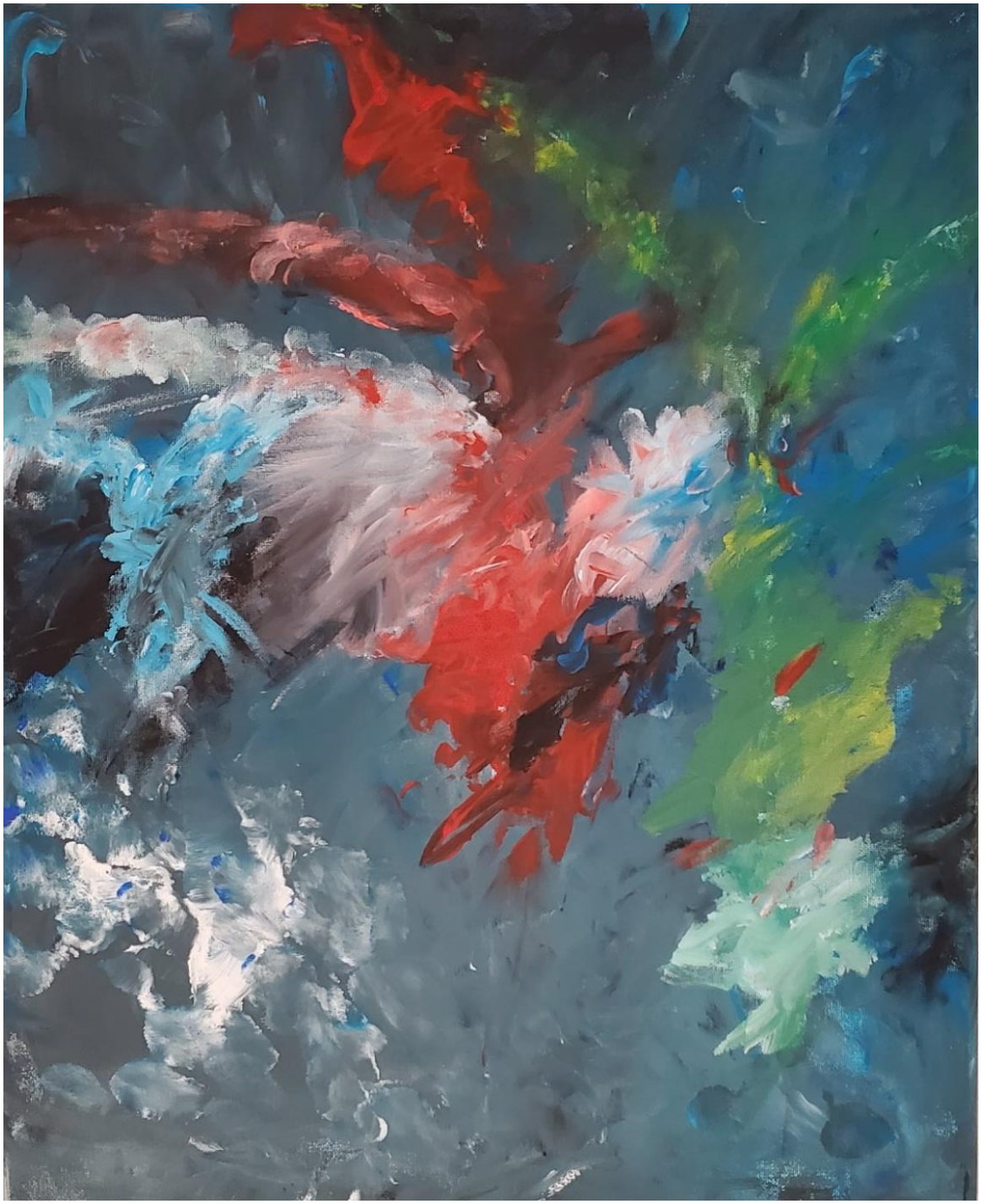
without the

place? [59]

[59] This painting and poem address the sites which are listed on the NRHP and later torn down. In those instances, the material home of the myth is gone, but the myth still exists. In some cases, the *mythed place* becomes more powerful, standing as a martyr for other old places. The myth may become more powerful, lingering where the place once was.

Figure 18

What Shape



Note. Acrylic on canvas

A Kiss

Tiny pricks rolling down her spine,

she filled the bottom of her lungs,

lifting her soft chin as she rolled her shoulders back.

She had seen,

in the pin-pricked puddle,

a reflection.

A pat on the head told her the umbrella

was resting there now. Grasping the cool metal

she inched

her eyes

back to

see if

it was

still there.

Quivered breath

met with

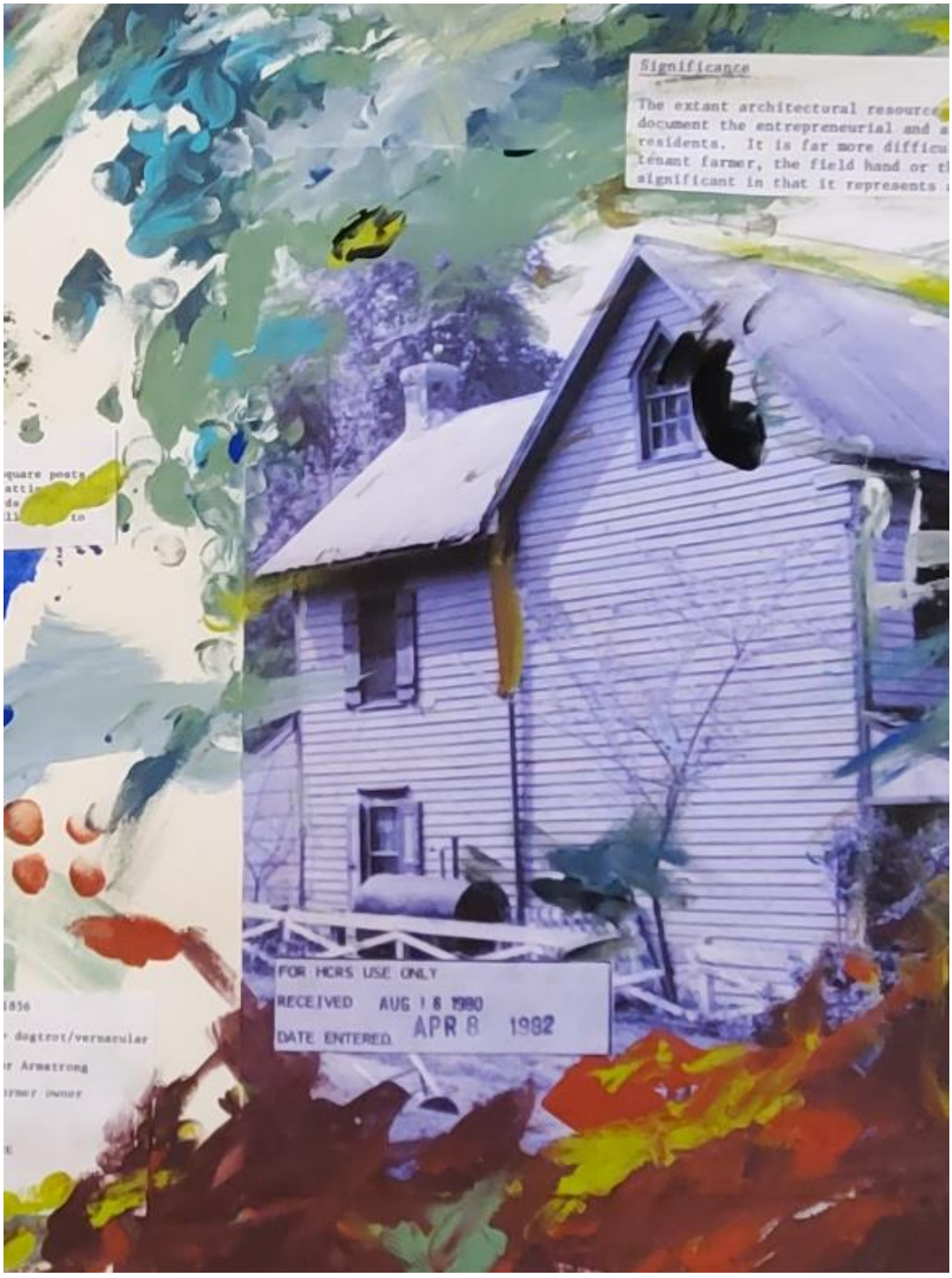
dirty

water.[60]

[60] In *With Heritage so Rich*, the authors attempt to show how historic sites make people feel. In this collage and poem, I do the same. Rather than exploiting fear tactics and disdain for change, I attempt to make the reader feel the sensation of being in a place haunted by history. A *mythed place* is haunted; prickly sensations are to be expected.

Figure 19

Burning Building



Note. Acrylic, ink, and paper on board.

Vernacular

Blown glass door handles,

cold on my palms.

Here, but not really—

a backlit message sent

straight to my

senses.

The American farmer . . . .

foundation of the nation . . . .

backbone of America . . . .

our most essential duties . . . .

caretakers of American land . . . .

Crafted details from

labored hands—

hands I know from

my childhood, wrinkled

and partial from that

accident. Scratchy and almost

tickly when you pick me up.

A giggle then, a giggle now.

A screen on my lap,

That's all.

Vernacular significance.

Farmhouse. Barn. Outhouse.

His house. Eyes. My eyes.

I would have remembered. I would have

thought about that day.

But

probably not today.

Surely, next time I passed a

farmhouse[61]

[61] The history nerd in me was engaged by the stories and places discussed in the NRHP forms. Often, I found myself transported to places and times I had been in my past. Although most of the places I read about were places I had never been, the still had the power to make me remember people, places, and experiences—and in some cases, revived memories that had been lost to time. It makes you wonder; would I ever have remembered some of those moments without the recollection ignited by the NRHP properties? Would the public ever remember their histories without the *loci* of memory, the places saved by preservation?

Figure 20

A Wall

Note. Acrylic on Canvas. A wall left to decay, a mountain at night, a face . . . ? What stories can we find the places of our past?

Voices[62]

The air moves quickly here
Jostling us into and
around each other.

Brown-grey leaves stir across the
Mold-black walkway leading to a
Barely-there reality.

_ _ _ _ _.
My ears told me
there was a visitor waiting
to come in.

_ _ _ _, _ _ _ _ _ _.
My ears were inviting,
and without my permission
I heard a voice clear as day.

I paused.

The skin between my eyes gathered;
they scanned their surroundings.

A cool breeze swept across my arm as
a chiffon dress flowed around me.

_ _ _ ‘ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ ?

But the flow-of-bodies
did not stop-to-look
They just kept on going.

[62] Amidst the NRHP nominations are unassuming, unremarkably designed buildings significant for reasons beyond aesthetics. In seeing and reading about them, I wondered if I would notice if I passed one on the street. If I did hear these places calling to be recognized, would I know how to translate their message, or would I only hear the myth?

Mesa Verde (Montezuma)

Prohibited:

the appropriation

injury

destruction

removal

(except for scientific research)

Administered:

by the U.S.

Department of the Interior

National Park Service

Department of Natural Resources

(Indian and Territorial affairs)

1,300 years ago:

Indians picked

Mesa Verde

their home

their possessions

(our relics)

Prospered:

They had

Beans, squash, corn

Dogs, turkeys

Above-ground houses

(we study them)

Abandoned:

Why?

Warfare

Drought

Failure

(remains a mystery)

We find today:

Pre-Columbian

Architectural display

Persevered remains

Restorations

(based on guesswork)[63]

[63] This found poem uses text from the Mesa Verde National Park National Register file. The text displays myths surrounding discovery and science in relation to the study of indigenous people. In particular, the myth that indigenous people are of the past, rather than living contemporaneously, is demonstrated (Chevrette & Hess, 2015).

Figure 21

The Heart of the NRHP

Note. Acrylic, ink, and paper on canvas.

What Bothers Me

What bothers me is

"National Registry" —

Don't they know

it's

National Register?

How embarrassing. [64]

[64] Disciplinary jargon can be used to exclude, mock, and alienate those who do not know them furthering the divide between those who "can and should" be involved in decision processes. The NHPA and NRHP have created their own powerful myths about professionalization which have made the nomination process, and therefore the preservation of cultural resources, nearly impossible for certain groups of people. The process is long, cumbersome, and requires knowledge of language sets that will be used to determine the significance of the site.

Mechanic Street

She stumbled on broken ground

catching herself half-a-second before

she kissed the path.

Only the soles of her shoes could touch it,

though *their* skin touched it

and their *words* carried the souls of thousands (including hers)

And their vestiges *fed* the starved such that they too could walk this hallowed path.

Should it be dampened, or drowned, or slowed

so *mind*

may

be

in

control?

Pressing up through cheap rubber

worn down where body and earth meet,

the cracks breathed,

leave it behind. [65]

[65] Throughout the NRHP, a differentiation between the past, its people, and its experiences was established. Like Lowenthal's (1986) notion that *The Past is a Foreign Country*, the texts of the NRHP craft a distinction between past and present that suggests we cannot know it.

Discussion

Myths unite. The NRHP functions in this way, uniting localities under the umbrella of "national" significance. Even those properties listed on the National Register as having local significance are brought into the broader myth of American unity through their listing. The local community center or old high school-turned-local museum become contributing elements of the American national story. As Benedict Anderson points out, imagined communities like nations rely on individuals, who often have nothing in common and have no similarities, to weave themselves into a national narrative which unites them. Elevating local properties to national significance helps tighten the myth of unity within the US. When any person, anywhere in the US, can walk past a property on the National Register, then any person, anywhere in the US can be part of the national myth.

Listing local places also helps tighten variations on the American myth by selecting only places which have undergone rigorous processes of nomination. By using such a time- and resource-consuming process for nomination, more control over what types of properties are listed is possible. Only groups with the privileges of time, energy, and resources can nominate places that are significant to them, furthering the divide in whose heritage and whose history is represented in the register. Though a determinant of what is listed, the ability to nominate simultaneously serves as a validation about what places are important and worthy of the title "significant." Some properties may be wildly important to a community, but because they cannot nominate their place because of lack of resources, their heritage and history is relegated to other forms of significance—attaining only local or community significance. This furthers an underlying myth of founders, wherein particular groups, and their cultural practices, are viewed as "foundational" to US culture; and others who do not fit within these norms are seen as

not-quite-American (Paul, 2014), and *that* is considered reason enough for their lack of listing. Furthermore, the National Register forwards the myth that it is accurately capturing what is significant to the American public through listings. However, it merely captures the properties that are submitted and follow the norms of the listing process. Because many communities do not have the resources to nominate properties and criteria for nomination can be used to exclude the meaningful properties of some communities, there are significant inequalities within the resulting myth that listed properties represent the American public.

The National Register exists beyond nomination forms or bronze plaques. It sculpts the literal landscape of the US by playing a role in what stays, what goes, and what new forms can appear. The NHPA gives power to the National Register by tying listing or possible listing to funding and federal actions. Additionally, by requiring federal oversight into state and local preservation plans, the NHPA further informs possibilities for preservation actions as many state and local programs are modelled off the federal program.

Assigning significance to certain properties automatically initiates tangible and intangible impacts. As demonstrated, significance can be tied to very particular, material forms. A way of building (an arch, a Palladian window, a cantilevered roof) can come to represent "significance," even if that particular arch, window, or roof is quite ordinary. The aesthetic, thus, becomes significant, even if subconsciously, because the aesthetic is tied to properties which have been deemed significant. Once complete, this loop can continue to run without question, allowing more properties that share an aesthetic to become significant through listing on the NRHP. Mythed places, then, can multiply their myths through shared aesthetics alone (Is this brownstone significant? Perhaps—because it is a brownstone).

Building on the rhetorical analysis in Chapter Three, this poetic inquiry forwarded the idea of *mythed places* as an exhibition title and rhetorical construct which arose from and assisted in the analysis of National Register of Historic Places nomination forms. Through the forms, we can see the way places are mythed through historical framing, significance naming, and aesthetic capturing (through image and drawing). Capitalizing on the rhetorical power of poetry and art, as demonstrated in *With Heritage So Rich*, this chapter analyzed and presented the process of *mythed places* through the National Register. Using poetry to animate the mythed nature provided an avenue to understand and explore the affective, personal elements of this national bureaucratic process. Through image and poetry, *mythed places* are realized, critiqued, and deployed to create a physical reaction in the reader. While *With Heritage* embraced—nay, relied on—myth through their poetic rhetoric, *mythed places* attempted to peel back their surfaces to reveal the myths ugly insides. Like the readers of *With Heritage* in 1966, I hope you are moved by the words written here.

Undeniable.
The heft alone!
Twenty pounds of bronze
proudly displayed out front:

This Property is Listed
On the National Register
of Historic Places

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Throughout this project, I have explored communicative aspects of the National Historic Preservation Act—from its rhetoric, to the aesthetic communication of the National Register of Historic Places, to its discursive dominance in a local historic preservation organization. Through the meta-method of crystallization, I have analyzed the NHPA from myriad angles, revealing disfluencies and threads among three distinct analyses. Through a rhetorical analysis of the NHPA as text with force in the world, I gained a deeper understanding of the constellation of texts and ideologies that define, reify, and perpetuate specific notions of preservation through the NHPA. From a discourse analysis of interviews, observations, and walking methods in a small preservation-oriented town and its local preservation organization, I showcased how local preservation d/Discourses can both work within and against the authorized discourse of the NHPA. And, finally, through poetic arts-based methods, I curated an artistic exhibition which argued that the NHPA works to sediment places listed on the National Register of Historic Places within a mythic understanding of nation, history, and value. In this final chapter, I weave together themes across Chapters Three, Four, and Five to respond to this dissertation project's meta-question: *How does the National Historic Preservation Act communicatively frame historic preservation practice, and thus, public memory?* In the following section, I discuss three answers to the question: ambiguity, implied morality, and the creation of a mythic national community.

Threads Across Analyses

Ambiguity as Resource/Hindrance

Throughout this project, the ambiguity of the NHPA and subsequent preservation symbols and practices appeared as both a resource for and a hinderance to preservation

practices. Ambiguity is strategically used in the text of the NHPA to create opportunities for possible changes in values, beliefs, and methods of preservation. The ambiguous nature of much of the language in the act leaves open the possibility for different types of preservation to be implemented as they present themselves as useful. Burke (1969) argues ambiguity is essential for transformations. For example, by avoiding a direct, specific definition of "significance" as it relates to historic properties, the law leaves the word open for a variety of strategic uses. In this way, buildings that were not *originally* considered significant enough to be listed on the National Register have been included through redefinitions of "significance."[66] In this way, the ambiguity of the NHPA is an asset for the field of preservation by providing possibilities for new uses of the law without a complete overhaul (which would be time-extensive, challenging, and costly).

Despite strategic ambiguity serving as a positive resource for preservation change, it also strategically leaves open possibilities to prevent change. The ambiguity of the NHPA's language requires interpretation, making it vulnerable to individual (including organizational) interpretations based on biases, desires, personal gain, and the maintenance of the existing way of doing preservation work. As an example, CHF employee Jada said that federal guidelines were their "Bible," suggesting an unchanging orientation to the words of guidelines. But Hanson, an associate of CHF, pointed out that despite the guidelines being important their work, they 'still have to interpret them' (fieldnote excerpt). It is the process of interpretation that provides, as Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2000) argue, a resource for power. Through interpretation, a preservation professional decides what the NHPA can and does mean, which may result in unequal access to the resources provided by the NHPA. As a hypothetical, a property

[66] We might, for example, look to the boom of the term "vernacular" in architectural circles in the 1970's as evidence. Through the discipline-wide conversations and theorizations about vernacular architecture, additional types of properties were deemed "significant," and therefore eligible for the National Register.

that is important to a community could be deemed not significant enough to be listed on the National Register (which means less access to resources) simply because it does not fit within a *specific* gate-keeper's definition of significance. But because of the ambiguous nature of the words, and the professionalization of the field which allows preservationists to wield authority over defining preservation significance, there is little recourse for the community. In this way, people in power are both validated in their biases and absolved of any blame for making unequal decisions.

The notion of precedents is also used to validate preservation decisions which maintain the existing power structure. This was evident in Galveston where several participants discussed relying on precedents to make their preservation decisions. The National Register provides a large archive of preservation precedents through which professionals can validate their decisions and practices. As evidenced through the many historic properties that are listed for their architectural significance but are nearly identical to many (sometimes hundreds) of other buildings already listed on the National Register. The same could be said about buildings which are deemed significant for their connection with the same type of people: primarily wealthy white men. Once a decision to list a property has been made, it can now serve as a precedent for listing more properties that are similar; and conversely, can be used to reject properties that are dissimilar. In this way, power operates through the NHPA's ambiguous language to maintain the existing structure which is necessarily exclusive. Thus, public memories are disproportionately formed around properties that represent histories of, as Alex said, 'rich white men' (fieldnote excerpt).

In Galveston, the ambiguity of the NHPA was used creatively to achieve goals both within and outside of the law's Discourse. By re-situating meanings of preservation terms introduced in the NHPA, staff at CHF worked through the resources and

hindrances of ambiguity. As a method for working within and challenging a dominant Discourse, re-situating meanings opens up new possibilities for preservation practice. Still, the process exists within a system that allows individuals, particularly those with authority, to use preservation in ways that exclude, devalue, and erase histories of certain groups from public memory. So, while re-situating meanings can be a strategy that allows for more equitable preservation practice, it simultaneously upholds a system that excludes.

Morality in/through the NHPA

Through the ambiguity of the NHPA, individuals or organizations can impose their own value-sets onto preservation practice. While ambiguity allows some autonomy in what values are used to undergird decisions, the NHPA also presents a "moral compass" that is intimately intertwined with its foundational language, and thus, the foundations of preservation practice in the U.S. In Chapter Three I discussed the Euro-American Christian foundations of the NHPA through the originary report, *With Heritage So Rich* (1966). Through its religious origins, the NHPA "transcends" secular and religious meanings (Burke, 1961). Thus, while many who use the NHPA are not religious, residues of a religious morality transcend into secular interpretations. This is evident in the way preservation is framed as in a perpetual state of victimhood through ongoing threats. In the NHPA, threats are left ambiguous, ensuring that possibilities are always open for *something* to threaten an historic property. This was evident in Galveston where coastal storms, development, house-flippers, tourists, the city, unknowledgeable house owners, lack of resources, and time were all presented as threats to Galveston's historic properties. The maintenance of perpetual threats arises from the victimhood and redemption narrative of Christianity but is also tied to the contemporary

professionalization of the field. In this way, contemporary professional practice is resonant with the NHPA's Christian origins.

The transcendence of the NHPA's language is also evident in the framing of preservation as important and ethical. The words used to describe preservation work as discussed throughout this project are laden with value-based meanings. Preservation is often described as "saving," "protecting," and "stewarding." As the NHPA argues, the very sprit of the nation relies on protecting historic heritage. Through these language choices, the act of preservation is presented as inherently good and positive not only for the U.S. today, but for future generations. The fate of the future is presented as being in the hands of preservationists. By tying the work of preservation to the future and discussing it as "saving," preservation is awarded a sense of significance. As Cameron, a CHF employee, said preservation can help solve a community's problems. Placing this amount of weight on the practice of preservation helps to secure funding, garner support, and validate the practice, even in cases that do not actually help the public. Through the transcendent attachment of a religious morality, preservation becomes work for the public good. Although, as critiques of preservation have pointed out, it does not inherently contribute to the good of the public and may even cause harm to some communities (see Saito, 2009; McCabe & Ellen, 2016).

In the NHPA, the reason that preservation is a good and moral practice is because it preserves the nation's heritage. This vague notion that heritage is inherently good also appears in *With Heritage so Rich* (1966) and is a tenet of Smith's (2006) concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse. In Galveston, the notion that preservation is inherently good was both accepted and challenged. When discussing work they considered to be "good" for the community, they framed the work as extending beyond the traditional work of preservation. By extending the work they do beyond merely

preserving historic properties, CHF capitalizes on the belief that heritage is both inherently important and *not* inherently important. The shift toward using preservation to accomplish more than property preservation reflects a broader discussion within the field which centers social justice (More, 2018). As the popular narrative about historic preservation shifted into one which critiqued the practice's negative impact on low income and communities of color (Price, 2014), preservationists shift their practice (Rodgers, Sosa, & Petersen, 2017). No longer is it enough to protect heritage for future generations. Instead, preservation has to do more to maintain its moral center in the public eye.

Maintaining the morality of preservation is important to justifying the demand for ongoing preservation practice. The NHPA calls for an increase in historic preservation in the U.S. for the good of the nation. The call to "accelerate . . . historic preservation programs and activities" has been taken up in the fifty-five years since its initiation (Banks, 2016). Over 95,000 properties are currently listed on the National Register which "represent 1.8 million contributing resources," showcasing the incredible proliferation of preservation activities since the NHPA was created (NPS, 2019, bullet 11). And, the NRHP only represents a fraction of the preservation work undertaken in the U.S. since 1966. In Galveston, it is notable that when I asked Jada if CHF ever worked on National Register nominations, she said no because "everything is already listed." Yet, they are still *continuously* working to preserve historic properties in Galveston. As Amanda, a CHF employee pointed out, preservation is expensive. It takes a significant about of capital, time, and advocacy. The maintenance of a morality—in which preservation work is good, benevolent, and important—helps validate the ongoing use of resources for the work.

Mythic National Community

A foundational aspect of the implied morality of historic preservation is that it is good for the American people. Again, the implication is that heritage has an inherent value that should not be destroyed for the sake of the national community. However, throughout this dissertation project, it is clear that heritage is a present process which uses the past for contemporary purposes (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). As Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) point out, the duality of stability and change in historic places anchors narratives of the past but allows for slight adjustments in the stories over time. In the case of the National Register preservation is a process which helps to solidify and perpetuate a national narrative which presumes a shared history among people living in the U.S. and its territories. As the nation changes, places remain anchors while stories may shift slightly to accommodate altered beliefs. As Munz (1977) argues, historic properties and monuments are necessary to give a national narrative a sense of time and permanence. National Register properties help provide a sense of historical time for the U.S., a relatively young nation, by deeming properties in almost every county of the U.S. as "historic." Even if the average person does not know how old a property is from looking at it, they can see that it is both old and important if they see a National Register plaque on the front. This helps create the illusion—throughout the U.S. and its territories—that the nation has a long and important history. The dispersal of these properties throughout the nation helps make it clear that no matter where the building is, it plays a role in broader U.S. history. The reminder that U.S. history happened here (wherever here is) assists with the formation of an imagined community (Anderson, 1983/2006) in which a dispersed population "shares" a history, identity, and heritage. Because National Register properties (and their authority-signaling plaques) are scattered throughout the nation, people encounter everyday emplaced material reminders that they are part of a national community.

The idea of a *mythed place* resonates with the way properties listed on the National Register serve a mythic national identity which exists outside of the lived reality of many people living within the U.S. and its territories. The structure of the NHPA, however, allows diverse stories to be absorbed into the national myth (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000) through its categories of significance. In Galveston, local places were sometimes given a national frame, which allowed them to be listed on the National Register. Beyond their listing, however, the frame of why the place was important remained a national one—even in cases where the place was listed on the National Register for *local* significance. In this way, local stories become national stories, helping people without a tangible connection feel close to a group that they will never know (Anderson, 1983/2006). The myth of a national community is, thus, supported and strengthened through historical remnants and their preservation.

The use of preservation to bolster a national myth makes it possible for preservation to be used to maintain existing power structures. In the National Register, the maintenance of power is evident through the overwhelming number of properties associated with wealthy white men (Barile, 2004). While efforts are being made to rectify this unequal distribution of significance, there are ongoing consequences. If the historical remnants really do contribute to and support a national narrative, then the ongoing celebration of the wealthy white man as significant through the preservation of properties associated with him contributes to a national narrative that over-emphasizes the value of one group of people at the expense of others. Because buildings are *loci* of memory (Krell, 1990), people who are not wealthy white men lose access to memories, and the public is unequally exposed to material reminders of history that may not be theirs. Disproportionate narratives of history can also be used as a precedent for discrimination. If preservation relies on precedents, and what has historically been

listed is the heritage of wealthy white men, then it is easier to justify an additional listing related to a wealthy white man. Thus, the buildings scattered throughout the nation that are supposed to tell the story of a universal public, primarily tell a story in which only certain types of people within the public are significant and worth remembering.

In this dissertation project, I examined the NHPA through three unique lenses to better understand how the act communicatively frames historic preservation practice. Each lens provided distinct insights, and together, they highlighted three major threads that were supported uniquely through the individual analyses. A crystallization of the NHPA demonstrated the threads of ambiguity, implied morality, and a mythic national community as ways the NHPA communicatively informs preservation practice in the US and its territories. In the following section, I detail the implications of this research for public memory studies and preservation practice.

Implications

Public Memory

This project was framed around the theoretical concept of public memory, a framework well-theorized within the field of communication. One goal of this project was to better understand the ways that a structuring communicative text, like the NHPA, informs practices on multiple levels which result in public memory. As historic preservation is framed as a practice that directly impacts the public and conceptions of past, present, and future (as articulated in the NHPA), the connection between the NHPA and public memory is obvious. Yet, there has been, to my knowledge, little work in the field of communication that addresses the role of the NHPA in structuring public memory related to historic places.[67] Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci (1991) sought out the

[67] There has been literature that addresses the decisions of the National Park Service, who administers the NHPA, but I have not found work that directly interacts with the NHPA. See, for example: Smith, D. C., & Bergman, T. (2010). You were on Indian land: Alcatraz Island as

theories of architectural design to understand the context of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial. Rather than question the discourses that resulted in the memorial's design, they used them to explain what the memorial does. In this project, I also seek out the theories that inform practices related to the material and narrative shaping of a public memory place. Rather than accepting the theories to make sense of the resulting memory place, I question them. Here, I discuss the results of questioning the dictum that guides much of the historic preservation work in the U.S.

Halbwachs (1992) argues that, "the past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present," a point widely accepted in contemporary theories of public memory (p. 40). Through my rhetorical analysis of the NHPA, I found that the text presents (as fact) a version of public memory that does not recognize its own constructedness. Instead, the NHPA proposes that there are truths that reside in heritage, and preservationists should do the work to preserve those truths. This understanding of the way publics remember was evident in practices in Galveston, like the ongoing production of plaques that tell historical narratives at sites. These plaques, which have a sense of authority and permanence, showcase the belief that there is truth in history that can be effectively communicated. However, during my time in Galveston, I witnessed the fault in this way of thinking. As detailed in Chapter Four, there was an incident where a CHF staff member repeated a false narrative they read on an historical marker outside a CHF building. The plaque had been removed, but the story lived on as an "urban myth." Despite the failure of the plaque, CHF devoted time and resources to recreating it, but this time with the "true history" (as opposed to "false history"). While they recognized the problem of the original plaque, there was a lack of recognition about the problems with plaques in the first place; they assume a "truth" about history that can

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recalcitrant memory space. In Dickinson, G., Blair, C., and Ott, B. L. (Eds.), *Places of public memory: The rhetoric of museums and memorials*. University of Alabama Press.

be materialized. This dissonance within the practice of preservation has implications for resulting public memory. By tracing the origins to the NHPA's formulation of how public memory works (i.e., that it helps the public remember truths/facts), I was better equipped to understand the complicated relationship between a place, a public's understanding of the place, and the macro-level text which is not present in the place, but dictates how and why a public remembers it today.

The limitations of understanding how public memory functions within the framework of the NHPA has direct and material consequences for those interacting with historic properties. Arendt (2013) argues that a collective's memories shape reality for that collective. This was evident in the material and spatial aspects of Galveston which were literally shaped by the town's history of preservation practice. The town is spatially shaped by preservation and the dominant ways of being in the town are informed by the town's preservation choices. As an example, the city's large tourism industry depends on preservation, and the types of jobs that are available, where people can live, and what their world looks like are all determined by preservation. In particular, choices that were made through the realm of the NHPA, including the designation of historic districts, revived the city's downtown and brought in an influx of tourists. The remnants of past preservation inform the contemporary reality of the community. By centering the NHPA in this study, I recognize the significance not only of the history of a community, but the history of preservation practice in a community as a contextual aspect which shapes collective memories.

The NHPA's ability to dictate how professionals tasked with preserving and interpreting historic sites relate to history is also evident in practices related to the National Register. In Chapter Five, I discuss how preservation is sometimes used to formalize a myth in a specific time (creating a *mythed place*) by shaping the "truth" of its

history in a particular moment. While the NHPA presents preservation as a present act done for the future, the NRHP showcases how preservation is an act of the present for the present. What is written in the nomination form and what is written on a subsequent plaque may have been a public's truth at the time, but it does not mean it is a universal, unchanging truth. Although public memory theory recognizes this fact and has complicated the ways that memory can be understood, it is important to know that the dominant framing text in the field opposes theories that see memory as multiple and changing (Lawlor, 2002). Thus, to thoughtfully interact with public memory places that have been preserved, especially those whose preservation required direct interaction with the NHPA, we must recognize the limitations on practice imposed by the text's dominant conceptualization of public memory.

Foucault (2003) explains that truth, within a society, may be seen as the "types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true" (p. 316). For places of public memory, the discourses are embedded during the transformation of a place from a site where something happened (or something lived, or something was designed, etc.) to a site where "history" happened or where "heritage" exists (i.e., heritagization). The discourses that resonate at a place of public memory can be found in the discourses that lead to certain decisions about a memory site. Through this project, I centered the dominant Discourse which informs the decisions and practices that shape historic properties and the public memory surrounding them in the U.S. By questioning not just the decisions, but their predecessor—the NHPA—I showcased the communicative power of the NHPA to shape preservation practices, and resultant public memory. Other scholars seeking to engage with places of public memory would benefit from understanding the ways the NHPA materially and ideologically shapes historic properties and the ways we engage with them today.

This exploration of the NHPA may also provide insight into why the field of preservation may be hesitant to accept DeSilvey's (2015) proposal of *curated decay* as a way to approach heritage in the current climate conditions which make preservation challenging and sometimes illogical. The NHPA expresses a specific way of understanding public memory in relation to historic properties. The Discourse of the NHPA is, in its current form, incommensurable with an understanding of some types of heritage as being "beyond saving" as DeSilvey argues. Rather, the NHPA posits historic property as always threatened, but *able to be saved* by preservationists and good preservation practices. The dominance of the NHPA's Discourse is evident in the Galveston case study where even local everyday discourse was in many ways infused with the Authorized Heritage Discourse of the NHPA. In Galveston, "lost cause" properties are considered savable and rebuilding again and again after increasing climate-change induced storms is the norm. Scholars studying public memory could benefit from understanding the strong dominance of the NHPA's Discourse as a barrier to more radical and different understandings of the material remnants of a public's heritage.

Preservation Practice

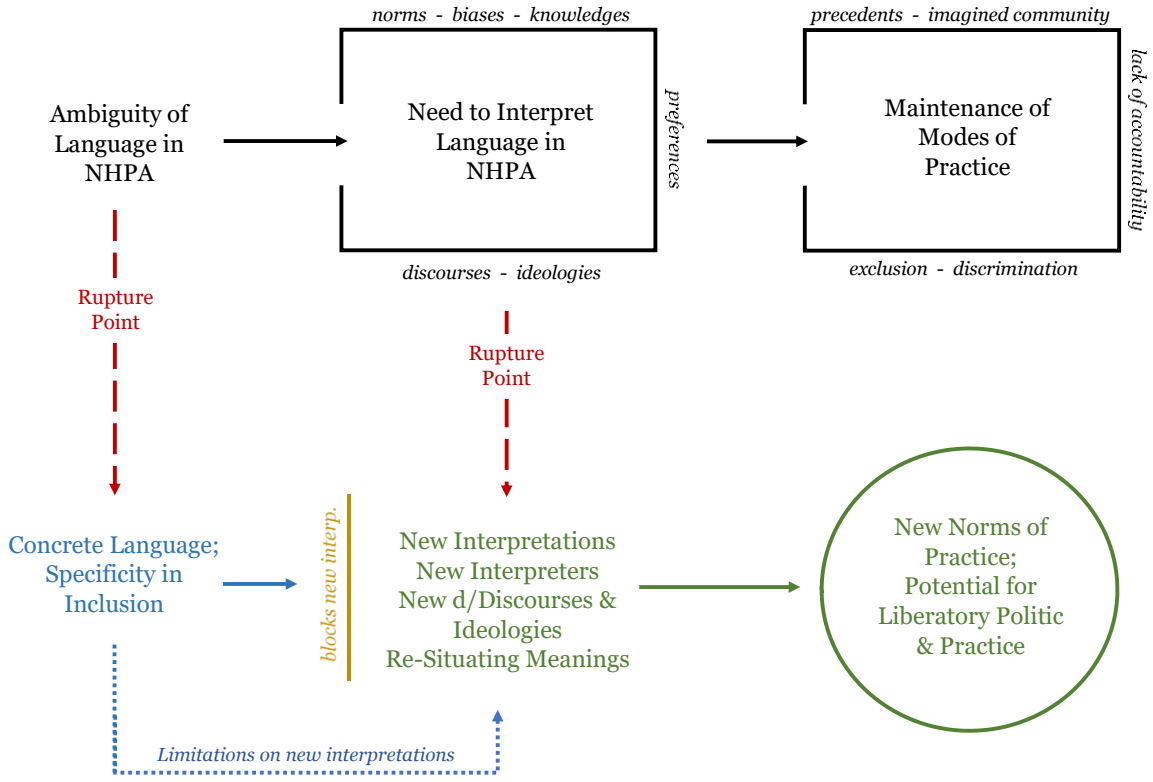
Although this project barely scratches the surface of the field of historic preservation, it does offer some insights into the communicative aspects of the NHPA and how preservationists might rupture normative communication practices to enact change. Together, the three analyses in this dissertation project presented an understanding of how the NHPA shapes practice. In particular, the ambiguity of the NHPA's language provides opportunities for practice to both carry on as usual (while potentially maintaining oppressive structures of power) or rupture (potentially creating meaningful change). As Burke (1961) suggests, ambiguity is often necessary for change to occur, but as discussed in the previous section, it can also be used to prevent change.

Here, I offer a discussion (visualized in Figure 24) about using the NHPA's ambiguity to create positive change in the field.

The ambiguity of the NHPA is beneficial for preservation practice in that it allows for the possibility of change and creates the illusion that anything has the potential to be worthy of preservation. However, a primary aspect of ambiguity is its need for interpretation (Winkler, 2015), which leaves meaning determinacy to individuals. Individual interpretation is not inherently negative, but it does leave interpretation of the NHPA open to individual norms, biases, ideologies, discourses, and preferences. In a field professionalized by the federal government, which follows strict hierarchies, decision-makers whose interpretation of the law matters most (because they are at the top of the hierarchy) can insert their personal interpretation without having to understand the positions or desires of others. In a historically white patriarchal society, interpretation is primarily open to a small group of similar people who have power. The group dictates the types of practices that occur and become normalized. As previously discussed, precedents are set and used to validate ongoing practices which maintain the existing structure of power within the field. Use of precedents is evident in the National Register in which properties that uphold a wealthy white patriarchal society are continuously added. Precedents were also evident in Galveston where practices that stepped outside of the maintenance of wealthy white men's property were presented as special, beyond traditional practice, and benevolent. The result is a lack of accountability which allows practices that are exclusionary and discriminatory to go unchecked. Because the American public values historic sites as presenting the truth about history (Loewen, 1999), the NHPA can be used help misrepresent stories, exclude groups from the national imagined community, and create troubling public memories that can lead to widespread discrimination.

Figure 22

Possibilities for Rupturing Communicative Aspects of Preservation Practice Structured by the NHPA



However, this research presented two possibilities for rupturing the normative modes of practice within preservation. The first option, while offering some promise for change, is also self-defeating. The possibility is to disrupt the function of ambiguity by reshaping the NHPA through concrete language that specifies what should be included in preservation practice. Although this could have positive results in the short-term, it would eventually block new forms of interpretation by closing possibilities for re-interpretations in the future. While in an ideal world, we would be able to specify realms of inclusion, in reality, conceptualizations of what should and should not be included

change over time, leaving either no room for new interpretations or a time-intensive process of refining the law as ideals change. Even though using concrete language to specify what should be included in preservation practice is not practical in the sense of changing the law, it can be useful practice within the law's current framework. Preservationists can coordinate on efforts to create inclusion, and by being specific and clear, can make some changes in what is normalized within practice.

Another possibility for rupturing norms of practice is to disrupt the interpretation process by allowing new interpretations of the NHPA, new interpreters into positions of power, new d/Discourses within the field, and re-situating meanings. Disrupting at the point of interpretation allows preservationists to work within the existing dominant frame of the NHPA—a practical move considering how challenging it would be to make changes to the law.[68] Drawing on the resources of ambiguity (Journet, 2009), preservationists can effectively bring in new interpretations of ambiguous language in the NHPA. Though challenging, the concept of significance can be argued for new types of historic properties so they can be included in the National Register (or be considered elligible, and therefore, provide access to funding sources).[69] New ideologies can also be introduced to reshape interpretations of the NHPA. For example, DeSilvey's (2017) notion of *curated decay* has the potential to reshape how preservationists understand what counts as significant and what approaches should be taken to care for historic properties in relation to a more ecological understanding of the world. Though the idea has been deemed too radical by some preservationists, its

[68] I am not suggesting that changing the NHPA is impossible, just that because of the current structure of the US governmental system, a change would be time-consuming.

[69] While it could be argued that current efforts from the NPS to provide grant opportunities for "underrepresented communities," these efforts further sediment the notion that properties associated with these communities do not fit with the norms of practice, and therefore, need a separate program to deem them eligible and worthy of preservation.

appearance as a topic for the upcoming Association of Preservation Technology conference suggests it is gaining traction. Additionally, bringing in new types of people into the field and providing access to decision-making processes can expand how the NHPA is interpreted and used. By providing access to preservation spaces that have been dominated by a select number of people, new ways of addressing and approaching the NHPA can be brought to the surface. This may mean placing more importance on the role of community members as experts on their own history, creating opportunities for marginalized people to gain leadership positions in the field, or rethinking hierarchical preservation proceses. Promising activities have began to occur within the field that aim to elevate new voices and perspectives, including the Dismantle Preservation Unconference in July of 2020 (Marsom, 2020), Labor Equity in Preservation movement (Young, 2020), and ARCUS Leadership Academy's focus on training leaders in the field to develop an "inclusive and antiracist approach to cultural heritage work" (Cultural Heritage Partners, 2020, para. 2).

As was evidenced in Galveston, d/Discourses of preservation can be more locally situated, rather than primarily informed by the NHPA. If the NHPA is an unavoidable framing Discourse, then preservationists can *re-situate meanings* to both work within the dominant framework and bend it to better suit local needs. In tandem with activities that actively elevate voices who have been intentionally and systematically excluded from preservation, re-situating meanings can be a simple temporary solution to working within the current dominant framework for practice. The result of disrupting at the point of interpretation is new norms of practice that have the potential to foster a more inclusive, just, and liberatory practice within the field of preservation.

Future Directions

While this dissertation project began to understand the communicative ways the NHPA frames historic preservation practice, there is still much to learn. Using crystallization helped to address the project's meta-question through a variety of approaches which centered different elements of the NHPA. Still, I was only able to explore three facets of the crystal that makes up the NHPA. Like any study, this project has limitations, but it also offers directions for future research that might address its limitations. Here, I offer three specific directions that could be explored in the future to increase understanding of this project's central topic.

First, although this project centered a law, it did not specifically use policy theory to investigate the NHPA. Rather, I focused on the rhetoric, discourse, and aesthetic communication associated with the NHPA. While my approach was generative for practice in general, a policy approach to this topic could reveal different strengths and weaknesses within the law. A policy approach could also assist with a more targeted approach to change. While this dissertation project provided practical possibilities for change within the current law, a policy approach could help provide direction for making bigger, policy-level transformations.

Second, future studies should attend to the affective qualities of preservation practice. During my time in Galveston, there were glimmers of affect in participants' everyday talk and practice. Intuition, or "just knowing" the right thing to do was a concept that appeared and warrants future discussion. While I believe that the d/Discourses presented in this project inform the notion of intuition in preservation practice, it was not the primary focus of this research, and therefore, was not explored enough to be included in the analysis. A future project which centers processes outside of discourse would reveal interesting insights into both communication and preservation practice.

Third, while not within the scope of this project, a deeper understanding of non-professional communication and perspectives on preservation practice could be illuminating for answering this project's meta research question. In this research, professionals, their actions, and their guiding discourses were central. Other research has suggested that people who live in historic communities do not necessarily care about preservation standards or discourses, instead, considering an "aesthetic of pastness" to be central to their preservation process (Kitson & McHugh, 2015). A promising future direction for research would be to look at an area's professional and non-professional perceptions and actions related to preservation. In the case of this project, a study which dives into Galveston residents' preservation practices would enrich an understanding of how national preservation d/Discourses influence or seep into everyday practice beyond professionals.

Finally, this research centered a dominant communicative force in the field of preservation—the NHPA—and attempted to provide some suggestions for changes in practice *within* that dominant force. For some, this will not be radical enough. Future research should explore possibilities for practice outside of the NHPA's domination. If, for example, curated decay (DeSilvey, 2017) is incommensurable with the NHPA as is suggested by the language and practices implemented in it, then future research should explore possibilities for structuring the professional field in a way that allows new and promising ideas to not only be implemented but accepted within the standards and ideologies that guide practice. While this research pushed me to imagine futures outside of the dominating force of the NHPA, it was not within the scope of this project to share those ideas. The field, however, will benefit from creative, innovative ideas which see beyond the existing d/Discourses, rhetoric, and ideologies to future possibilities.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the communicative aspects of the NHPA and their role in shaping preservation practice in the U.S. Through crystallization, I explored three facets of the National Historic Preservation Act: its rhetoric, application in a critical case study, and aesthetic communication through the National Register of Historic Places. My analyses show that the NHPA plays a vital role in shaping preservation practices which influence some aspects of public memory. Through its ambiguity, implied morality, and formation of a mythic national community, the NHPA communicatively constructs U.S. preservation practice. While the current structure requires preservationists, even those not legally bound to the NHPA, to work within its framework, there are ways to disrupt the discursive boundaries and practice preservation more critically and justly.

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APPENDIX A

HISTORIC SITES DISCUSSED IN *WITH HERITAGE SO RICH*

Abraham Lincoln death home

Afton villa

Ainsley Hall Mansion, SC

Alred Kelley House, OH

Andrew Jackson's Hermitage

Annapolis, Maryland

Astor Library, New York City, NY

Battery Park, NY

Belle Grove Plantation

Benefit Street

Berkeley – Benjamin Harrison home

Boscobel House, NY

Boston Common

Boston Theatre

Brandon – William Byrd Harrison home

Brook Farm in Roxbury, Massachusetts

Brooklyn Heights, New York City, NY

Bumblebee, AZ

Burton Parish Church

Burton Parish Church

Cable Building, Chicago, IL

Calhoun House

California Trail

Cape May, NJ

Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.

Carter's Grove – Carter Burwell home

Cast Iron District, New York City, NY

Castle Stevens, NY

Central City Colorado

Charleston, SC

Christ Church in Washington, DC

Christ Church, Cincinnati, OH

Church of the Unity, Springfield, MO

City Hall, Alexandria, VA

Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA

Concord Bridge

Cotswood District

Council Bluffs, Iowa

Court House, Boston, MA

Crowninshield-Bently House

Davenport House, Savannah, GA

Dearborn – Henry Ford home

Decatur and Woodrow Wilson House

Deerfield Academy

Deerfield, MA

Derby Warf, Salem, MA

East Avenue, Rochester, NY

Eastern State Hospital

Echo Canyon

Economy, Pennsylvania

Elmwood - James Russel Lowe home

Euclid Arcade, Cleveland, OH

Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, OH

Executive Building, Washington, DC

Faneuil Hall, Boston, MA

First Church of Boston

First Congressional Church, VT

First Iron Works Association, MA

First Presbyterian Church, Newark, NY

First Universalist Church at Ocean County, Delaware

Ford's Theatre

Fort Crailo in Rensselaer, NY

Fort Sumpter

Franklin D. Roosevelt home

Friend's Meetinghouse, New York City

Gadsby's Tavern, Alexandria, VA

Garrick Theatre, Chicago, IL

George Washington birthplace

German Village, Columbus, OH

Gerrit Smith Public Library

Glessner Mansion, Chicago, IL

Gloucester Courthouse

"Gold Coast," Milwaukee, WI

Governor William Tryon's Palace, NC

Governor's Palace

Grace Church, New York City, NY

Gravity Railroad

Greenwich Village, New York City, NY

Greenwood

Gunston Hall – George Mason home

Harral-Wheeler House, CT

Hasbrouck House

Hawk's House, Salem, MA

Henderson County Courthouse, KY

Hopewall Furnace

Horseshoe Bend, Alabama

Hyde Hall, NY

Independence Hall

India Wharf Building

Jacksonville, Oregon

Jamestown Island

Jamestown, VA

John Adams House

Kelley Mansion, Columbus, OH

La Reunion in San Antonio, TX

La Villita, San Antonio, TX

Landmark Building, Washington, DC

Lexington-Concord battlefields

Louisburg Square, Boston, MA

Lyndhurst in Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson

Maison Carree

Massachusetts State House

“Monkey block,” San Francisco

Montgomery Blair Mansion

Montgomery Block, San Francisco

Monticello

Monument Place, Baltimore, MA

Mormon Tabernacle, St. George

Mormon Trial

Morrisstown

Mount Pisgah

Mount Vernon

Mount Vernon – George Washington home

Nassau Hall at Princeton University

Nathaniel Russel House

New Harmony, Indiana

New York City Aquarium

New York Stock Exchange

New York Stock Exchange

Newburgh

Newport, RI

Old Custom House, Salem, MA

Old Female Seminary

Old Howard Theatre, Boston, MA

Old Post Office, St. Louis, MO

Old South Meeting House, Boston, MA

Old Sturbridge Village

Oregon House, OH

Oregon Trail

Orphans Chapel, Charleston, SC

Paul Revere’s House

Pennsylvania Station, New York City

Philipse Castle in Tarrytown, NY

Pope-Leighy House

Prince William Courthouse

Princeton battleground of Revolutionary War

Prudential Building, New York City, NY

Raleigh Tavern

Richmond, Virginia Capitol Building

Roanoke

Robert E. Lee’s Arlington home

Sailor’s Snug Harbor, NY

Salem, MA

San Antonio River

San Francisco Mint

San Francisco Minto

Saugus Iron Works

Savoy Plaza, New York City, NY

Schuyler Mansion in Albany, NY

Scollay Square Theater, Boston, MA

Shadows on the Bayou Teche

Sheffield House, Yale

Smith Tavern in Weston, MA

Society Hill, PA

Spanish Castillo de San Marcos

Sparhawk Mansion

St. John's Church, Richmond, VA

St. John's College

St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City

St. Paul's Church in Alexandria, VA

St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia, PA

State Captiol of Wisoncisn

State House, Boston, MA

The Corcoran, Washington, DC

The Cottage, Baton Rouge, LA

The Manhattan Club, New York City, NY

The Octagon, Washington, D.C.

The Old State House, Boston, MA

The Roofless Church

Theodore Roosevelt birthplace

Third Church in Boston

Thomas Edison House

Timothy Bishop House

Tombstone, AZ

Trinity Church in New York City, NY

U.S. Naval Academy

United States Capitol Building

Valley Forge

Van Cortland Manor

Van Pelt Manor House

Van Rensselaer Manor

Virginia's King William Courthouse

Wainwright Building, St. Louis, MO

Watts Towers

Wayside Inn in Sudbury

Wayside Inn, MA

Westover – William Byrd II home

"White House of the Confederacy"

Williamsburg, VA

Winterthur Museum

Woodlawn Plantation, VA

World's Fair in Chicago, IL

Wyman Villa, Baltimore, MD

Yates Castle

Yorktown, VA battlefield

APPENDIX B

HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Daniel Brouwer

CLAS-SS: Human Communication, Hugh Downs School of

480/965-5976

Daniel.Brouwer@asu.edu

Dear Daniel Brouwer: On 5/24/2019 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Discourses of Preservation
Investigator:	Daniel Brouwer
IRB ID:	STUDY00010223
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Interview Protocol.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Recruitment Script.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Letter of Support.pdf, Category: Off-site authorizations (school permission, other IRB approvals, Tribal permission etc); • Informed Consent - Interviews_R.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Informed Consent - Observation_R.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Discourses of Preservation IRB Protocol , Category: IRB Protocol;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 5/24/2019.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Ashley Wheeler

Ashley Wheeler

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Pre-Interview Steps

1. ***Voluntary consent:*** Present the verbal consent for interviews. Ask if they have any questions. Receive verbal consent from the participant.
2. ***Explain the process***: "Today, I will be asking you a series of questions about your experience working in preservation at the GHS. To respect your time, I will be watching the clock to ensure that the interview does not last too long. If at any time you do not want to answer a question or want to end the interview, just let me know."
3. ***Audio recording:*** "With your consent, I will be using an audio-recorder to help me remember our conversation. To help your interview remain anonymous try not to use identifying language like your full name, the full name of others, or identifying company names."

Interview Guide

The interview questions below are semi-structured. The second-level questions are probing questions that may or may not be asked depending upon the participant's response.

- How long have you worked in preservation?
    - How long have you worked at the GHS?
    - What other experience do you have in preservation?
- How do you describe the work you do to people who do not work in preservation?

- How did you become interested in preservation?
- Can you describe your favorite preservation project you have worked on?
    - What made it special?
    - Why was this project important?
- Can you describe the last project you worked on?
    - How did you make decisions about what to retain, change, or preserve?
    - How did you determine the significance of the project?
- Can you describe an unsuccessful project that you worked on or know about?
    - Why do you think it was unsuccessful?
- If you have a disagreement about how to approach a historic site in the office, how do you settle the argument?
- What rules or standards do you use for projects?
    - Do you use:
        - SOI's Standards, the NHPA, UNESCO charters, Antiquities Act, etc.?
    - Why do you use these standards?
- To protect your identity, I will be using pseudonyms for my data. Do you have a preferred pseudonym or would you like me to assign one for you?

The included interview questions are a semi-structured guide and may not be asked verbatim. Additional 'probing' questions may be proposed during each interview