

Reflecting on a Reflection:
Thoughts on the production of
“Reminded of Our Own Possibilities”

Jeff Gillenwater, 2016

“...try to support those things that lead to that uniqueness...”

Being a cultural sustainability practitioner as a sharp-tongued, introverted, defensively hyper-rational contrarian isn't easy. Where others see an expanse of emotion and opportunities for empathy, I see building blocks, puzzle pieces, and patterns. Being Roger Baylor's friend is easy for all the same reasons. In 2005, Baylor started blogging about public affairs in New Albany. Early on, I wrote a lengthy screed in response, loosely themed “Educating the Ignorant and Shaming the Stupid”. We have been buddies ever since.

I raise that point for two reasons. The first is that, as much as the New Albanian Brewing Company's Bank Street Brewhouse really has contributed to community, both the development of a brewery and my collaborations with Baylor over the years have generally been about resistance. From his association of Woody Guthrie's “These Machines Kill Fascists” with brewing equipment to his use of the brewhouse property well before it was open to host a festival called Fringe Fest, it has been understood that feeling misplaced in New Albany meant that NABC was a place for you. About the first Fringe Fest, held concurrently and in direct response to the officially recognized, overly corporatized “Harvest Homecoming” just a block away, Baylor announced, “The goal of this first annual Fringe Fest is to create a

cultural counterpoint to Harvest Homecoming and provide unique music, interesting exhibits, captivating films, and – most importantly – good locally brewed beer. Fringe Fest embraces everything creative and original, and welcomes anything outside of the social ‘norm.’” (Baylor 2008) The implication, of course, was that visitors would not find unique, interesting, or captivating things within the “social norm” of the larger, more established festival. At the time, I was in the process as a still fairly new homeowner (and by then writing for Baylor’s blog regularly) of saying annoying things like “I don’t want a new home, I want my home to be new again” very publicly. It was half-inspiring, half-offensive and a given person falling on the right side of that split was indicative of something shared if not fully understood.

As we worked professionally and politically to make our home new again, we wrote, talked, drank beer, and hollered quite a bit. More than anything (perhaps other than drinking beer), we read voraciously, travelled, and learned. It was during that time that our mutual interest in the city’s history and former brewing culture was more thoroughly explored. Finding out, for instance, that Scottish immigrant Hugh Ainslie, New Albany’s first commercial brewer, was a published poet, a Socialist, and initially moved to Indiana to help build a utopian society at New Harmony was a near perfect revelation. If the present was a source of agitation and do-nothingness, the past offered both solace and a way forward, though it would have to be presented in terms of a living continuum quite unlike what most local history buffs generally concerned themselves with in a place so fond of touting its historic status.

Not much later, my involvement in the MACS program began and I immediately began recognizing those building blocks, puzzle pieces, and patterns again. The study of festival in particular provided parallels to my own revitalization experiences. Falassi's time out of time concept (Falassi 1987) especially resonated in that I started to see time in the beer garden as an example of it. Like other revitalization efforts, the beer garden attempted not to slow down time but to speed it up, increasing levels of exposure, contacts, and experience in a way that lasted beyond a specifically allotted period. I was so intrigued by the idea that neighborhoods and events aimed at revitalization, while ongoing, functioned as "slow festivals" that it almost became a capstone topic in and of itself, so I wanted to include it in my reflection if not the video. When I looked back on my course work, though, I found that I wrote "...festivals really are just microcosms of broader concerns, framed little examples of life with all the attendant accoutrements. So, more than the complexities of representation, authenticity, space, and time, I was impressed by their inherent humanity. Relationships are still central and festivals, like more permanent communities, can be designed to better facilitate them both as part of the planning process and in execution. A festival is an ongoing process that starts long before the event portion and lasts long after it. If that process is as open and genuine as possible, the chances of buy-in are greater as are the chances of success, regardless of what the original intentions are." (Gillenwater 2010)

That brings me to the second reason I mention the beginning of my relationship with Baylor and the snarky circumstances under which it occurred. Though the technical aspects and theories of revitalization are interesting and, in

this case, how beer and brewing played a role in bringing past tradition forward as a part of that, the more durable aspects of resistance, revitalization, and, ultimately, resilience, are all dependent on the development and maintenance of relationships-- to people, to place, to "the bio-community of which we're all a part". Relationships themselves function as time of out of time, as connections to the past, and as a way forward. They are their own sort of liminal period, so that when the machinations that created them fail, the liminal can actually continue in varying degrees of intensity like the remnants of festival, the social ties of successful communities.

Future cities will be compacted into clearly defined neighborhoods that will be smaller and more densely populated than our sprawling suburbs and exurbs today. These new cities and towns will combine the best of traditional urban design with modern mass transit and communication technologies . . . Offices, stores and restaurants, housing, parks and open spaces will all be within walking distance for the people who live there. Tentacles of restored land with healthy watersheds, river banks, ravines and hills will reach into the heart of the city, while clear boundaries will honor spaces in which farms and wild lands flourish and nurture the new metropolis.

As our resurgent cityscapes mature, architecture, cuisine and the arts will re-develop regional styles and celebrate local choices, resources and sensibilities.

In this future, the differences between our cities become apparent and delightful. The joy of walking and the convenience of alternative transportation will diminish the need for the single-passenger automobile, reduce its infrastructure and restore a human scale to the cityscape.

An increasingly "walkable" environment will allow us to cluster our important civic institutions, such as, the city hall, library, and museums, shopping and work. As a result, more and more people will find themselves drawn to the middle of our new town where they will also find a beautiful, intentional space where they feel welcome to put up their feet, play games or discuss the matters of the day. This space, the community's gathering place, is the heart for communal identity, welcome, and social rejuvenation. Every neighborhood will build such a space where people

create together something that captures their collective talents, their aspirations and their appreciation of the many community connections.

Milenko Matanovic, *Multiple Victories* (Matanovic 2009)

The above paragraphs, as a holistic statement of purpose of sorts, are as much a paean to our past as they are a plea for our future. From first conceptualization, this project was meant as an attempt to demonstrate that sort of historically forged forward thinking with brewing as proof of concept. Though my initial thought was to include a wider variety of voices via a series of new, brewery related interviews that may have gone in multiple other directions, to suggest that my editorial involvement would have ultimately led to any other conclusion is to assert a level of personal objectivity and restraint I doubt I can reasonably claim.

I am in this place, of this place, in a mutually defining relationship. New Albany's historic downtown and surrounding neighborhoods quite literally represent my heritage, my recent past and present, and, so far, my future. As Rory Turner mentions elsewhere in the lecture highlighted in the video, my primary job has been to love this place. After a decade of developing and administering that love - sometimes sweetly, sometimes harshly - it began to hurt to the point that I had to step away, curtailing my activism and attempting to refocus.

In the intervening years, much the same has occurred at the New Albanian Brewing Company (NABC). Brewer Jared Williamson left NABC for a job at Schlafly Brewing (and a spouse) in Saint Louis. More recently, co-owner Roger Baylor has stepped away from the business, first on a temporary basis to run unsuccessfully for mayor and now more permanently as he is seeking to sell his ownership stake to

two remaining partners in a process that has become contentious and unsettling for many long-time members of the brewery community. My employment at the brewery ended nearly a year ago.

With brewery circumstances changing and my personal access to the physical space and the people working in it more limited, I was compelled to look to the past in examining beer and community for my capstone even more than I had originally planned. What was to be a point of origin within a broader story became an origin story. That involuntary change of course, though, pushed me to reflect on my own more recent history, my relationship with NABC and New Albany, and coming to peace with what happened and is happening.

Though both the brewery's and my relationship to the city are very different from just a few years ago, what the brewery helped rebuild in terms of city heritage was similarly rebuilt and, in this case, revisited in me as a cultural sustainability practitioner as well. *Reminded of Our Own Possibilities*, a Turner quote from the video, refers to the general power of heritage to instruct and inspire contemporary perceptions, the specific reintroduction of brewing to Downtown New Albany as a catalyst for positive change, and a contemplation of personal values and value. With the noted exception of Roger Baylor, I am likely one of the few people who was present enough in New Albany at all these intersections of beers, years, thoughts, and developments to pull these pieces together, so that is what I tried to do.

As the brewery community that I knew is changing and perhaps even ending, it is indeed a hardship, one felt often in our house and neighborhood. This project for me represents not just the end of my involvement with the Cultural

Sustainability program at Goucher but the end of another ceremony of sorts much closer to home. It is a reflection on the early days of a slow festival that lingers. I look back on it now in ways that may have been familiar to Hugh Ainslie upon the failure of his utopian settlement before he found a new home and founded a brewery in New Albany. I do so knowing, though, that someone might eventually find this story like Roger and I found his, see themselves in it, and a spirit worth cultivating.

The video itself is a collage of sources culled from years of experience in and around the brewery, brewers, and the historic neighborhoods of New Albany, including interviews with co-owner Roger Baylor and brewer Jared Williamson. Highlights from a cultural sustainability lecture delivered by Rory Turner in June, 2014, at the Carnegie Center for Art and History in New Albany are also included to relate the hands-on to the academic and to show the interplay between lay and expert knowledge. Baylor has always seen himself as a teacher, considering a career in education prior to “falling into” the beer business. Turner’s assertion to the audience, that “you’re doing the work” provides a bridge to a demonstration of that work with words and images as exhibition and explanation. Images are a collection of personal photos, Baylor’s travel photos, photos taken and shared by the brewery, and historic images from the Indiana Room of the New Albany-Floyd County Library.

“...the spirit of place, the spirit of people...”

As a matter of context and background, a brief review of New Albany’s development, decline, and concepts of revitalization is perhaps useful. Much of my work in the Cultural Sustainability program has centered on such topics, and they inform the brewery’s position as a change agent in the redevelopment process.

Like a lot of cities, New Albany flourished in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Its location along the banks of the Ohio River just west of the Falls of the Ohio made it a gateway to the West and South, and residents took full advantage via steamboat construction and attendant industries and catering to travelers with hotels and taverns. When railcars replaced steamers, New Albany’s already establishing industries made it a natural stop and growth continued. With hills to the west and the river to the south, residential areas spread mostly eastward from downtown. Wealthy riverboat captains and industrialists had claimed Main Street, overlooking the river for their own grandiose mansions early on. The merchants, craftspeople, and laborers – commercial brewers and malters among them - began building and developing just north of Main on the remaining east-west streets with homes and businesses generally moving from larger to smaller as they were located further away from the river, though building scale varies greatly even within the same blocks. While historic records show class stratification has been a problem since the city’s earliest days, New Albany’s historic neighborhoods were often places where those of varying means lived side by side, intermingling in the streets and taverns, and successfully working in tandem to improve their respective futures. (Lipin 1995, 785)

Beginning with Scotsman Hugh Ainslie in 1840 and followed a decade later by a wave of German immigrants, brewing thrived in New Albany with 19 different brewing entities and associated businesses operating in multiple city locations for nearly 80 years until the advent of Prohibition in the 1920s. Only one brewery, known locally as Ackerman's, survived the 13-year-long alcohol ban. Unable to fully recover from years of financial strain, Ackerman's, too, succumbed to bankruptcy in 1935. The New Albanian Brewing Company's reintroduction of commercial brewing in New Albany in 2002 was the first such endeavor in 67 years.

The long absence of brewing in New Albany, as was the case in many cities and towns around the country, generally coincided with the decades-long period of widespread suburbanization that soon followed beginning in the 1950s. The rise of commuter culture, expansion of mass production and "big box" retail, and the redefining of success as something that happens away from the city center left older, more traditional urban neighborhoods in distress. Though nearly 10 years of more recent investment downtown -most following the opening of New Albanian's Bank Street Brewhouse - has made a significant impact, New Albany's historic neighborhoods were long known as a center of poverty (Flanagan and Nedland 2009, 26), with slumlords more common than craftspeople and the downtown-neighborhood struggling to maintain standards (Hettinger 2010) with an overly transient student population. The implementation of strategic interventions to reverse those negative trends and return downtown and surrounding neighborhoods to thriving places of choice, places where it makes financial and emotional sense to invest, was both a personal project and an aim of the New

Albanian Brewing Company in expanding downtown.

Often prescribed as both an antidote to the dehumanizing affects of suburbanization and as a fundamental component of urban economic development and adaptation, the popular notion of “creative cities” and the impact of creative activity on community development and sustainability was an area of shared interest as well. As Simone asks, “If urban popular culture is a mirroring process through which residents understand something about their collective life, as well as a vehicle through which implicit forms of social collaboration are put to work, how far does this process go in terms of getting residents to take one another into account, to interact with one another, to get rid of the impediments that may stand in the way of real collaboration?” (Simone 2008, 76) As I have often added and this project attempts to document, how do the traditions of a neighborhood, both current and past, affect that process?

Some of the challenges lie in identifying what constitutes creativity, or at least constructive creative activity, and questions around who sets the boundaries of creative interactions and assigns value to them or even if there are or should be boundaries. Delineations in boundary setting and value assignation often lead to unintentional anti-community sentiment rather than a sharing of mutual values so that what is superficially supportive of creativity sometimes actually serves to subvert or marginalize further creative endeavor via social stratification. (Finney 1993, 430) This is often true both in the co-option of craft affectations by mass market, lowest common denominator businesses separate from place (as has happened in the brewing industry recently with corporate producers adopting faux-

boutique brands and language) and in the approaches of cultural institutions that see craftsmanship as different from and perhaps more common than other, more formal creative forms and thus of lesser aesthetic and cultural value. As such, perceptions of community and creative value, how various cultural lenses affect them, and what can be done to encourage the cross-pollination of creative processes as a recurrent way of being rather than the compartmentalization of creative outputs is an inevitable focus. Blue-collar workers, for instance, often exhibit high levels of creativity in their practices while fine artists regularly employ design and construction techniques that are common to other fields. I believe such a focus on cross-pollination and shared rather differentiating values is obligatory for cultural and community understanding and sustainability. In the video, Turner's mention of the cultural sector points away from the art and history center to the brewery across the street – considered an industrial entity in contemporary business nomenclature. Likewise, both brewer Williamson and owner Baylor address the brewery as a place for other cultural and community connections to occur.

In preparing for intervention, knowledge of an area's cultural and industrial history is necessary both to place the work in context and for use as an educational tool in highlighting the area's stories and possibilities for internal and external audiences. By placing the brewery in a broader heritage context, those initially interested in more straightforward if somewhat limited historical accounts are provided a gateway to beer as thoughtful and creative craft, and craft as repeatable, useful heritage. Beer enthusiasts, too, are exposed to area stories and encouraged to see themselves as part of an ongoing one.

An understanding of responsible, culturally informed intervention strategies that have proven successful elsewhere and could be replicated or adapted for use in New Albany was and is necessary as well. This is an obviously broad category in terms of revitalizational function, but one into which Baylor's experience of European beer, pubs, and gardens fits neatly via his realization of breweries as centers of culture and identity. His further inclination that such European traditions were likely once present in New Albany also fits the model of being reminded of the possibilities of heritage and place. Neighborhood revitalization training and cultural sustainability study helped me to better understand the cultural and creative underpinnings and tools of such restorative movements. As I progressed both in the classroom and on the ground, I collaborated with Baylor more often in craft and heritage related messaging, eventually serving as a brewery communications employee for a year and a half. Creation and/or maintenance of confidence in the company, its heritage based, independent model and the neighborhood itself, both internally and externally, were paramount.

Though I lack formal data or measurements, I feel confident in reporting via years of direct participation that NABC's Bank Street Brewhouse did indeed become, as Baylor mentioned of the Augustiner facility in Austria, "a Mount Saint Francis Picnic every day, just a part of life" in its presentation of beer as both a matter of heritage and contemporary creative endeavor, and its physical space as a place of community and connection. Its sense of historic revival and reinvention combined with a commitment to economic localization and a general openness to alternative ideas and expression helped lead to a greater realization of local possibilities and

confidence in their viability. Local musicians, farmers, and craftspeople found both a venue to showcase their talents as well as a place to connect with likeminded others socially. Neighborhood residents met, got to know each other, and helped promote the area to visitors. Business people networked, made referrals, and launched joint projects. As rehabilitation efforts increased downtown and in the surrounding neighborhoods, it was not uncommon to see carpenters and artists enjoying a beer with a postal delivery person, each relating their own experiences of the area. It did, as Williamson expressed, “have a real impact” and “bring people down here”. Many of those people stayed. Financial and emotional investment in downtown and surrounding neighborhoods started to make more sense.

“...finding out there is a great deal of resonance...”

The Healthy Neighborhoods approach (Boehlke 2004) made familiar to me via revitalization training provides a working framework from which to draw in examining how NABC had such an impact. Healthy Neighborhoods identifies four neighborhood attributes that function as “the key levers of change” in a neighborhood reinvestment strategy:

Image: *In an asset-oriented strategy that builds both household and neighborhood equity, it is important to promote a positive identity. For older neighborhoods to compete successfully, they need to draw on their assets and tell their unique stories (for example, historic homes, urban parks, and so on). Residents and outsiders will see the neighborhood as attractive.*

Markets: *Each neighborhood has a unique market niche. All investments must reinforce the housing market and increase home values. Investment in one property improves the value of all properties within the neighborhood.*

***Physical conditions:** We need to target outcomes, not outputs, because numbers don't tell the story. Outcomes measure whether the neighborhood is improving as a place for residents to invest and to build equity and neighborly connections.*

***Social connections (neighborhood management):** Prospective homeowners and residents – not community development corporations, government agencies, or other funders – are the most important neighborhood decision makers. Traditional approaches often subsidize households with the greatest needs and provide housing as an end itself. Instead, we need to work to create and improve social connections by engaging residents in their neighborhood and community. (Poland 2009, 17)*

In essence, each of these factors deals with overlapping notions of value—a sense of worth that can be experienced individually, shared with others, and promoted for the greater good. While Healthy Neighborhood outcomes are often discussed and measured using the type of market-based language associated with real estate valuation, the ideas of believing and belonging are central to their resident-driven success. It is that understanding that helped my initial exposure to cultural sustainability make sense.

Improving a neighborhood's economic stability is a necessary component of revitalization. But, if one's goal is to achieve what Turner called "an urban revitalization that is about a cultural vitality-- a spiritual, social, and economic vitality that serves everyone" (Turner 2010) , then it is not enough to simply implement market-based strategies.

One key, then, is for revitalization methodologies to focus on interventions that create connectedness between neighbors and potential neighbors by underscoring "the links between the shape, vision, and experience of cities and the meanings that

their citizens read off screens and streets into their own lives.” (Low and McDonogh 2001, 5) Those links, however, do not necessarily have to occur as part of close-knit relationships. Evidence suggests that urban youth in particular do better in environments where neighbors will intervene in negative situations on behalf of the *neighborhood* rather than solely in defense of known individuals. It is the activation of those sorts of weak social ties - less intimate connections between people based on more infrequent social interaction rather than intimate interpersonal relationships - which generate common expectations and strengthen communities by producing a general construct of collective efficacy. (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002, 459)

What, then, can be done to creatively induce “a vocabulary of ideas about place--directions, evaluations, boundaries, and legality--cross-coded with discourses of urban spaces and distinctions” (Low and McDonogh 2001) without contributing to “a modern economy staffed by expatriates overlaying a primitive economy of poor, underprepared, and labor-surplus natives”? (Mangum and Mangum 1986, 159)

In their efforts to support the building of sustainable creative communities, one suggestion offered by the Center for the Study of Art and Community is to look beyond the usual non-profit entities to discover new models for managing, marketing and communicating, particularly to innovative strategies used by entrepreneurs and small businesses. (Center for the Study of Art and Community 1992) In considering entrepreneurial strategy, the concepts of “brand”, an image given a product or service in the marketplace, and “brand community” surfaced.

Brand community refers to the social relationships, the weak ties, that occur between users of the same brand and the idea that those relationships eventually supplant the brand itself as the primary arbiter in the creation and negotiation of meaning through the sharing of cognitive, emotional, and material resources.

(McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002, 38,39) I would suggest, though, that the same consumer forces that shifted the sense of community in the industrialized United States “away from the tight interpersonal bonds of geographically bounded collectives and into the direction of common but tenuous bonds of brand use and affiliation” (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002, 38) can be used to bring about the return of bonds equated with a specific geographic area, in this case a neighborhood and its brewery, for the purposes of communal good or, as Baylor noted, the notion of “...the pub, or the beer garden... beer hall... becoming a place in and of itself... a place where you have an extended family...”

The weak social ties of negotiated meaning experienced in brand community are very similar to the weak ties of shared expectation that Sampson, et al, found most useful in determining a community’s collective success, i.e., the ability of residents to manage neighborhood issues described by the Healthy Neighborhoods framework as a key lever of change.

Likewise, brand community is not substantially different than the social object concept popular among social networking practitioners. A “social object” may be a mutually enjoyable product, a shared interest in a sports team, or any thing or activity that brings people together. They are “the reason why people affiliate with each specific other and not just anyone” (Engeström 2005) or “the centerpiece in a

dialogue between two or more people”. (Razorfish 2009, 57) Strong social objects “are complex and have lots of hooks around which to start conversations. A football game has history, statistics, personalities, rivalries, and a plot with heroes, goats, and momentum shifts. All of which provide rich meat for discussion before, during and after the game.” (Mathews 2016) The creation of a neighborhood brewery as a social object around which people gathered led to broader conversations about many of those hooks—the neighborhood’s history, its challenges and potential, and the role of creatives, craftspeople, and independent producers in both.

What matters in such cases, though, is how interventions into the “brand” and “object” processes affect the negotiations of meaning that occur, the understandings of the neighborhood that are encouraged, and their ultimate impact on neighborhood outcomes. It is here that the definition of tradition in the remaking of a “traditional” neighborhood becomes a predominant factor and what we make of that tradition begins to directly impact the future. In addressing the “politics of belonging”, Bedoya defines “Creative Placemaking” as “those cultural activities that shape the physical and social characteristics of a place”, going further to say that “placemaking in city/neighborhood spaces enacts identity and activities that allow personal memories, cultural histories, imagination, and feelings to enliven the sense of ‘belonging’ through human and spatial relationships.” (Bedoya 2013) If reconnecting with traditions is to play a role in imagining neighborhood revitalization and enacting contemporary identity, what is the tradition and/or cultural history to which those in the neighborhood belong?

In order for there to be revitalization, there once must have been vitalization, that is, a process by which the initial neighborhood was conceived, built, and made active in the marketplace that had impact on human development within it. In New Albany's case, that vitalization was largely the result of steamboat and hospitality related industry making the city economically viable and nourishing a national reputation for quality.

More specifically, it was the men and women who built and provided support for the boats and river travel who constructed and lived their lives in the streets and homes of New Albany's historic neighborhoods, with neighborhood breweries very much a part of their local culture. As the Carnegie Center for Art and History noted in commemorating brewing heritage as part of a public art project in 2010, "Many neighborhood breweries operated throughout the city" and "were hubs of activity as raw materials arrived and deliveries departed daily. The public stopped in for refreshments and neighborhood children came regularly to fill up the family growler." (Carnegie Center for Art and History 2010)

That a plethora of historic physical infrastructure, with its embodied investment, still exists to be utilized in future is certainly advantageous but the distinction between that infrastructure and what it symbolizes - the innovative endeavors that created and supported it and were created and supported by it - cannot be overstated. Prioritizing the endeavors, the embodied cultural investment, refocuses the dialogue away from the built environment, the product, and on to creativity and collaboration, the process through which social ties as well as products are constructed. Tapping into that embodied cultural investment is how

NABC had most the most impact in helping to revive, update, and redefine heritage and tradition. The neighborhood's tradition is not defined by the use of specific time appropriate tool sets or materials but by the creative, skillful use of tools and materials within the context of contemporary circumstance, whether that use occurred 150 years ago or yesterday. As Williamson put it, "It's pretty fucking cool that New Albany has that history, that there was a forward thinking brewery all the way back then. I see the connection to modern times with New Albanian. Without us looking back as a brewing company on our own local culture, I don't think we can competently move forward."

Moreover, while the products that result from the application of creativity can be commoditized for economic purposes, it is the creative practices, the processes that wrought them -whether expressed artistically or industrially - that inherently belong to the people from whom they originate. Any neighborhood intervention that seeks to be successful in the realm of cultural sustainability, then, must reconnect people with creative practice as sustenance, "the cultivation of the spirit", in order to improve quality of life.

Notions of quality of life, often expressed as "better living", have undoubtedly been co-opted for nefarious purposes related to product positioning (Shanken 2006), redoubling the importance that neighborhood exemplars and communications be both as authentic as possible in their representations of people and centered on the role of creative practice, that which belongs to and is *of* them, in their circumstance. If early neighborhood (re)branding efforts as demonstrated can adroitly diminish the divide between product and practice, reconnecting a physical

place with perceptions of value related to the very human experience associated with its creation and use, then the neighborhood's image, its brand, its concept of heritage, becomes one identified with ongoing creative action rather than historic artifact. Residual culture would then become emergent and could eventually be adopted into the dominant. (Williams 1985, 121-125) Similarly, the brand community can negotiate meaning and relationships via interaction with a "living tradition". Weak ties would reflect current interpretations of the tradition of creative practice and associated expectations instead of depictions of life at an earlier "historic" time or media stereotypes that rarely accurately portray the diversity of current residents. The social object, then, the thing around which people gather and enact identity, would, as Elbert Hubbard said about art, be a *way*, not a thing.

To the extent that heritage interpretation is an act of provocation - not information alone, but revelation based on information (Tilden 2008) - the actions provoked by interpretation must be informed by an "aesthetics of belonging", an understanding that "before you have *places of belonging*, you must feel you *belong*." (Bedoya 2013) As Turner highlights in the video, heritage is "only important in so far as, when we look at it, we are reminded of our own aesthetic and ethical possibilities. So, when we look at a beautiful, historic building, we can imagine the work and the kind of care and the creativity that went into the construction of this and we can see that in ourselves. It should be an inspiration for us to be doing those things. So, the stories of the past become, in some ways, an opportunity for us to act in such a way that we'll be telling our own stories." (Gillenwater 2016)

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