

**Protecting Place: Rural African American Cultural Memory, Folklife and
Conservation Discourse in Central North Carolina**

Steve Kruger

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Curriculum
in Folklore

Chapel Hill
2011

Approved By :

Katherine Roberts

Timothy Marr

Patricia Sawin

©2011
Steve Kruger
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Abstract

Steve Kruger

Protecting Place: Rural African American Cultural Memory, Folklife and Conservation
Discourse in Central North Carolina

(Under the direction of Katherine Roberts, Timothy Marr and Patricia Sawin)

Sense of place is valued and utilized as a discursive, rhetorical tool within the sustainable development movement, forming the basis for conservation strategies. But there is a disconnect between the discourse of place that occurs within the conservation/sustainability movement, the resulting public policy, and the sense of place that exists in communities facing environmental and economic issues. In this paper, activists from three rural African American communities in central North Carolina describe the sense of place they experience in their communities. The paper addresses the criticism that place is a depoliticized, romanticized concept, demonstrating that within these communities, sense of place is critically evaluated and constructed, particularly to maintain access to land and address political, economic and social issues. By examining place-based conservation strategies and their reception within these communities, this paper will argue for a partnership-based collaborative approach based on local political, historic and economic conditions.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank Ricky Harris, Ammie Jenkins, Billie Rogers, James Harris, Rossalyn Glenn, Clarence Glenn, Edgar Johnson, Mikki Sager of the Conservation Fund, and Jeff Masten of Triangle Land Conservancy for sharing their stories and opinions and making this project possible. I would also like to thank Kelly Izlar for her moral support, Chris Fowler, Vincent Joos and Sarah Bell for their help and camaraderie, and the members of my committee, Dr. Katherine Roberts, Dr. Timothy Marr, and Dr. Patricia Sawin for providing insight and encouragement.

Preface

When I moved to the mountains of Western North Carolina at the age of 17, my stated reason was to attend Appalachian State University. In reality, though, I moved to the mountains because I loved the natural landscape and the culture of the region, particularly Appalachian music. Outside of school, I found myself in a community of local people and incoming revivalists that played traditional music and engaged in other forms of traditional folklife tied to subsistence, and adapted to a local ecosystem. I came to view the landscape, the music and the people as being co-creative. These interests led me to pursue a degree in Anthropology with a concentration in Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development as it was taught in that discipline made sense to me because it stressed the interdependence of culture, economics and the environment. It acknowledged that for most communities, concern for the environment could exist even though the primary material well-being of a community was a higher priority. This set sustainable development apart from the environmental movement, which alienated many people because it puts more value on the health of the environment than on peoples' need to survive and make a living. Sustainable development was portrayed as a universal good, something that was often referred to as common sense, simply finding a way to meet the needs of the present without compromising the future and the health of the environment. But there was still a way of evaluating which traditional practices worked and which ones

didn't, and this judgment was made from a position of relative privilege. This was something I did not question until much later. At the same time, outside of my department and my community I was aware that another side of sustainable development existed, the high tech world of green energy and the consumption oriented sustainable marketplace, which remains out of reach for the majority of people economically. It is also (sadly) associated with and marketed to a specific political and economic demographic. In my program at ASU, perhaps more than in others, the affinity people already had for their environment, and the knowledge and traditional practices that came from it, were highly valued, and we were taught that there is a need for people working towards sustainability to see it as a mutually beneficial partnership between themselves and the communities they work in.

I came to folklore curriculum with the idea that I would write about the connection between what I would later come to understand as sense of place in the academic sense of the term, and traditional practices, particularly music. In my coursework I was learning about the romanticism and primitivism projected onto communities by early folklorists, their tendency to create categories based on false dichotomies between the authentic and inauthentic, the folk and the popular. I was reminded of my similar disenchantment with the mainstream environmental movement's dichotomy separating humanity from nature. The projection onto other cultures, of some idyllic past in opposition to modernity is something that continues to haunt our discipline, despite the work of folklorists to discourage it. But I was unwilling to discredit what at first listen might seem like a similar nostalgia coming from the people I have worked

with in the field. This act of remembering is different because it is not a desire to return to an imagined past. Instead it is a desire to remember something they had actually experienced, in all of its complexity. The choice to hold onto and continue practices that had a real value for them for their own reasons. I think this is true with many communities, but African Americans who have many reasons to not want to return to the poverty and oppression that defined that past for many rural communities. The decision to carry certain memories, values and practices into the present requires a different relationship with the past, one that allows remembering because it is useful, even if the process is painful.

The knowledge of the complexity of a past time and the conscious selection of what to take from it by those who have actually experienced that time period is the difference between what Ray Cashman calls *critical nostalgia* (Cashman 2006) and the nostalgia of an imagined past that characterized old-school folklore, with its roots in romantic nationalism. This project seeks to communicate the way Ricky Harris, Ammie Jenkins and Billie Rogers feel about place, and I believe that it does. It is also a reflection of my own struggle to reconcile the problems of folklore and sustainability as flawed constructs with my genuine beliefs in the value and distinctiveness of community-based expression and knowledge, and my conviction that the health of the environment and the quality of human life are interconnected; that locally adapted practices and knowledge are part of any solution, as is the inclusion of the voices of all affected people.

I met the people who made my thesis possible in large part by coincidence. I met Ricky Harris through the man who would later become my father-in-law. I was

looking to branch out from my interest in music. A project involving a group of local fox hunters had fallen through due to their involvement in legal trouble with animal rights groups and the local media, which made them reluctant to talk to anyone. Lee Izlar suggested I speak to a friend who worked with him at the phone company, a man who belonged to an African American trail riding group. The trip Ricky Harris and I took that first day to his home place led me to shift my project completely to focus on his struggles maintaining access to land in the Hill Forest, and what those places meant to him and his family. That project led to this paper. What may seem ironic after reading it is that I later met Billie Rogers because I was looking for a place to go hiking. My sister took me to the White Pines Nature Reserve, at the confluence of the Deep and Rocky Rivers in Chatham County North Carolina. There I encountered the remains of the swinging bridge, (see illustration) which piqued my curiosity. Her views on the values associated with the way she grew up, and the place that her community had built resonated with what I had heard from Ricky Harris. When I decided to create a sonic map of the Deep River for another course, I interviewed Jeff Masten, the conservation strategist for the Triangle Land Conservancy, which is the organization that manages White Pines. He outlined the story of the swinging bridge and guided me towards the Gorgas community, eventually leading me to Billie Rogers. Billie Rogers has an amazing life story that includes being an activist in the environmental justice movement and the civil rights movement, both of which she saw as having roots in the way her rural community made their living from the land in the 1930s and 40s. In the case of Billie Rogers and Ricky Harris, I found eloquent people who cared about their community and expressed

something I had heard over the years from many people in many different rural communities: Traditional practices do not occur in isolation. Every tradition exists in conversation with others and occurs within a setting. The land gives people and their culture a place to exist, and helps give a community its identity and values. Land is important, as are the individuals who taught them what they know, and that there is a tangible value in remembering past ways of living and the people who lived it.

After deciding on my thesis topic, I sought out Ammie Jenkins, whose organization won a Brown-Hudson Award from the North Carolina Folklore Society in 2008. The Sandhills Family Heritage Association focuses on the connection between traditional culture, land and economic sustainability, and the idea that the past is not to be returned to, but learned from. I owe this contact partially to Kirsten Mullen, who has done a great deal of public folklore in North Carolina, including work with several partner organizations of the Resourceful Communities Program. As a teaching assistant in an Introduction to Folklore course, I heard her deliver a wonderful guest lecture on the complexity, multiplicity and politics of place in African American communities. Her work helped me understand and articulate the ways I was coming to think about place. I had similar guidance from Katherine Roberts from whom I first heard the idea that carrying on a tradition is a choice, often a difficult one involving sacrifice, and that there is always a reason for making that choice. Above all, I learned about the shortcomings and promise of the underlying concepts of Folklore and sustainable development expressed by Mikki Sager and Ammie Jenkins, in the way they put those concepts to work. I have come to see that placing value on folklife and the health of the environment

can never be done with a blind eye to the social, economic and political processes which have always shaped both landscape and culture, nor can we forget the values we bring with us. I do not intend to discredit the sustainable development, the conservation movement, or the concept of place in this paper. I do believe that the flexibility of these concepts becomes clear when they are criticized. This demonstrates their potential strength as a practical way of solving shared problems in a collaborative fashion, as long as everyone has a place at the table.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Project Goals.....	5
Chapter One: Senses of Place.....	8
Theoretical Background.....	8
Passing Through.....	12
Home.....	15
Memory and Place.....	21
Frame Alignment: Place, Conservation and the Discourse of Sustainability.....	31
Chapter Two: Place-Based Conservation Strategies.....	37
Part One: The Conservation Easement.....	37
Problems with the Easement Model.....	40
Part Two: Cultural Resources and Heritage Tourism.....	43
Part Three: The Partnership Approach: The Resourceful Communities Program.....	48
Strategies Adopted by Consultants.....	51
Conclusion.....	56
Works Cited.....	61
Online Resources Cited.....	65

List of Illustrations

(All Photographs Taken By Steve Kruger)

1. Home of Robert Harris. Hill Forest. Rougemont, North Carolina.....	15
2. Ricky Harris Holding Flowers Planted By His Grandmother. Hill Forest, Rougemont, North Carolina.....	17
3. Rack For Dressing Deer. Glenn Home. Rougemont, North Carolina.....	20
4. Site of the Gorgas Schoolhouse Ferry. White Pines Nature Preserve.....	27
5. Unfinished Quilt-top at the Senior Center, Little River Community Center.....	29
6. Approaching Storm on State Forest Road. Rougemont, North Carolina.....	36
7. Meeting on Land Trusts and Easements at the Little River Community Center.....	43
8. Materials Published By the SFHA.....	55
9. Rossalyn Glenn On Her Property Line.....	57

List of Abbreviations

RCP: Resourceful Communities Program

SFHA: Sandhills Family Heritage Association

TLC: Triangle Land Conservancy

Chapter One: Senses of Place

Theoretical Background

The idea of a distinction between space and place in academia arose out of the human geography movement of the 1970s and 80s. Geographers such as Yi Fu Tuan (1977) and Edward Relph (1976) sought to understand how physical space was understood by the people who inhabited it, by drawing on the phenomenological emphasis on experience: people's own meaningful connections with the places they inhabit. The result was a distinction between space as a physical object and place not synonymous with location, but a location inscribed with meaning. In her policy-driven study on the New Jersey Pinelands, Mary Hufford draws on ecological anthropologist Donald Hardesty's concept of *reciprocal causality* to describe how the physical landscape is shaped by human activity and simultaneously shapes the way humans understand and give meaning to that landscape (Hufford 1986:11). A sense of place refers to the realization or expression of that co-creative relationship between people and space as being meaningful. Kent Ryden describes this when he differentiates between the understanding of a space by someone who dwells in it, as opposed to someone just passing through (Ryden 1993: 14).

Timothy Cochrane (1987), and Kent Ryden among others, point out that the kinds of activities requiring interaction with or knowledge of that environment or land are also

conduits for communicating or enacting a sense of place. Often these activities, like farming, foodways, and hunting, are afforded by the pre-existing factors of the environment: the soil, the contours of the land, the wildlife it supports and the climate. Some forms of expression are co-adapted to the environment resulting in the kind of reciprocity illuminated by Steven Feld in his work on the sonic presence of the rainforest soundscape on Kaluli music in Papua New Guinea (Basso and Feld 1996). A sense of place is also consciously expressed and enacted through verbal expression. People sing about the land, and their affinity for it. Stories are set in places, and places are named and cognitively ordered in ways that reflect cultural beliefs. In Keith Basso's work with the Western Apache, he demonstrates how the landscape takes on new meaning through the recounting of narratives associated with well-known sites on the landscape. (Basso 1996) These types of shared practice are expressive; they are examples of folklife. They express the inner lives of the individual and the shared meaning of their culture and its setting or place.

Many criticisms of using place as a concept have been based on the idea that the idea of a sense of place is often a projection placed on communities by outsiders who value a harmonious connection between people and the environment. In this case the community's connection to the environment is essentialized, and their culture is seen as bounded, locked in time and unaffected by global and extrilocal political and economic practices, as well as local political and historical conditions that transcend sensuous experience (Hall 1995, Shuman 1993, Meyers 2002).

Allen Pred summarizes this shortcoming of place studies nicely saying:

Sense of place suffers from either a total neglect or inadequate treatment and conceptualization of context and contextual processes. Historical context, social context, and biographical context do not serve as theoretical underpinnings. They are either ignored or vaguely and insufficiently dealt with. The impression is all too often conveyed that sense of place is the product of an autonomous mind freely interpreting the world of experience...of memories, meanings, and attachments flowing from independent actions inspired by independent intentions. Thus, sense of place is too frequently seen as a free-floating phenomenon, in no way influenced either by historically specific power relationships that enable some to impose upon others their view of the natural and acceptable, or by social and economic constraints on action and thereby thought. (Pred: 49)

Later authors grounded sense of place in cultural and political contexts, such as Kent Ryden's (1993) exploration of the memory of labor conflict in former mining communities in Idaho and Gabriella Gahlia Modan's (2006) work on ethnicity, politics and place in Washington D.C. In general, local senses of place are presented as alternative ways of being in the world, threatened by globalism, industrialization and political oppression. But much of place studies, and the application of place to public policy, lack political and economic contextualization. The discourse on sense of place implies an eternally dwelled-in present. This may be more of the application of the concept than the concept itself. Timothy Cochrane points out that Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan both designate a continuum of association with place (1982: 4-7). Relph calls the first level "existential insiderness." Tuan refers to it as "rootedness," where a person identifies completely with a place to the point where it is not made explicit because it is internalized. Tuan refers to the next step as a "sense of place," meaning that some level of distance has allowed the relationship with a place to be recognized and valued. Using these terms Cochrane goes on to demonstrate how the creation of Isle Royale National Park changed the economy and land use patterns of Lake Superior fishermen. The rise of

a tourism industry and the coming-of-age of younger generations who had never lived on the island led to expressions of a sense of place that sought to maintain that connection. This distinction is important because it demonstrates that sense of place is not essential or timeless, but occurs in a dynamic present and is in fact a reaction to changes in the landscape and the lifestyle of the region.

For the people I spoke with, adults between the age of 50 and 80, their lives reflect both the rootedness of their childhood, and their witness of the social upheaval of the Civil Rights era and the move away from an agricultural economy. All three also left home for a time and returned. Their realization of the value of that way of life and the place in which it occurred came as a result of that distancing from it, or the threat of alienation from it.

Allen Pred has called for place to be considered a *structure of meaning*, Raymond Williams's term for the unification or organization of experience, sociality, ideology and the context of the present into one framework, that is:

not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought, "practical consciousness of a present kind" wherein meanings and values are actively lived and felt in an "interrelating continuity." (1983: 48)

Different practices described below, such as farming, hunting and horseback riding, and the memory of specific places can be linked to values of self-sufficiency and cooperation. Pred specifically discusses how Williams viewed a structure of feeling as something that is emergent and generational, like the emergent sense of place described here. Raymond Williams was not a folklorist and focuses on the act of projection, or the existence of structures of feeling based within national or institutional frameworks. But a

contextualized place as a structure of feeling roots the concept where it claims to be, in the world of experience, and more closely reflects how people such as Harris, Rogers and Jenkins actually experience place.

Passing Through

Driving down Gabe Bryant road into the community of Gorgas or along Hampton Road near Rougemont, the first thing that strikes you is the beauty of the landscape. The rolling piedmont is divided into long stretches of deciduous forest, broken by fields and farms. If you had lived here for a long time, you would know there used to be less forest here, more farms, more space being used by more people. Rural people began leaving the farm in greater numbers across demographic lines in the early 20th century to find work in the growing cotton and tobacco industry. Migration from black communities was more significant, especially among people who didn't own land. The closing of the tobacco auction houses and the phasing out of the allotment system a few decades later was the final nail in the coffin for the tobacco farmers. People here are now more likely to keep cattle or have a field of corn. But there are gardens everywhere, and in some yards you can see hunting dogs napping in their pens, or tied to stakes in the yard. Horses graze in the fields. There is public land too— on Hampton Road you pass through Hill Forest, owned by North Carolina State University. Across the river from Gorgas is a large nature preserve, soon to become part of state park. Subdivisions aren't here yet, but they might be coming as Durham and Chapel Hill expand.

The rural landscape of North Carolina is segregated in a porous and haphazard sort of way. After the Civil War, many African Americans stayed and formed communities near the site of their enslavement. Some were granted land; others saved money and bought land, like Ricky Harris' ancestor, Lucius Glenn. Their children inherited the land, and there are small clustered communities of people who are related living on those same pieces of land. For the passer-by this may only be evident by the repetition of names on the road signs and mailboxes.

Freed people of color founded Gorgas before the Civil War. The community grew up around a black-owned mill at the confluence of the Deep and Rocky Rivers. While many men worked in timber on the river, everyone was a farmer too. Today in Gorgas, around the Hill Forest and in communities in the Sandhills, rural black communities have shrunk faster than their white counterparts. There is more rapid loss of black-owned farmland. Most people in the last two generations have left home and the remaining population is relatively older than in the past. Some went to work in factories, at hospitals or the colleges in the Triangle, or opened businesses. Some went to college. Some moved North or West but the majority of the former residents of Gorgas and Rougemont live in North Carolina's urban or suburban areas such as Greensboro, Durham and Raleigh. A few people do stay, preferring a long commute to city life. Some leave and return because they missed home, or the plant moved overseas, or a sick family member needed taking care of. Others come back to retire, and their visiting grandchildren develop new relationships with the land. Gone or not, people maintain connections to their home community by visiting relatives, attending homecomings and family reunions.

The Sandhills have a similar history but a unique ecology. The remains of a prehistoric coastline, these ancient low hills of sandy soil are covered in longleaf and loblolly pine. The dirt roads winding off of 87 through the wiregrass are almost white from the sand, and many of the trees are black from the periodic burning that sustains the ecosystem. Before the Civil War, turpentine was the main industry and much of the labor was provided by enslaved African Americans. Later, agriculture came to dominate the economy with most people producing food crops, cotton or tobacco. With the collapse of domestic tobacco production and the textile industry and an overall drop in small family farming, the majority of the land here too has returned to forest. The same story of outmigration applies, but one industry has grown. Fort Bragg was established as a small Army camp during World War One and mushroomed during World War Two. Since 2001 the base has expanded even more both in population and area. While this has brought some employment opportunities to the area, it has also resulted in some people losing their land, either to eminent domain exercised by the military or suburban development, as the base's population expands outside of Fayetteville, and the retirement areas of Southern Pines and Pinehurst grow.

Even if you know this history, stories hide from the passer-by in plain view— in what Kent Ryden calls the invisible landscape (1993). They unfold in wide deep spots on the river, a pair of identical churches across the street from each other, fields and the overgrown remains of fields. If you look closely you can see the remains of abandoned houses and tobacco barns. You may wonder who lived there, but you can't know what those places mean today if you're just passing through.



Illustration 1. Home of Robert Harris, Hill Forest Rougemont, NC

Home

Ricky Harris lives next door to his father near Rougemont, North Carolina, on a piece of land surrounded by North Carolina State University's research forest, known as Hill Forest. I went to visit him because I was interested in the African American trail riding group he helped found. After he showed me his horses, he asked if I wanted to see the place where his father grew up. We drove down a dirt road through a managed forest in different states of growth and soon came to a log cabin surrounded by daffodils. We got out of his truck and walked past a number of No Trespassing signs recently put up by "the forestry." Ricky's grandfather, Robert Harris, had lived on the land when it still belonged to Hill family, farming tobacco and raising food crops for family use. When the family donated the land to the University during the Depression, Robert Harris had the

right to stay on the property for the rest of his life. In exchange, the family worked seasonally in the forest, cooking for the students who stayed in the summer, as well as working in the forest itself cutting timber. Ricky remembers farming tobacco during the summers when he was growing up in the 1960s. He pointed to the daffodils, remains of the flower beds his grandmother kept, where they went to get water, the place in the river where the family members were baptized and swam on hot summer days. He showed me where the different garden plots had been, with names like “One Tree Field” and “New Ground.” He had spent much of his free time riding his horse through the forest and hunting with his brother and cousins, whose families also lived near the forest. Here Harris describes what it meant to be able to ride freely through Hill Forest.

I had the opportunity to pick between a horse and a car. Well, I picked the horse. And everybody at school was making fun of me and telling me: I can't believe you picked a horse over a car! But that was the only thing I knew out here, riding horses. Everybody I knew had horses. Cars wouldn't go through the woods, so I picked a horse. It was just so free. You could ride them with no saddle, no bridle because we rode them every day. We'd get out in the pasture and lay down with them. That was our joy, our horses. (2001)

Over the years the family came to consider the forest their home, a place of beauty and a source of sustenance. That changed in the early 2000s, when the forest came under new management. The no trespassing signs went up, and though Ricky has special access as someone who lives on property surrounded by the forest, he now has to carry papers with him whenever he enters forestry property. The home place today is off-limits to other family members. Hunting rights are leased out through a lottery system, mostly to outsiders. The two-day annual horseback ride, an important event in the

community and network of extended family around the Rougemont area, has been pushed off Forestry property, based on claims that the horses contribute to erosion. That long history of dwelling in the land, and the importance of it to the Harrises, the Glenns and other families that grew up around Hill Forest is inscribed on that space. Ricky Harris' knowledge of an empty log home and overgrown fields ringed by the yellow No Trespassing signs, the way each feature of the landscape told a story, his attachment to the land, and the importance he placed on the threat to that attachment shows the existence of what Kent Ryden calls the *Invisible Landscape*, (1994); something I would not have been able to perceive simply by passing through that landscape. It is a landscape defined by its natural features, but especially by the emotive force of the place's ability to conjure up memory of experience and family, and by the kinds of activities that were practiced there.



Illustration 2. Ricky Harris Holding Daffodils Planted By His Grandmother. Robert Harris Home, Hill Forest Rougemont, North Carolina.

For Ricky Harris, Ammie Jenkins and Billie Rogers, the construction and the organization of different practices into a structure of feeling is a conscious choice; the decision to teach your children how to hunt, or to identify the edible plants that grow in the forest and the struggle to maintain a place in the landscape is a choice (Roberts 2009). People make this choice to achieve positive outcomes in their community. For people who own land, part of this is holding onto a material resource of monetary value. But Keith Basso points out that “Geographical features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history” (1984:44). For the consultants in this study, part of the structure of feeling of place is the assignment of moral values to traditional activity and the connection to land.

Maintaining a relationship to land, and passing it on to the next generation teaches practical skills, moral lessons and creates a healthier community. The most common motifs that emerged in this valuing of place are communal self-sufficiency, cooperation, strong familial ties, a good work ethic, and the value of practical knowledge; attributes which have special relevance in the black community, which is often portrayed as lacking these values. Ricky Harris describes it this way:

SK: What was it like growing up in the Forestry? (Hill Forest)

RH: I think about that now, and it was just so free. You had access to what looked like the world. Anywhere I wanted to go.... We grew everything. When I say everything, my Momma made homemade preserves, canned—they canned everything from the garden. So we never had to buy anything you know? If you wanted an apple pie you had fresh apples all year round. We'd pick strawberries, blackberries, there used to be a blackberry vine right out there by that tree (points backwards out the kitchen window). They grew up wild up there, they were so big. Plums, grapes, and most of the meat came from hunting. There used to be a lot of wild turkeys here.

Living out here taught me how to work, how to provide. I can provide with no electricity. I taught my boys a long time ago how to find their way. How to read an almanac. I taught them that early on. And If I had a problem with the farm I would come over here and you'd help for no money. And if you had a problem I'd know I'm coming to help you with no money. I never understood, "man can you help me cut a tree down? I'll pay you." Man, you don't pay me to help cut a tree down, we're helping each other as friends. But until I got to Durham, I didn't know that's what's done. If somebody comes out and helps me they're expecting to have money. They're not expecting me to wait for something to happen over at their house to help them. But see, we were not reared like that. (2001)



Illustration 3. Rack For Dressing Deer. Glenn Home. Rougemont, North Carolina

The organization of land by kinship is also an important part of this sense of place. This has roots in the historical patterns of land ownership in the African American community, especially in the tendency for land in some families (not in Harris, Jenkins or Rogers case currently, but in other families in their communities) to be passed down as “heir property.” In the first few generations of African American landowners after the Civil War, very few people left wills. More often, they left land collectively to their descendants. That resulted in a system where land gets divided into smaller individual shares over generations. Often many family members will live on one piece of land, and

make decisions about its use collectively. The sense of a related human presence on the land is similar to Barbara Allen's notion of the "genealogical landscape," where space is ordered and given meaning according to one's affiliation within a social and filial network (Allen 1993). However it is important to note that this condition was created due to the socio-economic realities faced by African-Americans in post-Civil War South. In this scenario the cognitive mapping of space and its resulting meaning are in a feedback loop with the way land is physically shaped and used. Ammie Jenkins put it this way:

One of the traditions that is still passed on in our area is that our families live in compounds. My Maiden name is McRae. There is McRaetown, right down from us is McGregortown, right over there is Browertown. Because I live in an area, my granddaddy lived here, my granddaddy had two brothers who lived here. They had property, but it was adjacent so it was like one big McRae piece of land with all of these family members. The way that we survived, is that we helped each other. My granddaddy had two mules, if somebody needed to move, we shared the resources that we had. If someone's wife died in the community, the women got together to fix this man's meal and go help him with his meals. So there was an advantage to having this kind of setup...We'd have house-raising, barn-raising, tobacco harvesting, everybody in the community showed up to help and money never passed hands, you never received any money for anything. It was just neighbor helping neighbor and everybody was helped in the process. It is something that needs to be recorded, so that young people will understand how people made it back then. (2011)

Memory and Place

Keith Basso draws on Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope to describe

...a point in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for human contemplation. Likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time in the history and the enduring character of people...Chronotopes thus stand as

monuments to the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members images of themselves. (1981 :7)

In this quote Bahktin is demonstrating how a point in the land can become symbolic of a point in time. The chronotype is thus not an objective historical monument frozen in time, but a space or object that is actively engaged with and helps create a sense of identity. The emergence of this kind of meaning in the landscape can be sudden, and life-changing. Ammie Jenkins didn't think she wanted to return to the place where she was born. She lived the first twelve years of her life in the McRae community in the North Carolina Sandhills before her family was forced off their land:

My dad died when I was thirteen years old. I was the oldest of seven children, so that left my mother a widower at age thirty with children age one through thirteen that she had to raise. So, in this process she ended up losing the home place, that land where we grew up where we were happy and self-sufficient, where we had all these things we talked about. The best years of my life up until that point. Then after Dad died everything changed. Number one, we lost the land. So what were we to do? That's the way we moved to Spring Lake. Those were the worst years, the most horrible years. Shortly after that my mother got tuberculosis, and the family was split apart. The seven children were separated, and had to live with different relatives. First my mother lost her husband. Then, she lost the land. She lost her health, and she lost her children. She was in a sanitarium for about 2 years in McCain, North Carolina. When she came back it was really tough to bring everybody back together. We went from a self sufficient life living on the farm to living on welfare and accepting handouts.

In 1975 my mother found out that she was dying from cancer. She wanted to revisit the old home place, I guess because that is where she was the happiest when she lived there, raising a family with her husband. And I also think that she felt a guilty about the loss of the land. My mother was too sick to go back to the home place, but she wanted her children to revisit in her stead. She asked the children, if they could find something that reminded her of the old home place and bring it back.

So we did. I didn't want to go, because of the conditions under which we left. I didn't want to go back. I had always been afraid. This was 23 years later. I didn't want to go back to this place. But because Mama was dying and I knew it was one of her last wishes I thought, well, we'll go back. We went down that road and all of these memories started coming back, and I was thinking of what it was like when we left. It was really a sad sad time, which was one of the reasons I didn't want to go back. But as we got closer to the house, my sister and I, we started remembering the good times, how we walked barefooted in that white sand. And then as we stood on the grounds of the home place we were recalling all good memories. And we weren't afraid anymore. That was a gift. I didn't know it at the time, but I know it now. That was a gift from my mother, because her wanting me to go back to that place changed my life. (2011)

Jenkins's narrative about returning to place shows the reflexive nature between individual memory and place. Without the physical return to home, and the sensory experience of being, without seeing and feeling the white sand, of seeing the stream where her family had gotten water and stored food, the trees that had provided shade and the grapes her grandfather planted, she would not have had the realization that led to her life as an activist. Her story of going back home again shows that place need not require a romantic or idealized past. Instead, the reclamation of certain memories over others is something that happens when being confronted with sites of memory, and through the interpretation and the conscious selection that can occur during and after that experience.

This *experience*, the way memory emerged from a sensed presence in place, led Ammie Jenkins on a quest to understand her own past. What started out as family genealogy project combing through archives and cemeteries, led to a general interest in the way people had lived in the Sandhills region. She was amazed by how people had survived with so little by utilizing their knowledge of the environment and through hard work and cooperation. She found that many of those practices were not being taken up

by the next generation, and many of the people she spoke with did not consider those traditions valuable. She also saw a community with high rates of poverty and land loss.

At the Easter Parade in Rougemont I asked one of Ricky's aunts what it was like growing up in the log home in Hill Forest. She said, "We loved it, but that was all we knew." This was a common motif in the accounts of place that I heard. Though there may be value and happiness associated with a place and a kind of living, it was important to remember that that way of life existed, and survived in these communities longer because they were poor, and there was little possibility of economic advancement for African Americans. Edgar Johnson, who grew up in Rougemont and married into Ricky's family, put it this way, "We couldn't afford to leave, that's why we're still here."

As in all communities, there are emergent and continuous folklife traditions present in Jenkins and Harris' communities. But much of the traditional practices dependent on an agricultural lifestyle have fallen out of use with the collapse of that economy. In an era where the economic modes of subsistence are shifting away from agriculture and the conditions of land ownership change, the web of folklife tied to land also becomes associated with the past, even though some traditions continue into the present. Thus, the desire for people to continue or revive such practices is itself an act of commemoration. Constructivist theory and the rise of memory studies have demonstrated that commemoration, like practiced folklife, is recontextualized in the present. A focus on memory, as opposed to history, looks at the past not as an object, but something that is interpreted through social action. (Olick and Robbins 1998, Zelizer 1997). We remember the past because it is relevant to us. It serves a function and we shape it to

meet our needs in the present. In discussing the adaptations of the Cajun Mardi Gras tradition Carl Lindahl calls this the *presence of the past* (Lindahl 1996).

For Ammie Jenkins, Billie Rogers, and Ricky Harris, the effort to continue activities like horse riding, hunting and medicinal plant use, and the urge to hold onto a kind of cultural landscape reflects an act of remembering that does not seek to return to the past, but to critically evaluate and utilize it. In his work in Northern Ireland, Ray Cashman describes this practice as “critical nostalgia;” demonstrating that people preserve certain aspects of their past that have relevance and use in the present, and potential to achieve positive outcomes in the present and future (2006: 137-160). Ammie Jenkins describes this as a specific goal of the Sandhills Family Heritage Association:

Have you ever heard the saying don't throw the baby out with the bath water? To me, that means don't throw away the good with the bad. There are things that we experienced that we wouldn't want our children to go through, or even in some cases know about because they were so ugly. What we are talking about is preserving the best that we can pass on to our children and our grandchildren that they can use to build on. Not to go back. But you got to know that you have a solid foundation that you can build on, and make your contribution. You are born into certain things, whether it is good or bad. When you are born into that, what are you going to do with that? You can choose to take the bad side, the good side, or you can take both and pass it on, or you can say this was so good and so helpful that we want to preserve this, because I see where it can benefit my children, grandchildren, and future generations and teach them to do the same thing, teach them to take the best of those values. Look at the wisdom and other values that our ancestors passed on to us without having a formal education. Now think about what we can do with the opportunities we have today. That is the reason that history is important. Not for you to try to recreate or redo everything that was back then. They worked together in order for everybody to benefit instead of saying what can I take? That's what I'm looking at in terms of passing on, not trying to go back and live the way we did in the past. (2011)

One of the most significant sites Billie Rogers associates with her childhood is the small two-room segregated school she attended. She grew up in the community of Gorgas at the confluence of the Deep and Rocky Rivers southeast of Pittsboro, North Carolina. Gorgas was a farming community, and like Ricky Harris' community, most of the landowners in the immediate area were related by blood or marriage. The people of Gorgas built the school and a swinging bridge to allow children from the other side of the river to attend school. Later, when that bridge was washed out in a flood, they developed a cart and pulley system, the remains of which are still visible today in the White Pines Nature Reserve across the river, along the "Schoolkids Trail." For those passing by on the trail, the wire is either inexplicable, a sign of the return of the forest to the area, or an anonymous reminder of the segregation of the past. For Rogers, the ferry is evidence of the ability of Gorgas to come together as a community and solve problems in the absence of outside or institutional support. She credits the rural lifestyle and the character of the people who lived it as the main influences on those of her generation who grew up in the same way and struggled for voter rights and an end to the segregation saying, "They were people with ideas, ideas beyond their generation, seeing what would best for that which would be in the future. It still reflects a great deal on what goes on in the community today. If they feel it is important they'll all jump in, get behind there and push (2010)."



Illustration 4. Site of the Ferry at Gorgas, White Pines Nature Preserve

Like Harris and Jenkins, she also describes a community that was self-sufficient and cooperated to provide resources for each other. Certain sites in the landscape express this, such as the place where washing was done:

At the time there was no running water, they all had to meet and decided they would have one spot to put up their clothes lines, and this is going to be wash day... And they would talk about what's going on in the community, if someone was sick they would discuss what needed to be done, who would go, and what day. You know, plan how they're going to help that situation. "My husband is sick, the crops need to be harvested what are we gonna do about it?" We would get together and set a date and we would go over there and take care of the crop. And everybody went and it was done in a day's time. (2010)

Billie credits the way of life that occurred in that place as important for the social changes her family fought for during her lifetime. She left home after high school and was one of the first African American graduate students at the University of North

Carolina. She helped establish the first public housing in Chapel Hill and worked for the Head Start program. In the 1970s she returned home to register black voters and work in the school system in Chatham County while raising a family. She now lives with her daughter north of Greensboro. She returns home frequently saying, “I go back every chance I get, and when I turn off onto Gabe Bryant road, I say “whew” and the air feels good.”

There are only a few family members still living there year round. Most of the younger people have gone elsewhere to find work, though some come back to retire. Many others left when a crop dusting aircraft mistakenly dumped herbicide on their community in 1983, leaving poisonous dust in the air and on the ground. In the years afterwards, several people, including young people, developed cancer and other illnesses associated with chemical poisoning. Rogers says that the spraying turned Gorgas into a ghost town. She and other Gorgas residents helped form Toxic-Free N.C., and in 1984, successfully lobbied the state legislature to extend the legal buffers between spraying sites and residences, and to mandate notification. Billie sees this activism as being akin to the push for civil rights, with the same origins in the rural life and rural landscape of Gorgas.

When regarding the relationships between memory, place, and the present, it is important to point out that critical or constructive memory does not mean the erasure or forgetting of negative aspects of the past. In the 1930s, whites around Rougemont petitioned the county to switch the white and black schools, because the black school was better constructed and in a better location. The county rejected the plan, and the black

school was burned down, allegedly by members of the white community. The black community rebuilt, and decades later, the Little River School, where Ricky Harris went to elementary school is now a community center, with a historical reading room, a senior center and sports fields. Purchasing and preserving the site after the schools were consolidated in the 1990s was itself a long struggle for the community, but in its commemoration, both the burning and the rebuilding was shown as too important to be forgotten.

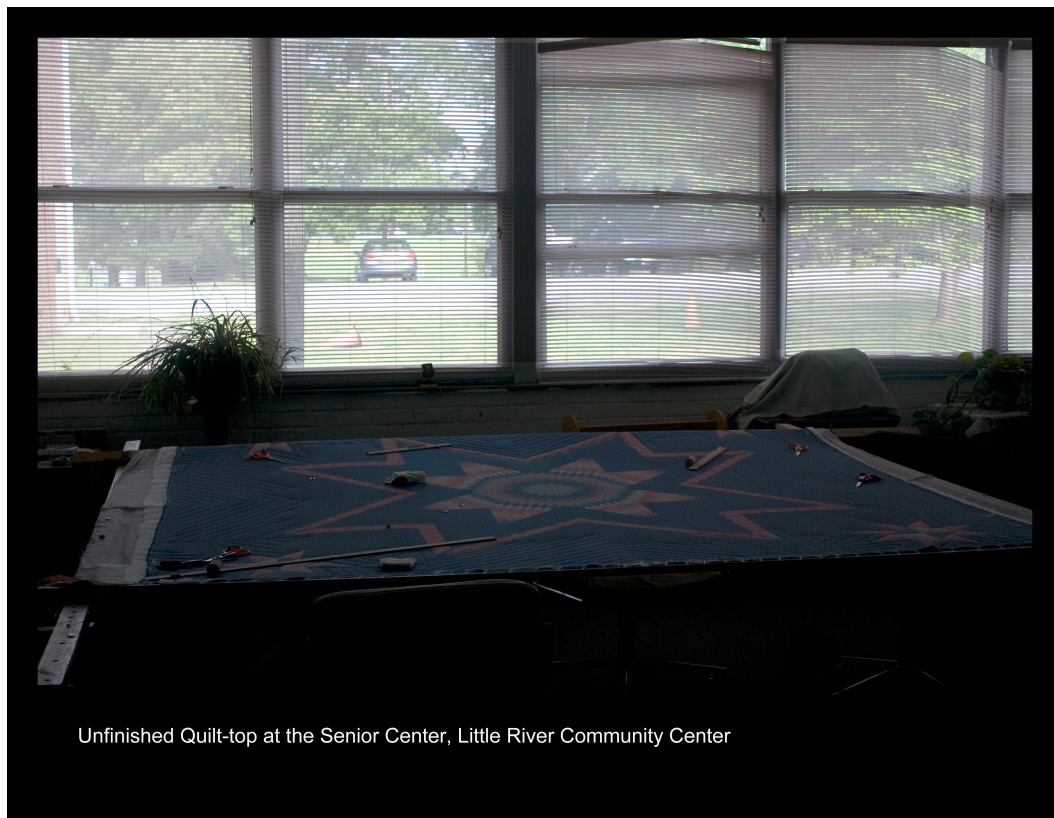


Illustration 5. Unfinished Quilt-top at the Senior Center. Little River Community Center.

Sense of place as a structure of feeling takes a systematic (or perhaps ecological) view of the connections between economic processes, cultural practices and the environment or ecology of a locale. I have also demonstrated how that process is a

creative act, based on rooted experience within the community. It is an act designed to provide positive outcomes on all fronts. The focus on connectivity, causal reciprocity, or interdependence, forms the structure of what Erving Goffman calls a primary framework in the discursive sense, a way of organizing experience and ideology into a coherent structure (1974: 21). In this framework, as in the structure of feeling of place, certain practices and sites become interpreted together (for instance, hunting, the washing place, agriculture, self-sufficiency) one that enables the ability to draw from both traditional values and culture and modern environmentalism. This is evident in the quote at the beginning of the paper– the way Ammie Jenkins describes the mission of the Sandhills Family Heritage Association, the organization she founded after her experience returning home:

AJ: Sandhills is a 501 C3 non-profit organization that provides programs and services to help build partnerships that will help preserve African American cultural heritage for those individuals who have family roots in the Sandhills of North Carolina. We also help to save and protect our natural resources and promote economic self-sufficiency.

SK: Do you see one of those goals as being more important than the other?

AJ: They all overlap. Our organization started by researching land loss issues in African American families of the Sandhills area of North Carolina. We realized that by losing the land we were also losing our food source, our source of income and our cultural heritage that is tied to the land. So it wasn't just a matter of land loss, it was everything that helped to identify us as a people, our medicine, all things came from the land....We started talking about how we could save the land and preserve our cultural heritage. You can't talk about that land without talking about the culture that is connected to the land. And then you look at people's livelihoods, how did they make a living? That was also tied to the land. So, that is the way that loss of land, livelihood and culture overlap. We finally decided to focus on these three areas: looking at how we were going to improve the quality of life for the rural people who live in these communities. (2011)

Viewing land, culture, and economic health as being interdependent in an ecological fashion made sense because it was a reality, but it also allowed the organization to function in another discursive realm, that of the larger conservation/sustainable development movement, where culture becomes a resource, an asset alongside the land itself. This movement brings the emic experience of place and the needs of the community onto a platform where the community can effect positive change and access the political and economic capital of a worldwide social movement, sustainable development.

Frame Alignment: Place, Conservation and the Discourse of Sustainability

A similar framework tying traditional culture to environmentalism and economic development entered the conservation discourse on a national level during the turn towards sustainability –a convergence of ideology that has driven economic, environmental, and cultural policy from the 1980s and 90s into the present. The inclusion of terms such as stewardship, cultural memory, “family” farms, “indigenous” or “traditional” environmental knowledge and practices within a framework that also includes green industry and large scale development can represent an effective collaboration and broadening of the scope of conservation through the inclusion of the elements that create a sense of place. But it can also be problematic, politically unbalanced and not compatible with the needs of the communities who are using the same framework, but have an emic sense of place, and a specific set of needs that are situated within specific historic, political and economic conditions. The 1980s saw what

Snow and Benford (1986:464-481) have referred to as *frame alignment*, in the rise of the sustainability movement. Frame alignment is a process by which movements broaden the scope of their message (frame extension), or integrate the goals and language of other movements (frame bridging) to achieve wider support, and to negotiate their movement through political or economic structures. Though this can be done consciously to manipulate the outcome of events, more often it is a shift in perspective that sees commonality between groups and their goals. Stephen Foster describes this sort of process at work on a local level in northwestern North Carolina when local residents and environmentalists aligned against the damming of the New River in the 1970s:

Although both opposed the dams, their initial arguments began from differing assumptions. The commingling of their views was mutually reinforcing. The meanings, associations and exemplifications of each group augmented and elaborated the others giving them each a much broader social scope. This mutually elaborated and shared discourse allowed alliances and reciprocal support to develop between people from the two groups. Country residents recognized in the idiom of the environmentalists an echo and an elucidation of their own sense of the beauty of the land as well as its economic values. And in resident's arguments environmentalists expanded their ideas of air, land, and water pollution to include the pollution of an indigenous culture....key meanings in Ashe County Social Ideology were correlated with meanings from outsiders political ideologies. For Ashe County people as well as for sympathetic outsiders, particular meanings were amplified, enriched and modified by harmonizing elements from one domain with those of another. In summary, the key premises were basically these: We as local people are concerned with ensuring the continuity of our way of life, because our life-style depends essentially on our land as a source of nurturance, the flooding of lands along the new river as constitutes a threat. These premises were aligned with those adopted by environmentally minded outsiders, who also perceived the flood of land along the New River as a threat.” (1988: 140–141)

Unlike the integration of activities into a primary framework, frame alignment works across the boundaries of distinct groups or movements who have different, though perhaps overlapping interests. The quote above contains the founding elements of the sustainability movement, which was in reality the aligning of different pre-existing interest groups:

The Environmental Movement: A preservation model, based on the notion of a separation between humanity under modernity, and nature. The environmental model focused on the cleaning up or prevention of pollution and the setting aside of wilderness, protection of endangered species, etc.

The Conservation Movement: A belief in approaching environmental problems systemically, an approach that looks at the natural world as a resource, focus on maintenance, as opposed to preservation. Human presence and human use of the environment is included in the movement, but the focus is on preserving natural landscape and ecosystems.

Economic/Development Interests: (Business and Government): The interests of nations and corporations whose primary goal is sovereignty and economic growth/profit.

Folklorists and Anthropologists: Ecological Anthropologists, Human Ecologists and Folklorists study and recognize the value of *local knowledge* and subsistence practices which stemmed from close relationships with the natural world, primarily within “indigenous” groups. This humanistic approach views human interaction with the environment as being a product of culture, and vice versa, and presents local knowledges as alternatives to modernist, science-based viewpoints (Nygren 1999). Proponents of this movement considered themselves intermediaries between the communities they studied and policy makers (Hufford et al 1994).

Environmental Justice Movement: Residents of affected areas protest how pollution and environmental degradation affects poor communities, indigenous communities and communities of color at a higher rate, because of the siting of industry, landfills and resource extraction in those communities. For the environmental justice movement, the well-being of the community is the central focus, and environmental issues are tied to issues of race, and political and economic inequity.

While there had been examples of alignment going back to the 1970s, the point at which it reached the level of cohesive worldwide political policy was at the 1992 UN

Earth Summit in Rio De Janeiro. The meeting, often referred to simply as “Rio,” is taught as the foundational moment for what has come to be called sustainable development, when a series of trends and movements coalesced into an accepted set of principles. This non-binding agreement was signed by 177 nations and reflects the spirit of the times by including amongst its first five principles: that human beings are central to sustainable development, that development itself is a right and that ecosystems need to be protected to ensure the well-being of humanity and economic development into the future (United Nations Division For Sustainable Development 2011).

The framework of sustainability drew in all of these overlapping but distinct movements and cached them in materialist, rather than ideological terms creating what Eric Poncelet terms ecological modernism:

(Ecological Modernism) approaches environmental issues from an economistic (sic) perspective. It seeks to define environmental actions in terms of costs and benefits, thus rendering environmental change calculable. Second, Ecological modernization promotes the interdependence and integration of economic development and long-term environmental preservation. It rejects any assumed fundamental opposition between economic growth and environmental protection and portrays them instead in positive sum “win-win” terms. (2001:275)

In this sense, what is sustainable is good for the environment, communities and business in the long run. Regardless of the truth of that statement when applied to specific situations, there is, as Poncelet points out, a privileging and naturalization of development, something many people have criticized, especially when corporations apply the sustainability frame in a way that obscures other unsustainable or unjust practices, what is known as “greenwashing.” However, through a frame alignment towards being

future-oriented and based around economic development, the emergent movement is politically adaptable; not reliant on an ideological valuing of nature and applicable to a wider audience. The programs using a place-based approach often use words like “tradition,” “stewardship” and “family” making the S.D. framework something that already exists, which is based on “common sense” or conservative values, as opposed to being revolutionary. Importantly, it does not threaten existing political and economic systems, such as national sovereignty (actually one of the other Rio Principles) and capitalism.

It is important to point out that the privileging of development is not limited to economic growth on a large scale, perpetuated by corporate interests (though this is often the case). It also calls for a recognition that all people have a right to meet their basic material needs. For instance, an environmentalist approach to logging old growth forest would be to simply ban the practice. A sustainable development approach would acknowledge the right of communities engaged in logging to meet their material needs, and seek to provide alternatives, such as sustainable forestry, or replacing forestry with another industry. The main point is that quality of human life is the driving force, as evident in the first UN definition of sustainable development, from the Brundtland Commission of 1983, that sustainable development is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN Division For Sustainable Development 2011).

The process of frame alignment can often obscure the unequal power relations that emerge in the new framework that claims to be all encompassing. Foster describes

how local residents initially aligned with environmentalists did not support the New River's Scenic Designation when it was made the only option to damming:

Compelled to address options imposed on local affairs by the interests and institutions of outsiders, their [local people's] choices were constrained by external laws and bureaucracies. Although local representations emphasized long-standing local values and understanding of local social life, the debate had been framed by outsiders so that Ashe county residents could not really win on their own terms. (1988:143)

This shows the importance of having voice in the conservation process to whether or not it is embraced by people, arguably the case for most communities around the country, and an important concern expressed by Harris, Jenkins, and Rogers.



Illustration 6. Approaching Storm on State Forest Road. Rougemont, North Carolina

Chapter Two: Place-Based Conservation Strategies

Part One: Voluntary Conservation and Land Trusts

The land trust and conservation easement system has grown rapidly over the last few decades throughout the country. In Central North Carolina, as subsistence farming and the tobacco and cotton industries have collapsed, active agricultural land and the former agricultural land reverting to forest is taking on new value as a bulwark against growing urban and sub-urban growth. The two main strategies used by conservation organizations working in this area are trusts, in which land is given outright to the administering organization, and the easement. The easement is a newer strategy where the landowner gives up rights to develop or subdivide their land. Although the idea of separating rights to certain use from ownership of land is centuries old, the use of easements has seen an unprecedented growth since their introduction as a conservation tool in the 1970s and 80s. Now the amount of land held in easement by conservation organizations is greater than that which is owned outright by them (Brewer 2003: 78). This approach relies on the same voluntary and future-oriented strategy that is employed by the Sustainability movement as a whole, though it predates it. Part of the success of this strategy is the fact that land can be conserved while ownership is maintained and there is an economic benefit. Landowners pay less in property taxes (a common cause of land loss in poorer communities) for land in easement and are assured that land will

retain its character. The conditions of the easement are worked out between the granting agency and the landowner. Having a significant ecological site or water frontage on a piece of land, or being a part of a conservation project like a greenway or blueway can give the landowner added leverage. Special use permits are granted for sustainable practices, many of which are described as “traditional.”

The language of the land easement nation-wide draws on the intimate relationship that landowners have with their land. Studies conducted by the conservation alliance suggest that desire for the landscape to retain its character for future generations is more important than the financial benefits for most participants, since these amount to less than could be made by developing it (Brewer 2003). The connection to land, what is usually couched as an individualistic sense of place, is specifically addressed through the way conservation is framed by the organizations. The quote used at the beginning of this essay illustrates the way that voluntary conservation seeks to target the sensuous experience and memory of being in place, and to desire to pass that sense of place on. This sense of place like others we have considered, draws on memory, traditional practice and sensory experience, but it falls short of looking at specific meanings attached to those connections beyond concepts of stewardship, care for the environment and other conservation principles.

Jeff Masten is a conservation strategist for the Triangle Land Conservancy, an organization that works in the North Carolina Piedmont. TLC owns the land that includes the site of the Gorgas school ferry, and they have worked with Billie Roger’s

family, especially her late cousin Margaret Pollard and her cousin Wilbur Bryant, who both have served as advisors in large scale conservation projects.

According to Masten, there is a range in the level to which land trusts focus on traditional use:

There are non-profits that only work on organic application of farming and that's all they do. There are land trusts that only focus on conservation easements. There are land trusts that will not do any farming whatsoever. We look at conservation as opposed to preservation...We are fairly strong believers in traditional use. We believe in farming and forestry, we believe in sustainable practice, but we also believe in the basic stuff, that ensuring that this stream is protected, and if that means these trees here shouldn't be cut down we will forget and forego. We might cut them further up. I look at it as common sense, but its my common sense. I wouldn't limit us to one ethos, but I would say that we definitely can appreciate and really do have a broad constituency of membership from a person who believes in the very strict interpretation of preservation to folks who are foresters or developers in some respects. (2010)

Masten does not speak for the whole land easement system, and he acknowledges that the conservancy utilizes that only to the point where traditional practice and their goals resonate, their goal being primarily ecological conservation. Still, this belief in the interdependence of cultural practice and conservation is widespread among proponents of the easement system.

The easement system is a creative way to strike a compromise between ecological, development, and community needs. In some cases it can enable a continued presence on land and allow for the continuation of cultural practices and traditional land uses more so than other conservation strategies that focus on preserving "pristine" landscapes. But this model works best for those who are not seeking to use the land as a monetary resource, other than farming or selective timbering. There are also aspects of

the conservation easement/trust model, which make it more difficult for African American landowners. In many cases, these problems are the same political and legal conditions causing the loss of African American owned land in general. They are based in the way much of rural African American land is owned and organized.

Problems with the Land Easement Model

Conservation Easements target large land holdings because it costs the same amount of money to process a transaction on a large land holding as it does on a small one. This is a problem for African Americans, who typically have smaller land holdings. (Land Loss Prevention Project 2011) The patterns of land ownership and title in African American communities is another issue. The practice of heir property shapes the cultural landscape of rural African American communities and also contributes to that sense of place through the formation of the family compounds such as those described by Ammie Jenkins above (Jenkins 2011, Also see Dyer and Bailey 2008). The tendency of multiple generations and extended family to inhabit one piece of land and engage in multiple entrepreneurial practices means that landowners are less likely to enter into an agreement limiting how many structures they can put on the land and what kinds of economic use they can put it to, even if this is not the subdivision and intense development that conservation easements seek to discourage. Current North Carolina law allows individuals to sell their interest in an heir property. Any owner of that interest can then force a sale of the property as a whole. This legal framework has engendered practices of predatory lending, where one person's interest can be seized, forcing sale and the loss of

the whole property. The heir property system also presents a problem for conservation organizations, who have to pay extra money to clear title and also create a contract that works for multiple owners of one piece of property, which is often difficult and costs extra in time and transaction fees— the cost of paying lawyers and maneuvering the easement through the legal system.

The other factor not addressed by the conservation's language and policy is a long history of racial prejudice in land use regulation such as the devaluing of property based on its ownership or even proximity to communities of color (Land-Loss Prevention Project 2011). There is also a history of exercise of eminent domain disproportionately on communities of color, intimidation to sell, outright deception, gentrification and other cases where African Americans had their land misappropriated, often through legal channels (Jenkins 2011, Harris 2010, Sager 2011, Stacks 1996). Even with shared ideals or goals, the fact remains that people feel that once though they enter into this agreement, they do not have a voice in the process as a whole. With their access to the legal, financial and governmental system and the use of its language, conservationists, who often do not make an effort to address these issues, can become associated with that history of displacement and disenfranchisement.

I attended a presentation given by a regional land conservancy near Rougemont at the Little River Community Complex. The representative from the land trust described the concepts of the bundle of rights, and the options, (donating land outright or a surrender of some of those rights through a conservation easement). Ricky Harris had some relatives who had gotten an agricultural easement, but for most, the idea of giving

up rights to land in perpetuity was disconcerting. In some states such as neighboring Virginia, the state offers temporary land easements. In North Carolina, the easements are administered by organizations that would have to put in the same amount of resources to gain a temporary easement as a permanent one, and most organizations are against the idea of granting temporary easements. There were also questions from the audience about how the easements would be enforced and who would have access to the land.

The representatives repeatedly recommended that landowners talk to their lawyers before considering or working out an easement agreement. While this is a necessary disclaimer for what is in truth a complicated legal process, it assumes that the landowners have access to or resources to pay for a lawyer, adds to already extant uncertainty about the outcome of such a decision and shows the difficulty of working simultaneously in the language and position of the legal system and on a grass roots level with communities who may lack access to those systems. Others from Ricky Harris' group expressed questions over whether the tax relief would displace the loss of revenue from restrictions on land use. For communities who in the present and the past have had limited resources (and really for anyone), giving up the ability to develop land is a material sacrifice. Furthermore, as both Mikki Sager and Ammie Jenkins told me, land ownership, and agency over your own land, is a right. In the African American South, where all rights were hard-earned and agency was late in coming when it came at all, voluntarily giving up your rights to your only inalienable (excepting eminent domain) material resource is a much greater sacrifice. The decision to give up rights to land is meaningfully framed in a fundamentally different way than it would be for a white

affluent land owner, a fact that is not usually addressed by conservation strategies, and is not usually a part of the conservation movement's discourse on place.

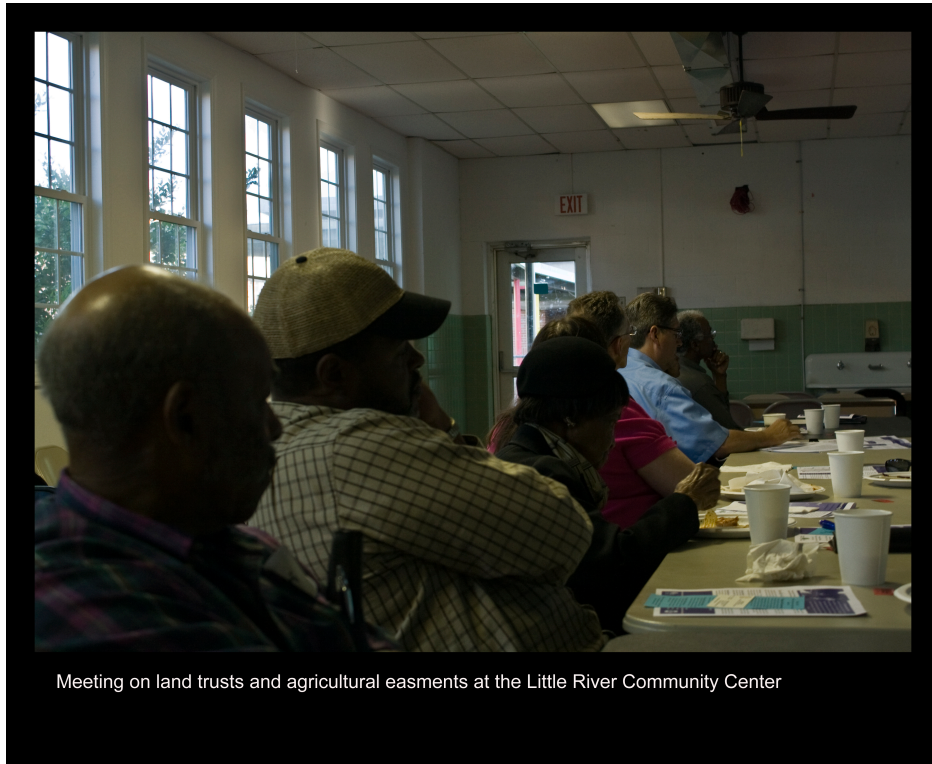


Illustration 7. Meeting on Land Trusts and Easements at the Little River Community Center.

Place-Based Conservation Strategies Part Two: Cultural Resources and Heritage Tourism

In 1980, the federal government issued requests for reports from the Department of the Interior and the American Folklife Center on amendments to the National Historical Preservation Act. In the report, published in 1983, the term cultural conservation was first used: “as an alternative to preservation, conservation implies the continuation of dynamic evolving tradition as opposed to static fixed cultural objects (Hufford 1996:3).” It viewed culture as a resource, occurring in an ecological system

where folklife (especially hunting, plant-lore, and verbal folklore relating to place) is reliant on being situated among natural resources. By using a conservation model, the report aligned the frame of public policy concerning cultural and historic resources with environmentalism and what would soon be called sustainable development. The public policy that came from the cultural heritage discourse has been mostly aimed at supporting cultural traditions through economic activity, such as festivals, and the marketing of traditional art and music. In this respect, folklorists were instrumental in the creation of what is now the largest integrated implementation of place-based conservation: the Heritage Area.

In 1984 President Reagan signed into law the creation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor Legislation, which created the first National Heritage Area, administered through the National Park Service (National Park Service 2011). The purpose of the NHA was to provide funding for tourism and heritage-based economic development, in areas that boasted perceived unique historic or cultural value. Many of the sites were located in areas of declining industrial activity such as the West Virginia Coalfields and MotorCity National Heritage Areas, and the intent was a land designation that is future-orientated and leads to economic growth, as well as cultural, historical and environmental conservation. Other NHAs are based on cultures identified with places such as the Gullah-Geechee Heritage Corridor and the Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area. Nearly all of the 49 sites include both cultural and natural features, and many of the master narratives tie the two together.

In the Blue Ridge National Heritage Area in western North Carolina, NHA literature describes how “Farming Traditions Preserve a Beloved Land” and “farmers and conservationists...strive to maintain the preservation of scenic agricultural landscapes” (Blue Ridge National Heritage Area 2011). The Heritage Area also showcases outdoor recreation in wilderness areas, and a database of traditional artists and musicians.

The NHA designation is unique in that the government does not acquire any land. In fact, the National Park Service who administers the NHAs, does not even take a direct role in their creation (which is done by a petition/nomination system) or in the day to day decision making on what the individual NHA does with its funding. This is done by a private contractor who works with existing and emerging community organizations, such as Arts Councils, Historic Societies and Chambers of Commerce to come up with projects that receive funding from the federal government. Today there are 49 NHAs, and the language used in NHA materials emphasizes what is “Place-Based, Community-Focused Conservation and Economic Development” (National Park Service-National Heritage Areas 2011).

The language in NHA materials can be contradictory and frames its purposes differently. On the one hand it stresses the bottom-up collaborative approach. But on the history page of the website for the National Heritage Alliance, an organization of NHAs (National Heritage Alliance 2011), the founding purpose was “to help tell America’s story.” This specter of nationalism is something that haunts cultural policy in the U.S. It

seems inevitable when working with the federal government- similar criticisms emerged during the creation of the NEA's National Heritage Fellowships.

Other scholars have criticized the notion of heritage or cultural resources itself as a construct. Robert Cantwell (1994) and Barbara Kirschenblatt -Kimblett (1998) claim that a heritage framework inevitably creates new representations of culture that are re-contextualized and constructed from an outsider perspective. The application of the frame of heritage and resource to traditional cultural activities inadvertently changes those activities, or excludes practices that do not fit within the narrative of the representative act. It calls into question who has the power to craft that representation.

In the case of the conservation/sustainability movement, the cultures, and practices are included based on their ability to be aligned with the predetermined goals of sustainability and environmentalism. The support of traditional communities and their unique senses of place based on local knowledge is thus a means to an end, that of achieving sustainable development or the conservation of land. These projects can be mutually beneficial and in alignment with the community's own concerns with its material well-being. But Anja Nygren (2002) has argued in her work with settlers in the Amazon Basin, that the invocation of traditional localized culture in the environmental/development discourse and its expression through policy creates cultural hierarchies, where certain ways of living are judged to be more sustainable, and certain people are better stewards, or "closer to the earth" than others. These groups are then treated differently, and given or denied access to resources accordingly. For folklorists who have broadened their definition of folklife and tradition to include any shared practice

transmitted within a community, these kinds of hierarchies are troubling. Place as such is not considered from an emic perspective or politically or economically contextualized, reflecting the kind of naturalized idea of place that has been criticized above.

The National Heritage Area does draw on collaborative strategy, but its purpose is to present a place favorably, as somewhere you would want to visit—sometimes failing to take into account contested senses of place. This can be seen in the relative lack of attention paid to the mining wars, and the debate over mountaintop removal in the Coalfields Heritage Area. A similar over-simplification is seen in the quote above concerning farmers and conservationists. While this collaboration is true in some cases, the statement implies that the NHA takes an active role in land use policy which is not true, and presents the relationship between conservation and traditional land use as being always mutually beneficial, a process that when inaccurate could be considered “folk-washing.” In addition the agency of local communities can be exaggerated. A local Arts Council for instance, is a more local organization than say the National Park Service, but they do not necessarily represent all of the community that it claims to. I would suggest that most people living in the Blue Ridge NHA are unaware of its existence. Tourism has had mixed consequences for the western part of the state. In some places it has led to rise in land prices and taxes, high rates of absentee land ownership and overdevelopment. Still, the model used paves the way for a revolutionary way of approaching cultural and environmental conservation systematically and brings with it great resources and political capital.

Place-Based Conservation Strategies Part Three:

Community Partnerships: The Resourceful Communities Program

The Resourceful Communities Program takes a different approach to preserving place, one focusing on a case-by-case collaborative partnership model. The program is housed in the Conservation Fund, a nation-wide organization that mostly works through the trust-easement system. RCP started when residents of Hyde County, North Carolina, expressed concerns about the loss of tax revenue (an under-examined consequence of conservation) caused by the creation of the Pocosin Lakes Wildlife Refuge, which the Conservation Fund had just facilitated. Mikki Sager, who now runs the RCP, went on behalf of the Conservation Fund to listen to the community's grievances, which were primarily the lack of jobs in the county. Together they came up with the idea of using the Conservation Fund's resources to secure funding to build a visitors center and create a youth conservation corps to aid in bringing eco-tourism development in the county. Eventually RCP developed as its own program within the Conservation Fund, providing funding and institutional support for community organizations from distressed areas that use the "triple bottom line" approach. This term comes from the development sector, and refers to the overlap of "Sustainable Economic Development, Environmental Stewardship and Social Justice (RCP 2011)." The incorporation of social justice, drawing on the frame of environmental justice is important:

MS: A big part of what we've seen is that so often what is demonized by environmental groups as people not caring about the land, is their desperate need to put food on the table or shoes on their kids feet. It's a broad generalization, not everybody absolutely wants to take care of the land but in our work most of the people we work with, if they had a choice

they would take care of the land in a heartbeat. If that's their only asset and cutting trees would put food on the table I don't blame them. (2011)

RCP also takes a place-based approach to their conservation work, one that also seeks to utilize emic constructions of place. Asset-mapping is an example of this, a practice where community members identify the sites and resources that are important to them, which are then visually mapped and used to design conservation and economic development projects. These sites included natural sites, like spots in the river used for swimming holes or baptisms, cultural and historic sites and often, sites of entrepreneurship. Part of RCP's mission is to have those sites viewed as resources inside and outside of the community. Sager explains:

The way we do asset mapping....is by getting people around the table to talk about what is in their community, and what used to be in their community. You get people talking about the natural places– what creates community. We have some places up in Tillery where they were really proud of the fact they used to have great dances at three different halls and juke joints... So part of it is to just get people to start talking differently about who they are and what is good about them. We get people to talk about human assets. Who were the people who made stuff happen here?...Somebody said so and so, he used to be a barber . Then I was like, Ok, where should I put the dot? And they said, "he used to just sit you down on a stump and cut your hair." What is fascinating is that there was one woman who said: "Why couldn't I do that?" I cut hair. Why couldn't I go to people's houses and do it?

The fact that we actually mapped it, and even when somebody had a small quarter acre or less of extra space, we could see the land use pattern, of somebody who had a beauty shop, somebody had a jook joint, somebody had a mom and pop grocery store....Then when people start saying this is what is good about us, what do we know that we can learn from? (2011)

Ammie Jenkins, whose organization was one of the first to work with RCP, extended this to include what she calls the people asset inventory, where they asked

community members about what skills they possessed, including traditional cultural practices, in an effort to have those practices considered viable assets in the present. This was combined with an approach that emphasized community knowledge about ecological systems. Mikki Sager points out that this approach occurred gradually, organically.

In the beginning I'm not sure we all the way thought about it as cultural traditions, but we say that there were places where people always used to hunt and fish or use the land. In Tyrrell County we started noticing the difference in understanding the land between the scientists and the long-time residents. We might not have used the term cultural traditions back then. But we saw it, and it was clear. (2011)

RCP helps communities acquire land for projects such as mixed-use “community forests”, and obtains funding for other entrepreneurial development projects. RCP also generally helps people negotiate the legal and economic structures of the governmental and conservation agencies that can provide them with resources. This approach echoes that used by the NHA model, but there are a few important differences. The RCP is not bound to one narrative in the way a NHA is, nor is it responsible directly to the political climate on a national or state level (apart from being funded through grants), or charged with making places marketable. They can thus be more overt about the complexities of place, particularly the role of race and poverty. This is a consequence of scale and collaboration. RCP projects do not take place unless a community organization is involved in a partnership. Their programs are targeted to address specific issues in local contexts as opposed to policy that covers a wider geographic area and has to take a broader approach. The RCP is also important in that it addresses land use issues, *and* the underlying economic and social processes that influence them directly, not just by acknowledging them ideologically. This is possible because RCP itself does not come

up with projects themselves or work outside of partnerships with existing community organizations-- although any project does have to be able to be aligned with the Triple Bottom Line Approach.

Strategies Adopted By Consultants

Billie Rogers does not have an easement on her property, but has written in her will that the land will stay in the family. She says her family values it as a home place, and for its natural character:

My children they love to go down there. They used to fish on the river and hunt with the other cousins... There's something about home. I have one daughter, that if she gets bothered about anything she'll just go down there and sit, get refreshed and revitalized and she feels better. She's the only one who says she'd go down there and live. My children will probably hold onto their land as things are. They want it to stay in the family and the way I have it written up, they can't sell it unless they sell it to the family. They have children, who they want to appreciate the earth. Basically that's what it's all about, you go there and you appreciate the earth and you appreciate being alive and seeing things that are alive, it's just a good feeling when you go home. You come back and you have a better feeling about yourself.

Rogers' cousin Wilbur Bryant has worked with a local Land Conservation agency to do river bank reclamation on his property. He also served as an advisor for a large-scale conservation project on the Deep River. His sister Margaret Pollard was a political and environmental activist who also worked with the land trust and was concerned with maintaining the agricultural and forested landscape of the area. For landowners in her family such as the Bryants and Pollard, cooperation with the Conservancy works for their needs. They are acting as individuals who have the resources to be able to give up part of their rights to their land and have the desire for the affected parts of their land to remain as it is (in agriculture or as natural space along the river). For Rogers, this same

end can be accomplished by mandating that the land stay in one piece, and stays within the family, leaving it to people that share her idea of how the land should be used.

For the Harrises and Glenns, the issue is not ownership so much as access. To this end, Ricky Harris and his riding group, the Red Mountain Riders, joined an organization called Friends of Hill Forest. The organization is made up of an unlikely assortment of stakeholders: fox hunters (related to Hill family who are also denied access), hikers, and mountain bikers who want to use the land for recreation. The end goal would be that while the forest would still be used for forestry research, it would also have a system of trails that would be open to the public, and local groups wanting to do hunting and other seasonal activities would have priority over what is now an open lottery system. The Harrises and Glenns have a claim of ownership to the land that is not the same thing as the people wanting another spot for outdoor activity, or a place to experience nature in a rapidly developing area. But access, even alongside outsiders, would beat being shut out completely. The family is also continuing to appeal directly to the administrators of the Forest for greater access. This year they were able to have their annual ride, which was a success, although they had to pay a fee for each participant. Whether their access is later denied, or whether the forest becomes opened as a park, it is now doubtful that there will be a return to the informal intimate connection to the Hill Forest that the family used to enjoy.

Ammie Jenkins' organization was one of the first partners in the RCP and remains one of the most active. Mikki Sager cites her organization along with Concerned Citizens of Tillery and other similar groups as setting the agenda for RCP, and Ammie claims her

involvement with the program taught her to express the connections she had made between land and culture in the language of the conservation movement, and be able to access its resources. SFHA projects use both the heritage area model and look at land use issues more directly. One of SFHA's first projects was a book on medicinal wild plants and the people who use them called "Healing from the Land." It points out that the loss of natural habitat from overdevelopment threatens the continuation of that tradition, and that the tradition is still used by people who have a hard time affording conventional health care. SFHA also runs a farmers market and an annual heritage festival. The farmers market is across the street from a recently purchased community center dating back to the Civil Rights era. They stage dramatic recreations of events from that era and demonstrations of traditional activities onsite, including a brush arbor church service. These kinds of events reinforce for participants an association between the different parts of SFHA's mission. One of their other projects was a gardening apprenticeship program, called *Sankofa Gardening and Gleaning in the North Carolina Sandhills*. The use of the term gleaning (gathering what has been left in the field) has a double meaning as the reclamation of the tradition. In addition to these practices aimed at cultural conservation, SFHA conducts workshops about land loss prevention and land conservation, bringing in lawyers and other experts to help people understand the laws about predatory lending, creating wills, and the negotiation of land easements. They have worked on a limited basis with the Black Family Land Trust, a group associated with the Land Loss Prevention Project and the North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers, but right now the easement system has little support in the community, due to the issues

described above. They hope to expand into other forms of agricultural tourism, marketing and cultural and environmental education. She is also still hoping to gain legal access to her home place, which is now on land owned by the Fort Bragg military base.

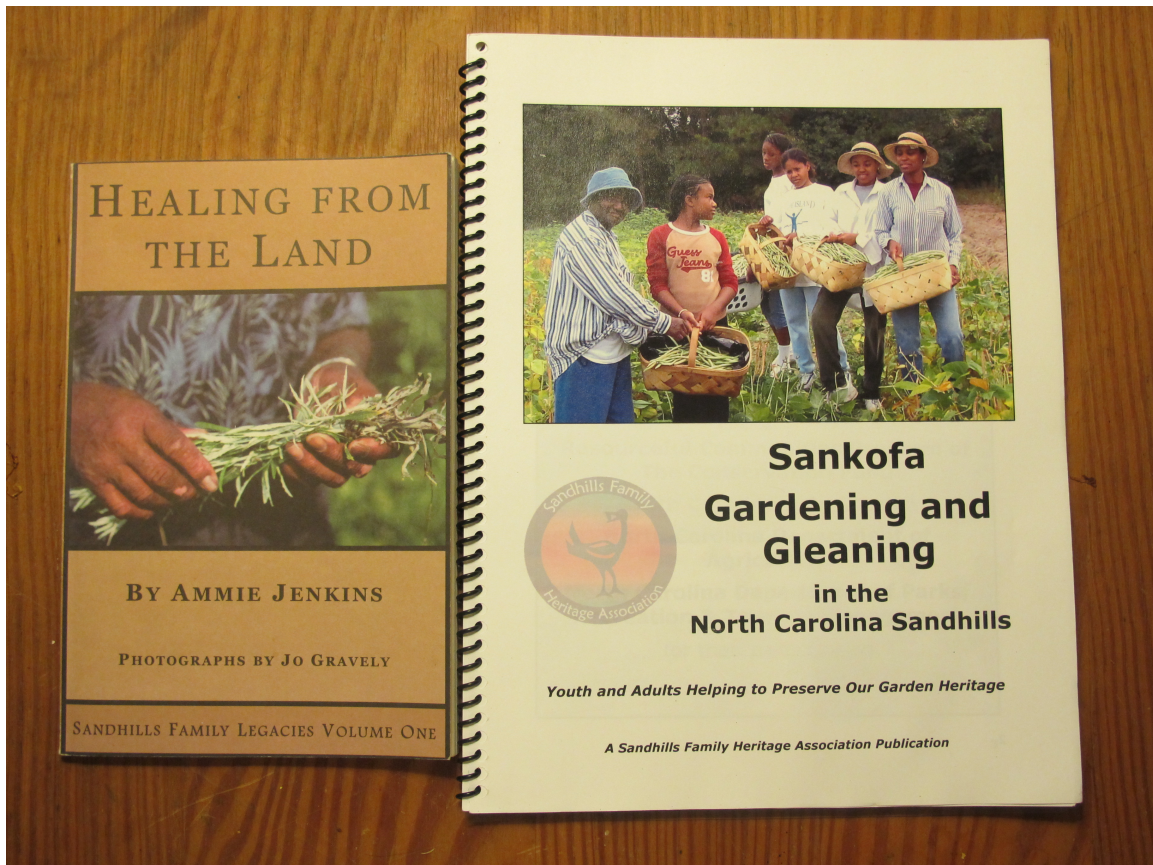


Illustration 8. Materials Published by the SFHA.

Conclusion

The main problems affecting the communities we have discussed are material, economic and legal. It would seem that place as a subjective concept is not a significant part of addressing these issues. But place is not just an idea. It is a structure of feeling that springs from the interdependence of the material and the cultural, the past and the present, the natural and the human. It is also a framework that is employed in policy with economic and political ramifications. The gap between place as a structure of feeling experienced by people like Billie Rogers, Ammie Jenkins and Ricky Harris and sense of place merely as an expression of environmental/cultural harmony expresses and enables a lost opportunity for real collaborative action to the benefit of all.

The phrase “closeness to the earth” and the concept of stewardship do resonate with the people I spoke with. Ammie speaks of the idea of stewardship in her memory of her family rotating crops and burning the pinewoods, a necessary and natural part of the rejuvenation of the Sandhills ecosystem, as well as a way of improving the soil. She says, “We were doing sustainable agriculture, we just didn’t call it that.” Ricky Harris also talked about the family’s responsibility to only cut dead wood in the forest, and to alert the authorities when people were using four-wheelers, which was viewed as environmentally destructive. This same sentiment is echoed by Rossalyn Glenn, one of

Ricky Harris' cousins, a hunter and horse rider herself, who said “We were stewards. We knew all of the names of every plant and animal. We watched over the forest.”



Illustration 9. Rosalyn Glenn on her Property Line. Rougemont, North Carolina

Still, possible erosion (which they say does not occur) by the annual horse ride was not a good reason to cancel the ride, especially when the forestry periodically clear-cuts whole sections of forest. Billy Rogers also considers her notion of stewardship as something

that predated the environmental movement; a general respect for living things that she traces to her religious and cultural upbringing. The consultants talked about the beauty of natural sites, of seeing the sunset through the pines of the Sandhills, and the first flowers coming up in Hill Forest, and hearing the birds sing along the Rocky River, but the narratives about the places were always tied to people, to things that they did in those places. This highlights the problems with drawing a bold line between natural and human landscapes. As with most people, especially those who have a tenuous connection to land or resources, the survival of their families and friends will come first. No matter how well intended, any place-based strategy that utilizes their connection to land for a purely environmental purpose, without looking at the reasons and meanings they have for that connection and the reasons they might engage in environmentally destructive behavior, will not be effective. Nor will the view that conservation strategies or sustainable development will always provide a mutually positive effect.

It is important for folklorists and others with access to policy-making to apply themselves not only to programs that focus on cultural conservation, but to acknowledge that culture needs a place to exist. We have demonstrated that there exists a legal mandate for the preservation of place. So in cases where access to land and place is in jeopardy, we should be able to bring culture to the table in legal matters such as land use law, and the laws that govern land conservation. These laws already favor certain culturally based patterns of land use and the valuing of land. Changes in law could allow funding for conservation groups to pay for title clearance, or to work with smaller parcels of land or allow for temporary land easements. Laws against predatory lending could be

strengthened, and the law concerning the ability to sell individual interest in land could be changed. Simply recognizing the reality of heir property legally could provide enormous economic relief and create a structured system for transitioning out of it if that was desired. There are other legal pathways, such as family-trusts, that can also be utilized. Resources could be directed to help people in affected communities learn about the laws regarding land use and the resources available to them, as the Land-Loss Prevention Project, SFHA and RCP do. If we as a society do value “local knowledge,” “traditional culture,” the rights of communities to access and use land and the preservation of ecosystems— particularly those that have co-evolved with human culture—we can revisit the ways that land use is governed. We can find alternative ways of assessing the value of land itself, and take into account different patterns of ownership, and the constructive and value-laden nature of place-making.

The trend in the conservation movement to consider the role of place is a positive development. I propose that the alignment of frames of place, ecology, conservation, culture and if not development, than the rights for people to meet their material needs, is done in good faith. I believe it reflects a genuine belief in the systematic, interrelated nature of these forces, which is something everyone seems to agree on to a point. Alignment is happening on all sides. Though Ammie Jenkins, Billie Rogers and Ricky Harris didn’t always consider themselves conservationists, they are now moving within that world and sharing some of the same language and strategy. Their voices are a part of that discourse. However, as we have demonstrated, different voices do not have equal standing in the fashioning of policy. The historical and political

conditions underlying a sense of place is too often overlooked or misunderstood, especially in the case of African Americans. Nygren (2002), Hufford (1994, 1997) and Margaret Rodman (1992) call for a need for place to not be considered as a static, or essentialized “closeness to the earth,” but to be considered, in Rodman’s terms, *multilocal* and *multivocal*. This means that multiple senses of place can exist in the same space. Place can be contested. It also means that place is rooted in the lived reality of different localities, even those localities are affected by extrilocal processes. Thus any claims about the character of a place or a people’s sense of it, must be made from within their political, economic and historical contexts, and take into account the unique meanings that are inscribed on the landscape of such places. To that end, any approach seeking to utilize place as a construct should leave place-making and the resources to create place-based conservation programs in the hands of affected communities. Any approach that genuinely seeks to include the multi-vocality of place should seek to fashion policy that is flexible and accessible, and encourage strategies based on true equitable community partnerships, so that common goals can be accurately identified, and truly met.

Works Cited

- Allen, Barbara. 1990. The Genealogical Landscape and the Southern Sense of Place. In *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*. The University Press of Kentucky. Lexington.
- Basso, Keith. 1983. "Stalking Places With Stories" Names, Places, and Moral Narrative Among The Western Apache. In *Text Play And Story The Reconstruction of Self and Identity*, ed. Edward M Bruner. The American Ethnological Society. 1984. Washington D.C.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. University of Texas Press: Austin Texas.
- Brewer, Richard. 2003. *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America*. University Press of New England. Dartmouth NH
- Cantwell, Bob. 1994. Conjuring Culture: Ideology and Magic in the Festival of American Folklife. In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*, Mary Hufford, ed. Urbana and Chicago. University of Illinois Press.
- Cashman, Ray. 2006. Critical Nostalgia and Material Culture in Northern Ireland. *Journal of American Folklore*. 119(472) Spring 2006. 137-160
- Cochrane, Timothy. 1987. Place, People, and Folklore: An Isle Royale Case Study. *Western Folklore*. 46(1) 1-20
- Concerned Citizens of Tillery. 2004 (Submitted, not published). Tillery Water Quality Protection Planning Project Final Report. Submitted to the Resourceful Communities Program. Conservation Fund.
- Alan S Downer, Jr., Alexandra Roberts, Harris Francis and Klara B. Kelley. 1994. Traditional History and Alternative Conceptions of the Past. In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.
- Dyer, Janice F. and Connor Bailey. 2008. A Place To Call Home: Cultural Understandings of Property Among African Americans. *Rural Sociology*. 73(3) 317-388
- Foote Kenneth. 2003. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. University of Texas Press.

- Folch-Serra, M. 1990. Place, Voice, Space: Mikhail Bakhtin's Dialogical Landscape. *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*. Vol 8 255-274
- Foster, Steven William. 1988. *The Past is Another Country: Representation, Historical Consciousness and Resistance in the Blue Ridge*. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.
- Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay On The Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press. Boston.
- Harris, Ricky. 2010. Recorded Interview. Rougemont, NC. 22 March
- Hall, Stuart. 1995. "New Cultures For Old?" In: Doreen Massey and Pat Jess. *A Place in the World? Places Cultures and Globalization*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2003. A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town: Histories in Their Places. in *The Anthropology of Space and Place* edited by Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga. Blackwell Publishing. Malden, MA.
- Hufford, Mary. ed. 1994. *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. Board of Trustees University of Illinois
- Hufford, Mary. 1986. One Space, Many Places: Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve : Report and Recommendations to the New Jersey Pinelands Commission for Cultural Conservation in the Pinelands National Reserve Washington, D.C. : American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, 1986.
- Jenkins, Ammie. 2011. Recorded Interview. Spring Lake, NC. 22 February
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblet, Barbara. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. University of California Press. Berkeley CA
- Kuper, Hilda. 2003 .The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space. in *The Anthropology of Space and Place*, ed by Setha M Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga. Blackwell Publishing. Malden MA.
- Lindahl, Carl. 1996. The Presence of the Past in the Cajun Country Mardi Gras. *Journal of Folklore Research*. 33(2) .pp 125-151
- Masten, Jeff. 2010. Recorded Interview. Chapel Hill NC. 29 October
- Mohai, Paul. 2003. Dispelling Old Myths: African American Concern For The Environment. *Environment*. 45(5) 12-27

- Nygren, Anja. 1999. Local Knowledge in the Environment-Development Discourse: From Dichotomies to Situated Knowledges. *Critique of Anthropology* . 19 267–287
- Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins. 1998. “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105-40;
- Panjabi, Ranee. 1997. *The Earth Summit At Rio: Politics, Economics and the Environment*. Northeastern Press. Boston.
- Poncelet, Eric C.. 2001. The Discourse of Environmental Partnerships. in *New Directions in Anthropology and Environment: Intersections*. AltaMira Press. Walnut Creek CA.
- Pred, Allan. 1983. Structuration and Place: On The Becoming of Sense of Place and Structure of Feeling. *Journal For the Theory of Social Behaviour*. 13(1) 46-68
- Relph, E.C.. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. Pion. London
- Roberts, Katherine. 2009. Lecture on Tradition in a West Virginia Homecoming. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Rogers, Billie. 2010. Recorded Interview. Brown’s Summit, NC. 12 December.
- J. Sanford Rikoon, William D Heffernan, and Judith Bortner Heffernan. 1994. Cultural Conservation and the Family Farm Movement: Integrating Visions and Actions. In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois. Urbana
- Rodman, Margaret C. 1992. Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality *American Anthropology* 94(3) September 1992 640-656.
- Ryden, Kent C. 1993. *Mapping the Invisible Landscape*. Iowa City. University of Iowa Press.
- Sager, Mikki. 2011. Interview March 2011.
- Seremtakis, C. Nadia. 1996. *The Memory of the Senses*. In *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill.
- Schuman, Amy. 1993. Dismantling Local Culture. *Western Folklore*. 52(4) 345-364

- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, Robert D. Benford. 1986. Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Association*. 51(4). pp. 464-481
- Stack, Carol. 1996. *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South*. Basicbooks. New York NY
- Stewart, Kathleen. 1996. A Space by the Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America. Princeton University Press. Princeton NJ.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1975. Place: An Experiential Perspective. *The Geographical Review* Volume LXV April 1975. 151-165
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.
- Wagner, Melina Bollar. 2002. Space and Place, Land and Legacy. in *Culture, the Environment and Conservation in the Appalachian South*. Board of Trustees of the Univeristy of Illinois
- Williams, Michael Anne. 2002. When I can Read My Title Clear: Anti-Environmentalism and Sense of Place in the Great Smoky Mountains. in *Culture, the Environment and Conservation in the Appalachian South*. Board of Trustees of the Univeristy of Illinois
- Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 108-135. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press.
- Zelizer, Barbie. 1995. "Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 12 (June 1995): 214-39;

Online Resources Cited

Blue Ridge National Heritage Area www.blueridgeheritagearea.com Retrieved April 22 2011.

The Conservation Alliance www.conservationalliance.com Retrieved April 25 2011

The Conservation Fund. The Resourceful Communities Program.
www.resourcefulcommunities.org Retrieved April 22 2011

Land Loss Prevention Project. www.landloss.org Retrieved April 22 2011.

Sandhills Family Heritage Association. <http://www.sfha-nc.org/> Retrieved April 23 2011

UN Division For Sustainable Development. http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/index.shtml?utm_source=OldRedirect&utm_medium=redirect&utm_content=dsd&utm_campaign=OldRedirect . Retrieved April 23 2011