ABSTRACT

Title of Document: FROM ENGAGEMENT TO
EMPOWERMENT: HOW PRESERVATION
PROFESSIONALS CAN INCORPORATE
PARTICIPATORY METHODS IN DISASTER
RECOVERY TO BETTER SERVE SOCIALLY
VULNERABLE GROUPS

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Recently, the Historic Preservation Field celebrated the 50th anniversary of the

National Historic Preservation Act. At this time, leading preservation entities such as

the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP) and the National Trust for

Historic Preservation (NTHP) reflected upon the future of the Historic Preservation

field. Two themes, people-centered preservation and integrating preservation into

disaster mitigation planning and recovery, emerged. While both themes are essential

for advancing the Historic Preservation field toward a dynamic future, they have

differing priorities. This mismatch in priorities can prove detrimental to the

effectiveness of the Historic Preservation field going forward, particularly as it

pertains to vulnerable populations following a disaster. Therefore, the purpose of this

policy analysis is to describe how the current Section 106 process, used by

professional historic preservationists in post-disaster contexts, does not accommodate

opportunities for historic preservation professionals to build the capacity of

vulnerable populations to better leverage the Section 106 process. In addition, the

purpose of this policy analysis is to discover how historic preservation professionals

can expand their roles from regulators to facilitators in the Section 106 process by

adopting participatory methods.

FROM ENGAGEMENT TO EMPOWERMENT: HOW PRESERVATION
PROFESSIONALS CAN INCORPORATE PARTICIPATORY METHODS IN
DISASTER RECOVERY TO BETTER SERVE SOCIALLY VULNERABLE
GROUPS

By

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Dedication

To Mommy. And the People.

1 Corinthians 13.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the following people that made this final project

possible:

Jesus (Yes, I just did that!): Thank you for bringing the following people into my life to make this happen, and making all things work towards your will.

Mommy: Thank you for listening to me cry, rant, scream, argue, and reason through so that I can finally discover *what* it is I'm doing. Thank you for never letting me forget *why* I'm doing it.

Jeremy and Marccus: Thank you for your passion for your craft, it inspired me to pursue and hone the passion for my own craft! You've let me see that its possible to go forth and do what I love!

Don: Thank you for letting us try something new, and supporting us through it all.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

Recently, the Historic Preservation Field celebrated a milestone. 2016 marked fifty years since the creation of the National Historic Preservation Act. While leading preservation entities such as the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP) and the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) celebrated the progress that the field has made since 1966, they also took time to reflect upon the future of Preservation.

Two themes emerged from this reflection. One theme was a "people-centered" preservation movement. A people-centered preservation movement "grounds its work in human needs and aspiration and becomes a prevalent, powerful, and practical force to sustain, improve, and enrich people's lives."[1] Among other things, this concept "[nurtures] more equitable, healthy, resilient, vibrant, [and] sustainable communities."[2] The NTHP reasons that a people-centered preservation movement will "[restore] people's needs and desires to the center of preservation and [realign] our priorities, gives us renewed focus, flexibility, and energy going forward; and will help re-galvanize our movement in this new era."[3]

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[1] National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Preservation for People: A Vision for the Future* (Washington, DC, 2017), 1.
[2] Ibid, 3.
[3] Ibid, 4.

A second theme that emerged regards "climate change, disaster planning, and environmental sustainability."[4] The ACHP acknowledged that "[p]reservation efforts in the way of natural disasters continue to show the value of digital mapping, inventories, and other critical pre-disaster planning to post-disaster response."[5] Additionally, the ACHP advocated for the integration of cultural community assets into disaster planning among other initiatives. They argued that "[i]n order for this to happen, planning processes and regulatory requirements need to be developed with an eye to fostering better mutual understanding and awareness of the needs and limitations of planning, engineering, regulation, and preservation." ACHP recommended that historic preservation strategies should be integrated into initiatives that "address the challenges of climate change preparedness and resilience, including better preparation for natural disaster preparation, response, and recovery."[6] The devastating impact of hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria in 2017 emphasize the critical need for the integration of historic preservation principles in disaster planning.

Problem Statement

Both initiatives are commendable and essential for advancing the Historic Preservation field toward a dynamic future. However, the synergy between people-centered preservation and integrating preservation into disaster mitigation planning and recovery is lacking. One could argue that this lack of synergy is due to a differentiation in priorities. People-centered preservation endeavors to connect people with the ability to have power over the historical and cultural narratives associated to

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[4] Advisory Council for Historic Preservation, *The National Historic Preservation Program at 50: Priorities and Recommendations for the Future* (Washington, DC: 2017), 30.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid, 30 and 31.

their historic places. On the other hand, preservation disaster mitigation planning and recovery still seeks to work within preservation's traditional federal infrastructure whose "regulations, funding priorities, documentation, and survey directives" tend to prioritize the built environment and keep power in the hands of historic preservation professionals.[7]

This mismatch in priorities can prove detrimental to the effectiveness of the Historic Preservation field going forward, particularly as it pertains to vulnerable populations following a disaster. "Vulnerable populations include the economically disadvantaged, racial and ethnic minorities, the uninsured, low-income children, the elderly, the homeless, [and]…those with chronic [physical and mental] health conditions[.]"[8] Vulnerable populations are subject to chronic capability deprivation. Capability deprivation is described in the Capability Approach.

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach is an evaluative framework that "sees human life as a set of 'doings' and 'beings'—we may call them 'functionings'—and it relates the evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function."[9] The Capability Approach "proposes that social arrangements should be primarily evaluated according to the extent of the freedom (the real opportunity) people have to promote or achieve functionings they value."[10] Simply put, the

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[7] National Trust, *Preservation for People*, 4.
[8] "Vulnerable Populations: Who Are They?" *The American Journal of Managed Care* 12, no. 13 (November 2006): S348.
[9] Amartya Sen, "Development as Capability Expansion," in *Human Development and the International Development Strategy for the 1990s*, eds. Keith Griffin and John Knight (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), 43.
[10] Sabina Alkire, "The Capability Approach and Human Development," Oxford Poverty and Human Development initiative, accessed August 30, 2017.http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/IDB-What-is-the-Capability-Approach.pdf?18be84.

Capability Approach measures the freedom people have to improve their quality of life. The Capability Approach can help us better understand how the tenants of Section 106 hinder vulnerable populations from leveraging the process and using it to make decisions about how to use their historic sites to rebuild their communities.

Section 106 is the primary vehicle by which professional historic preservationists work to protect and preserve historic places from adverse effects imposed by development entities after a disaster. Section 106 has the potential to empower vulnerable populations to negotiate how their historic sites may be used to rebuild their communities after disasters. However, the foundation upon which Section 106 is constructed overlooks the social and economic variable which affect vulnerable populations. Thus, it restricts vulnerable populations from using their heritage to rebuild their communities after disaster.

Therefore, the purpose of this policy analysis is to describe how the current Section 106 process, used by professional historic preservationists in post-disaster contexts, does not accommodate opportunities for historic preservation professionals to build the capacity of vulnerable populations to better leverage the Section 106 process. In addition, the purpose of this policy analysis is to discover how historic preservation professionals can expand their roles from regulators to facilitators in the Section 106 process by adopting participatory methods.

Methodology

This paper will begin the policy analysis with a literature review in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 will first define heritage and explore how heritage values and discourses

influence orthodox historic preservation practice. It will then explain Section 106 and describe how Section 106 is upheld by the values and discourses of orthodox historic preservation practice. Then, the chapter will discuss the definition of disaster and vulnerability and how the variables of vulnerability are not incorporated into the values and discourses that are the foundation of orthodox historic preservation practice and Section 106.

Chapter 3 will critique the consultation process that is required by Section 106 within the context of participation theories. It will discuss the various levels of citizen empowerment based upon various public engagement approaches. Next, the chapter will examine the deficit in the consultation process of Section 106 in the context of citizen empowerment via the example of the Big Four housing projects after Hurricane Katrina. Chapter 4 will then discuss participatory methods and the various participatory approaches that historic preservation professionals can use to overcome this deficiency. Finally, Chapter 5 will give specific recommendations regarding which participatory approaches should be used and describe the best way to implement them.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter gives context to, and present the issues associated with, Section 106 in disaster recovery. The chapter will first address the definitions of heritage. Next, this chapter will examine how the definitions of heritage fold into orthodox historic preservation practice. Then, the chapter will describe how orthodox practice influences the Section 106 process. Next, this chapter will discuss the context around disaster by first presenting the definitions of disaster. Then, this chapter will describe the phases of disaster management. Afterwards, the chapter will define both physical and social vulnerability in the context of disaster recovery and describe the capability deprivations (as defined in chapter 1) which accompany vulnerability.

Finally, this chapter will connect the issues pertaining to orthodox historic preservation practice and vulnerability caused by socioeconomic marginalization in disaster. It will discuss how the Section 106 process—the participatory mechanism for heritage recovery after a disaster—excludes socially vulnerable groups. In the discussion, the chapter will emphasize how this exclusion illustrates the capability deprivation of socially vulnerable groups that limits their use of heritage as a means to rebuild their communities. It will conclude by arguing that this deficiency in the Section 106 process presents a need and opportunity for historic preservation professionals to act as facilitators.

Heritage, Discourse, and Power

Intrinsic Values

There is no professional consensus on the definition of heritage. The prevailing—and most familiar—perception of heritage is associated with intrinsic value. An intrinsic value is inherent or incorporated into a particular "object, practice or place."[11] Dr. Rodney Harrison explains the link between intrinsic value and heritage practice. He says, "[t]he idea that heritage is inherent and that its significance is intrinsic to it leads to a focus on the physical fabric of heritage. If value is inherent, it follows that 'heritage' must be contained within the physical fabric of a building or object, or in the material things associated with heritage practices."[12] Professional historic preservationists, who assess and manage heritage, attribute intrinsic value to historic places. In this regard, professional historic preservationists determine the significance, authenticity, and integrity of historic places based on the "tangible presence of [material] fabric" that can adequately reflect the association with historical events and people.[13]

The intrinsic value impressed upon the tangible, built environment by historic preservation professionals, however, is only one of many sociocultural meanings ascribed to the built environment.[14] In the last few decades, many historic preservation professionals, and others in allied fields such as archeology and anthropology, have advocated for the recognition of immaterial or intangible heritage.

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[11] Rodney Harrison, "What is Heritage?" in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 25.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid; Jeremy Wells and Lucas Lixinski, "Heritage Values and Legal Rules: Identification and Treatment of the Historic Environment via an Adaptive Regulatory Framework (Part 1)," *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 6, no. 3 (2016): 348; Jeremy Wells, "In Stakeholders We Trust: Changing the Ontological and Epistemological Orientation of Built Heritage Assessment through Participatory Action Research," in *How to assess built heritage? Assumptions, methodologies, examples of heritage assessment systems*, ed. Bogusław Szmygin, (Florence and Lublin: Romualdo Del Bianco Foundatione and Lublin University of Technology, 2015), 250.

[14] Laurajane Smith, "Discourses of Heritage: Implications for Archaeological Community Practice," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos* [On Line], *Questions du temps présent* (October 2012), http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64148.

This includes, but is not limited to: traditions, knowledge and skills, oral histories, social practices, and language that is usually passed down from generation to generation.[15] This intangible heritage complements, and is also complemented by, the tangible, built environment. As Harrison explains:

We use objects of heritage (artefacts [sic], buildings, sites, landscapes) alongside practices of heritage (languages, music, community commemorations, conservation and preservation of objects or memories from the past) to shape our ideas about our past, present and future. […] For every object of heritage there are also heritage practices. […] For every object of tangible heritage there is also an intangible heritage that 'wraps' around it – the language we use to describe it, for example, or its place in social practice or religion. [16]

Heritage, then, is a mixture of both tangible and intangible values. Both work in tandem to provide a more well-rounded understanding of how people create meaning and negotiate identity based on the past. Despite a slow, guarded process to include intangible values in the definition of heritage, the work of historic preservation professionals continues to be dominated by intrinsic value.

Orthodox Practice and the Authorized Heritage Discourse

Intrinsic value is at the root of the orthodox—or traditional—approach to heritage, and is the underpinning of current historic preservation orthodox practice. Wells and Lixinski describe the canons of the orthodox approach to heritage using the following characteristics:

(1) its value system is defined through preservation doctrine [or the acceptable and unacceptable activities of practitioners] and the tangible qualities of fabric; (2) law is used to enforce this preservation doctrine; (3) heritage is rare and unique; (4) the identification and treatment of heritage is the domain of experts; (5) its ontological/epistemological orientation is empiricist-positivist; (6) historical significance is based on a positivistic view of history; (7) significance lies in the past,

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[15] Harrison, "What is Heritage?" 9; Richard Vidutis, "Missed Opportunities: The Absence of Ethnography in America's Cultural Heritage Programs," in Jeremy C. Wells and Barry L. Stiefel (eds.), Human-Centered Built Heritage Conservation: Theory and Evidence-Based Practice (New York: Routledge, in press), 9.

[16] Harrison, "What is Heritage?" 9 and10.

not the present; (8) reason, rather than evidence, is used to substantiate practice; (9) historical authenticity is dependent on the tangible presence of fabric that has "experienced" past events and people; (10) the treatment of built heritage seeks to reveal the "true nature or condition" of a building or place by avoiding a "false sense of history;" and (11) heritage values are assumed to be immutable and are fixed through the use of lists.[17]

At the center of each principle is intrinsic value which, ultimately, promotes an orthodox practice that fetishizes material and tangible qualities.[18] Also evident in Wells and Lixinski's description of the orthodox approach to heritage is the power and authority of experts. Dr. Laurajane Smith's Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) expounds on this power dynamic.

The AHD is a Eurocentric discourse of heritage that originated in the 19th century out of the need to protect the rare and nonrenewable past.[19] At the center of the AHD is intrinsic value which "privileges material heritage over the intangible, and emphasises [sic] monumentality and the grand, the old and the aesthetically pleasing."[20] The AHD concentrates power in the hands of experts, such as historic preservation professionals, who legitimize and regulate historical and cultural narratives attached to physical places and objects.[21] The power that heritage experts such as historic preservation professionals hold is reinforced by regulatory systems which codify and legally enforce intrinsic value and principles of the orthodox approach to heritage.

Regulatory Systems: The National Register and Section 106

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[17] Wells and Lixinski, "Heritage Values and Legal Rules," 348.
[18] Ibid, 349.
[19] Laurajane Smith, "Discourses of Heritage: Implications for Archaeological Community Practice," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos* [On Line], *Questions du temps présent* (October 2012), http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64148.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

According to Harrison, the AHD is used "to normalise [sic] a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage and to privilege particular practices, especially those of heritage professionals and the state."[22] In order to regulate these meanings, historic preservation professionals utilize standard regulatory systems in which they can categorize tangible heritage. Consequently, as Harrison puts it, some preservation professionals "would define heritage (or at least 'official' heritage) as those objects, places and practices that can be formally protected using heritage laws and charters."[23] Two important regulatory systems used by professional historic preservationists are the National Register of Historic Places and Section 106.

The National Register of Historic Places has its origins in the 1930s. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 created a small list of historic places that were nationally significant. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 expanded and codified this list.[24] The National Register, then, is a list of historic structures, or groups of historic structures, that the National Park Service (the federal agency that has authority to regulate the National Register) and historic preservation professionals deem to be significant in American history and/or culture.[25]

The eligibility criteria for the National Register focuses on the intrinsic value discussed earlier. Historic preservation professionals evaluate the significance of historic buildings based on the National Register of Historic Places' seven aspects of

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[22] Harrison, "What is Heritage?" 27.

[23] Ibid,10.

[24] John Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

[25] Thomas King, *Our Unprotected Heritage: Whitewashing the Destruction of our Cultural and Natural Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.[26]

Each aspect is rooted in its ability to represent, through tangible fabric, a connection to historical events and people. In this way, according to the National Register, built heritage conveys significance. Therefore, in practice, historic preservation professionals must assume that intrinsic value is inherent in the built structure. They must "read" the building closely to discover its significance.[27] As Jeremy Wells explains, "[t]he authenticity of [the tangible] fabric is related to whether or not it was present in context with significant historical events or if it embodies values related to material culture."[28] Therefore, for historic preservation professionals, material fabric of built structures is essential in determining the overall significance of a structure.

The National Park Service codifies intrinsic value in the rhetoric of their National Register Criteria for Evaluation, stating, "[t]he quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture *is present* in *districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects*. [emphasis added by author]."[29] In declaring that the significance of American history can be found *within* tangible structures, it becomes clear that the National Register criteria relies heavily on

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[26] National Park Service, "National Register Bulletin 34: Integrity," accessed November 12, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb34/nrb34_8.htm.

[27] Ibid, 25.

[28] Jeremy Wells, "In stakeholders we trust: Changing the ontological and epistemological orientation of built heritage assessment through participatory action research," in *How to assess built heritage? Assumptions, methodologies, examples of heritage assessment systems*, ed. Bogusław Szmygin, (Florence and Lublin: Romualdo Del Bianco Foundatione and Lublin University of Technology, 2015), 250.

[29] The National Park Service, "II. National Register Criteria for Evaluation," accessed October 21, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

intrinsic value and the integrity (or "ability of the [structure] to convey [that] significance") of the material fabric of historic structures.[30]

The National Register of Historic Places is a fundamental element of the Section 106 process. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires that any federal agency performing, contributing financially, or approving a project must consider any adverse effects the project may have on historic structures. In the Section 106 process, the federal agency must consult with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and/or the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), state and local governments, and the public. In consort with these parties, the federal agency must determine which historic structures are listed on the National Register, or eligible for listing, that may be adversely affected by their project. The agency must then investigate methods that would mitigate the adverse effects on these structures. Ultimately, the decision to protect, remove, or demolish the historic structures lies with the federal agency. [31] The Section 106 process is one of the main tools used by historic preservation professionals to protect and preserve historic sites during disaster recovery. However, the Section 106 process, because it relies heavily on the National Register for Historic Places and the intrinsic value therein, does not take into account the complex variables surrounding disaster. These complex variables are explored in the next section.

Disaster and Vulnerability

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[30] The National Park Service, "VIII. How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property," accessed October 21, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm.
[31] Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Protecting Historic Properties: A Citizen's Guide to Section 106 Review*, 4 and 5.

Natural Hazards & Disasters

Natural hazards are the context for disaster. Natural hazards are "naturally occurring physical phenomena caused either by the rapid or slow onset of events which can be geophysical, hydrological, climatological, meteorological, or biological."[32] They have exacerbated the impact of climate change by way of rapid urbanization and uncontrolled growth.[33]

Disasters develop after a natural hazard occurs.[34] Naturally occurring processes—which have the potential to become natural hazards—have been part of the Earth's normal function throughout its history.[35] It is when these natural processes intersect with the human-built environment that they pose a threat to human life and become natural hazards.[36] Following a natural hazard, humans begin to socially construct the concept of a disaster. Stephen Nelson, Associate Professor of Earth and Environmental Sciences at Tulane University, argues that "[t]here would be no [disasters] if it were not for humans. Without humans, these are only natural events." Disasters, then, are human-defined events whereby humans measure and describe the intensity of damage and disruption to normal economic and social systems as a result of natural hazards.[37]

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[32] International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, "What is disaster?" accessed November 12, 2017. http://www.ifrc.org/en/what-we-do/disaster-management/about-disasters/definition-of-hazard/.

[33] Ibid.

[34] United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, "What is Disaster Risk Reduction?" accessed December 5, 2017, http://www.unisdr.org/who-we-are/what-is-drr.

[35] Stephen A. Nelson, "Natural Disasters & Assessing Hazards and Risk: Natural Hazards and Natural Disasters," (Syllabus, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, 2014), https://www.tulane.edu/~sanelson/Natural_Disasters/introduction.htm.

[36]Ibid.

[37] Ibid; Piers Blaikie, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner, *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 10.

Governments, agencies, and non-governmental organizations describe these

trends of disruption, and their response to the disruption, using the four phases of

disaster management. The four phases of disaster management include: mitigation,

preparedness, response, and recovery. Mitigation focuses on reducing the

monumental destruction caused by a natural hazard and, consequently, the probability

of a disaster. Preparedness deals with increasing the capacity of a community to

respond to a disaster. Response focuses on life-saving measures and controlling the

economic impact of a disaster. Finally, recovery focuses on restoring the social,

economic, and other relevant systems, to a "normal or near-normal" state. [38]

As all four stages are interconnected, each should be complementary to one

another. The attention and resources of recovery should be used toward future

mitigation planning. Likewise, mitigation planning should foster better preparedness.

Better preparedness should lead to more efficient and equitable response. Without

these complimentary connections, reoccurring disasters are inevitable. A key

component that determines the relative success of each stage is how well they

respond to vulnerability.

<u>Physical and Social Vulnerability</u>

Vulnerability, is the tendency to be adversely affected by natural hazards. It is

characterized by the "susceptibility to harm" and the "lack of capacity to cope [with]

and adapt [to]" a natural hazard.[39] There are two types of vulnerability, *physical*

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[38] St. Louis County, Missouri, "The Four Stages of Emergency Management, "accessed October 22, 2017,
http://www.stlouisco.com/LawandPublicSafety/EmergencyManagement/TheFivePhasesofEmergency Management#.
[39] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "Summary for Policymakers," in *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspects.*

vulnerability and *social vulnerability*. Physical vulnerability describes the risk of man-made structures to the impacts of natural hazards.[40] Early disaster literature focused primarily on physical vulnerability, where the evaluation of risk was focused on physical structures and measuring the damage to those structures. It did not consider the social trends that contributed to the disproportionate impact that natural hazards, and ultimately disasters, had on people.[41]

In the past twenty years, however, new literature has challenged the focus on physical vulnerability. This literature posits that, prior to natural hazards, inequalities exist as part of ineffective social systems. Therefore, these pre-existing social inequalities make certain people more vulnerable than others to the impact of natural hazards and, ultimately, disasters.[42] The term social vulnerability emerged as result of this paradigm shift in disaster studies. Blaikie, et al. define social vulnerability as "the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of natural hazard."[43]

Social vulnerability can be identified by a number of factors including: "class, caste, ethnicity, gender, [race], and immigration status," among other things.[44] Social vulnerability stems from the historic, political, and economic systems which marginalize minority groups. These systems segregate and contain minority groups within hazardous locations and physically vulnerable structures.[45] Thus, socially

Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, eds. Christopher B. Field, et. al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 5.

[40] Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, and Wisner, *At Risk*, xi.

[41] Ibid, 10.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid, 10 and 11.

[44] Bob Bolin, "Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Disaster Vulnerability," in *Handbook of Disaster Research, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research* (New York: Springer, 2007), 114.

[45] Ibid, 123.

vulnerable groups are inextricably connected to physically vulnerable places. Social

vulnerability explains why marginalized groups do not have equitable access to

resources and opportunities in the mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery

stages of disaster management.[46] The inequitable distribution of resources and

opportunities to socially vulnerable groups impacts their capability deprivation.

Capability Deprivation

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Capability deprivation is a fundamental

characteristic of the Capability approach. The Capability Approach was developed by

economist Amartya Sen in 1979. It is an evaluative framework that "sees human life

as a set of 'doings' and 'beings'—we may call them 'functionings'—and it relates the

evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function." [47]

The Capability Approach "proposes that social arrangements should be primarily

evaluated according to the extent of the freedom (the real opportunity) people have to

promote or achieve functionings they value." [48] Simply put, the Capability Approach

measures the freedom people have to improve their quality of life.

Capability deprivation, then, is not just the lack of resources (economic or

otherwise), but a lack in ability or freedom to use these resources to increase a

persons' functionings and, ultimately, their quality of life.[49] Socially vulnerable

groups are subject to this very capability deprivation when the Section 106 process

excludes them from using their heritage to rebuild their communities. This exclusion

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[46] Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, and Wisner, *At Risk*, 6.

[47] Amartya Sen, "Development as Capability Expansion," in *Human Development and the International Development Strategy for the 1990s*, eds. Keith Griffin and John Knight (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), 43.

[48] Sabina Alkire, "The Capability Approach and Human Development," Oxford Poverty and Human Development initiative, accessed August 30, 2017.http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/IDB-What-is-the-Capability-Approach.pdf?18be84.

[49] Amartya Sen, *Development as a Freedom*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 87-90.

comes about when the physically vulnerable places associated with socially vulnerable groups does not align with intrinsic value that the Section 106 process is grounded in.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the intrinsic value that is the linchpin of orthodox historic preservation practice. I also expounded on the roots of intrinsic value as described by the Authorized Heritage Discourse. Next, I discussed the Section 106 process and its deficiencies. Additionally, I discussed definitions of natural hazards, disasters, and the social vulnerability that is exacerbated by the hazard's impact. I discussed how this exclusion creates a capability deprivation, and how that deprivation is evident in the Section 106 deficiencies.

Though these subjects—intrinsic values in orthodox historic preservation practice, disasters, social vulnerability, and capability deprivation—are rarely discussed in concert, they are profoundly interconnected. Social vulnerability explains the inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities to socially vulnerable groups in disaster. The Section 106 process, because of its reliance on the National Register of Historic Places and, thus, intrinsic values, reinforces the capability deprivations of socially vulnerable groups in disaster. This deprivation needs to be strategically address by historic preservation professionals if they seek to better assist socially vulnerable groups in rebuilding their communities after a disaster. One way to address this issue is to look into participatory provisions in the Section 106 process and address any gaps. The next chapter will take an in-depth look at the gaps in Section 106's participatory provisions.

Chapter 3: Critiques

Introduction

This chapter will build upon the concepts of intrinsic value in historic preservation orthodox practice, physical and social vulnerability, and capability deprivation in disaster recovery to illustrate the flaw within the Section 106 process following a disaster. This flaw is the inadequacy of participation methods in the Section 106 process which, ultimately, engenders disparate impacts on socially vulnerable groups. Through investigating this flaw, this chapter identifies a major gap in historic preservation practice in disaster recovery.

To begin to unpack this issue, this chapter will first introduce and discuss participation theories and how this relates to levels of public empowerment. Next, the chapter will describe the Section 106 participation provisions. Concomitantly, the chapter will compare the provisions with the participation theories to demonstrate the shortcomings in Sections 106's participation methods. Finally, this chapter will provide an example of Section 106's failure to implement effective participation methods and how this failure results in the disparate impacts on socially vulnerable groups. Through this example, the chapter will pinpoint the critical gap in the Section 106 participation methods that can be filled by historic preservation professionals acting as facilitators.

Participation Theories

Current participation theories focus on the methods by which the public is empowered, or disempowered, in the decision-making process. In 1969, Sherry

Arnstein discussed issues of public participation in her groundbreaking article "A

Ladder of Citizen Participation."

Figure 1: Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of
Citizen Participation
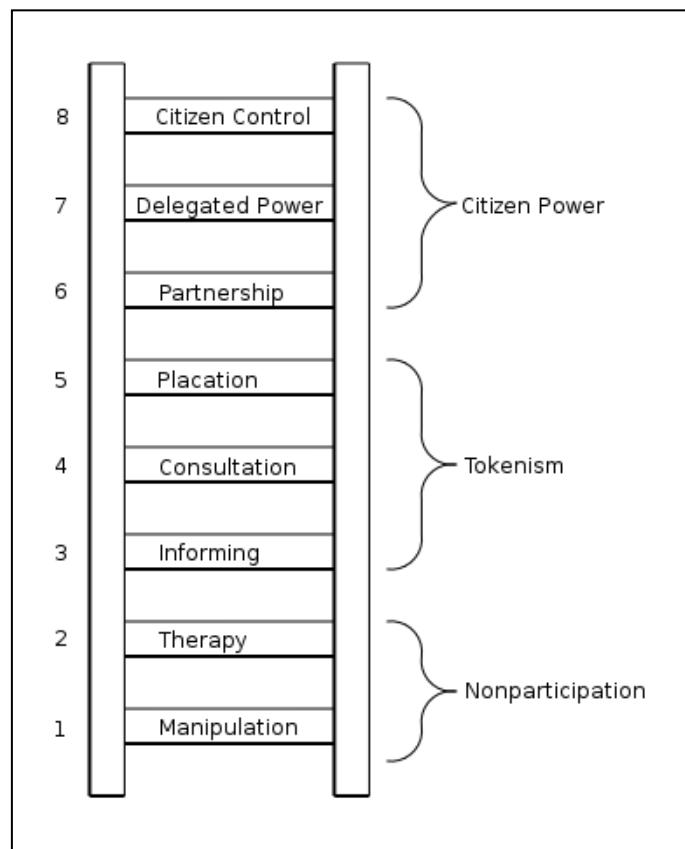
Source: DuLithgow, Wikimedia Commons

In this article, Arnstein illustrates the levels of empowerment or disempowerment

through her "Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation."[50] The ladder is

broken up into three levels of participation: nonparticipation (the lowest level),

degrees of tokenism (the second highest level), and degrees of citizen power (the

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[50] Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* 35, no. 4 (1969): 217.

highest level). Within each level are rungs that describe types of participation

measures used by planners. Under nonparticipation one finds manipulation and

therapy which enable powerholders to educate the public. Under degrees of tokenism

one finds informing, consultation, and placation wherein the public is able to

participate in the process, but is kept from making decisions. Finally, under degrees

of citizen power, one can find partnership, delegated power and citizen control, where

the public obtains the majority of decision-making power.[51]

Since Arnstein's article was published, issues plaguing public participation

have continued to persist. Other authors have tackled the issue, much in the same way

that Arnstein had. However, in addition to power relations between decision makers

and the public, they have also looked at deeper variables that may affect the levels of

citizen (or public) empowerment. Each of the theories presented below define the

specific ways in which the public is engaged by decision makers, and how that

engagement ultimately influences the quality and effectiveness of the final decision.

Though each theory uses the term participation in different ways, each describes

participation methods that are most empowering, simply empowering, and least

empowering for public involvement in the decision-making process. The theories and

participation methods presented here will provide context for an evaluation of the

Section 106 participation provisions.

Participation vs. Inclusion

Public engagement, which employs public participation, is a cornerstone of

the United States federal, state, and local decision-making processes. Public

participation is a democratic tool which intends to guarantee that the public's

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[51] Ibid.

perspective and concerns will be instrumental in shaping a final decision and how that decision is implemented.[52] In the past few decades, planning professionals and academics, as well as social equity advocates, have worked to make public engagement methods more accessible to, and inclusive of, traditionally marginalized populations.[53] Though the above definitions of participation and inclusion have come to shape our common conception of "good" decision-making practice, Quick and Feldman reshape these definitions by shifting the focus from *who* is involved to *how* those involved are able to function within the decision-making process. As a result, they pick up on the subtler variables that determine the overall effectiveness of the final decision and its implementation.

Quick and Feldman assert that participation and inclusion are, in reality, two different dimensions of public engagement. Participation focuses on increasing and enriching the input from the public. Inclusion, on the other hand, "entail[s] continuously creating a community involved in coproducing processes, policies, and programs for defining and addressing public issues." [54] It uses "opportunities to take action on specific items in the public domain as a means of intentionally creating a community engaged in an ongoing stream of issues."[55] In other words, while participation allows the public (including traditionally marginalized populations) to provide input that officials and professionals use to shape the final decision, inclusion provides the public an opportunity to be involved in the final decision's development,

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[52] Raymond J. Burby, "Making Plans that Matter: Citizen Involvement and Government Action," *APA Journal* 69, no.1 (Winter 2003): 35.
[53] Kathryn S. Quick and Martha S. Feldman, "Distinguishing Participation and Inclusion," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 3 (2011): 275.
[54] Ibid, 272.
[55] Ibid, 274.

implementation, and improvement over time. Quick and Feldman do not advocate for one dimension of public engagement over another. Instead, they argue that utilizing both in the democratic decision-making process works to enrich the outcome of the final decision and the capacity for the community to sustain the decision's successful implementation.[56]

Flow of Information

Rowe and Frewer build on Quick and Feldman's participation and inclusion definitions by illustrating the actual flow of information that takes place between decision-makers and the public. They describe three levels of public engagement, that is: public communication, public consultation, and public participation.[57] In public communication, decision-makers convey information to the public. In this type of flow of information, there is no opportunity for the public to express concerns or provide comments on the information presented. Conversely, public consultation the public is given an opportunity to provide feedback to decision-makers on information that has been previously disseminated. Although decision-makers use this feedback to inform their revision of the final decision, in this flow of information there is not opportunity for the public to be involved in creating, revising, and implementing this decision.

Finally, Rowe and Frewer describe public participation as a flow of information between decision-makers and the public. Here, there is an opportunity for dialogue wherein the public and decision-makers can negotiate how the final decision

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[56] Ibid.
[57] Gene Rowe and Lynn J. Frewer, "A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms," *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 254.

and how it will be implemented.[58]It should be noted here that, although Rowe and

Frewer use the term "participation" just as Quick and Feldman do, Rowe and

Frewer's definition of participation is akin to Quick and Feldman's definition of

"inclusion." Though the authors use differing terms, they essentially describe the

public's empowerment in the decision-making process. Additionally, Rowe and

Frewer provide a detailed analysis of the procedure of information exchange between

decision-makers and the public within Quick and Feldman's broader definitions of

participation and inclusion.

Typology of Participation

Finally, Pretty, in his article detailing the efficiency of different participation

methods, produces a typology of participation. In his typology, Pretty assesses six

types of participation methods ranging from the type that provide the least amount of

agency to participants to the type that provides the most agency to participants. Of

these types, the first three, passive participation, participation in information giving,

and participation by consultation, provide the least amount of agency to participants.

Passive participation only allows for the public to receive information from decision-

makers. In most instances, the public is being informed about a decision that has

already been made and is in the process of implementation. [59]

In the participation in information giving typology, the public answers

questions that the decision-makers have created via surveys. Decision-makers use the

answers to gage gaps and make the final decision. However, the public has no input

on the way the decision-making procedures. Similarly, when the public is involved in

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[58] Ibid, 255-256.
[59] Jules N. Pretty, "Alternative Systems of Inquiry for a Sustainable Agriculture," Institute of Development Studies Bulletin Journal 25, no. 2 (1994): 41.

participation by consultation, they are given the opportunity to comment on a preliminary decision. The decision-makers use the public's comments to revise the preliminary decision and make and implement the final decision. Although the public was able to express their concerns, they were not given an opportunity to collaborate with decision-makers to identify problems, plan solutions and alternatives, make a final decision, and implement it. [60]

On the other end of Pretty's typology, functional participation and interactive participation provide the public with the most agency. Functional participation empowers the public to mobilize in groups to address the project's goals. Though the groups may be created after decisions are made and their authority may be anchored in the decision-makers' power, they still have the agency to implement the decisions and may eventually become independent. When the public is engaged in interactive participation, they are actively involved in identifying and analyzing issues and creating solutions, and ultimately final decisions, that will allow them to maintain these decisions.[61]

Pretty's first three typologies are similar in definition to Rowe and Frewer's public communication and public consultation flows of information. They are also similar to Quick and Feldman's definition of participation. Conversely, Pretty's other two typologies are akin to Rowe and Frewer's public participation and Quick and Feldman's inclusion definition. Pretty, Rowe and Frewer, and Quick and Feldman's participation theories also illustrate the levels of empowerment that the public has in the decision-making process.
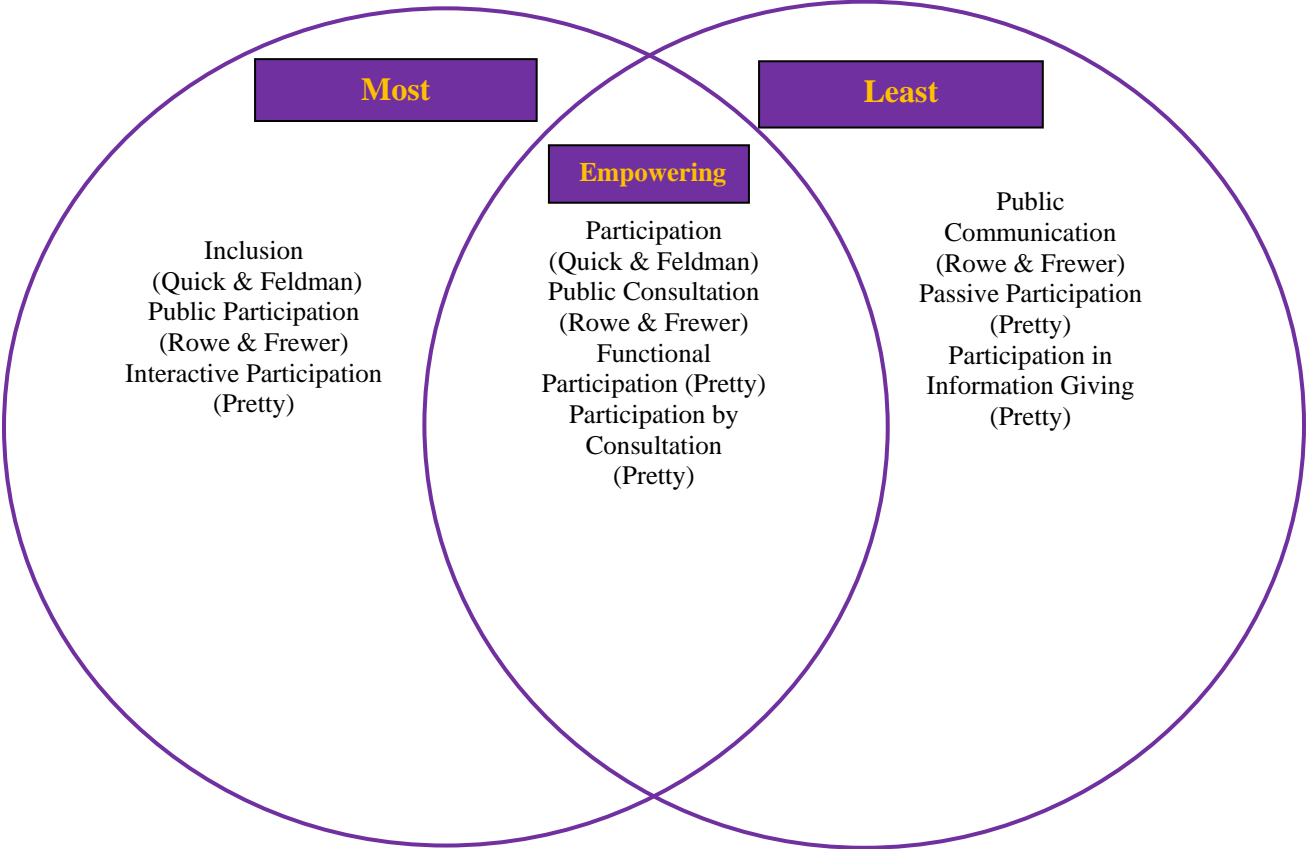
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[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

Participation Theories and Pubic Empowerment

From the above discussion it is evident that participation methods wherein the public is receiving information from decision-makers about a final decision, or providing input or comments on a final decision to decision-makers, serves to limit the public's agency in the decision-making process. However, in participation methods that allow the public to be involved in the decision-making process from the beginning (identifying an issue) to the end (maintaining the implementation of the final decision), serves to increase their agency. The definitions presented by Quick and Feldman, Rowe and Frewer, and Pretty can be put in categories that identifies public's the level of empowerment (figure 2). The definitions within the "most empowering" category provide the most agency to the public in the decision-making process. The definitions grouped in the "empowering" category allow the public some ability to shape final decisions, but does not completely involve the public in the most vital decision-making procedures that will ultimately impact their lives. Finally, definitions in the "least empowering category" allows the public little to no agency in the decision-making process. This categorization of participation theories will be used to evaluate the Section 106 participatory provisions.

Figure 2: Participation Theories
by Empowerment Level

Most

Least

Empowering

Inclusion
(Quick & Feldman)
Public Participation
(Rowe & Frewer)
Interactive Participation
(Pretty)

Participation
(Quick & Feldman)
Public Consultation
(Rowe & Frewer)
Functional
Participation (Pretty)
Participation by
Consultation
(Pretty)

Public
Communication
(Rowe & Frewer)
Passive Participation
(Pretty)
Participation in
Information Giving
(Pretty)

Source: Author's illustration

Section 106 Participation Provisions

In review, Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act is triggered when

any federal agency performs, contributes financially to, or approves a project. The

agency head, or those to whom he or she delegates the project to, must consider any

adverse effects the project may have on historic structures. She or he must determine

which historic structures are listed on the National Register, or eligible for listing, that

may be adversely affected by their project. The agency must then investigate methods that would reduce or avoid the adverse effects on these structures. Ultimately, the decision to protect, remove, or demolish the historic structures lies with the federal agency. [62]

Officials in the Department of the Interior created an administrative law, 36 CFR 800, that provides regulations which dictate how the consultation process for the Section 106 process should be implemented by federal agencies. The law requires the federal agency solicit public consultation to inform the agency's decision. It requires the agency to employ a public engagement mechanism to collect the public's input. However, the law leaves the selection of the type of public engagement mechanism entirely up to the agency.[63] The law states that the agency may use their standard public involvement procedures, many of which are determined by the agency's specific participatory methods from the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) participation provisions.[64] While NEPA doesn't reveal each agency's specific public involvement procedure, it does provide examples of possible procedures such as: "public meetings, conference calls, formal hearings, informal workshops, opportunities to submit written comments."[65]

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[62] Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Protecting Historic Properties: A Citizen's Guide to Section 106 Review*, 4 and 5.
[63] Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 36 CFR 800.2 (d) *Protection of Historic Properties (incorporating amendments effective August 5, 2004); Participation in the Section 106 Process*, accessed November 3, 2017. http://www.achp.gov/regs-rev04.pdf.
[64] Ibid; Environmental Protection Agency, "How Citizens can Comment and Participate in the National Environmental Policy Act Process?" accessed November 3, 2017, https://www.epa.gov/nepa/how-citizens-can-comment-and-participate-national-environmental-policy-act-process.
[65] Environmental Protection Agency, "How Citizens Can Comment."

These participatory mechanisms fall within the definitions of degrees of tokenism (Arnstein), participation (Quick & Feldman), public consultation (Rowe & Frewer), functional participation (Pretty), and participation by consultation (Pretty). Within the context of the Participation Theory by Empowerment Level, the abovementioned agency public involvement procedures fall into the "empowerment" category. Therefore, these procedures provide a limited amount of public agency within the decision-making process despite their solicitation of public input. This limited agency is not absent within federal agencies' disaster recovery Section 106 consultations. Additionally, this limited agency proves to disadvantage socially vulnerable populations who live in physically vulnerable places. As a result, they do not have the opportunity to actively engage in dialogue and decision-making process about their heritage assets and how these assets can be used to rehabilitate their devastated communities. The following example from New Orleans after Hurricane Katrine deftly illustrates this point.

The Big Four and Section 106

The example of The Big Four public housing facility demolition after Hurricane Katrina is a good example that shows how the Section 106 provision for public consultation is flawed. It illustrates how issues of social vulnerability and capability deprivations (described in chapter 2) can influence the Section 106 public consultation process. The case study also highlights how agencies and many historic preservation professionals do not recognize how social vulnerability and capability deprivations effect the ability of members of socially vulnerable groups from fully functioning in, and leveraging the benefits from, the Section 106 public consultation

opportunity. Finally, by illustrating these flaws, this case study reveals an opportunity

for professional historic preservationists to act as facilitators for this process.

Context

  The four biggest public housing developments in New Orleans were called B.

W. Cooper, C. J. Peete, Lafitte, and Saint Bernard. Built between the 1940s and

1950s in the Central City, Seventh Ward, and Treme neighborhoods, these

developments, known as The Big Four, were considered high quality housing for the

working class at the time. However, over five decades the housing conditions

declined due to mismanagement and neglect by the Housing Authority of New

Orleans (HANO). Eventually, unemployment, poverty, drugs, and crime became

rampant with these housing developments.[66] Much of these conditions were also

brought about by racial and economic segregation within the housing developments.[67]

The physical and social vulnerability was exacerbated by the devastating impacts of

Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

  Prior to the storm, Big Four residents were evacuated. After the storm,

HANO, assisted by U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD),

reported that The Big Four were in very poor condition and would not allow former

residents to return to their homes. Instead, many residents received housing vouchers

to find accommodations elsewhere.[68] Meanwhile, HUD and HANO initiated a

project to demolish The Big Four and create mixed-income housing in their place.[69]

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[66] Laura Manville, "When Did These Buildings Become Historic? Preservation Meets Public Housing in Post-
Katrina New Orleans" (Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011), 12.
[67] Ibid, 15 and 22.
[68] 19.
[69] 12.

Because all of The Big Four developments were more than fifty years old, and one of

the developments (C. J. Peete) was already listed on the national register; and because

HUD was funding the demolition, HUD and HANO were required by law to perform

the Section 106 process.[70]

Public Consultation

For the public consultation required by the Section 106 process, HUD hosted

public meetings both in New Orleans and in cities across the Country where former

Big Four residents were located. Additionally, HANO issued surveys to former

residents seeking feedback from them about the impending redevelopment.[71]

Unfortunately, the public meetings held in New Orleans were hosted in locations that

were difficult for residents to access. As a result, many of the interested parties

represented at the public meetings were largely historic preservation, housing, and

planning professionals (experts).[72] Finally, one professional noted that "residents

were not given the deference, nor the tools to participate fully." She further argued

that "[t]hey should have had a consultant that could walk through and talk about

historic preservation, what it means [and] doesn't mean." She also suggested that,

"[t]he playing field needs to be equal when you put people at a table to consult."[73]

As a result of these consultation issues, there was little opportunity for former

residents of the Big Four to significantly influence the final decision regarding the

fate of B. W. Cooper, C. J. Peete, Lafitte, and Saint Bernard.[74] In the end, three of

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[70] 13, 20, and 21.
[71] 68.
[72] 69 and 89
[73] 69.
[74] Shiloh L. Deitz and Kristen M. Barber, "Geographies of Inequality: Urban Renewal and the Race, Gender, and Class of Post-Katrina New Orleans," Race, Gender & Class , No. New Orleans for Whom and What? (Dec 2015): 5.

the Big Four (B.W. Cooper, Lafitte, and Saint Bernard) were completely demolished

and redeveloped as mixed-income housing.[75] Per the memorandum of agreements

between HUD, HANO, the Louisiana SHPO, and the ACHP, the selected developer

for this project was encouraged to document the buildings before demolition. Another

stipulation of the memorandum of agreements is that the selected developer of the

project was to preserve a portion of C.J. Peete.[76] None of these mitigation measures

reflect any significant negotiations between former residents and the agencies

involved.

Evaluation

HUD and HANO selected public meeting and survey participation

mechanisms to solicit feedback from Big Four residents in order to satisfy the Section

106 consultation requirement. Though these particular procedures were fraught with

problems beyond the scope of this paper, one can evaluate the effectiveness of the

procedures based on the earlier discussion regarding the levels of empowerment. The

public meetings and surveys were intended to request feedback on a decision that

HUD and HANO had already devised. Thus, through the public meetings, residents'

[75] Pam Fessler, "After Katrina, New Orleans' Public Housing Is A Mix Of Pastel And Promises," *National Public Radio*, August 17, 2015, https://www.npr.org/2015/08/17/431267040/after-katrina-new-orleans-public-housing-is-a-mix-of-pastel-and-promises.

[76] United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Memorandum of Agreement Regarding the Development of the B.W. Cooper Public Housing Complex, Located in New Orleans, Louisiana* (Government Document, 2007); [76] United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Memorandum of Agreement Regarding the Development of the Lafitte Public Housing Complex, Located in New Orleans, Louisiana* (Government Document, 2007); [76] United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Memorandum of Agreement Regarding the Development of the St. Bernard Public Housing Complex, Located in New Orleans, Louisiana* (Government Document, 2007); [76] United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, *Memorandum of Agreement Regarding the Development of the C.J. Peete Public Housing Complex, Located in New Orleans, Louisiana* (Government Document, 2007).

empowerment was somewhat restricted by participation as defined by Quick and Feldman, public consultation as defined by Rower and Frewer, and participation by consultation as defined by Pretty. Concomitantly, the residents were greatly disempowered by the survey as it embodied the definition of participation in information giving as defined by Pretty. Additionally, when residents attended the public meetings, it was clear that they were operating on a comprehension deficit because neither representatives of HANO or HUD, nor professionals from the historic preservation groups explained the regulatory and procedural requirements of Section 106 to the residents. As a result, residents were unable to effectively utilize this process to contribute their input and, ultimately, influence the final decision.

Conclusion

All of these elements illustrate how the Section 106 consultation process creates capability deprivation, particularly for socially vulnerable groups, in post-disaster contexts. Socially vulnerable groups live in physically vulnerable places. Therefore, they are disproportionately impacted by a disaster.[77] Because the Section 106 consultation process (as enacted by some federal agencies) does not employ an adequate participation procedure, socially vulnerable groups are deprived of their capability to use their historic assets to rebuild their communities. Thus, the main issue with the Section 106 process is its inadequate consultation procedure. The need, then, is for experts who are knowledgeable about this procedure and its flaws, who can also use superior participatory methods to facilitate socially vulnerable groups' effective participation. Historic preservation professionals can fill this need.

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[77] Shannon Van Zandt, Walter Gillis Peacock, Dustin W. Henry, Himanshu Grover, Wesley E. Highfield & Samuel D. Brody, "Mapping social vulnerability to enhance housing and neighborhood resilience," *Housing Policy Debate* 22, no. 1 (2012).

Chapter 4: Policy Alternatives

Introduction

This chapter will introduce policy alternatives that will provide mechanisms by which historic preservation professionals can become facilitators for marginalized groups in the Section 106 process. First, it will introduce the development and foundational principles of participatory methods. Then, this chapter will discuss some critiques of participatory methods. Finally, it will propose ways in which participatory methods can be incorporated into Section 106 participation provisions and the practices of historic preservation professionals involved in the Section 106 process.

Participatory Methods

Participatory methods are research and planning techniques that development practitioners, academics, and urban planners use to obtain the local knowledge of community members, particularly those who have traditionally been excluded from decision-making processes.[78] They are used to plan and implement development interventions in developing countries as well as in post- disaster contexts.[79] The foundational principles of participatory methods—"teamwork, flexibility and triangulation"—make them an exemplary tool by which professionals from different fields can better understand and create a co-learning environment and unified effort involving marginalized groups who are most often socially vulnerable to disasters and

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[78] Richard Bowd, Alpaslan Özerdem, and Derese Getachew Kassa, "A Theoretical and Practical Exposition of 'Participatory' Research Methods," in *Participatory Research Methodologies Development and Post-Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction*, eds. Alpaslan Özerdem and Richard Bowd (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 1.

[79] Ibid, 8.

absent from mitigation planning and recovery decision-making processes.[80] Because

participatory methods focus on gathering local knowledge to inform the design and

assessment of development projects, or to gain a deeper understanding of the

socioeconomic issues that deprive marginalized groups, they can also be used by

historic preservation professionals to assist socially vulnerable groups during the

Section 106 process. Participatory methods can offer an opportunity for historic

preservation professionals to partner with communities and provide credible

assessment methods that allow for them to advocate on their own behalf. This section

will explore the development, definitions, and core principles, participatory methods

with the goal of zeroing in on the specific techniques that can be applied to the

Section 106 process.

Developments and Definitions

Participatory research methods gained popularity in the 1970s and 1980s.

Championed by proponents such a Robert Chambers and Paulo Freire, participatory

research methods were a reaction against top-down planning and development

practices rooted in a legacy of colonialism. The major flaw in top-down practices was

that development professionals would exclude the voices and knowledge of local

community members as the professionals designed their plans and imposed them on

these very same community members.[81] In contrast to this perspective, Paulo Freire

argued that people should not be mere recipients of the decisions that professionals

impose upon them. Instead, Freire believed that there should be a two-way dialogue

between practitioners and local community members, acting as equals, where

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[80] Ibid, 1.
[81] Ibid, 3, 8, and 9.

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community members are "involved in critical reflection and conscientization— [or the process by which] people participate, identify, and critically analyse [sic] social, political and economic factors underlying oppression leading to their organized action for change."[82] Freire further argued that participation can be used as a "learning and empowerment tool," and that knowledge gained by participation—especially through conscientization—can cause structural changes that reverse oppression and empowers marginalized groups.[83]

Freire's concepts of participation and conscientization became the cornerstone of participatory methods as they began to be integrated in the human development approach as it evolved and became standard practice in the international development and post-disaster/conflict field throughout the 1980s.[84] By the 1990s, Robert Chambers and Peter Park developed definitions of participatory methods. Robert Chambers defined participatory methods as a "family of approaches and methods to enable rural people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act."[85] Concomitantly, Park defined them as "a self conscious [sic] way of empowering people to take effective action toward improving conditions in their lives. It is a research method that puts research skills in the hands of the deprived and disenfranchised people so that they can transform their lives for themselves."[86] Both Chambers and Park's definitions focus on the empowerment of local, marginalized people through participatory techniques.

Core Principles of Participatory Methods

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[82] Ibid, 3.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid, 10.
[85] Ibid, 2.
[86] Ibid.

One of the foundational characteristics that evolved out of the aforementioned definitions, and their implementation in the field, include a focus on harnessing non-academic, local knowledge to identify and solve local problems. Another component of participatory methods includes the effort to convey power from the social elites to the traditionally disenfranchised members within a local community. In sum, participatory methods are intended to help marginalized members of local communities understand the underlying causes of their social, economic, and political powerlessness, and the capability deprivations that accompany that powerlessness. Participatory methods are intended to provide tools to marginalized community members' which would, in turn, facilitate their empowerment and action to overcome their disenfranchisement. [87]

Critiques of Participatory Methods

Participatory methods, and particularly the PRA, have been essential in revolutionizing the way that international development and post-disaster professionals and scholars have done their work over the last forty years. However, as participatory methods have become mainstream practice for non-governmental organizations, the World Bank, and many nation-states focusing on human development, proponents of participatory methods have alleged that the methods have been commercialized. Participatory methods, proponents allege, have been adapted to a cookie-cutter-type model and, as a result, proponents argue, this model forsakes the original intent of participation. [88] Therefore, current critiques of participatory methods focus on the

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[87] Ibid, 2.
[88] Bowd, et al., "A Theoretical and Practical Exposition of 'Participatory' Research Methods," 5.

theoretical and methodological limitations of the participatory approach as it is applied today.

One such critique argues that the researchers implementing participatory methods characterize a community as a "homogenous entity." In doing so, they fail to realize that there are various interest groups, with their own agendas, working within these larger "communities." Critics also argue that practitioners of participatory methods who define the poor as resourceless, voiceless, and powerless do not consider the fluidity of power. Critics argue that those employing this definition focus too much on rigid power relationships between the haves and the have-nots, and do not take into consideration that there are complex power dynamics within poor or disenfranchised groups.[89] These power relations reappear in the participatory research sessions. Group dynamics that are at play in these public sessions may sway individuals and either keep them from expressing their true feelings about an issue or agree with statements they would not individually choose.[90]

Finally, critics of the present-day application of participatory methods argue that researchers and professionals assume that local knowledge and belief systems are inherently good and emancipatory. However, some of these systems encourage marginalization and oppression of certain social groups based on race, color, gender, age and other characteristics.[91] As a result, researchers and professionals face a conundrum: should they assume "local knowledge knows best" and keep the systems in tact or should they introduce new knowledge that could potentially empower a disenfranchised group? Some practitioners believe that researchers and professionals

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[89] Ibid, 6.
[90] Ibid, 8.
[91] Ibid, 7.

should respect the local knowledge and belief systems in places, but work together with community members to expand knowledge and ways of knowing and ultimately improve the lives of everyone.[92]

Though these critiques reveal some of the gaps in participatory methods as they are applied in the development industry today, they are not mentioned to undermine the effective use of participatory methods. Instead, by reflecting on these critiques, one can become more aware of the complex concepts and themes that influence the effective or ineffective application of participatory methods. Additionally, if participatory methods are explored and applied more closely to their original intent, they can provide an excellent way to empower socially vulnerable groups. As it pertains to the Section 106 process, historic preservation professionals can use these methods as tools to intervene. They can also use participatory methods to facilitate socially vulnerable groups' increased inclusion in the Section 106 process.

Policy Alternatives

There are a number of approaches associated with participatory methods. This means that there are multiple approaches from which historic preservation professionals can choose when applying participatory methods. Some of the techniques include Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Transactive Planning, and Advocacy Planning. These are but a few of the plethora of participatory approaches available. However, I have chosen to discuss these techniques as they require face-to-face encounters with socially vulnerable

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[92] Ibid, 8.

groups. These approaches also lend themselves to relatively quick, yet effective, data collection and increased facilitation opportunities for historic preservation professionals.

Rapid Rural Appraisal

Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) came about in the 1970s. The main goal of this participatory approach is to "quickly collect, analyze and evaluate information on [local] conditions and local knowledge."[93] RRA emphasizes the use of a multidisciplinary team composed of professionals with technical expertise in the field being studied as well as professionals with social science expertise. This unique team composition encourages a more well-rounded perspective in the research.[94] The team goes out into the local community and utilizes a range of techniques to collect data. The Agriculture and Consumer Protection Department of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations report that these techniques include:

1) interview and question design techniques for individual, household and key informant interviews;

2) methods of cross-checking information from different sources;

3) sampling techniques that can be adapted to a particular objective;

4) methods of obtaining quantitative data in a short time frame;

5) group interview techniques, including focus-group interviewing;

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[93] Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations: Agriculture and Consumer Protection Department, "Chapter 8: Rapid Rural Appraisal," accessed December 15, 2017, http://www.fao.org/docrep/w3241e/w3241e09.htm.
[94] Ibid.

6) methods of direct observation at site level; and

7) use of secondary data sources.[95]

These techniques are quick and cost-effective. They are rooted in expert observation and are combined with semi-structured interviews of local community members, community leaders, and political officials.[96] After the data is collected, it is used to inform and implement policies and plans.

Participatory Rural Appraisal

Another participatory approach is the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Like RRA, PRA is a conglomeration of techniques used by a team of researchers to quickly collect information about the needs of a community (as expressed by that community) in order to develop appropriate projects that will effectively accommodate those needs.[97] The difference between PRA and RRA is that "RRA…mainly aims at extracting information [and] PRA places emphasis on empowering local people to assume an active role in analyzing their own living conditions, problems and potentials in order to seek for a change of their situation."[98] Researchers using PRA employ social science methods such as social networking mapping, institutional diagramming, and labor analysis, semi-structured interviews,

[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid, 9.
[98] Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations: Economic and Social Development Department, "Conducting a PRA Training and Modifying PRA Tools to Your Needs: Chapter 6, PRA Tool Box," accessed December 15, 2017. http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x5996e/x5996e06.htm.

and participant observation to obtain insight into the community's needs.[99]

Additionally, researchers will adhere to the five key concepts of PRA which are:

1) empowerment, wherein the local community gains confidence as they share local

knowledge that will impact the design of the project;

2) respect, wherein power is transferred from the researcher to the community

members;

3) localization, where the actual research process is based in the local community and

utilizes community resources;

4) enjoyment, which encourages casual relationships between the researcher and the

community members; and

5) inclusiveness, which ensures that marginalized groups are involved in the process.
[100]

     Last, the PRA seeks to mitigate research bias—or the known or unknown

prejudices that a researcher may have that could affect the validity of their

research.[101] The PRA reduces research biases through reflexivity and triangulation.

Reflexivity requires researchers to be self-aware of their values, beliefs, and attitudes

and to be self-critical about how their research methods and evaluations may be

influenced by these values, beliefs, and attitudes.[102] Similarly, triangulation—which

requires that researchers look at their research from multiple perspectives—reduces

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[99]Bowd, et al., "A Theoretical and Practical Exposition of 'Participatory' Research Methods," 5; Bimal Kanti Paul and Sohini Dutt, "Applications of Participatory Research Methods in a Post-disaster Environment: The Case of Cyclone Sidr, Bangladesh," in *Participatory Research Methodologies Development and Post-Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction*, eds. Alpaslan Özerdem and Richard Bowd (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 90 and 92.

[100] Bowd, et al., "A Theoretical and Practical Exposition of 'Participatory' Research Methods," 9.

[101] Richard Bowd and Alpaslan Özerdem, "Introduction to Part I: Participatory Research Methods in Development and Post-disaster Reconstruction," in *Participatory Research Methodologies Development and Post-Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction*, eds. Alpaslan Özerdem and Richard Bowd (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 24.

[102] Ibid.

research biases by requiring the use of multiple measures, observers, theories, or methods. [103]

Transactive Planning

In the 1970s, John Friedman crafted the concept of transactive planning. Transactive planning "proposes face-to-face contact with the…community."[104] This participatory approach centers around interpersonal dialogue and mutual learning. In this way, power is decentralized from the expert planning professional and given into the hands of community members.[105] The planning professional's role then shifts from expert to facilitator as he or she becomes "a conduit for information dissemination and feedback," who encourages and facilitates community members' active involvement in the planning process.[106]

Advocacy Planning.

Another participatory approach that emerged from the Urban Planning field in the 1970s was advocacy planning. The goal of advocacy planning is "to aspire to equality of representation and accommodation of all people in planning processes."[107] Marcus Lane states that this participatory approach acknowledges:

(1) a profound inequality of bargaining power between groups;

(2) that there is unequal access to the political structure; and

(3) that large numbers of people are unorganized and therefore unrepresented by interest groups.[108]

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[103] Ibid, 25.
[104] Marcus B. Lane, "Public Participation in Planning: An Intellectual History," *Australian Geographer* 36, no. 3 (2005): 293, DOI: 10.1080/00049180500325694.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

Advocacy planning, then, strives for social change by advocating the interests of disenfranchised members of the community who are less articulate actors in the planning process.[109] Through advocacy planning, expert planning professionals become "facilitators whose central task is to either catalyze the participation of inarticulate actors or, alternatively, advocate their interests directly."[110]

Conclusion

This chapter sought to define participatory methods and describe their core principles. It also argued that the core principles of participatory methods are useful to historic preservation professionals in empowering socially vulnerable groups. The chapter went on to describe and propose multiple participatory approaches that could be integrated into the Section 106 consultation process. Through these participatory approaches, the chapter suggests that historic preservation professionals could empower and facilitate the inclusion of socially vulnerable groups within this consultation process by using participatory methods.

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[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

Chapter 5: Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter will provide recommendations regarding which specific participatory approaches may be appropriate for historic preservation professionals to use as facilitators in the Section 106 process. It will propose a method by which these participatory approaches can be effectively implemented. The chapter will argue that these specific participatory approaches and the methodology by which they are implemented are ways in which to overcome the deficiencies in the Section 106 consultation process. It will further argue that these participatory approaches and the recommended methodology by which they are implanted can increase citizen empowerment, particularly for socially vulnerable groups, in the Section 106 consultation process.

Tools for the Preservationist Facilitator

Returning to the Ladder

In Chapter 3, Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation was discussed. It is pertinent to revisit this ladder and consider the goal of citizen participation and empowerment in the Section 106 consultation process. Currently, Section 106's consultation process rests on the rung of consultation in the section of tokenism in Arnstein's ladder (figure 3).

Figure 3: Section 106 & Arnstein's
Ladder of Citizen Participation
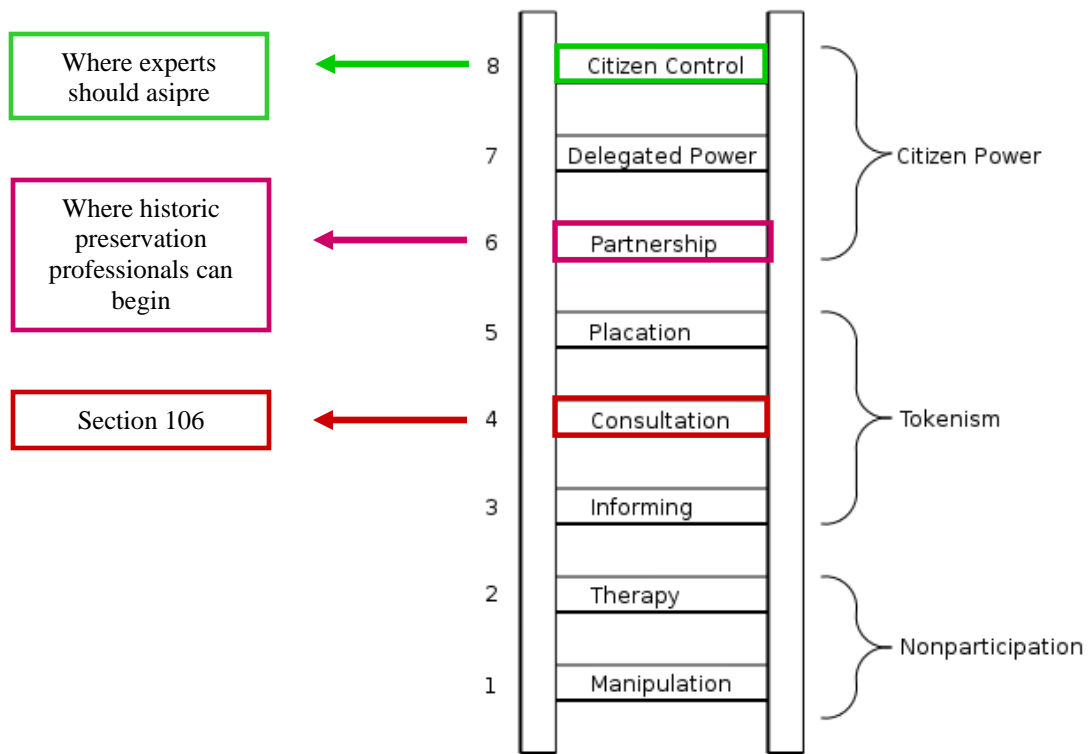
Source: DuLithgow, Wikimedia
Commons, modified by author

This means that the public, especially socially vulnerable groups, are able to hear, or

be informed about, what is going on.[111] Here, there is a certain level of transparency

proffered by decision-makers such as a federal agency, the SHPO, and the ACHP.

The public is also able to have their voice heard, and contribute their opinions and

knowledge regarding the issue at hand. Although consultation provides an

opportunity for the public to "hear and be heard," it fails to empower them as "they

lack power to insure [sic] that their views will be *heeded* by the [decision-

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[111] Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," 217.

makers]."[112] Sherry Arnstein argues that on this level of tokenism, "there is no followthrough [sic], no 'muscle,' hence no assurance of changing the status quo."[113]

Arnstein argues that experts like historic preservation professionals should aim to have processes that rests within the rungs of the citizen power section of the ladder (figure 3). On this level of the ladder, the public, especially socially vulnerable groups, increase in their ability to make decisions, and their capability to effectively leverage decision-making processes for their benefit.[114] The highest rungs in the citizen power section are delegated power and citizen control wherein the public gains full decision-making and administrative power regarding the issue at hand.[115] Though this is the ultimate goal for citizen participation, it calls for a complete devolution of power from the expert professionals to the public, which radically conflicts with the principles of hierarchical, expert-driven decision-making systems (particularly as it pertains to orthodox historic preservation practice).

Yet, in the progression toward the highest rungs of citizen participation, historic preservation professionals can begin to aim toward partnership (figure 3). Partnership is one of the lower rungs in the citizen power section. However, it still allows the public, particularly socially vulnerable groups, to have a certain level of power to influence the final decision on the issue at hand. Through partnership, the public can "negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders."[116] Partnership enables the public to ensure that their opinions are heard, their knowledge is respected, and that both will influence the final decision and how that decision is

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[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

implemented. In order to accomplish this level of citizen empowerment, historic

preservation professionals can utilize the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and

advocacy planning participation approaches.

Developing new participatory approaches for Section 106 consultation

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Participatory Rural Appraisal is a

conglomeration of techniques used by a team of researchers to quickly collect

information about the needs of a community (as expressed by that community) in

order to develop appropriate projects that will effectively accommodate those

needs.[117] "PRA places emphasis on empowering local people to assume an active role

in analyzing their own living conditions, problems and potentials in order to seek for

a change of their situation."[118] Researchers using PRA employ social science methods

such as social networking mapping, institutional diagramming, and labor analysis,

semi-structured interviews, and participant observation to obtain insight into the

community's needs.[119]

Advocacy Planning "[aspires] to equality of representation and

accommodation of all people in planning processes."[120] It strives for social change by

advocating the interests of disenfranchised members of the community who are less

articulate actors in the planning process.[121] Through advocacy planning, expert

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[117] Ibid, 9.
[118] Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations: Economic and Social Development Department, "Conducting a PRA Training and Modifying PRA Tools to Your Needs: Chapter 6, PRA Tool Box," accessed December 15, 2017. http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x5996e/x5996e06.htm.
[119] Bowd, et al., "A Theoretical and Practical Exposition of 'Participatory' Research Methods," 5; Bimal Kanti Paul and Sohini Dutt, "Applications of Participatory Research Methods in a Post-disaster Environment: The Case of Cyclone Sidr, Bangladesh," in *Participatory Research Methodologies Development and Post-Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction*, eds. Alpaslan Özerdem and Richard Bowd (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 90 and 92.
[120] Lane, "Public Participation in Planning," 293.
[121] Ibid.

planning professionals become "facilitators whose central task is to either catalyze the participation of inarticulate actors or, alternatively, advocate their interests directly."[122]

Both advocacy planning and PRA encourages citizen empowerment. They allow the public to be involved in the decision-making process from the beginning (identifying an issue) to the end (maintaining the implementation of the final decision). PRA and advocacy planning serves to increase the agency of the public, particularly socially vulnerable groups, and decrease their capability deprivation. To maximize the benefits that utilizing advocacy planning and PRA offer, historic preservation professionals should employ a sequential mixed method approach.

According to Jeremy Wells, sequential mixed-method approach provides an excellent way to collect qualitative data such as social and cultural values.[123] The sequential mixed-method approach first employs qualitative methods—such as semi-structured interviews, participant observation, social mapping—to gather qualitative data (i.e. sociocultural meanings ascribed to places).[124] Though qualitative methods are followed by implementing quantitive methods in the sequential mixed-method approach, I argue that in the context of the Section 106 consultation process, qualitative methods should be followed by practical application relevant to the situation.[125]

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Jeremy C. Wells, "Using Sequential Mixed Social Science Methods to Define and Measure Heritage Conservation Performance," *School of Architecture, Art, and Historic Preservation Faculty Papers*, Paper 21, 2011, 7.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.

So, in the context of the Section 106 consultation process after a disaster, historic preservation professionals should strive to engender a partnership status for the public, particularly socially vulnerable groups.

Figure 4: A Sequential Mixed-Method
Approach to Engender Partnership in the
Section 106 Consultation Process

Partnership in Section 106

PRA

Advocacy Planning
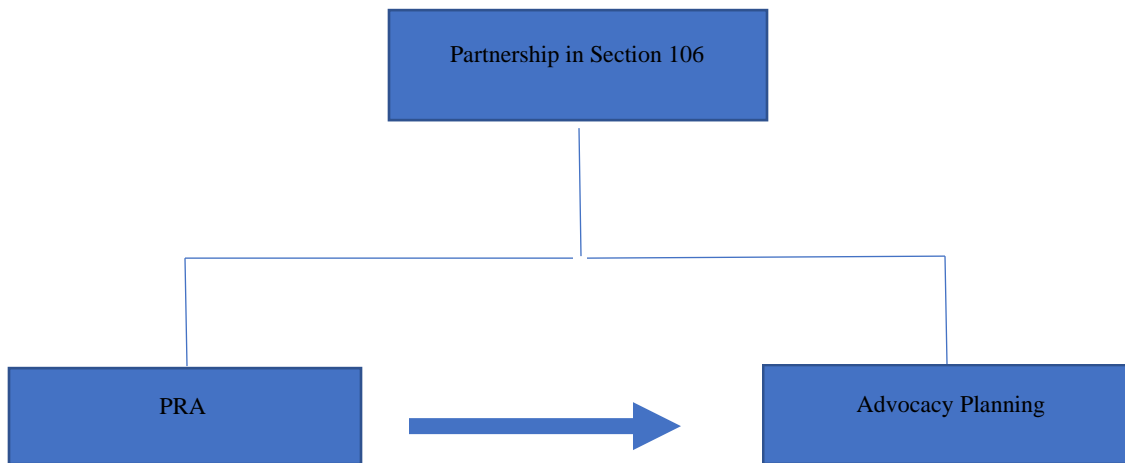
Source: Author's illustration

To do this, historic preservationists should employ a sequential mixed-method approach (figure 4). Using this method historic preservation professionals would first utilize PRA, which allows community members to identify historic resources, connect those resources to social systems with their communities, and then identify institutional structures that community members can engage which will allow them to negotiate the use of these resources so that they can rebuild their community after a

disaster.[126] Next, historic preservation professionals should employ the advocacy planning approach. In this way historic preservation professionals will be able to not only help community members navigate the Section 106 consultation process, but also strategically" negotiate and engage in trade-offs" with decision-makers such as federal agencies, developers, the SHPO, and the ACHP.

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[126] Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations: Economic and Social Development Department, "Conducting a PRA Training and Modifying PRA Tools to Your Needs."

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