

Strip Development and Community:

Maintaining a Sense of Place

A thesis presented for the
Master of Landscape Architecture Degree
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family. Thank you for your unconditional love and support. These past three years and especially this thesis would not have been possible without you. You're an evidence of God's kindness and grace in my life, thank you.

Acknowledgments

For many the thesis process is long and difficult. This was no different for me and without the help of many people this thesis wouldn't have come about. I would like to thank the College of Architecture and Design, and the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources for their collaborative effort in establishing the first landscape architecture program in the state of Tennessee. Without these efforts none of this would be possible. I would specifically like to thank the faculty of the landscape architecture program for being on the frontlines of a new program, encouraging me, and challenging me to not settle. To my classmates, thank you for your friendship. Our many hours in studio and spontaneous venting secessions won't soon be forgotten. Finally, to my committee, Curtis Stewart, Scott Wall, and advisor Ken McCown, Thank You! I would also like to thank Tim Ezzell for taking time to serve as a reader. To all of you, your expertise, input, and time were invaluable to me as I worked through this thesis. Without your help and encouragement this thesis would have never been, Thank You!

Abstract

Strip development eases communities' economic troubles by providing jobs and cheap goods at the expense of a sense of place and social fabric. Four factors are critical to the dissolution of place in strip development: *mobility*, *standardization*, *specialization*, and *technology*. (Hester,2000)

Mobility gives people the freedom to move over distances with little constraint; a consequence of this is a produced sense of rootlessness within many communities.

Standardization creates placelessness in communities by the repetition of form and function.

Specialization diminishes comprehensive knowledge of place and complex social and ecological thinking.

Technology may divorce people from their natural environments.

I want to test these four place indicated principles within LaFollette, Tennessee. Through methods of mapping, observation, structured interviews, and photographic and archival research I will show how strip development has negatively altered the social and economic development of the city of LaFollette. I will identify elements that currently and historically give the city of LaFollette a sense of place, and encourage social interaction and investment.

Strip development can drastically alter the dynamics of communities, both physically and socially. How can communities grow and develop while maintaining this connection to 'place', and how can the social dynamic of a community be encouraged in light of a changing, and growing community?

Table of Contents

Preface	1
Case Study.....	10
LaFollette, Tennessee	
Methods	27
Observations	28
Resident Interviews	31
Mapping	32
Precedent Studies.....	33
Future Trends	38
Effects	41
Design Guidelines	42
Mobility	45
Standardization	47
Specialization	49
Technology.....	51
Works Cited	57
Image Credits	59
Appendix.....	61
Wildlife Management Areas	62
Site Observations	63
Resident Interviews	65
Vita.....	68

List of Figures

Figure 1: Cumberland Mountains and Norris Lake	3
Figure 2: Wal-Mart Overlay	5
Figure 3: Community Diagram.....	6
Figure 4: Strip Development Pattern	7
Figure 5: Existing and New Wal-Mart Stores.....	8
Figure 6: State Context Map	11
Figure 7: County Context Map	11
Figure 8: Existing City Boundary	12
Figure 9: Natural Resources	13
Figure 10: LaFollette Sanborn Map	14
Figure 11: Campbell County Roads	15
Figure 12: LaFollette Citizens Petition.....	16
Figure 13: LaFollette Districts.....	17
Figure 14: LaFollette Growth Pattern	18
Figure 15: LaFollette Commute Map	20
Figure 16: Standardization Diagram.....	24
Figure 17: Factors in Technology	25
Figure 18: County Economic Status	27
Figure 19: Observation Site.....	28
Figure 20: Wal-Mart Site	29
Figure 21: Food City Site.....	29
Figure 22: Historic Town Center Site.....	30
Figure 23: Macon Backyard	35
Figure 24: Manchester, Vermont	36
Figure 25: Peninsula Town Center	37
Figure 26: Highway 63 improvements	46
Figure 27: LaFollette Street Scene.....	48
Figure 28: Capitol Theater.....	49

Figure 29: Smith & Russell Grocery	51
Figure 30: Wal-Mart Pedestrian Area – West.....	53
Figure 31: Wal-Mart Pedestrian Area – East.....	54

Preface

Communities in the United States face a challenge to balance the past with the present. The introduction of large box stores is having dramatic impact on many communities, and has reshaped the social and physical dynamic of communities across the United States. Town centers that once featured local businesses, food, and entertainment, have given way to national chains, which often develop outside the town center and operate in competition. This strains small towns to make improvements to roadways extend water and sewer lines, and respond to an increased demand for power. While the national chains have brought needed resources and lower prices to many communities, they have also made it difficult for communities to maintain a sense of place and have weakened the social dynamics of small towns.

Growing up in East Tennessee, I have seen the impact of forces at work in local communities. The introduction of corporate box stores created a dilemma for my local community of LaFollette, as stores have in many others. It is hard to deny the benefits that corporate box stores bring to many communities. Necessities such as food, clothing, house hold goods, and medical care are readily available but it is important that we weigh the good and the bad. While communities need and desire economic growth, they also need a strong sense of place to remain a strong community. Ben Rogers, a businessman located in downtown LaFollette, Tennessee for 60 years stated, "I used to know all my competitors, and even consult with many on business issues, now I don't know who my competitors are. Who owns Food Lion, Food City, IGA, the Wal-Mart, do you know? Neither do I." It is this shift from

local and personal relationships to national and anonymous relationships that has a dramatic effect on communities. If we disconnect ourselves from our local communities economically we become people without a home, perhaps subject to whims of national corporations. Therefore it is important that we seek to find a balance, between place and corporations, which will encourage economic growth, rooted in local communities. By rooting economic growth in local communities we may see the continuation and creation of unique communities.

Community can be experienced and defined in a variety of ways, and can often be a matter of perspective. In his 2001 article 'Community' in the *Encyclopedia of Informal Education*, Mark K. Smith defines community in three distinct ways: place, interest, and communion.

Place is a basic and common way to define community; people having something in common. Often this commonality is the geographic location and features of a territory or region. Hills, mountains, rivers, and valleys are all features that define a place. This can be seen in my home town of LaFollette, TN. LaFollette rests in a small valley, which runs South West to North East, to the North is a ridge of the Cumberland Mountains, and to the South is Norris Lake.

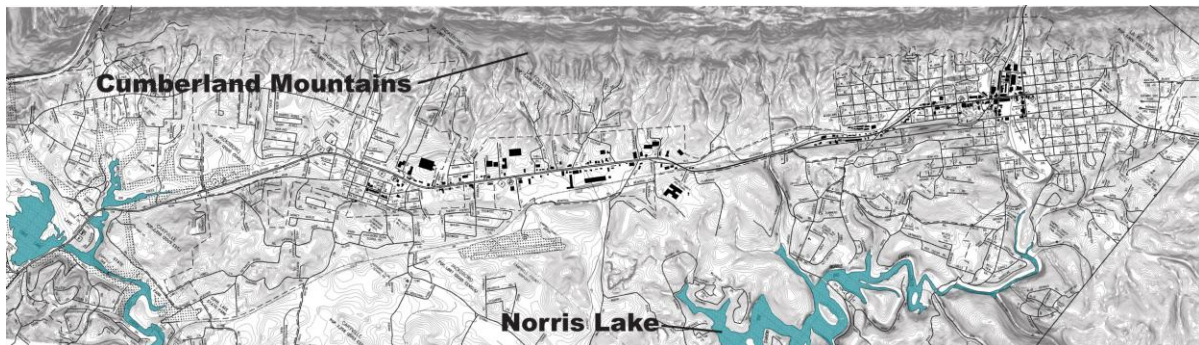


Figure 1: Cumberland Mountains and Norris Lake (Author)

These features dictate where people live, what natural resources are available, how these resources are used and other components of the community. These natural features are the base of the community and have an effect on everyone; it is from this natural framework that the community is built.

A second way to define community is through common interest. In this definition community members share a commonality besides place. They are linked together by factors such as religious beliefs, occupation, or ethnic origin. According to R. D. Putnam in his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, "For most of us, our deepest sense of belonging is to our most intimate social networks, especially family and friends. Beyond that perimeter lie work, church, neighborhood, civic life, and [an] assortment of other "weak ties"."

Third, community can be defined in terms of communion. Communion is an attachment to a place, idea, or group. This is often referred to in terms of 'spirit', spirit of place or spirit of community. Of the three definitions communion is the hardest to measure, because it is not a tangible thing, like a building or person. Instead, communion is a felt sense of belonging influenced by the other two definitions of community, place and interest. As one settles in a location and begins to share interest such as work, faith, or family, they begin to develop a unique attachment to that community, thus a sense of communion is developed.

While each of these definitions can stand alone as a type of community, in many cases community is a mixture. A person's daily life is not one dimensional, but is influenced by a variety of factors such as geographic location, family, occupation, faith, recreation, and others. These factors work together to give one a sense of

community and place. Just like no one person is alike so to no one community is exactly alike. While communities may have similarities each community has a unique mixture of factors that create a distinct sense of place. A community in East Tennessee may be influenced by the mountainous terrain, humidity, industries such as coal, timber or farming, and predominately white protestant community members. This would be uniquely different than a community in Southern California which would be influenced by consistently dry warm temperatures, the Pacific Ocean, industries such as high tech jobs and entertainment, and strong Asian and Hispanic influences. Each community represents a distinct region and lifestyle specific to that community. This has begun to change as factors such as globalization, rising populations, and limited resources have begun to influence many communities.

With advances in technology, growing populations, and the rise of a global economy many communities have begun to lose their ability to support themselves. Again this can be seen in LaFollette. LaFollette has historically been dependent upon the natural resources of the area for industry. The mining of coal, iron ore, and the harvesting of timber have long been a staple of LaFollette's local economy. However as timber, coal, iron and other resources dwindle, communities such as LaFollette are left seeking ways to draw in new opportunities. These opportunities often come in the form of large commercial developments, such as Wal-Mart, or Target. These immense, stand-alone stores require vast amounts of land for a facility, parking, and adequate road access. With such immense size, many box stores do not fit within the traditional town center. This can be seen below in figure 2.



Figure 2: Overlay of Wal-Mart Super Center development (red) on to LaFollette's historic town center. (Author)

Jane Jacobs in her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, refers to these commercial centers as, “lack-luster imitations of standardized suburban chain-store shopping”. These centers result in a divorce from the existing town center, and the creation of a new center just down the road. As other stores follow the same model, communities become fragmented and broken through the replacement of local and personal businesses for national and anonymous chains.

As stated before, LaFollette developed from the abundance of natural resources (iron, coal, timber, water). The resources were captured and built into an industry that attracted secondary businesses, workers, and families that gave a uniqueness of place. As the resources and industries faded, they were replaced by commerce in the form of national chain retail stores. Taking the place of the economic loss caused by decline of natural resources and industry, national chains now dictate community within LaFollette, defining where people shop, how they move, interact, and work.

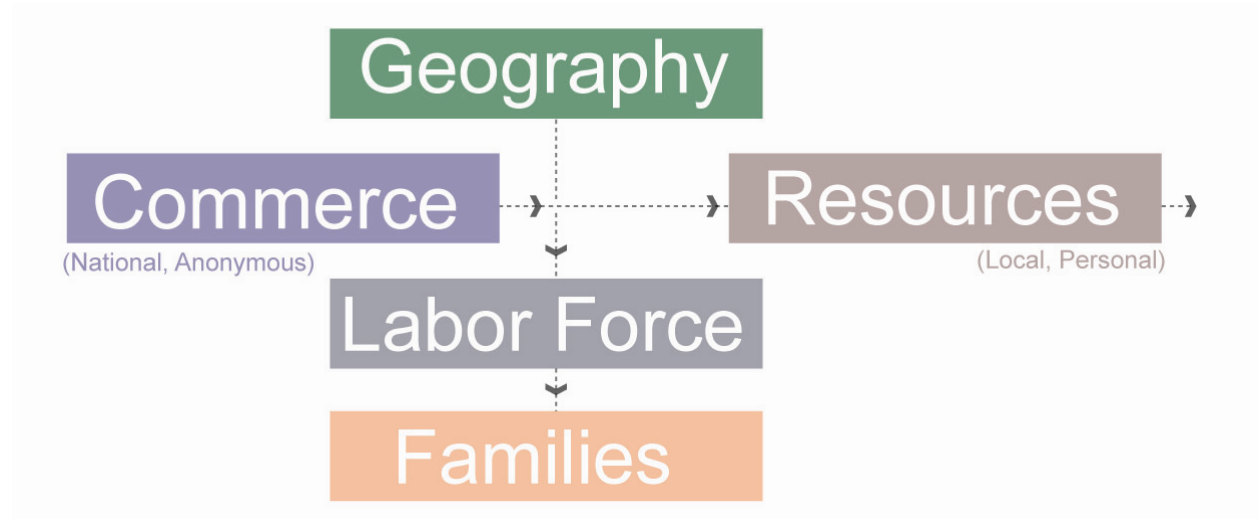


Figure 3: Community Diagram (Author)

As large national chains are established in smaller towns they are accompanied by smaller businesses. Fast food chains, auto parts stores, gas stations, and other such businesses will often follow the larger box stores, developing on separate parcels of land along a local highway. This type of development is referred to as strip development.

Strip development is a type of sprawl that allows for maximum road frontage, with multiple curb cuts, and individual signage for the various businesses. A diagram of strip development can be seen in figure 4.

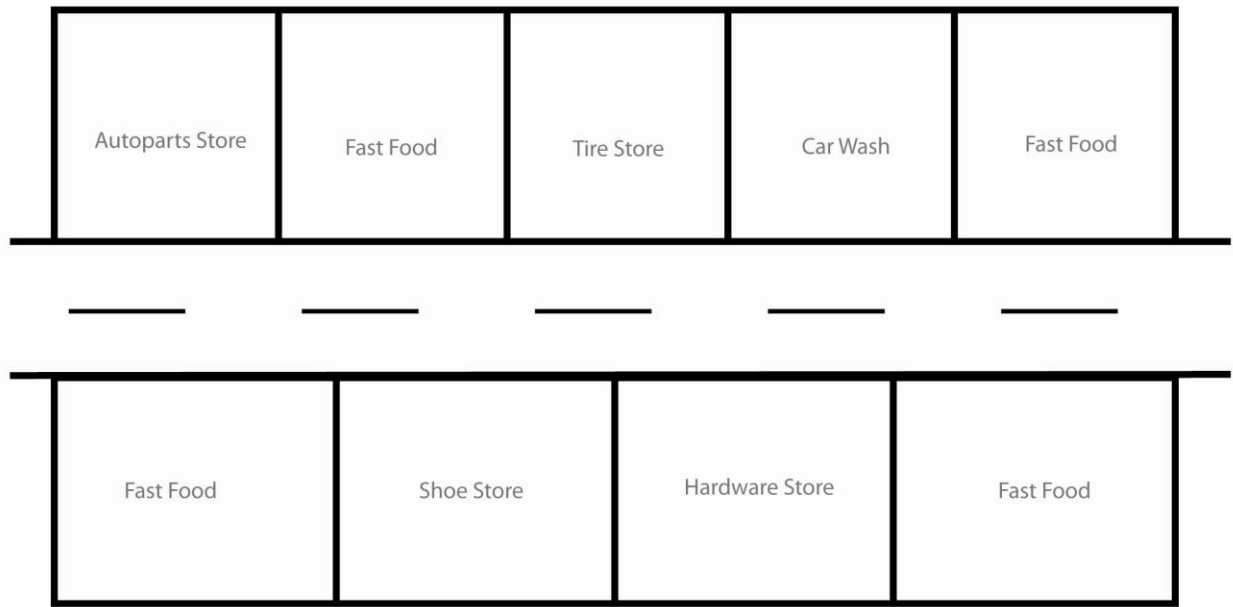


Figure 4: Strip Development Pattern (Author)

Strip development is physically different than patterns of traditional community development, often focused around some type of town center. The town center often allowed for a higher density of development with locally owned businesses and pedestrian spaces that provided community members opportunities for face-to-face interaction. In contrast, strip development places the automobile at the center, and promotes corporately owned businesses which have standardized development practices in order to be efficient and maximize profit. While standardized development practices allow box stores to provide cheap goods and services it has negative impacts on local communities. Within five years of a Wal-mart super store opening, according to the book *Urban Ecology*, “Small towns within twenty miles suffer a net loss of sales of nearly twenty percent”. These numbers devastate town centers. The small town merchant does not seem to be the concern of the Wal-Mart Corporation when one considers the Wal-Mart employee chant,

“Stack it deep, sell it cheap, stack it high, see it fly, hear those down town merchants cry.” (Urban Ecology, 1996). When one considers the impact that a Wal-Mart center has on a community, and the number of centers throughout the U.S., which can be seen in figure 5; the impact is huge.

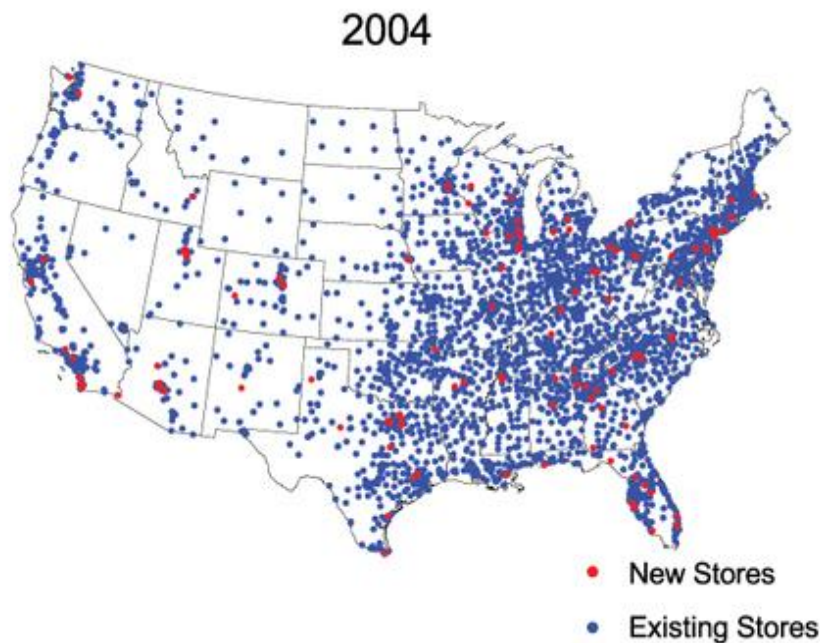


Figure 5: Proposed and Existing Wal-Mart Stores (www.futurefeeder.com)

One of the largest impacts that strip development has upon local communities is a disconnect with the sense of place within communities. According to Randy Hester in his book *Design for Ecological Democracy*, this disconnect can be attributed to four effects of strip development. These effects are **mobility**, **standardization**, **technology**, and **specialization**. Through the exploration of these effects we will gain a better understanding of the impact of strip development on communities, and how to address these effects to make better communities.

Mobility gives people the freedom to move from place to place with little

constraint, and can produce a sense of rootlessness within communities. People are no longer tied to their immediate community or geography, but instead many today live in one community while working or shopping in another. Mobility is a key facilitator of strip development; without it strip development would not be able to persist.

Standardization is a core principle of strip development. Almost every box store operates within a standardized system, which allows them to be efficient and profitable. Standardization benefits the customer by allowing the business to provide the most goods at the lowest prices. However standardization creates placelessness by the repetition of form and function.

Technology. Without technological advances in transportation, packaging, networking systems, and climate control, strip development would not be feasible. These advances reduce the amount of overhead for large box stores both in development cost and in the buying and selling of goods. While technology makes life easier and comfortable, it divorced people from their natural environments. People are no longer as concerned with the changing weather conditions as in times past, or might otherwise be if they were dependent upon these forces to heat or cool their homes

Specialization is a core trait of many strip development businesses. This trait can be seen in the various types of businesses often present within strip development. The fast food (Taco Bell, McDonald's, Subway, Domino's), hardware stores (Lowe's, Home Depot), auto parts stores (Advance, Auto Zone), and general stores (Wal-Mart, Target, K-Mart) seek to provide a unique service that will draw in

the most people. As Hester states, specialization, “frees us from a comprehensive knowledge of place and complex social and ecological thinking.”

While strip development can help small communities answer economic troubles by providing jobs and cheap goods, it erodes the social fabric through the four factors: mobility, standardization, specialization, technology. This dilemma faces many communities today as they seek to grow and prosper. How can a community continue to grow while maintaining a sense of place?

Case Study

For this thesis I chose LaFollette, Tennessee as a case study to test the four effects identified within strip development; mobility, standardization, specialization, and technology. I have chosen LaFollette for its historical significance as a planned industrial town that has since shifted to a commercially focused community with large national chains. Growing up in LaFollette for 15 years, I have seen the town progressively grow more corporate at the cost of features such as, local businesses that give LaFollette a strong sense of place. This change can be seen through the historic development of the town.

LaFollette is a small town located approximately 45 miles North of Knoxville, in East Tennessee. LaFollette is positioned between the Cumberland Mountains, and Norris Lake along Highway 63 in Campbell County, which can be seen in figures 6, 7, and 8 below.

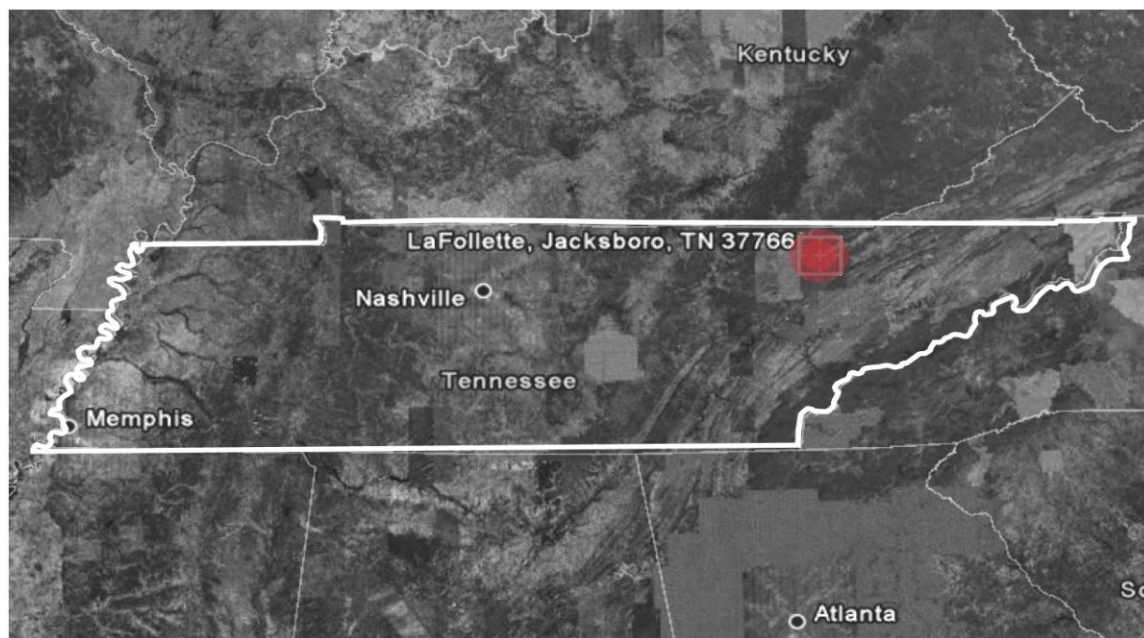


Figure 6: LaFollette, in East Tennessee (Author, Google Earth)

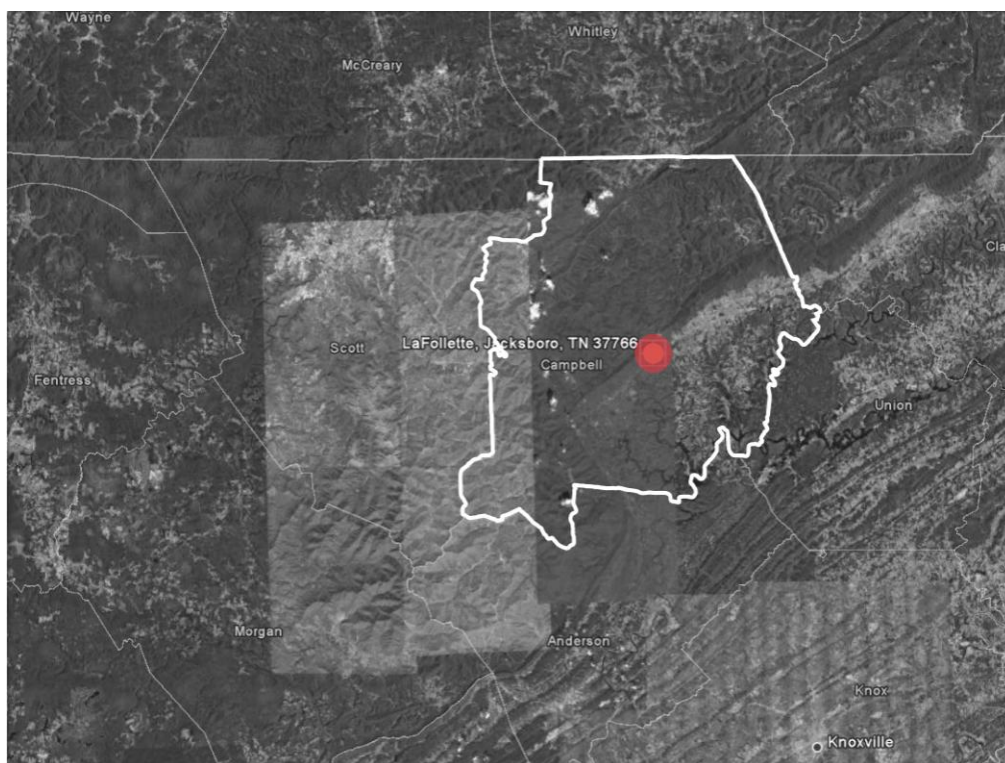


Figure 7: LaFollette is centrally located within Campbell Co. (Author, Google Earth)

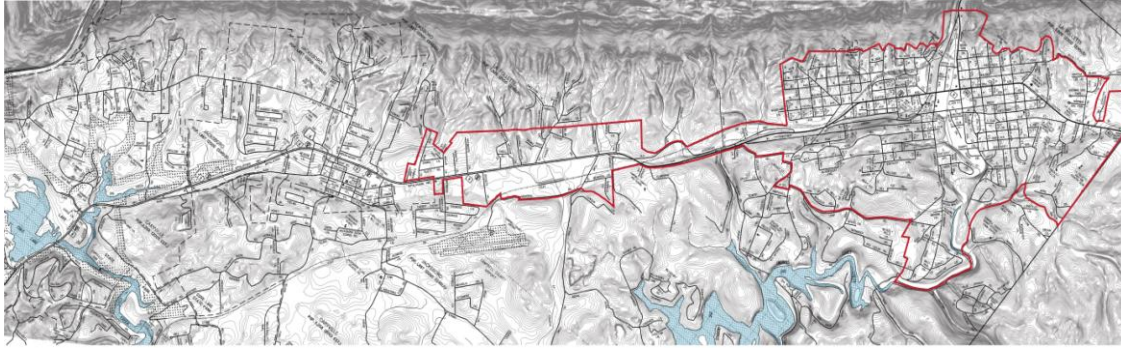


Figure 8: Current city boundary of LaFollette (Author)

LaFollette has a population of approximately 8,000 people, with a median age of 39, and a median household income of \$18,370. The town boasts amenities found in modern communities: an historic town center, a four lane state highway, modern hospital, Wal-Mart, Lowe's, and multiple other amenities such as fast food, auto parts stores, and grocery stores. The area is naturally rich as well with three state parks (Cove Lake, Indian Mound, and Cumberland Trail), and two wildlife areas which connect to the historic town center (Don Sunquiest and Royal Blue Wildlife areas). A map of the wildlife management areas can be seen in Appendix A. These natural areas combined with nearby Norris Lake make LaFollette an outdoor hub, attracting numerous visitors throughout the year.

The area that became LaFollette was a small farming area known as Big Creek Gap. Big Creek Gap and surrounding areas were rich in timber, coal, iron ore, and had a ready water supply.

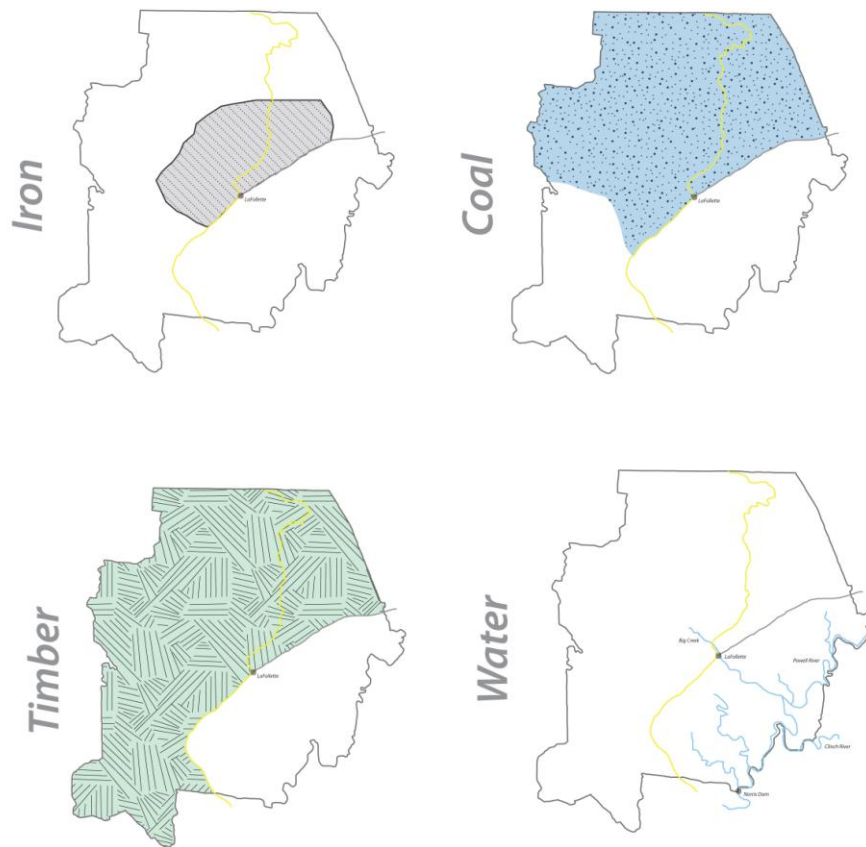


Figure 9: Natural resources located near LaFollette (Author)

These qualities did not go unnoticed; in 1890, a young businessman from Indiana by the name of Harvey LaFollette bought approximately 55,000 acres in the area known as Big Creek Gap. Harvey established the LaFollette Iron, Coal, and Rail Company, and in 1893 he established the city of LaFollette. The city quickly grew around the industry and the population of the town grew from 300 people in 1893 to approximately 3,000 people in 1902. Harvey LaFollette hired John Fox Jr., a famous author to develop a plan for the City of LaFollette. The city plan called for a 100ft. wide central street, with 60 ft. wide side streets, unusual for that time but reminiscent of the street layout of Paris, where Fox spent many years.

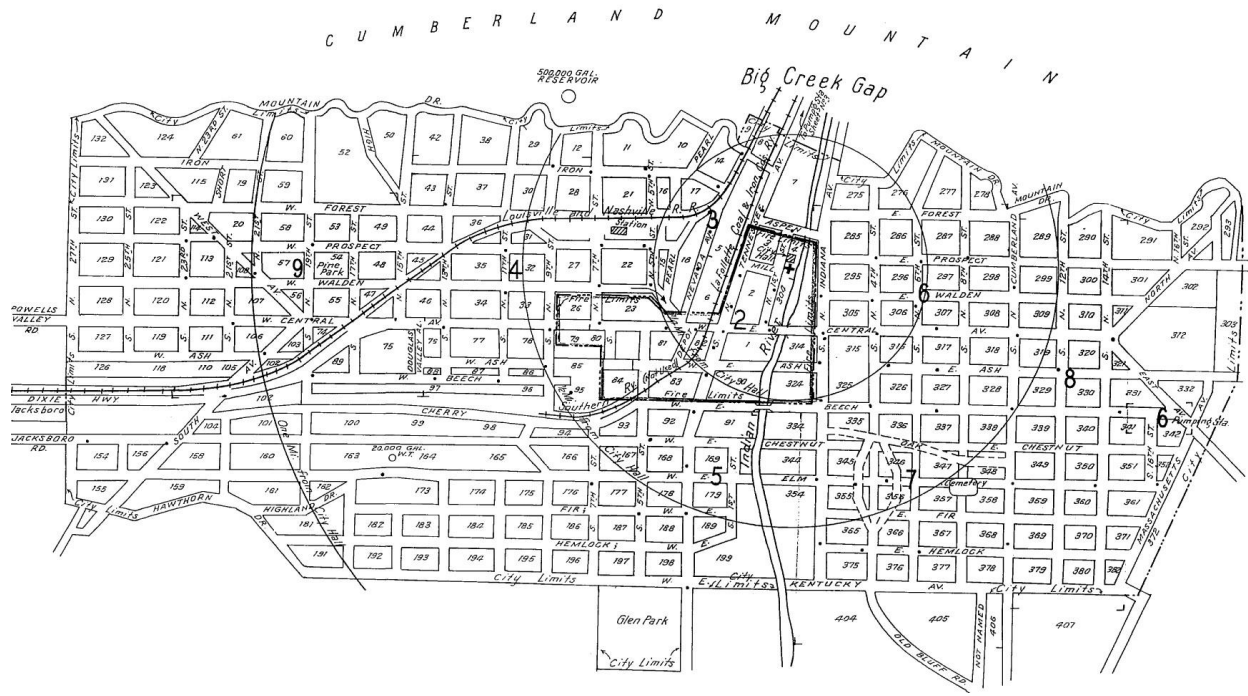


Figure 10: 1943 LaFollette Sanborn Map (Sanborn Map Company)

The city and industry grew until the 1920's when the iron industry failed and went out of business. While the industry failed, the city continued to prosper, as the coal industry took over. The area received another boost in the 1930's with the creation of the TVA, and the building of Norris Dam, which created Norris Lake. During the 1940's and 50's the area prospered from the new Dixie Lee Highway, one of the major North/South roads in the U.S. The Dixie Lee Highway ran through the center of the town, which brought business to the town center. Much of this traffic was rerouted during the late 1960's with the completion of I-75, at which point the area underwent changes.

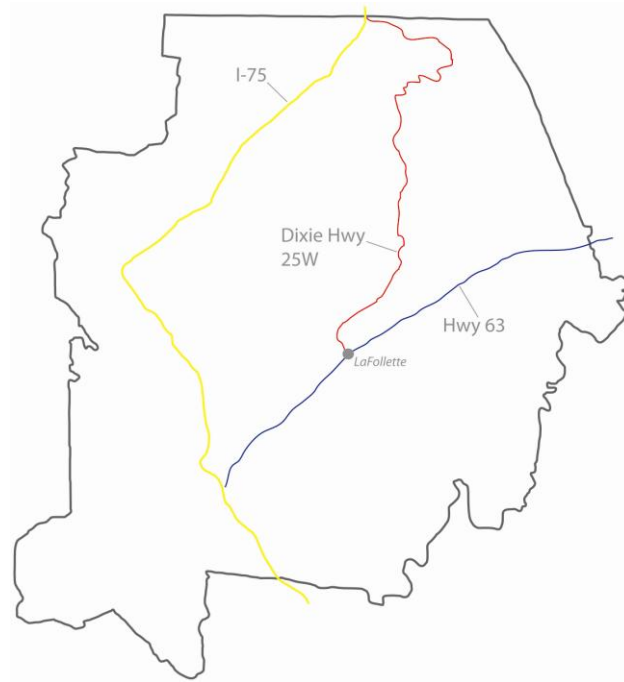


Figure 11: Campbell County Roads (Author)

In the mid 1970's, the local state highway 63 was widened to a four-lane road to offset the diverted traffic and attract more people to the area. By the early 1980's, the coal industry in the area faded, leaving the area with little industry. In an effort to bring in jobs and services the city attracted the development of a Wal-Mart, which has become a Super Center.



Figure 12: 1981, LaFollette citizen's petition for a K-Mart store (LaFollette Historical Society)

Since Wal-Mart other box stores have arrived, such as Lowe's and multiple fast food establishments. This sprawl incited the decline of the historic town center, with many of the local businesses going out of business. The national chains developing outside the town center have increased traffic along highway 63. A historical time line with demographic information can be found in the attachments list under (Historic Timeline).

As LaFollette has grown over the years it has developed into two distinct

districts, the historic town center, and the newer commercial district. This can be seen below in figure13.

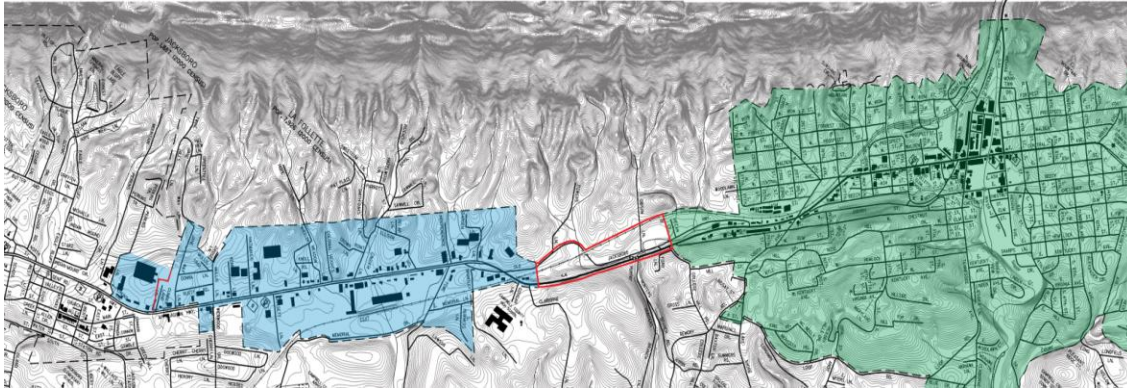


Figure 13: LaFollette Districts: Historic (green), Commercial (blue), area outlined in red is undevelopable due to terrain. (Author)

While it is important that the city function as a whole, it is also important to recognize the different functions of these districts, and consider how they can work together to give LaFollette a strong sense of place. The historic center with its gridded streets, brick buildings, sidewalks, government offices, and collection of locally owned businesses gives LaFollette a strong connection to its past. The newer commercial district with the Wal-Mart, Lowe's, and other box stores has become the retail center for the city and shows a degree of progress and growth within city. However, the addition of these new commercial developments has a negative impact on LaFollette.

The effect of strip development becomes apparent as LaFollette's condition is analyzed using the 4 effects: mobility, standardization, specialization, and technology.

Mobility. Historically the town center of LaFollette spread over a one-mile

area with much of the industry and businesses locally owned and sourced. This area contained residential blocks, a variety of local businesses, city government offices, schools, restaurants, theaters, and train stations. As a result, a majority of LaFollette's residents lived and worked within the city, within minutes of their daily activities; work, shopping, school, and entertainment. The small commute time to these activities and the close proximity of the local businesses to each other provided opportunities for face to face encounters, and chance interactions between the community members, a diagram of this activity can be seen in the attachments list under (Weekend Mobility). This resulted in more interaction between the community members on a daily basis, creating a stronger sense of place. However as industries faded and local businesses have been replaced by national chains, the town center has been decentralized and spread over a 5 mile area, which can be seen in figure 14.

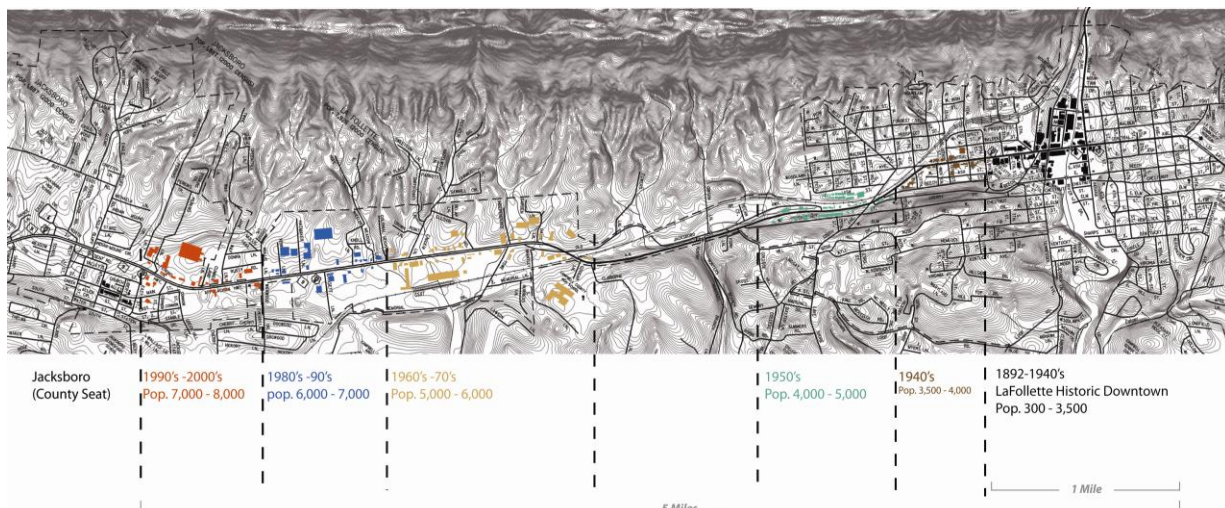


Figure 14: LaFollette Growth Pattern. A LaFollette growth pattern diagram can also be seen in the attachments list under (LaFollette Growth Pattern). (Author)

The individualized development of parcels spread the commercial activity over a large area and promotes the use of the car over walking or biking. This increased time in the car decreases social interaction time, and thus weakens the social dynamic of LaFollette. This is an example of a behavioral change in how the residents of LaFollette interact. These changes become apparent when the behavioral patterns of residents are mapped. As the historic pattern is contrasted with the present day pattern, stark differences appear. First historic patterns of LaFollette residents were mapped by creating a story line for a workday and weekend scenario. Historically a resident would live within close proximity to the downtown area, which is approximately a mile wide. The resident would work within the downtown at a locally-owned and operated business, with co-workers who also lived within the downtown area. At lunch one would eat at a local eatery interacting with other town residents who worked within the downtown area, and in the evening return home to a downtown residence. The resident spent the entire work day within the one mile area of the downtown.

This is in contrast to the present day pattern. Today 40% of LaFollette workers leave the town on a daily basis and commute to areas such as Knoxville, Oak Ridge, or Clinton to work (U.S Census, 2010). These areas can be up to an hour away resulting in many of LaFollette's residents leaving the town for 8-10 hours a day. This extended daily absence from the town drastically reduces opportunities for interaction within the local community. This extended absence and increased travel time also reduces the likely-hood of one going back out in the community after returning home from the workday. A similar pattern exists for LaFollette residents on

weekends. Workday and Weekend behavioral maps can be seen in the attachment list under (Workday Mobility) and (Weekend Mobility).

This is especially true for work commuters within LaFollette. Today over 40% of work commuters travel outside of LaFollette to work, with a majority of commuters driving to areas such as Knoxville, Oak Ridge, and Clinton which are up to an hour away (U.S Census, 2010). This can be seen below in figure 15.

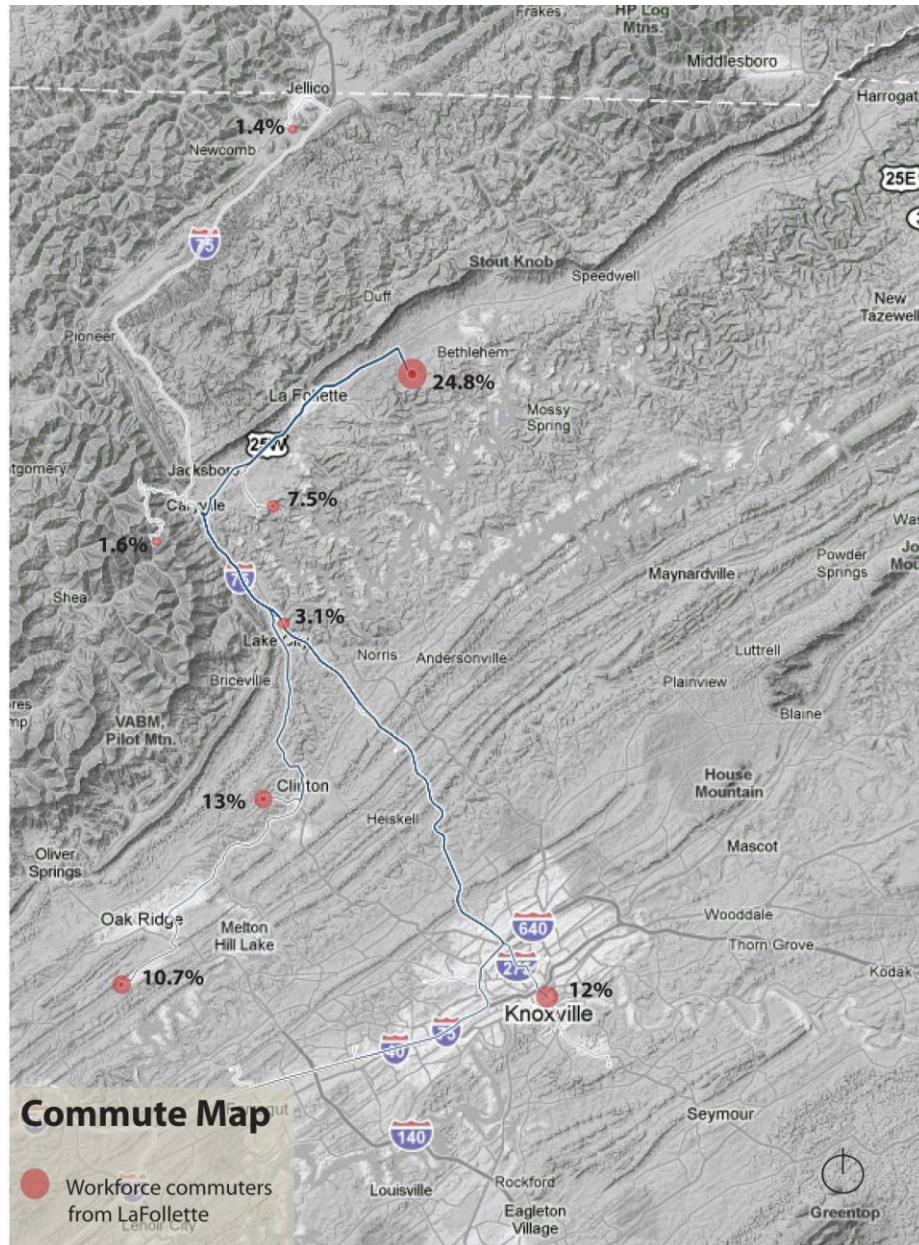


Figure 15: LaFollette Workforce Commute Map (U.S. Census)

This results in commuters spending up to 2 hours/day commuting, or 10 hours/week. With workers leaving the community for 8 hours or more per day opportunities to interact and be involved within the LaFollette community are greatly reduced.

The large commute times not only have a negative impact upon the social

fabric of LaFollette, but with rising gas prices these long commutes have economic impacts. Over the past 10 years, gas prices rose over 150% with little signs of stopping. With gas prices currently at \$3.75 per gallon a person commuting from LaFollette to Knoxville 5 days a week, averaging 20 miles per gallon, will pay close to \$4,000 per year. Such a large cost makes it difficult to maintain such a long commute, forcing people to choose between their community and their job.

LaFollette isn't the only place being affected by the rising gas prices; many changes are occurring throughout the U.S. Over the past 10 years U.S. car sales have been down 30%, while more energy efficient cars such as the Toyota Prius and Honda Civic have seen significant increases in sales (National Automobile Dealers Association). The rising gas prices are poised to have a major impact, especially in small towns such as LaFollette.

A similar pattern exists within the weekend patterns of LaFollette residents. The once densely populated town center served as a hive of activity that served not only the LaFollette residents, but also many of the surrounding coal communities. Lifelong LaFollette resident George Smith (92) stated, "We went to town on Saturdays to see a movie that was a special event." Another resident, Cliff Jennings (64) stated, "LaFollette was a Saturday town, everyone came to town." However as the town has spread itself over a 5 mile area to accommodate the corporate stores the density of activity has been weakened and spread out. This change in weekend patterns can be seen in the attachments list under Weekend Activity Map. The increased time in the car lessens one's interaction within the community, by limiting opportunities for social interaction. Therefore it is important to consider how we

develop; do we continue to cater to the car, or will we begin to revert back to pedestrian planning?

Specialization. Many of the newer strip businesses in LaFollette are highly specialized, such as fast food restaurants, auto parts stores, and hardware stores. Such businesses offer specific services by which they are often identified; Taco Bell is known for their Mexican-American food. This is commonly referred to as branding. This is a process by which businesses create an identity for themselves. Branding includes colors, signage, and particular services. Such businesses often construct their own facilities on separate parcels to support their specialized service. While such businesses provide a variety of affordable goods they often make no connection with the local community, and often force local businesses out. In LaFollette many of the local restaurants that occupied the historic town center have been replaced by fast food restaurants such as McDonalds, Hardees, Taco Bell, Burger King, and Arby's, all of which can be found throughout the United States. Fast food restaurants create their own worlds, divorced from the surrounding environment. This results in a community with multiple centers and limited cohesion.

Standardization. Similar to specialization, standardization produces placeness through the repetition of form and function. When one thinks of Wal-Mart, the first thoughts are often of the Wal-Mart signage, colors, greeters, and store layout and not the community where the store is located. For example, a Wal-Mart built in Los Angeles can also be found built the same way in LaFollette, yet these are very different places. This is common among many businesses that operate within strip development. Their repetitive development practices and branding tactics cause

consumers to identify with the store and not the community they operate within. In contrast, many businesses in town centers were locally owned and stocked stores, fulfilling the needs of their local community. An example of a national chain having local identity is Macy's Department Store. When one mentions Macy's Department Store, first thoughts are often of New York City, where the store is located, or the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade, which is a tradition not only for those in New York City but for many across the nation. So while Macy's is a large box store they have found ways to identify with their local community. By adapting development practices to operate within an existing community structure, businesses could provide more specific and meaningful services to its customers, as was once present in many communities.

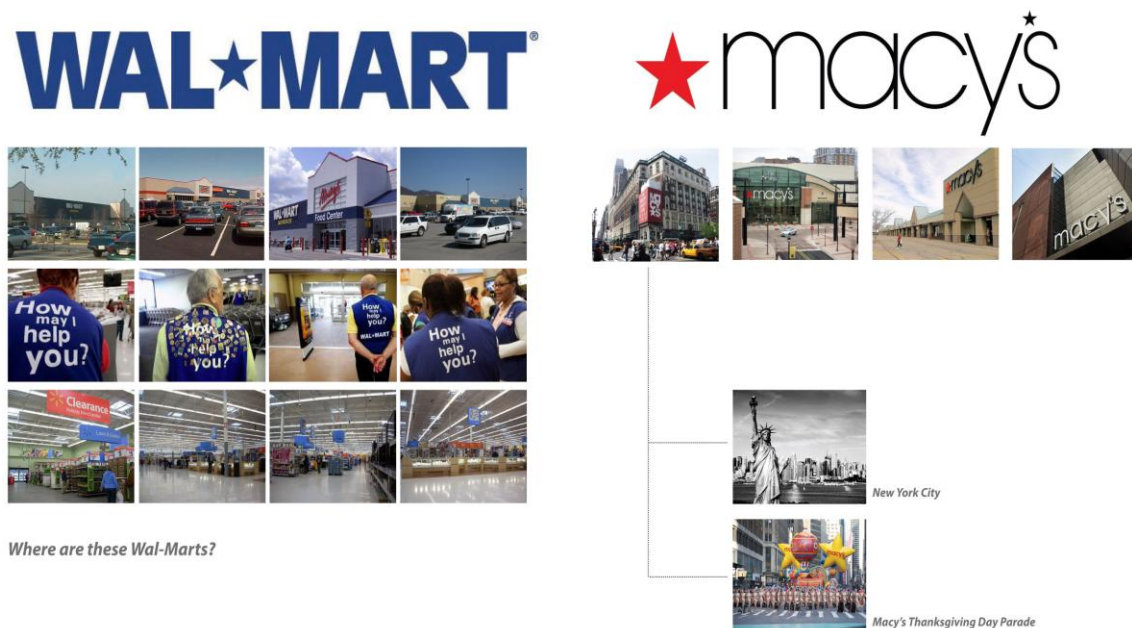


Figure 16: Standardization Diagram (Author)

Technology. Without major technological advancements in communication, transportation and construction many of the businesses that operate within strip development would not be able to exist. The introduction of the cell phone, internet,

and television has allowed business to communicate and advertise more efficiently. Refrigeration and air conditioning give businesses climate control allowing for further transportation and storage of perishable goods, and large comfortable shopping environments. Advances in transportation allow for door to door delivery, which supports a linear type development. This is opposed to the historic patterns of a central hub, such as a train depot, which promoted a dense, centralized development pattern. Prefabricated buildings and advancements in construction processes, allowed businesses to lower their overhead, and standardized the development of their facilities. This is a strong branding tool for many businesses as they are able to standardize their facility appearances, making it easier for people to identify the business no matter where the facility may be located.

Technological advances also change how people interact with each other. With the introduction of the internet and cell phones, face to face interaction is no longer as prominent, and has led to a reduction in social involvement within many communities. One can pay their bills, talk to a friend across the country, and watch a movie without leaving their couch. On average, Americans spend 91 hours per month talking on a cell phone and 13 hours per week on the internet, totaling 6 days per month spent interacting through technology. This drastically changes how people interact and relate to their surrounding community. These factors of technology can be seen below in figure 12. The impact that technology has on society is no surprise to some. In the 1920's the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) made the prediction that emerging technology would yield a new urban form and reordering of society. This new urban form and reordering of society

is apparent within strip development.

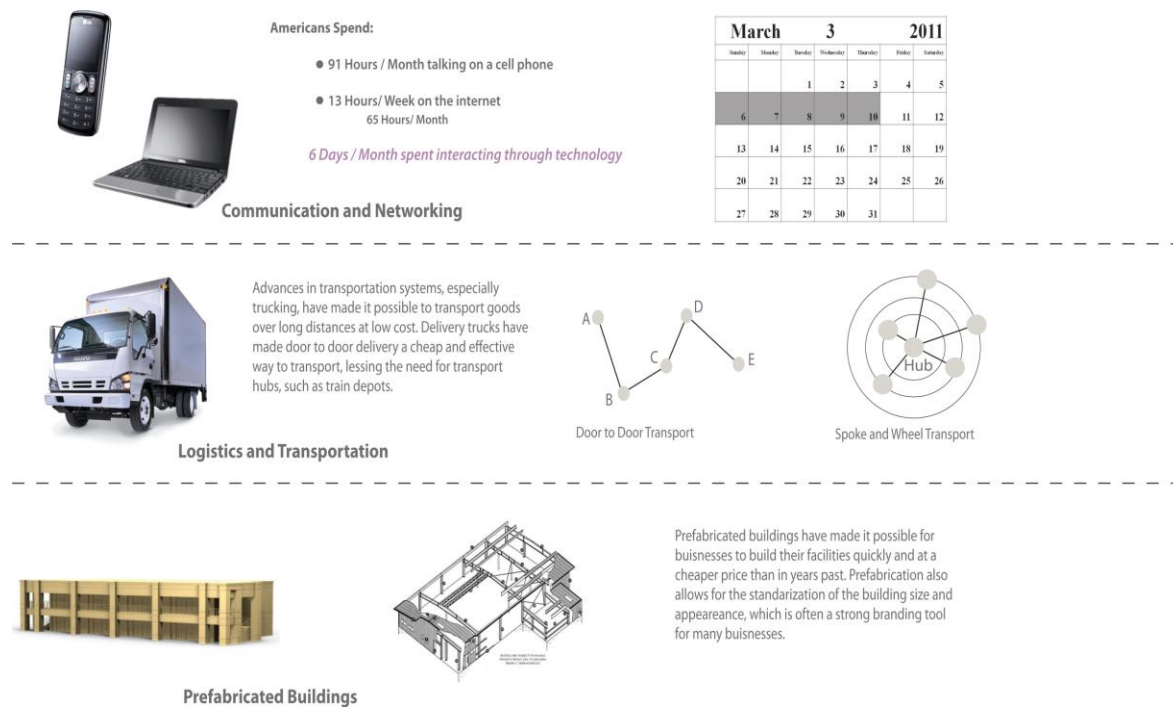


Figure 17: Factors in Technology (Author)

These effects found in strip development are perpetuated by the poor economic status of the surrounding area. The people in the region around LaFollette tend to be poor. According to the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) Campbell County is considered to be an 'at risk' economic area, which can be seen in figure 18. This puts added pressure on LaFollette to pursue economic development that creates jobs and provide services, often at the sacrifice of the local community structure. While it is important for the local community to pursue economic growth, there must be a balance that allows for economic growth while encouraging a strong sense of community.

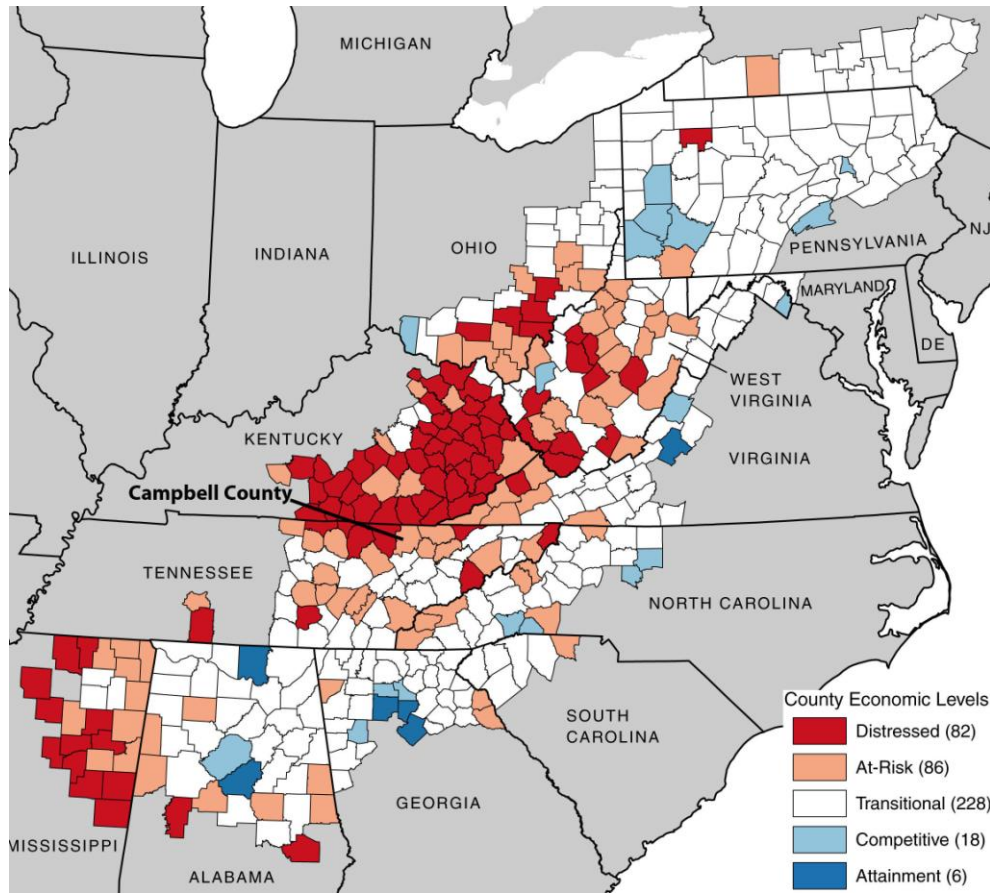


Figure 18: County Economic Status (Appalachian Regional Commission)

Methods

To test this thesis, a series of methods compare and contrast the historic community structure with the present structure, and then project future trends within the City of LaFollette. The methods included observations, structured interviews, mapping, and precedent studies.

Observations were conducted at 3 sites within LaFollette which included the Wal-Mart Super Center, Super Food City, and the historic town center.

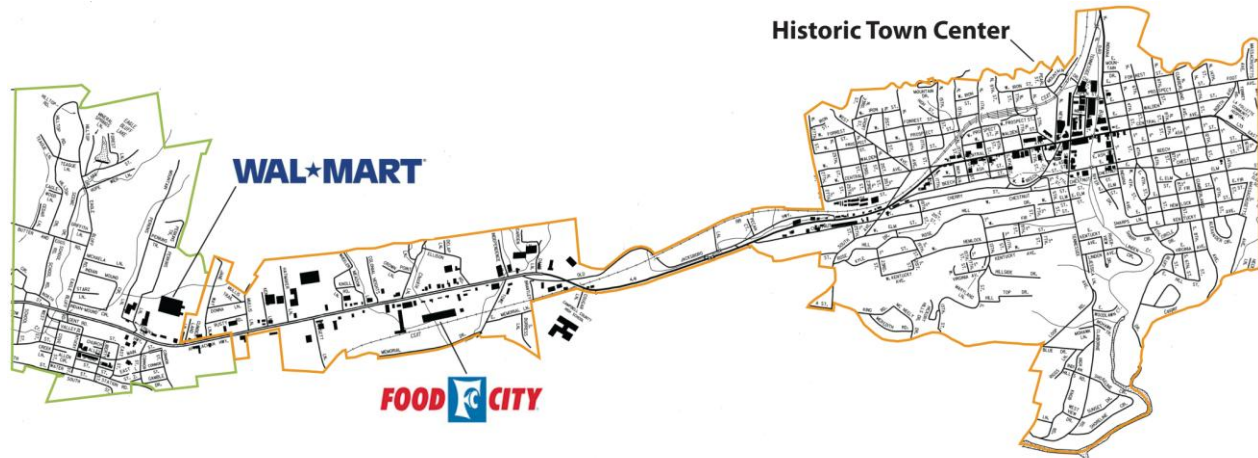


Figure 19: Observation Sites (Author)

A set of activities were noted at each site, including mode of transportation, number of cars entering and exiting the site, number of people per car, time spent on site, face to face interaction, number of businesses visited at each site, and businesses located at each site. These observations were chosen to identify the current centers of commerce, and how members of the community interacted within the centers. Conclusions for each sited include:

Wal-Mart Super Center: many of the results for the super center were as expected. The primary mode of transport to the center was the car with an average of 123 cars entering the site per hour. Each car contained 1-2 patrons who stayed on average 10-15 mins. per visit and averaged about 1 face-to-face interaction. Typically only one business was visited per person, Wal-Mart. The results revealed that much of the visit was about efficiency with little time spent lingering or interacting with other patrons. The single destination also gives one little sense of place within LaFollette.



Figure20: LaFollette Wal-Mart (Author)

Super Food City: the Food City Center had similar results to the Wal-Mart Super Center. The major mode of transport to the site was by car with an average of 60 cars entering the site per hour. Each car contained 1-2 patrons staying on site an average of 15-20 minutes with an average of 1 face to face interaction per patron. On average one business was visited by each patron, Food City. In this case the patrons stayed on site for a longer period of time, but that can be attributed to the type visitor to the site, primarily grocery shoppers, who are typically stay at home mothers buying food for a family. So while the Food City has a standardized store system and a layout meant for efficiency the type of business and customer cause one to linger on site longer. This can promote more social interaction.



Figure 21: LaFollette Super Food City (Author)

Historic Town Center: the historic town center had slightly different results than the

two centers mentioned above. The major modes of transport to the town center were by car and walking. The site received on average 180-200 cars per hour, this number however is influenced by highway 63 which runs through the center of town. On average about half that number, 60-100 cars stopped within the town center to do business. Cars stopping and passing through the site contained 1-2 patrons. Those who stopped tended to stay longer in the town center than at the other two centers with an average of 20-30 minutes. However the face-to-face interactions were not significantly larger than the other two centers with the historic center at an average of 2 per patron, and number of businesses visited was the same as the others at 1 per patron. The longer linger time within the town center can be explained by the parking situation within the center. Parking is less available in the historic center than at the other two sites, meaning patrons had to walk further to get to their desired business. However this points to the patrons desire to visit a specific business within the town center. They were more willing to spend extra time visiting a business in the historic center as opposed to driving further to visit the Wal-Mart or Super Food City. Through these observations I gained perspective into the current state of community in LaFollette. A complete list of observation categories and results can be seen in appendix B.



Figure 22: LaFollette Historic Downtown (Author)

While the observations help to identify the present community structure of LaFollette, the interviews gave insight into the historic structure of LaFollette. A series of interviews with community members of various ages and occupations revealed their experience living and working within LaFollette. Questions such as; “What do you remember most about growing up in LaFollette?”, “What businesses do you remember most, and visited most?”, “What was LaFollette like on a Saturday and a weekday?”, and “What type people were in and around LaFollette?”, gave insight into the historic character of LaFollette. These questions revealed what community was once like in LaFollette, how it operated, and where activities occurred most. Answers to these questions included, George Smith (93) “We went to town on Saturday’s to see a movie, that was a special event”, and Ed Balouf (95) “There were apartments above all the stores, I was born in one that was above my father’s general store.”, again Ed Balouf, “The fair was a big deal, the local kids would have bike, and buggy races at the track for a cash prize, that was a big deal.”. Cliff Jennings (64) stated, “LaFollette was a Saturday town, everyone came to town.”. The answers show that the town center of LaFollette was once a special place that buzzed with activity for many of the residents.

When these questions and answers are contrasted with inquiries as to the present state of community in LaFollette, I gained a clearer view of the changes that have occurred within the town throughout the years. Questions such as, “What is the biggest difference between LaFollette then and now?”, and “Would you say LaFollette has a stronger or weaker sense of community today?” gave insight into the differences within LaFollette today. Answers included Ben Rogers (87), “We’re a

society on wheels, people are always on the go”, and “Who owns the Food Lion, Food City, Save-a-Lot, I don’t know either.” This shows that for some the community structure of LaFollette has changed, moving towards a more national and commercial environment. This is in contrast to the memories that many had of more local and personal interactions.

These questions were chosen to understand what the people of LaFollette historically identified with, what gave them a sense of community, and how that has changed. Responses were recorded with special attention paid to common themes within the answers, such as specific stores and their specialty area, weekend and workday activities, and other such themes. The most common memory among the interviewees was the number of grocery stores once located within the historic town center. The stores included Woodson’s Grocery, Shelby’s, Cumberland Grocery, Circus, Lions, White Store, and Service Grocery. The residents had clear memories of the local foods sold in the stores and how crowded the stores were, especially on the weekends. A complete list of questions, answers, and interviewees can be seen in appendix C.

Third, a series of maps were created to understand the historic growth patterns in relation to industry and population growth within the city, over time. Maps included:

Natural Resource Maps: these maps identified where the natural resources such as coal, iron ore, timber and water were located (Figure 8). The location of these resources revealed why the town of LaFollette was placed in its current location. These resources combined to make industries that created and sustained the town

for many years.

Roadway Maps: these maps showed where present and historic travel patterns were located in relation to LaFollette and its development patterns (figure 10). The different travel patterns show how the impact the I-75 and Dixie Lee Highway had upon the town of LaFollette. As traffic was diverted from Dixie Lee Highway, which ran through the town, to I-75, much of the commercial traffic was removed from the town. This had a strong, negative economic impact on LaFollette.

Historic and Present City Boundaries: these maps showed how the city boundary stretched with the arrival of large chain stores (figure 7, 9, 13). The downtown center was weakened as business moved from the center to west of the downtown.

Land Use Maps: these maps showed the difference in how the city was developed in the historic center as opposed to the new commercial district (figure 9, 12, 13). Land uses identified were industrial, commercial, residential, government, and public.

Finally, precedent studies were conducted to gain an understanding of what other cities and towns have done to promote community development and social interaction. Precedent studies include ‘Macon’s Yards’ in Macon, Georgia, Vermont Smart Growth in Manchester, Vermont and The Peninsula Town Center in Hampton, Virginia. These precedents were chosen for their similarities to LaFollette, such as size, economic situation, or the reuse of specific spaces. Macon Yard’s was chosen for its reuse of a historically significant street that was redeveloped into a pedestrian friendly space. Manchester, Vermont is similar to LaFollette in their struggle to balance the preservation of their sense of place and town character with new

commercial developments just down the road from the historic town center. Finally, The Peninsula Town Center in Hampton, Virginia is a good example of how a commercial development can be repurposed to support pedestrian friendly spaces that encourage a strong sense of community, while promoting economic success.

- **Macon's Yards':** Macon, Georgia (Hood Design)
 - Designed by Hood Designs of Oakland, California, Macon's Yards' is a 180 ft. wide boulevard improvement on Poplar St. in downtown Macon. The design seeks to incorporate a series of, yards, that add in new street amenities and social infrastructure such as public transit nodes, a city market, playgrounds, restrooms, shade trees, lighting, expanded open space, and other landscape structures. According to Hood Design, "The design supports mixed-use commercial revitalization while reinforcing existing civic use and identity. The project improves the pedestrian uses which are currently degraded by the accommodation of the automobile." This design took a previously significant street that was degraded and dominated by the car, and turned it into a gathering place for the city. The reuse of existing spaces can help to connect the present with the past. The same can be true in LaFollette where large parking areas have been created to accommodate the car. Reuse of these spaces in connection with commercial properties and within the historic town center would provide unique gathering places for social interaction within the community.



Figure 23: Macon's Yard's (Hood Design)

- **Smart Growth Vermont:** Manchester, Vermont (Smart Growth Vermont)

Manchester is a small town with a population of approximately 5,000. The town has an historic town center with new outlet malls and developments located outside of the historic center. The town enacted a series of design guidelines to preserve the historic character of the town, and promote a strong sense of community. Examples of these guidelines include:

- Use of footprints and setbacks that reflect identified historic patterns or identified sitting patterns that work well in a specific location, such as Main Street.
- Breaking up parking with buildings and landscape islands; employing rear access points
- Creating ample pedestrian spaces between buildings and at entries
- Relying on extensive and appropriate native landscaping

These guidelines ensure the town preserves its sense of place and social structure.

Similar guidelines adapted to the context of LaFollette may have the same impact.



Figure 24: Manchester, Vermont (Smart Growth Vermont)

- **The Peninsula Town Center:** Hampton, Virginia
www.Peninsulatowncenter.com
 - The Peninsula Town Center is the redevelopment of an existing enclosed mall, or retail center. By making the center open air, adding street trees, lighting, landscape plantings and structures, new store fronts, and a green open space, the center has been given a traditional 'town center' feel. Moving away from the climate-controlled shopping environments of the past 20-30 years shows there is a demand to move towards holistically designed environments. This is reflected in the addition of office and residential spaces added in the redevelopment of the Peninsula Town Center. A similar opportunity is available with the larger strip developments located within LaFollette. These strip developments, for example Wal-Mart, have large parking areas that are often less than half full. These spaces could be developed into outdoor markets and pedestrian spaces that encourage social interaction.



Figure 25: The Peninsula Town Center (Peninsula Town Center)

These precedent studies give insight into current development practices used to promote cohesive and dynamic spaces which encourage social interaction. The redevelopment of existing spaces such as an historic street in Macon, Georgia, and the reuse of an existing mall in Hampton, Virginia show how existing spaces can be retrofitted to promote pedestrian friendly spaces. The inclusion of mixed-use allows for a variety of user groups in the same areas, allowing retail customers, professionals, and residents to intermingle. The inclusion of sidewalks, lighting, open space, street trees, and other landscape elements not only adds to the overall aesthetic but connects the businesses and spaces together cohesively. The Smart Growth plan for Manchester, Vermont is a great example of how design guidelines can be used to preserve a town's sense of place while allowing for new commercial developments to establish within the community. As the retrofitting of spaces and the use of design guidelines are explored, one discovers a blueprint for how a community can grow while maintaining a sense of place.

Future Trends

Addressing the issues of placelessness and weakening social dynamic within LaFollette presents obstacles. LaFollette is a poor area with low economic activity, and benefits from the presence of the large box stores. These businesses provide jobs, amenities, and services that would not otherwise be available in the area. The development practices of these businesses are a part of what allows them to provide such services in many communities. To suggest that these practices be stopped or altered is sure to be faced with opposition from many community members. It is important to maintain a balance that will allow for economic development, while encouraging reinvestment in the local community. I plan to design within the current conditions of the city of LaFollette, taking into account the existing strip developments, that include Wal-Mart, Lowe's, Food City, numerous fast food restaurants, auto parts stores, and gas stations. I want to see how they can be used to promote a stronger sense of place.

To effectively address the problem of strip development, it is important to understand what principles allowed strip development to thrive, which were identified earlier as mobility, specialization, standardization, and technology. While understanding the historic trends within these principles gives understanding into the current issues of strip development, projecting future trends guides the design process in correcting existing problems, while planning for future issues. Therefore, a list of future trends within each of the strip development effects was created to better understand the issues that could affect the future development of LaFollette. The list can be seen in the attachments list under (Trends Map). Trends include:

- **Mobility:** With the consistent increase in gas prices over the past 10 years, expenses for customers and business climbed rapidly. The effects of rising gas prices are seen in several areas. Over the past 10 years car sales dropped 30%, signifying that people are holding on to their cars longer. While the overall sale of cars dropped, more fuel efficient cars such as the Honda Civic and Toyota Prius have seen increases in sales of 50, and 70% over the same period. (National Automobile Dealers Association). These numbers show a trend among Americans to lower their travel cost, by holding on to their existing car and paying them off, or by upgrading to a more fuel efficient car and lower their gas bill. These trends to lowering travel cost would also suggest that people would be in favor of shopping options that would lower their need for the car, and saving them money spent on gas.
- **Technology:** The effects of rising operating cost are pushing technology to produce alternatives to the traditional office environment, which requires employees to travel to a central office. Over recent years, this pressure has brought rise to cloud technology. Cloud technology allows for information to be shared from remote location, which has led to increased networking systems. This in turn makes it possible for employees to work from home. This is often referred to as telecommuting, nomad workers, or web commuters. Twenty million Americans work from home at least one day a week, which is an increase of 75% since 2005. As cloud technology continues to grow, and the number of people working from home increases, there will be an increased demand on local communities to provide venues and increased

infrastructure due to the increased number of workers staying at home. As mentioned earlier nearly 40% of LaFollette's work commuters travel up to 2 hours per day to go to work. As cloud technology becomes more available, LaFollette is likely to see a significant amount of work commuters work from home, which would increase the number of people remaining within the community on a daily basis.

- **Specialization:** With a changing economy many companies have diversified their brands into related fields. A good example of this is John Deere. Over the past 10-15 years John Deere purchased local landscape nurseries. The nurseries remain local, often keeping the same employees, but become a part of John Deere Landscapes. This led the company to branch out further into areas such as lawn care, with the purchase of Lesco, and then into the golf industry with John Deere Golf. The company created a credit branch to extend credit to homeowners, and landscape professionals. This diversification led to the strengthening of many local businesses which would otherwise be unable to compete with the large corporate businesses. Employees receive a higher wage with benefits that a smaller local business couldn't provide, and customers benefit from the variety that larger stores are able to supply. In essence, the larger corporations are able to strengthen their company while supporting local businesses that provide local jobs.
- **Standardization:** To compensate for the rising cost of shipping, many businesses seek ways to become more regional. In October of 2010 Wal-Mart announced their Global Sustainable Agriculture Goals. The goals included 1.)

Support farmers and their communities, 2.) Produce more food with fewer resources and less water, 3.) Sustainably source key agricultural products.

The goals stated, “In the U.S., Wal-Mart’s Heritage Agricultural program will help the company double the sale of locally grown food”. With an increased focus on the sale of locally grown foods there is potential for the creation of numerous local jobs; and facilities.

Effects

The above trends could have a dramatic effect on LaFollette in several ways. As gas prices continue to rise, residents of LaFollette may decide that the long commute times shown earlier in figure 8 are too much, and subsequently decide to move closer to their place of work. This would lead to a decline in the local population, which would lead to a decline in local revenues, and the potential closure of the large box stores. This would leave LaFollette again searching for a new industry. However according to the United States Census 60% of LaFollette households are homeowners. Such a high ownership rate within the city would suggest that many residents may be willing to pursue jobs closer to LaFollette in order to remain in their homes. If residents chose to stay in the area and pursue local jobs there would be an increased demand for local services and goods as a result of increased time spent in LaFollette. A diagram of these effects can be seen in the attachments list under (Effects).

In order to accommodate the increased demand for services and goods it will be important for the City of LaFollette to have a vision or plan for how the city will grow

and accommodate future changes. While the historical center of LaFollette was a planned area with specific guidelines for development, these guidelines have been lost. As the city expanded, little attention was given to land use, or zoning laws. In fact, many efforts to enact zoning laws have been fought fiercely by many of the residents. However for the city to grow in a thoughtful and manageable way a structure of guidelines must be established; guidelines can ensure beneficial growth.

As stated before, the rise of strip development in communities produces many negative effects. One of the primary effects has been the loss of a sense of place and the eroding of the social fabric. As we have spent more and more time in our homes watching television, surfing the internet, and commuting from place to place, we have become divorced from our local communities. One can talk to a friend across the country, pay their bills online, and watch the latest movie without leaving the comfort of their couch. It is this separation that harms community cohesion. As a component of my design I hope to identify centers or nodes of activity that can cause people to slow down and connect with others. By slowing the pace and increasing the density of retail development, especially locally owned retail, there becomes increased opportunity for chance interactions. It is through these chance interactions, combined with increased economic activity, that a strong sense of community may be fostered within LaFollette.

Design Guidelines

The goal of design guidelines is to encourage the creation of pedestrian friendly spaces that provide opportunities for social and economic activity. Design

guidelines are not meant to restrict types of business or their location within the community, but are meant to direct how businesses fit within the community. These guidelines give a community development direction, instead of being at the mercy of developers and corporations. Guidelines can vary in scope; and how far guidelines go are ultimately up to the people of a community and their vision. To ensure that guidelines reflect the desires of the community, a set of principles should be established by the community to inform the guidelines. The principles could include:

1) Spaces that encourage economic and social exchange: comprised of private and public spaces; community space has the opportunity to blend together the unique elements of LaFollette and maximize the opportunities for economic and social exchange. Public spaces should be generous, prominent and easily accessible, providing places for conversation, relaxation, and economic activity. While there will always be pressure to maximize commercial space, the success of LaFollette depends upon the balance of public and private spaces.

2). Respect for Context: New spaces should contribute to a sense of community and cohesiveness as well as being individually strong spaces. Respect for context implies sensitivity to scale, materials, patterns, form and the natural environment. New spaces should be designed in a way as to blend with the surrounding scale, proportions, colors, and functions.

3). Functionality: New spaces should meet the programmatic needs of the community, both spatially and environmentally. Spaces should be designed for flexibility and adaptability. As community needs change over time spaces should be

able to accommodate some level of adaptation and reconfiguration.

4). Economy: New spaces should be designed to encourage a variety of economic activity. The spaces should encourage the buying and selling of locally owned and made products, as well as support the larger commercial business that operate within the City of LaFollette. To accomplish these goals public/private partnerships must be established between the City of LaFollette, or other entities, and the private corporations and businesses within LaFollette. Public/private partnerships will distribute the development and maintenance cost to multiple parties, preventing one party from carrying the complete financial burden.

5). Quality: It is essential to construct new spaces to the highest quality standards possible, within funds available. This may require fewer features, or square footage to ensure the desired level of quality is reached. The standard of quality will affect the types of materials used and the overall design aesthetic of a space. This sense of quality has a significant impact on potential community investors such as businesses, vacationers, or those seeking to relocate.

From these principles a set of guidelines can be established that may encourage a strong sense of community and social interaction. Guidelines include width of sidewalks, types of pavement systems, lighting requirements, types of seating, open space requirements, types of plant material, parking, signage, and percentage of pedestrian space per site, among others. As noted in the precedent studies, an example of town design guidelines can be seen on the Vermont Smart Growth website (www.smartgrowthvermont.org). These guidelines are particularly applicable to LaFollette because small towns in Vermont face similar issues of

preserving a sense of place while allowing for economic growth. Through design guidelines LaFollette can specifically address the effects of strip development on their community by affecting; mobility, standardization, specialization, and technology.

Mobility. As stated earlier mobility allows people to move from place to place with little constraint, and can produce a sense of rootlessness within communities. With the introduction of strip developments to LaFollette the city has stretched over a 5 mile area, requiring the use of the car to move from place to place. This is further compounded by the high percentage of work commuters (40%) that leave the community on a daily bases to work, commuting up to an hour each way. The increased time spent within a car reduces the opportunities for face to face interactions, and resulting in less time spent interacting within the community. However with rising gas prices, patterns are poised to change. The increased expense of travel will force residents to make decisions as to where to live and shop. With a high percentage (60%) of home ownership within the city of LaFollette, many residents may choose to stay within LaFollette looking for jobs closer to home, and taking advantage of new technologies that allow one to work from home. Residents may also be inclined to shop in areas that provide the most options with the least amount of travel time. Therefore as the City of LaFollette looks to the future it will be important to plan for spaces that allow for a variety of activities within a minimal travel time. These spaces should accommodate a variety of transportation modes such as car, bike, and walking. Activities such as retail shopping combined with Wi-Fi hot spots for the use of cloud technology make space versatile. Through the

combining of these activities, one is able to work and shop while remaining within the LaFollette community. The increased time spent within the community may increase opportunities for face-to-face interaction to encourage a sense of community. An example of a multi-use space can be seen below.

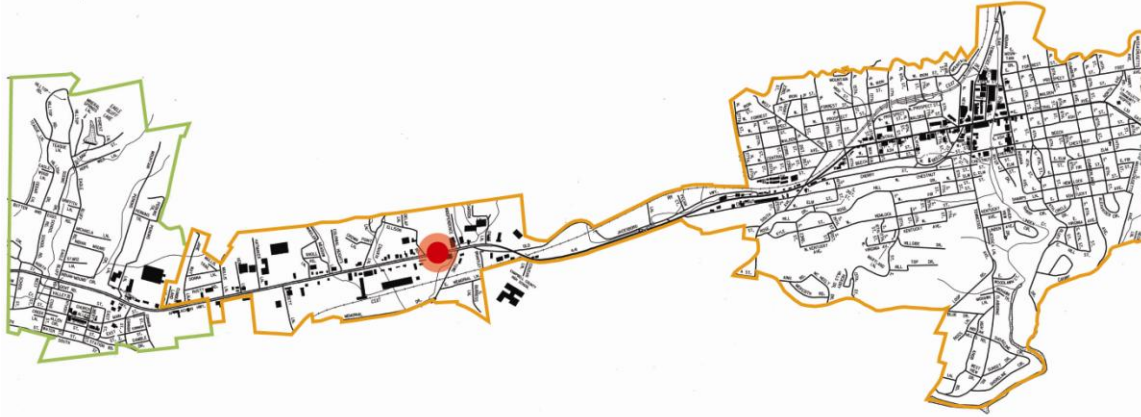


Figure 26: By creating multi-use spaces, the City of LaFollette could encourage a denser pattern of development, which would allow for a variety of transportation modes, walking, biking, and vehicular travel. The red marker on the above map shows the location of the image. (Author)

Standardization. The repetition of form and function within strip development creates a sense of placelessness within many communities. While many standardized practices allow business to be profitable and efficient, they divorce the business from the local community in appearance and function. However many businesses are beginning to see the benefit of becoming more regionalized, both in service and profit. This increased regionalized focus could result in an increase of local jobs and products. This may also result in the need for new facilities for different types of local business. Through this LaFollette could apply a series of design guidelines which would dictate the appearance and function of a new facility. Through these guidelines the city could ensure that the facilities and functions fit within the context of the local community, promoting a greater sense of cohesion within LaFollette. Examples of these guidelines can be seen below.

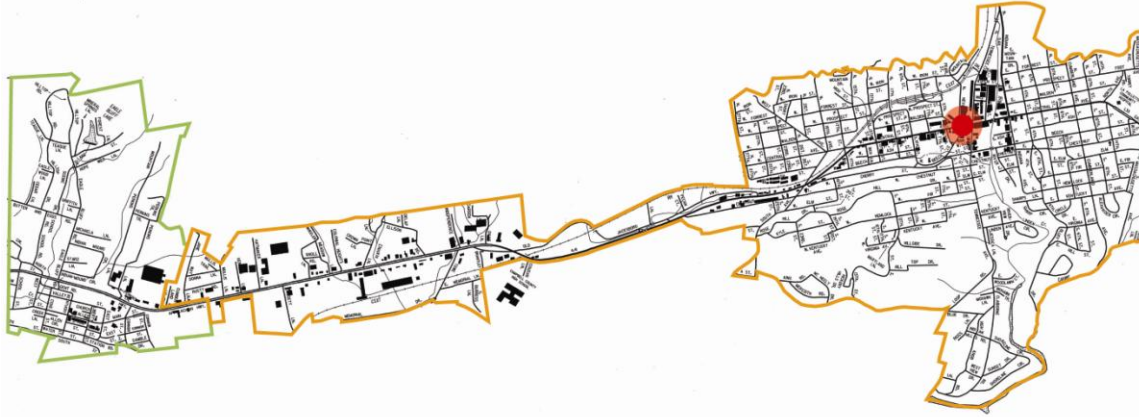


Figure 27: By encouraging new development to use local materials, colors, and building patterns, the City of LaFollette could develop a greater sense of cohesion between the past and the present. The red marker on the above map shows location of the image.
(Author)

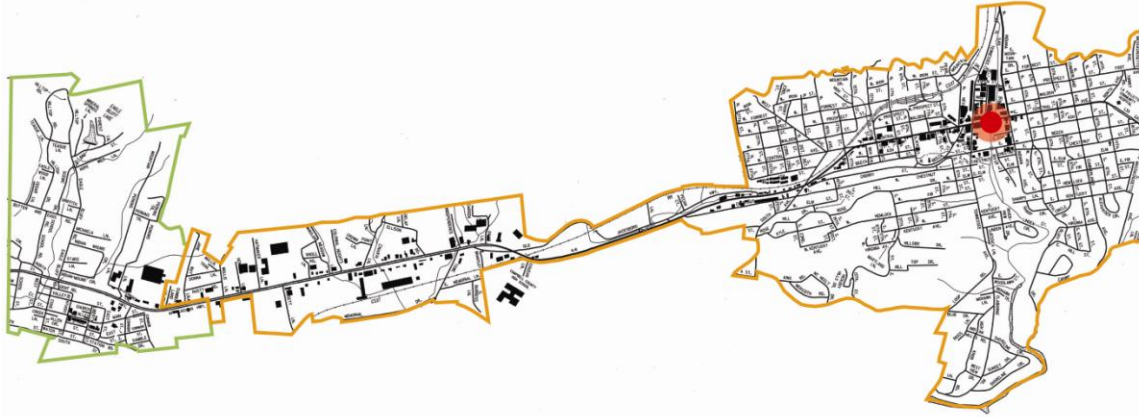


Figure 28: Through the reuse of existing buildings and the use of historic building patterns and styles by new developments, LaFollette will grow in a way that is sensitive to the surrounding context. The red marker on the above map shows the location of the image. (Author)

Specialization. Like standardization, specialization deals with how businesses function within the local community. Hester states, “specialization frees us from a comprehensive knowledge of place and complex social and ecological thinking.” Many businesses seek to promote their own brand, or service, divorced from the community they operate within. Through service, signage, colors, and building type businesses seek to stand apart within communities to attract the most customers. However, with a struggling economy many businesses are seeking to diversify their brand, investing local business in related field areas. This results in an increased influence on building types and uses by larger corporations. Through design guidelines, communities can require businesses to “fit in” with the context of the community. By restricting building types, types of signage, and colors, LaFollette can ensure a more cohesive community appearance and function.

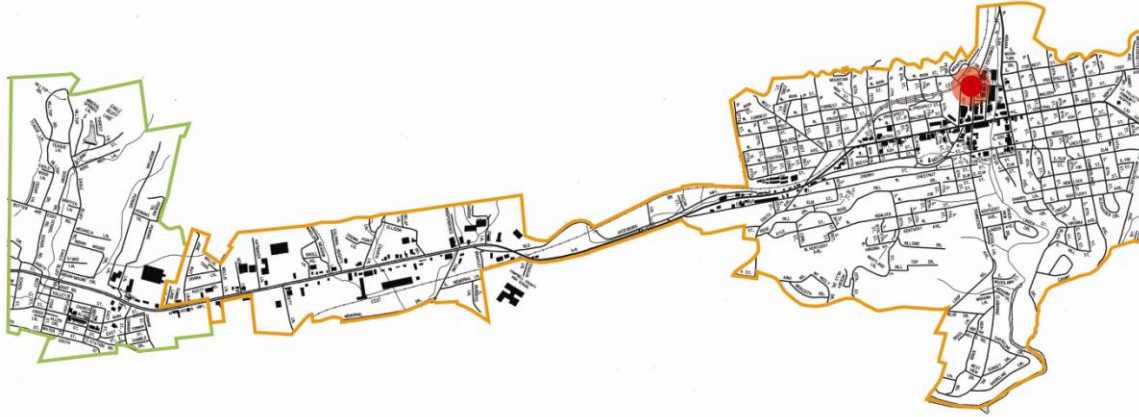


Figure 29: The use of context sensitive signage, building size, colors and function will allow LaFollette to develop in a context sensitive way that will encourage a stronger sense of community. Red marker on the above map shows location of the image. (Author)

Technology. The numerous advantages of technology have made our lives easier. However according to Hester, “technology divorces us from our natural environment”. Technology has not only divorced us from our natural environments

but it has decreased face to face interactions within LaFollette. People are no longer as dependent on local stores, entertainment, or social networks. This is even true in many work environments as well. The introduction of cloud technology allowed for an increased number of employees to work from home. This allows businesses to decrease overhead by eliminating the need for a central office, and eliminates travel cost for the employees. The City of LaFollette would be able to take advantage of this trend by providing public venues that encourage the use of technology. Internet cafes, coffee shops, and other public wi-fi hot spots would encourage the use of technology outside the home, and thus encourage more time spent within the community. This in turn would result in more opportunities for face to face interaction, further strengthening the overall sense of community within LaFollette.

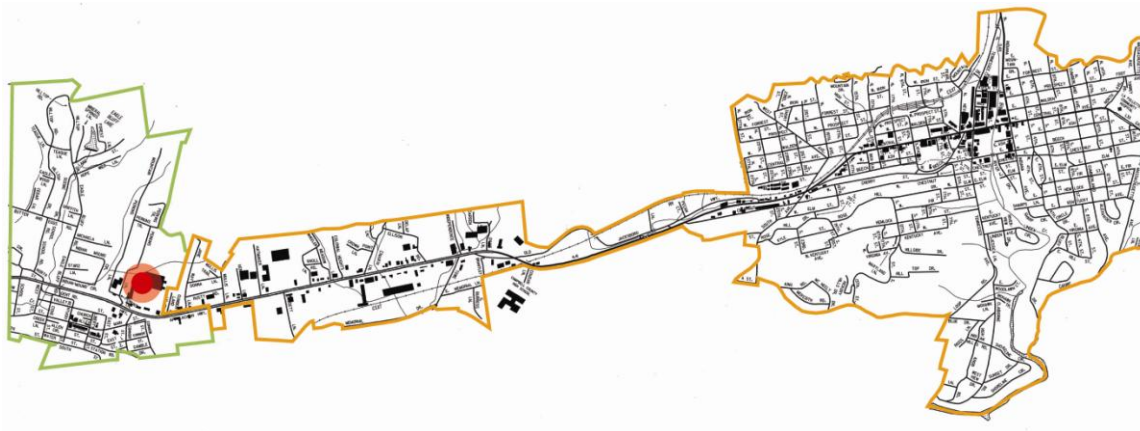


Figure 30: The combination of a national commercial store, with local vendors, pedestrian space, and internet capabilities makes this a multi-use space that encourages community activity and social interaction. The red marker on the above map shows location of the image. (Author)

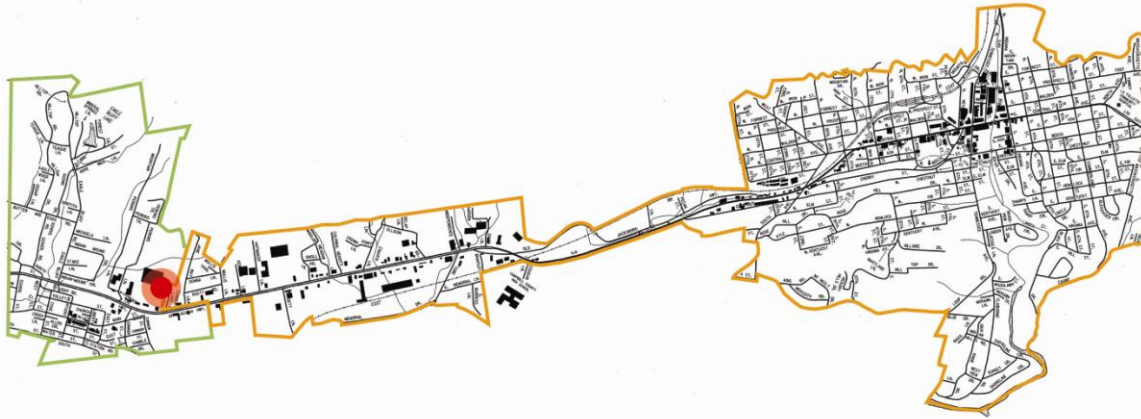


Figure 31: Pedestrian spaces for work and leisure activity in connection with commercial shopping centers, creates a dynamic space that allows for a variety of activities. The red marker on the above map shows the location of the image. (Author)

Maintaining a sense of place within the City of LaFollette presents a variety of problems. However, through the application of design guidelines the City of LaFollette may be able to encourage beneficial growth that allows for economic success while maintaining a sense of place. The above guidelines are meant to be suggestive as to what type of guidelines the City of LaFollette would need to encourage a stronger sense of community. More developed and specific guidelines would require more feedback and time than is allowed within this thesis. While this thesis does not address all the problems associated with strip development and community growth, it does address core effects that result from strip development. For LaFollette to properly address the issues of the loss of a sense of place and weakening social dynamic further study of the high poverty rate and growing elderly population must be conducted. However, by addressing these core effects LaFollette may begin to lay the foundation for a set of guidelines that will produce an economically successful and socially dynamic community that is truly unique.

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Image Citations

Figure 1: Cumberland Mountains and Norris Lake, Author

Figure 2: Wal-Mart Overlay, Author

Figure 3: Community Diagram, Author

Figure 4: Strip Development Pattern, Answers.com, <http://answers.com/topic/strip-development-or-strip-shopping-center/>

Figure 5: Existing and New Wal-Mart Stores, Future Feeder and The Journal of Architecture and Computation Culture. <http://www.futurefeeder.com/2006/05/wal-mart-growth/>

Figure 6: State Context Map, Google Earth, Author

Figure 7: County Context Map, Google Earth, Author

Figure 8: Existing City Boundary, Author

Figure 9: Natural Resources, Author

Figure 10: LaFollette Sanborn Map, Sanborn Maps, <http://www.sanborn.umi.com/>

Figure 11: Campbell County Roads, Author

Figure 12: LaFollette Citizens Petition,

Figure 13: LaFollette Districts, Author

Figure 14: LaFollette Growth Pattern

Figure 15: LaFollette Commute Map, Hairy Cow, http://www.hairycow.name/commute_map/

Figure 16: Standardization Diagram, Author

Figure 17: Factors in Technology, Author

Figure 18: County Economic Status, Appalachian Regional Commission(ARC), <http://www.arc.gov>

Figure 19: Observation Site, Author

Figure 20: Wal-Mart Site, Author

Figure 21: Food City Site, Author

Figure 22: Historic Town Center Site, Author

Figure 23: Macon Backyard, Hood Design, <http://www.wjhooddesign.com>

Figure 24: Manchester, Vermont, Smart Growth Vermont, <http://www.smartgrowthvermont.org>

Figure 25: Peninsula Town Center, <http://www.peninsulatowncenter.com>

Figure 26: Highway 63 improvements, Author

Figure 27: LaFollette Street Scene, LaFollette Historic Society, Author

Figure 28: Capitol Theater, LaFollette Historic Society, Author

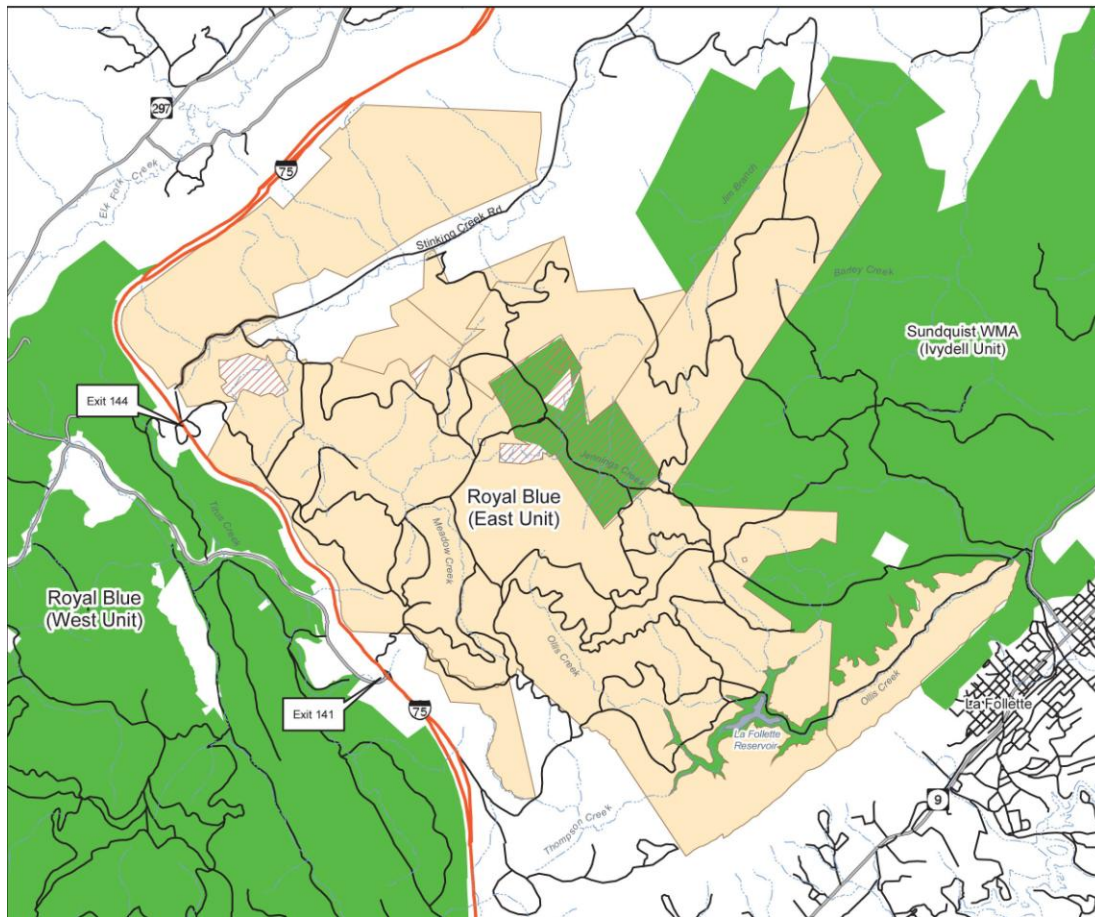
Figure 29: Smith & Russell Grocery, LaFollette Historic Society, Author

Figure 30: Wal-Mart Pedestrian Area – West, Author

Figure 31: Wal-Mart Pedestrian Area – East, Author

Appendix

Appendix A



*Don Sunquist and Royal Management areas connect to downtown LaFollette
(Tennessee Wildlife Resource Agency)*

Appendix B

Observations:

1. Major modes of transportation

- Wal-Mart: car
- Super Food City: car
- Historic Town Center: car, walking

2. Number of cars entering site (*per hour*)

- Wal-Mart: 123
- Super Food City: 60
- Historic Town Center: Multiple

3. Average number of people per car

- Wal-Mart: 1-2
- Super Food City: 1-2
- Historic Town Center: 1-2

4. Average length of stay at each site

- Wal-Mart: 10-15 mins.
- Super Food City: 15-20 mins.
- Historic Town Center: 20-30 mins.

5. Average number of face to face interactions

- Wal-Mart: 1
- Super Food City: 1
- Historic Town Center: 2

6. Number of businesses visited at each site

- Wal-Mart: 1
- Super Food City: 1
- Historic Town Center: 1

7. Businesses located at each site

- Wal-Mart: Verizon Store, McDonalds, Volunteer Bank, Car Wash, Goodwill, Shoe Show, Sally Beauty Shop, Dollar Tree, Game Stop, All Star Nails, Ross the Boss Hair Salon, Wal-Mart - Subway, Eye Exams
- Super Food City: Sears, Little Ceasars, Y-12 Credit Union, Rent-To-Own Furniture, El Puadlitos Mexican Restaurant, People's Bank, Ice Cream Shop, LaFollette Eye Clinic, Chinese Restaurant, Wendy's
- Historic Town Center: Wender's Furniture, Lindsey's Carpet, Bowman's Jewelry, People's Bank, Community Bank, Pawn Shop, Cross Funeral Home, Walters Funeral Home, Ellison's Supply, Goins Restaurant, Royal Lunch, Josie's Hair Salon, Volunteer Barber Shop, Ben Rogers Insurance, Riggs Drug Store, Terry's Drug Store, Shear Design Salon, Thompson's Furniture, Cash-N-Carry, Ace Hardware, Cash Express, LaFollette Machine and Tool Co., H&R Block, LaFollette Press, City Government Offices, Utility Board, Hospital

Appendix C

Interviews:

- Martha Carr (resident)
- George Smith (farmer, former milk man)
- Ben Rogers (insurance company)
- Ed Ballouf (former clothing store owner)
- Conrad Troutman (Lawyer)
- Cliff Jennings (former city mayor)
- Jerry Sharp (city historian)
- Whitt Goins (resident)
- Phillip Carr (father, resident)

Questions:

1. What was LaFollette like when you were growing up?
2. What businesses do you remember most? Which business did you visit most?
3. What was a Saturday like in LaFollette? Weekday?
4. What type people were in and around LaFollette?
5. What is the biggest difference between LaFollette then and now?
6. Would you say LaFollette has a stronger or weaker sense of community today?

Most Commonly Mentioned Places:

- Grocery Stores:
 - Woodson's Grocery
 - Shelby's Grocery
 - Lions Store
 - White Store
 - Cumberland Grocery
 - Circus Grocery
 - Service Grocery
- Cafés
 - Fox Café
 - City Café
 - Royal Café and Pool Room
- Drug Stores
 - Riggs Drugs
 - Winkler's
 - 5&10 Cent Store
- Hardware Stores
 - Smith Hardware
 - Powell Valley Hardware
 - LaFollette Hardware
- Department Stores
 - Ballouff's Store
 - Wender's Furniture
 - Lindsey's carpet
 - Bowman's Jewelry
- Train Companies
 - L&N
 - Southern

- LaFollette High School
- West and East LaFollette Elementary Schools
- Russell Hotel
- Banks:
 - People's Bank
 - National Bank
- Theaters:
 - Cherokee Theater

Quotes:

- “We’re a society on wheels, people are always on the go”, Ben Rogers
- “Who owns the Food Lion, Food City, Save-a-Lot, I don’t know either”, Ben Rogers
- “I use to know all my competitors, and even consult with many on business issues, now I don’t who my competitors are, let alone talk to them”, Ben Rogers
- “LaFollette was a Saturday town, everyone came to town” ,Cliff Jennings
- “We went to town on Saturday’s to see a movie, that was a special event”, George Smith
- “There were apartments above all the stores, I was born in one that was above my father’s general store”, Ed Balouf
- “The fair was a big deal, the local kids would have bike, and buggy races at the track for a cash prize, that was a big deal.” Ed Balouf
- Ed Balouf: “There used to be a dentist above Riggs Drug Store, and he jumped out of his window one day Why did he jump out the window Ben (Rogers)? Ben Rogers: “Because the building was on fire!”

Vita

Andrew Carr is originally from LaFollette, Tennessee. He attended Campbell County High School, graduating with honors. Upon graduation in 2000, Andrew attended the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, receiving a Bachelors of Science in Plant Science and Landscape Systems in 2004. After working several years in landscape construction and maintenance, Andrew returned to the University of Tennessee to earn a Masters of Landscape Architecture degree, graduating with the inaugural class in May 2011.