CEMETERIES IN THE URBAN PLAN: OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

by

COLLIN KOONCE

(Under the Direction of Umit Yilmaz)

ABSTRACT

The urban areas within American cities continue to increase in population density. Urban planners must continue to provide sufficient public open-space in response to population influxes. Intense competition for land in urban areas impedes the development of essential public open-spaces. Creative methods to generate land for parks are continually being suggested, but cemeteries are rarely a part of comprehensive plans, revitalization plans, or community conversions. Public open-space is generally provided by parks alone despite the fact that cemeteries possess an innate ability to serve as public open-space. A number of physical, cultural, and political constraints effectively devalue cemeteries and preclude the opportunity for planners to take advantage of these land-uses in long-range planning efforts. Associated constraints and opportunities are distinguished through an investigation of history, evaluation of contemporary conditions, identification and review of successful case studies, and an examination of typical urban planning policies.

INDEX WORDS: Cemeteries, Urban parks, Open-space, Land use, City planning, Policy, Urban growth, Long-range planning.

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DEDICATION

To my late professor Jean S. Kavanagh whose memory is a motivation to never give up in search of the truth. Her untimely passing led me to initially question how American death rituals physically impact the built environment. Those thoughts were an inspiration and foundation for this investigation. Kavanagh was a Fellow of the American Society of Landscape Architecture, a pioneer in therapeutic garden design studies, and recognized as one of the top women in Landscape Architecture. Her professional and personal advice has never led me astray.

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I would like to thank the members of my Thesis Committee, Dan Nadenicek, James Reap, and Danny Sniff. The expertise and unique perceptions of these individuals have helped me further develop my thoughts and express them with clarity. Their criticism has helped fortify the ideas in this thesis.

Finally, I must acknowledge my family, friends, and future family members whose unending love and support provokes my curiosity and incites my sense of stewardship. My passion to facilitate and create valuable places and spaces is inspired by you. Thank you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Context

The spatial population trends in America continue to result in an increasing density in urban cores. There are a number of major metropolitan areas that have seen significant growth in the last ten years (Figure 1) (Agnel 2011; Mackun 2011; Perry 2001; Frey 1993). Urban areas are feeling pressure from not only the typical population growth but also a continued population migration from rural to urban and areas since the 1800s (Figure 2: Changes in Urban/ Rural US Population: 1800-1990) (Bookings 2011; US census; Lincoln Land Institute). The importance of our cities is well expressed by urban economists such as Edward Glaeser. Glaeser classifies our cities as "humanity's greatest invention and our best hope for the future" (Glaeser 2011). There are many planners who agree with his claim that cities make us "richer, smarter, greener, healthier, and happier" (Glaeser 2011). However, there are many challenges for the planner as both the scarcity and complexity of spaces increase in conjunction with population density increases (Harnik 2010, Nelson 2009, Conzen 2010, Brookings Institute 2010).

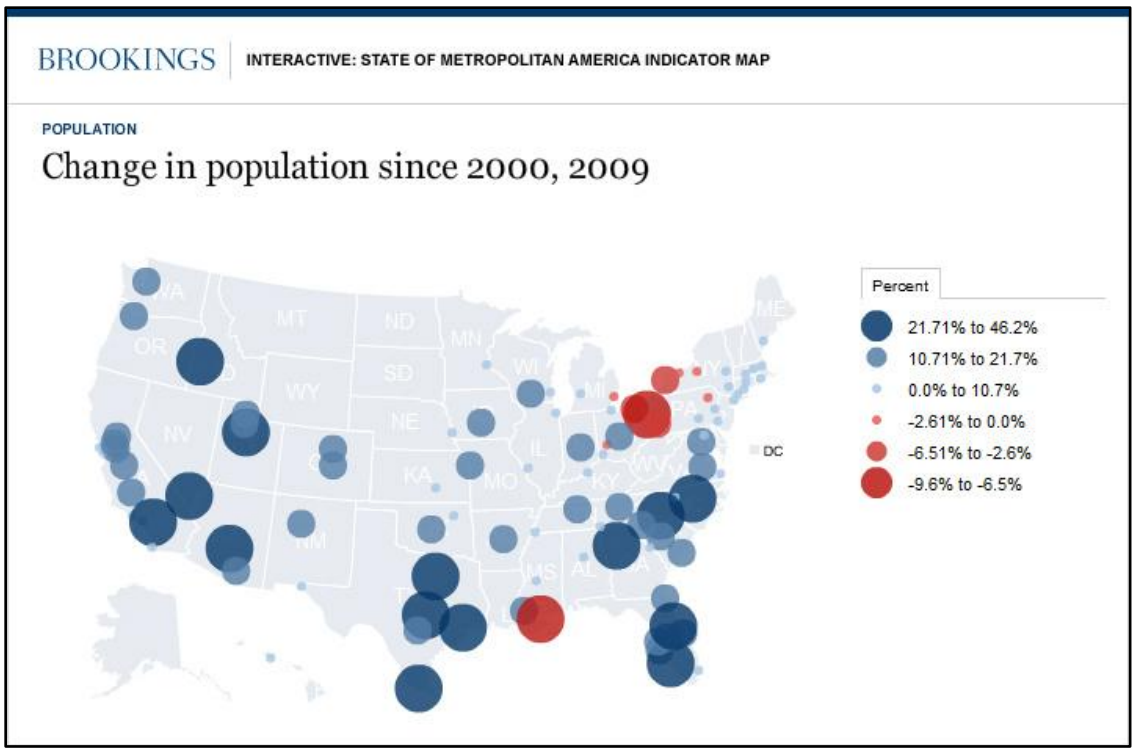

Figure 1: Metropolitan Population Growth Trends

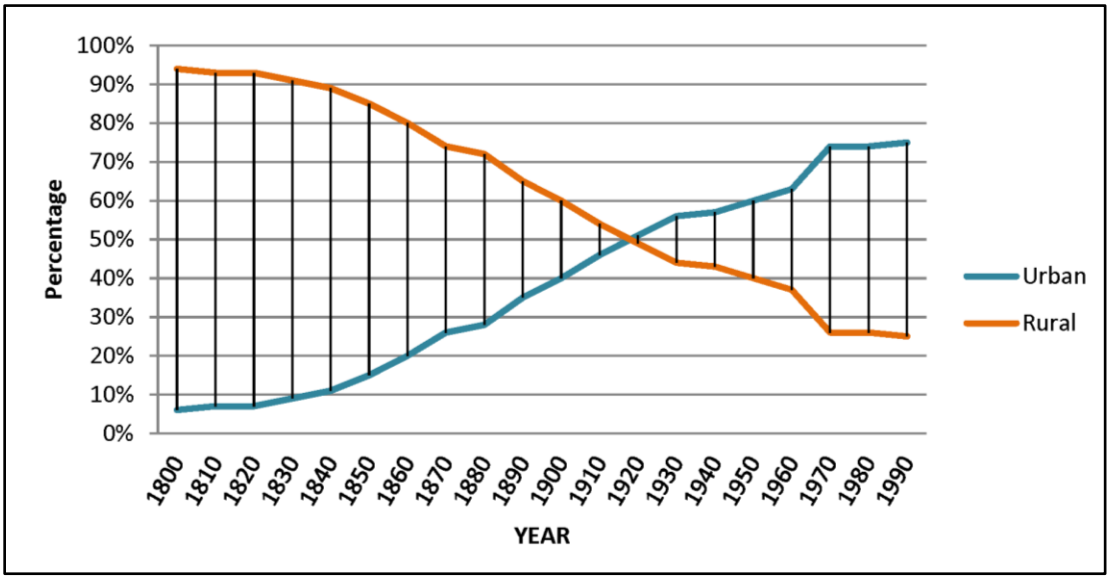

Figure 2: Changes in Urban/ Rural US Population: 1800-1990

It is within the professional planner's scope and responsibility to research, advocate, and implement the best possible solutions to these urban challenges (Barrett

2001). “Good Planning”, as defined by the American Planning Association (APA), “helps create communities that offer better choices for where and how people live, communities to envision their future, and find the right balance of new development and essential services, environmental protection, and innovative change” (planning.org).

Studies and efforts for the creation of more public open space and parks in urban areas continue to proliferate as larger segments of populations continue to move toward urban areas (Rybczynski 2010, Nelson 2009, Harnik 2010, Platt 2006, Reed 2005, Garvin 2002, Kayden 2000). Providing open-space within dense urban areas has long been a way to meet a wide range of public needs, as these provide recreational opportunities, promote healthy environments, encourage economic development, and improve ecological systems (Urban Revitalization and Livable communities Act (H.R. 3734), Cranz 1982).

The definitions of both “parks” and “open-space” are broad and complex, yet neither include cemeteries despite similar physical qualities and social capabilities (Curl 2006, Fleming 1999). Cemeteries in America once served as the first park-like open-spaces for those seeking recreation and relief from the urban consequences of industrialization (Eggener 2010, Garvin 2011, Sloan 1991).In spite of this historic precedent, cemeteries in American cities are now restricted land-uses and deemed inappropriate as a central land use in most urban areas (Basmajian & Coutts 2010, Harvey 2006, Worpole 2003).

Every city, town, or province in the United States has multiple areas where those who we survive are laid to rest. Cemeteries are as common to the American city as the fire department, school house, or water treatment facility. The importance of each of

these areas is no less important than the next as they all serve vital roles within a thriving community. Cemeteries have the unique ability to meet multiple community needs (Worpole 2003). Their unique relationship with the built environment is evidence that their fundamental service of interment and memorialization requires a certain amount and type of space (Carr 1995). These physical representations of our American death rituals are significant elements in the collective memories of our communities and serve as community "care-takers" in many ways (Llewellyn 2006, Rugg 2003).

Problem

Creative methods to generate land for parks are continually being suggested, but "cemeteries are rarely a part of comprehensive plans, revitalization plans, or community conversions" (Basmajian & Coutts 2010). Public open-space is generally provided by parks alone. This can be partially explained by the perceived monumental frustration cemeteries often pose for planners (Whyte 1968, 343). They are socially and politically sensitive spaces requiring specific planning tools often unfamiliar to planners (Worpole 2003). Potential community benefits of these open spaces are often untapped as their planning and design are typically left to a fragmented group of private cemetery corporations (Capels and Senville, 2006). The majority of these private corporations are forced to purchase land where it is affordable on the outskirts of urban areas and lack the ability to provide the community with accessible open space (Sloan 1991, Carr 1995, Kayden 2000).

Case studies have shown that bringing the cemetery back to the urban core and providing functional and accessible public open-space have numerous community benefits (Harnik 2010, Basmajian & Coutts 2010). There is a need for planners to be

aware of the significant social, economic, and physical benefits that cemetery functions can provide when appropriately located and included in long range planning efforts. These benefits have been further confirmed at certain points throughout the history of cemeteries (Eggener 2010). Moreover, these benefits are most evident in the communities who currently view, identify, and allow their cemeteries to function as open space (Harnik 2010; Woschke-Bulmahn 1997).

This thesis assumes that cemeteries have much to offer, but are rarely considered as a solution to urban open space needs. Restrictions by current physical and social frameworks separate park functions from cemeteries and prohibit cemeteries from urban centers. The reasons for the current physical and cultural separation that has occurred between urban dwellers and cemetery functions is only answered briefly as a side product in search of the answer to the main question of this thesis.

Question

In responding to the urban demands caused by increasing urban density, decision makers and planners are beginning to propose and implement creative solutions. The findings to the main question investigated in this thesis further contribute to those discussions. The research question to be answered is: **What are the opportunities and constraints that need to be considered if planners are to use cemeteries to meet public open-space demands in growing urban areas?**

Intent

The validity or appropriateness of using cemeteries as a public open-space tool to meet urban growth demands is not in question. However, the renewed awareness and

knowledge required to implement such tools is paramount at this time. The opportunities and constraints that all planners and decision makers must be aware of are critical for the championing of these invaluable spaces. One of the guiding intentions of the thesis is the hope that an understanding of the associated opportunities and constraints of cemeteries as open spaces will be more carefully considered in all long-range planning decisions.

This thesis is not limited to the simple identification of constraints and opportunities necessary in considering the use of cemeteries as urban open-space providers. As a result of thorough and methodic investigation, answers to intended and unintended questions have been found. It is the hope that these answers impart an understanding of the critical importance of cemeteries in meeting multiple community needs.

The results found in this investigation are applicable to the specific study of cemetery land-uses. In addition, the investigative process can be adapted and applied to many other underutilized and restricted land uses as urban planners continue to explore creative land-use solutions.

The investigation includes a literature review of all related and closely related subjects. The literature review uncovers a fragmented and limited number of academic discussions regarding the use of cemeteries as an open-space planning tool.

Cemeteries are the topic of wide-spread research in many subjects including history, geography, anthropology, archeology, theology, law, and ecology. Each of these disciplines looks at cemeteries through their own specific academic perspective with little consideration for other disciplines. As an example of a limited perspective, an ecologist

may view an old cemetery as an important habitat for lichens to grow undisturbed on the headstones, and their research may thus advocate that headstones not be cleaned in order to maintain these unique habitats (Rugg & Dunk 1994).

In contrast, city planners are responsible for staying up to date on all professional and academic discussions in order to maintain a holistic view. City planners must apply any new knowledge to best serve the public health, safety, and welfare (APA ethics). The planner does not have to become an expert in any of these areas but must have a basic understanding of these areas by constantly renewing and reviewing the current knowledge of related fields. Ken Worpole explains,

> It is clear that nearly all of the current literature dealing with urban and planning issues for the twenty-first century, the role and ritual space of the cemetery had been ignored. Yet anyone who has visited a churchyard, cemetery or crematorium garden – and we mostly visit these places at times of distress or upheaval – cannot but be overcome by the range of emotions that occur there and nowhere else in the natural landscape or the spaces of the city. Because these emotions are so powerful, and indeed basic to human identity, it seemed to me to be crucial to retain, and even enhance, the space of the cemetery in the city and the landscape (Worpole 2003, 7).

There are three rites of passage present in all human cultures: birth, marriage (pro-creation/partnership) and death. All three of these events have direct and observable impacts on our physical environment. The first two events are routinely thought about and planned for. Planners often speak of population growth impacts and providing

accessibility to all age populations. Conversely, the location and impacts of death on the landscape are not well documented (Zelinsky 1994, 30).

Parks, however, are continuously a topic of conversation in the context of city planning as they are central to the success and development of any city. Within the realm of urban studies public parks extend into many disciplines. They affect the political, social, economic, ecological, and physical aspect of every city in very identifiable ways. Cranz has explored the philosophical underpinnings of today's parks (Cranz 1982). Crompton has written extensively on park management complexities and the importance of parks in community engagement (Crompton 1999). Whyte has pioneered park studies from the perspectives of sociology and anthropology (Whyte 1968, 1988). McHarg has addressed Design and Ecology (McHarg 1969). Miller has outlined the economic value of urban vegetation (Miller 1988). Garvin has identified hundreds of parks that are the key to each surrounding community's success (Garvin 2011). The list is seemingly endless. Nevertheless, none of this work includes discussions of cemeteries despite the fact that cemeteries were the first organized open-spaces in America, and the fact that existing cemeteries today still possess many of the same capabilities to function as open-space as parks do. There is a definite gap in the literature that leaves planners with few resources to fully understand cemetery space and its value in the built environment.

Chapter Outline

The chapter organization of this thesis directly reflects the order and aim of the investigative process that led to the conclusions.

Chapters 2 and 3 outline a brief history of cemetery and urban park development in the context of American city planning. The way in which Americans have used and viewed the cemetery and park has developed as the planning and design of these places have changed. These two chapters address the outside influences that spurred change and note the subsequent effects of those changes. Both cemeteries and parks are addressed due to the interrelated and shared roles that parks and cemeteries have played throughout American history. This historic context discussed forms the foundation of an informed assessment of current conditions and will serve as a guide to future conditions.

Chapter 4 explores the separate roles of cemeteries and parks. The planning of cemetery land-uses alone poses many challenges for the planner. Those challenges or constraints are discussed here. The subsequent role that parks have taken on to meet urban open-space needs is also discussed. Identifying the challenges or constraints posed by urban growth as well as the constraints of planning for cemetery space and park space uncovers the potential opportunity for cemeteries to meet urban open-space needs. Questions of feasibility are raised here for further discussion.

Chapter 5 identifies the type of park functions that are compatible with cemetery functions. There are a number of types of cemetery and a much larger number of types of park in any given city. It would not be reasonable to suggest that all cemeteries can accommodate all park functions. There are specific types of cemeteries that provide more opportunities than others to contribute to urban open-space needs. By first identifying the different types of cemeteries and the different activities that occur commonly in parks, this thesis identifies those places and activities that are compatible. Furthermore, this chapter reviews three cemeteries as successful case studies. These cemeteries currently

function as urban public open-spaces and provide a guide for success in other urban areas. The case studies exhibit the accepted park-like functions that are possible within cemeteries providing a framework for future cemetery uses. The opportunities and constraints identified by these case studies are invaluable for the future development of these types of spaces in other urban areas.

Chapter 6 investigates the area in which planners can be most influential in facilitating cemeteries that function as urban open-spaces. Planning policy is identified as the key to overcoming the majority of land use constraints. A methodology for identifying planning policies is developed here and the planning policies of Greenville, South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, and Dallas, Texas are evaluated to represent the typical growing U.S. city. It is the aim of this chapter to identify the permissive and restrictive planning policies of each location and thus identify the areas where policy can be changed to allow the development of cemeteries that actively contribute to urban open-space needs.

Chapter 7 concludes the investigation by identifying the most critical opportunities and constraints of cemeteries as open-space. Suggestions as to how planners can turn these constraints into opportunities are given. Unanswered questions are also raised in anticipation of further research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF AMERICAN CEMETERIES IN THE CONTEXT OF CITY PLANNING

Using the historic Woodlawn Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois, as a metaphor for our cities, author John Mass intimately connects the city planner to the study of cemeteries:

> Woodlawn like other cemeteries has mansions (mausoleums) on large lots with grand approaches and slums (unmarked graves) on backstreets. There are single-family homes (ordinary graves) on winding suburban drives (walks) as well as apartment buildings (community mausolea and columbaria) on busy thoroughfares. There are even public buildings (gateways, chapels, offices) on squares and fashionable boulevards (Jackson & Vegara 1989).

This analogy speaks to the potential of cemeteries to educate and inform planners about the physical planning and design of cities. Further investigation may reveal that planners do not search for answers to current planning issues from cemeteries for fear that they may reveal an unsightly truth in past planning and design methods. Regardless, the importance of cemeteries must be realized if planners are to use these spaces to improve the communities that they serve.

One must first look at the history of cemeteries within the context of city planning to better understand how cemeteries have shaped current urban forms in the United States. In an attempt to understand the trends of cemeteries, the placement (i.e. physical siting), design, functions occurring within, and influential government regulations are discussed. As planners become aware of these trends in history they will be better able to

identify the current opportunities available as well as the constraints that must be overcome.

The practical need for cemeteries has existed since before the beginning of recorded history. However, "the role of burial has been far greater than just that practical act. Burial practices have provided a way of expressing ideas about human nature and destiny. From the earliest times, the disposition of the dead has been related to rituals that celebrate the miracle of life and cause reflection on the meaning of the end of life" (Llewellyn 1998). Author David Charles Sloan suggests that "the American cemetery is a window through which we can view the hopes, fears, and designs of the generation that created it and is buried within it" (Sloan 1991, 6). This notion is further expressed by historians Richard Francis Veit and Mark Nonestied. They maintain that "cemeteries, both artistically and culturally, are sensitive indicators of what is important and reflect larger cultural trends" (Veit 2008). In fact, one of the principle ways in which archeologists have learned about old civilizations is from their burial practices, such as the tombs of the pharaohs of Egypt and the burial mounds of the Anasazi Indians here in America (Llewellyn 1998). Lewis Mumford suggests that cemeteries probably preceded the first city;

> Soon after one picks up man's trail in the earliest campfire or chipped-stone tool one finds evidence of a ceremonious concern for the dead, manifested in their deliberate burial. Early man's respect for the dead perhaps had a greater role than more practical needs in causing him to seek a fixed meeting place and settlement. The dead were the first to have a permanent dwelling…The city of the dead

> antedates the city of the living and becomes the core of every living city (Mumford 1961, 67).

Mumford's intuition is confirmed by Keith Eggener in his book *Cemeteries*. The earliest-known ceremonial burials occurred approximately 120,000 years ago, 2.5 million years after early humans fashioned the first chipped-stone tools and 110,000 years before agriculture appeared (Eggener 2010).

The eminent geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, author of *Space and Place: the perspective of experience*, has termed the relation between burial, landscape and belief systems, geo-piety (Tuan 1977). This term accurately depicts the ancient significance in the spaces where burial has taken place. These places are a direct physical illustration of our beliefs and represent the way in which humans understand their connection to nature and the land.

Eggener notes that as people witness the deaths of others, they contemplate their own mortality. Death brings the prospect of oblivion, of social erasure. Recognition of this possibility "accounts for much of our fear of death, as well as the impulse to memorialize our loved ones and ourselves" (Eggener 2010). The anthropologist Bronsilaw Malinowski concludes that the fact of death itself was the principle source and inspiration for the many varieties of religious belief that have emerged throughout the history of the world (Malinowski 1960). This assertion alone signifies the importance that burial grounds have in human place-making. There is an obvious, yet often unconscious realization that landscapes of the dead are continually landscapes of the living.

The historic significance of our cemeteries is further verified by the large number of famous burial sites around the world that are frequently visited by tourists. The contemporary cemeteries that now seem insignificant may be the only remnants of our society in hundreds or thousands of years' time. This is realized when travelling, particularly in unfamiliar places, when many people find themselves drawn to these resting places of the dead, "feeling perhaps that these are the original authentic settlements of the world, enduring and timeless, tying us even closer to the landscape and perceived humanity of the world" (Worpole 2003, 23). Understanding the history of cemeteries offers citizens and planners some basis for making political and spatial choices about the future. Dolores Hayden, in *The Power of Place,* suggests that an understanding of the way that social history is embedded in our urban landscape "offers a context for greater social responsibility to practitioners in the design fields" (Hayden 1995, 43).

Cemeteries and American Cities 1600-1750:

Although the word 'cemetery' was not used in America until 1832, there have been burial grounds in American for hundreds of years, beginning with Native Americans (Greene 2008). The scope of this historic survey does not cover pre-colonial cemeteries; rather it focuses on the American cemetery from early colonial periods to the current day.

The first English settlers in America lived and died simply. The available means of energy and transportation did not permit for the highly organized cemeteries that developed later. Early settlers generally buried the deceased in whatever outdoor environment they expired, usually in rude graves marked with fieldstones or simple wooden crosses (Harris 2007, 174). When colonists began to cluster into the first

settlements “burial spaces were clustered with them” (Llewellyn 1998, 26). These burial grounds were directly conjoined with the town church, a pivotal social and physical construct.

In contrast to the contemporary reality of spending the last days of one’s life in a hospital, expected deaths in the early years of the Republic often took place in homes with the family attending to and “watching” the dying family member to the end. After death, community members gathered to wash and dress the body. The local cabinetmaker would fashion a coffin and the body would be returned to the home where the community gathered to wake the dead, staying with the corpse until burial. During this grieving process, the renewal of the communal bonds that were shaken by the loss of a member would form and serve to strengthen the community. If the service was not held in the home, pallbearers carried the coffin from the home to the church on their shoulders to the church graveyard (Harris 2007).

As a large portion of the population spread out to farm and lay claim to new lands, it became often impractical to transport the dead to a consecrated churchyard cemetery. The wide-open spaces of the American frontier led to a new solution: the family burial yard (Llewellyn 1998). The family burial yard was another part of the farm and this “pattern was held throughout the westward expansion of the country” (Llewellyn 1998). As the west increased in population and cities and towns formed, cemetery development paralleled that of the first colonies.

Moving Away from Urban Centers 1750-1830:

Sloan identifies and categorizes eight types of American cemeteries that continue to exist today (Figure 3). As Americans began to colonize in the late 17th century, five of Sloan's eight types of cemeteries were present; frontier, domestic, churchyard, potter's fields (for those who could not afford any other burial) and town or city cemeteries. The majority of burials occurred in churchyards, potter's fields, and town/city cemeteries, all of which were located within the city limits and mostly patterned after burial traditions in England (Sloan 1991, Llewellyn 1998). The Potter's fields for burial of indigents, exemplified by New York City burial grounds, arose from practical need. They were designed in geometric functional patterns and had only plain monuments, if any. Parallel to the Potter's fields were town or city cemeteries. These were designed more like formal gardens and had three dimensional markers, monuments, and sculpture to mark interment sites. Although Potter's fields were generally publicly owned by governing bodies where governments were strong, they occasionally occurred on family owned lands where governments did not have the resources to establish potter's fields. (Llewellyn 1998).

Characteristics of American Cemeteries							
Name	**Period**	**Design**	**Location**	**Manager**	**Primary Distinction**	**Paradigm**	**Examples**
Frontier graves	17th-20th c.	None	Site of Death	None	Isolate; no design	None	B. Nukerk, Syracuse, N.Y.
Domestic homestead graveyard	17th-20th c.	Geometric	Farm field	None	Small; family-owned; functional design	None	Farm burial ground New England and Mid-Atlantic
Churchyard	17th-20th c.	Geometric	Next to church	Part-time	Religious ownership; functional design	English churchyards	Trinity, New York City; St. Phillip's Charleston, S.C.
Potter's Field	17th-20th c.	Geometric	City borders	Sexton	Public ownership; functional design	Gospel according to St. Matthew	New York City burial grounds
Town/city cemetery	17th-20th c.	Formal garden	City borders	Sexton	Family- or government owned; formal design	New Haven Burying Ground	Dartmouth, Hanover, N.H.
Rural cemetery	1831-1870s	Picturesque, natural garden	Suburb	Trustee Superintendent	Private ownership; garden aesthetic; mausoleums	Mount Auburn, Cambridge, Mass. Pere Lachaise, Paris	Oakland, Atlanta Greenmount, Baltimore; Oakwood, Syracuse, N.Y.
Lawn-park cemetery	1855-1920s	Pastoral, parklike	Suburb	Trustee Entrepreneur Superintendent	Enrepreneurial; park-aesthetic; mausoleums	Spring Grove, Cincinati	Oak Woods, Chicago; Lakewood, Minneapolis
Memorial Park	1917-present	Pastoral, suburban	Suburb	Entrepreneur Sales manager Superintendent	Enrepreneurial; suburban aesthetic; mausoleums	Forest Lawn, Glendale, Calif.	Pinelawn, N.Y. Sharon, Mass.

Figure 3: American Cemeteries by Type

It has been suggested that the diminishing belief in an afterlife concurrent with eighteenth century Enlightenment developments in philosophy and science may have only strengthened a desire for earthly memorialization. Eggener explains the significance that grave sites have as not only a place for the dead but a place to keep the dead alive. “It is common for friends and family members to visit graves on birthdays, anniversaries, and holidays such as Memorial Day and All Saints’ Day. Thus physical death need not mean social death. A deceased person can remain vital, a part of the community, in the memories and actions of survivors” (Eggener 2010).

Sloan describes the cemetery as "once central to the urban scene, a necessary, but not necessarily a desirable, neighbor in the suburbs" (Sloan 1991, 2). This reflects the increasingly negative sentiment toward cemeteries as cities grew in population.

Only a couple of decades after the American Revolution (1776), growing towns began to locate graveyards on the outskirts of towns. "The popular city cemetery had grown so overcrowded with rotting corpses that some produced fetid odors that wafted into nearby neighborhoods and, according to prominent physicians of the day, spread disease-causing miasmas" (Harris 2007). The miasma theory was never proved, but it nonetheless spurred city officials and groups of private citizens to explore a healthier means of burial. "In 1796 the New Burying Ground Society of New Haven, Connecticut, was the first organization to set aside land outside of town to use for burials" (Greene 2008). This marked the first of many future efforts that led to the eventual banishment of many cemeteries from the city.

Cemeteries as Parks 1830-1900:

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century urban areas began to rapidly transform and grow. This is the first time in American history when a significant shift in rural to urban population becomes evident (Figure 4). Urban populations soon make up the majority by the 1900s. In response, the design, management and placement of cemeteries transformed. Spurring this change was the same confluence of cultural, social, and economic forces that wracked the age, including emerging industrialism, the civil war, and the entrenchment of a genteel code of conduct (Harris 2007). The genteel code of conduct, first espoused by the British upper-middle class, was soon adopted by the colonial elite in America. The sophistication thus required was not only expressed by

fashionable clothing, and handsome estates, but also funeral and burial customs which exhibited such fine taste. This meant sending a loved one off in a handsome hardwood coffin adorned with silver handles, breast plates, and other hardware. At the funeral black gloves and scarves were worn while hired hands carried the body (Harris 2007).

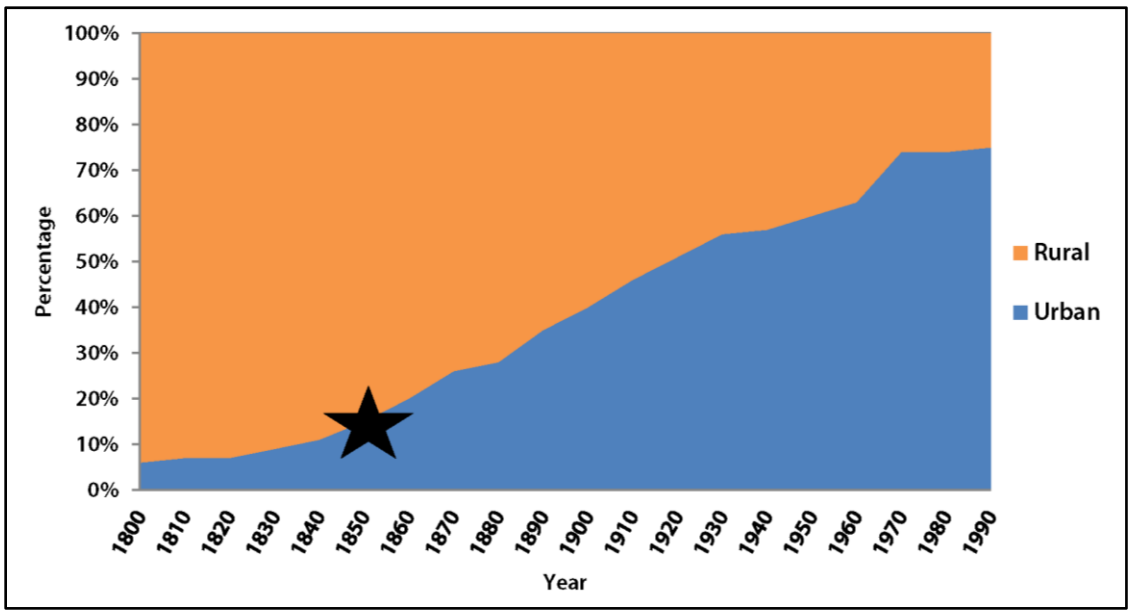

Figure 4: Point of Significant Change in US Urban/Rural Population 1800-1990

American cities began to be consumed with industry, which purged them of all natural effects. As Bender points out, "Instead of trying to blend city and country, Americans granted cities their essential urbanity, and insisted upon easy periodic access to nature. In place of a continuous middle landscape, the American landscape would be defined as a counterpoint between Art and Nature, city and country" (1974, 200).

Of European influences, one in particular had a significant influence on American cemetery design and development. Beginning in France in 1804, Napoleon outlawed burials in churches and required every urban community to establish a public cemetery at least 130 feet outside its boundaries. The decree led to the retrofitting of a rural garden,

Pere Lachaise, into a public cemetery (Fleming 1999). Pere Lachaise was said to be imitated by Bigelow's design of Mount Auburn Cemetery (1831) in Boston (Jackson & Vergara 1996; Basmajian & Coutts 2010).

Throughout Europe and the U.S., many of the churchyard burial facilities were running out of space as early as the mid-1700's. Burial space within city limits was becoming increasingly limited (Llewellyn 1998). The issue fell to governments to solve as the majority of nations had no separation of church and state at the time. In fact, London because of its size and related death rate, forced the issues of burial space on its populace. After several failed attempts at corrective action, almost all the churchyard cemeteries were closed in 1855. The Burial Act of 1855 marked the beginning of cemetery development in Great Britain (Llewellyn 1998). Today, Great Britain is the only European state that does not maintain government control and management of their burial grounds. Similar legislation in America was taking place just ten years before Mount Auburn's opening. In 1823, New York City's common council passed a law preventing any further burials within specified areas within the city to take place in the name of public health, and similar legislation was passed "in cities from Charleston to Boston, [in] response to the failure of medicine and government to alleviate yellow fever outbreaks" (Sloan 1991, 35). There is no known evidence that cemetery conditions were the actual cause of these outbreaks and epidemics. Cemetery health standards today have improved and are no longer a threat to public health. The perception that cemeteries cause spread of disease prevailed for many years. The majority of these legislations are still valid today despite the fact that cemeteries no longer pose a threat to public health.

There was also a period in the nineteenth century during which garden designers and decision makers were influenced by transcendental thought (Wolshke-Bulmahn 1997). One of the most influential transcendental writers of the time, Ralph Waldo Emerson, believed that "nature—attunement with it, contemplation of it, immersion in it was thought to train the spirit" (Cranz 1989). The period around 1830 and 1840 marked a change in attitudes as industrialization continued to infiltrate cities. Transcendental ideals provided a relief from city ails and a deeper spiritual reflection of life in general.

This period is important to not only the development of cemeteries in America, but also to the development of the planning and landscape design profession in general. Many of the pioneers in landscape architecture and planning began by designing rural cemeteries. Proponents from this era of professional practice, from the 1830s to the turn of the century, included such pioneers (and projects) as Jacob Bigelow (1787-1879, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass. (Figure XX)), Henry A.S. Dearborn (1783-1851, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Boston, Mass.), John Notman (1810-1865, Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pa.), Adolph Strauch (1822-1883, Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio), Alexander Wadsworth (Woodlawn Cemetery, Chelsea, Mass.), and Downing Vaux (1856-1926, Rose Hill Cemetery, Hartford, Conn.) (Birnbaum 2000). These are the people who believed that "burying and commemorating the dead was best done in a tranquil and beautiful natural setting" (mountauburn.org) and, ideally, one designed for the living. Bigelow's design "articulated the philosophical, aesthetic, and practical rationale for a naturalistic, multifunctional place" (Birnbaum 2000).

With the opening of Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831 the Rural Cemetery Movement was born, which became the model for cemetery design until the 1870's

(Figure 5: Mount Auburn Cemetery Plan (Eggener 2010, 92)) (Sloan 1991). Mount Auburn became so popular that it was Boston's chief antebellum tourist attraction, a "pleasure ground in the absence of public parks" (Birnbaum 2000). It has since been designated a National Historic Landmark by the Department of the Interior, which recognizes it as one of the country's most significant cultural landscapes (mountauburn.org). Other Notable rural cemeteries include New York City's Greenwood Cemetery (Figure 6: Greenwood Cemetery (Eggener 2010, 95)) (1838), Lowell Cemetery in Massachusetts (1841), Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati (Figure 7: Spring Grove Cemetery Plan (Eggener 2010, 107)) (1845), and Oakland Cemetery (1864) in California (Fleming, 1999; Sloan, 1991). "These pastoral pleasure grounds provided a place where visitors could escape the grime and bustle of urban life for the serenity of a garden displaying the best in art and architecture" (Jackson and Vergara 1996, 5). Designed for the enjoyment of the living, rural cemeteries played an important role as a precursor to the American urban park movement.

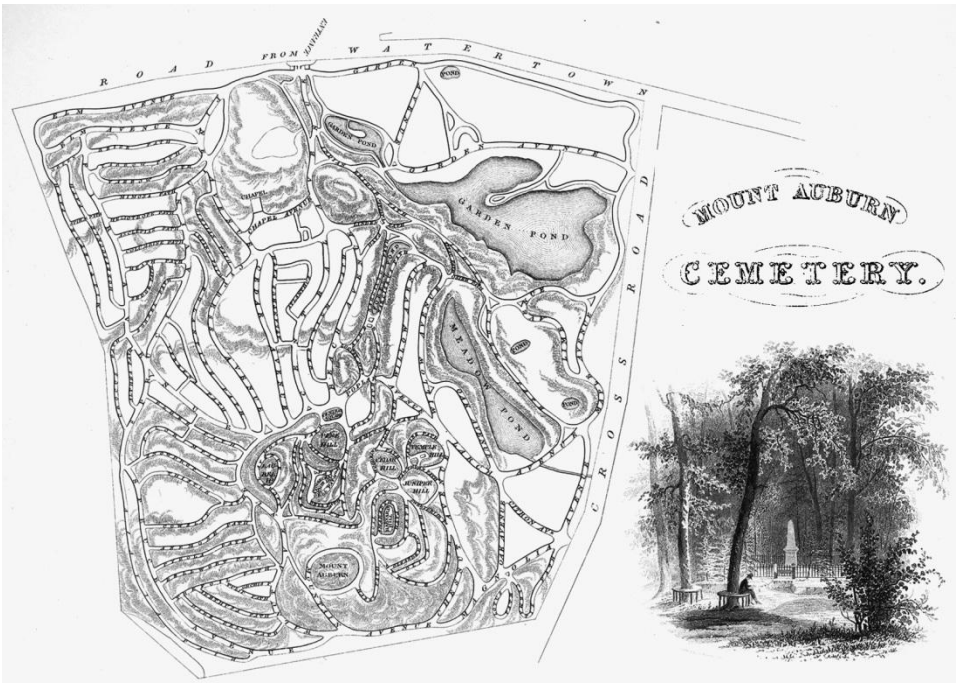

Figure 5: Mount Auburn Cemetery Plan (Eggener 2010, 92)

Figure 6: Greenwood Cemetery (Eggener 2010, 95)

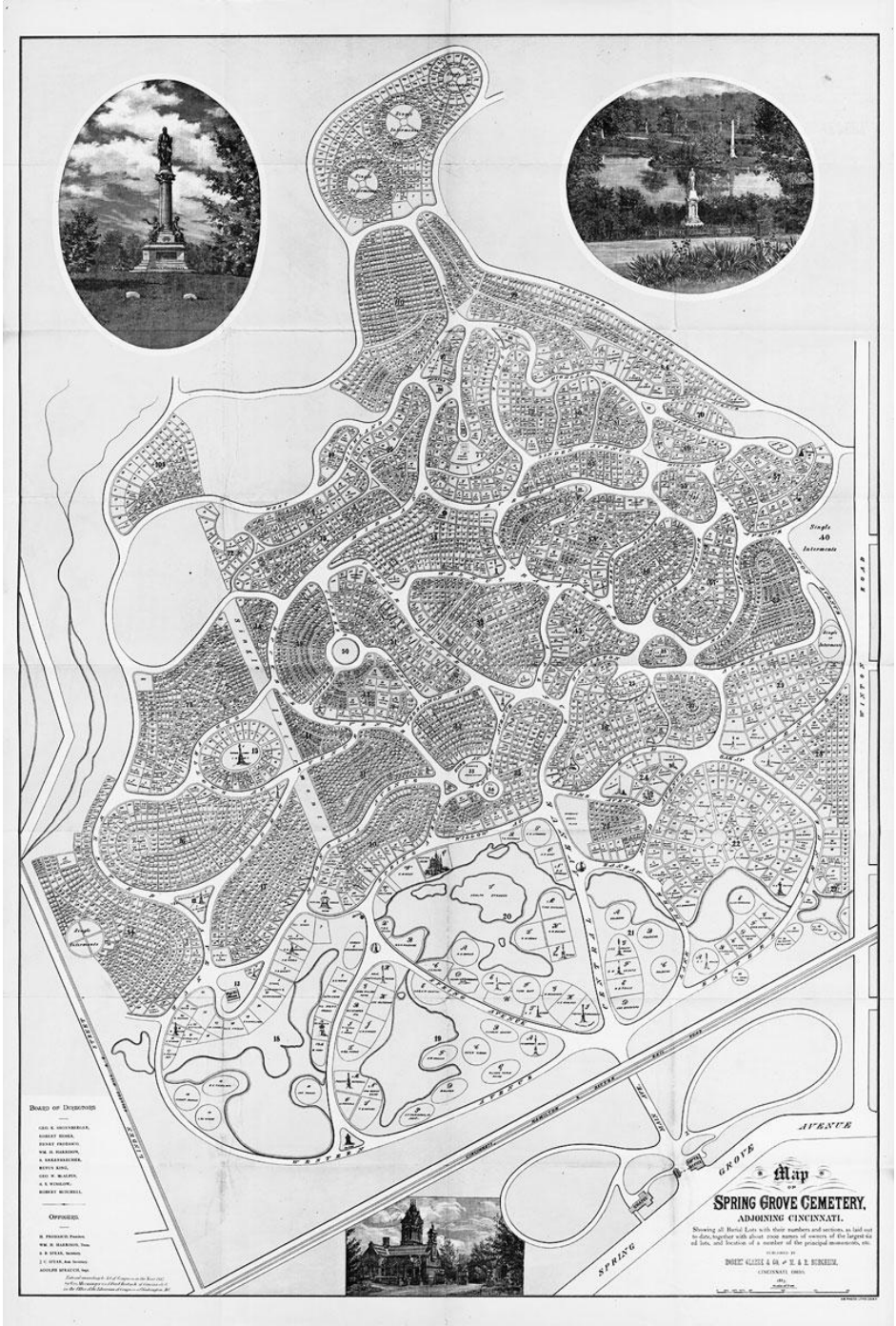

Figure 7: Spring Grove Cemetery Plan (Eggener 2010, 107)

The structure of cemeteries continued to change and evolve. In the late 1850's Adolph Strauch transformed Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio, by restricting the placement of large monument-style gravestones in order to produce an unobstructed

view of the lawn and reduce maintenance costs. American mechanized and standardized monument production, along with an increase in professional funeral management, created a further cultural distance between the living and the dead. "The twentieth-century cemetery was renamed the *memorial park* by founders who wished to obscure the morbid connotations they believed the public perceived in the word *cemetery*" (Sloan 1991, 5). Opening in 1913, Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California, is known as the first memorial park, providing the model for the modern commercialized cemetery.

The early rural cemeteries were promoted as alternatives to the commercial cities they served, yet many nineteenth-century cemeteries were in fact established by openly commercial endeavors. As early as the 1850s, people were coming to realize cemeteries as profitable real-estate ventures. "Cemeteries became, in effect, suburban subdivisions for the dead, with expanded figures of graves per acre and significant earnings for those supporting them" (Eggener 2010).

Inaccessible 1900-Today:

The burial process and the cemetery landscape saw further streamlining and commercialization in the twentieth century with the rise of full-service memorial parks. Bodies have become, in a sense, "commodities, ultimately generating substantial revenues for embalmers, funeral directors, cemetery corporations, and others" (Eggener 2010). Today there are a handful of multinational corporations such as, Service Corporation International, which currently has the largest holdings of funeral homes and cemeteries in the United States (Greene 2008).

A certain cultural denial of death occurred in America as cemeteries and funeral homes became more a part of industry and less a part of the community. Many cultural geographers agree with Aries explanation that "it is probable that the denial of death is too much a part of the pattern of industrial civilization" (Aries 1974). Eggener further points out that "We see this denial in our peculiar funereal rituals and spaces – embalming and cosmetic restoration of the corpse, memorial homes and parks located well outside town and void of nearly all over references to death" (2010). The physical relationship between cities and cemeteries has continued to change. Harvey observes the morphology of urban areas in relationship to cemeteries. He notes that "old cemeteries were typically a fringe-belt land use in American cities. Established on what were, at the time, the outskirts of the built-up areas, many cemeteries are now surrounded by urban development and have become intimate parts of the urban fabric through annexations of outlying territory" (Harvey 2006).

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF AMERICAN URBAN PARKS IN THE CONTEXT OF CITY PLANNING

When considering the use and history of cemeteries, it is impossible to ignore the influence that cemetery design and planning has had on the development of our current day public parks. Further, if cemeteries are to become vital parts of the urban open-space plans, they must function within the same open-space system that parks do. In effect, the line dividing cemeteries and parks should be blurred, but this cannot occur without identifying how the line has moved in the past.

Galen Cranz divides the history of urban parks in America into four periods: the Pleasure Ground of 1850-1900, the Reform Park of 1900-1930, the Recreation Facility of 1930-1965, and the Open Space System of 1965 to today. She investigates the purpose and goals of parks throughout each of these time periods. The following historic review follows Cranz's method of categorization, but is derived from multiple sources.

The history of deliberate and popular park planning can be traced back to the mid-1600s when French landscape designer Andre Le Notre was commissioned by Louis XIV to lay out the parterres at the Tuileries (Garvin 2011). The following history of park planning will focus on urban areas within the United States from the mid-1800s to early 1900s, at a time when there was a rising demand for parks. There will, however, be occasional mention of influential events that occurred outside said parameters.

City populations at this time were increasing more quickly than housing could be built for them; manufacturing was growing more quickly than the infrastructure that was needed to handle the increased traffic and waste. Living conditions at the time were so congested and sanitary practices so primitive that epidemic diseases were an increasing threat and reality (Gavin 2011; Cranz 1989; Jellicoe 1979).

Rural Cemetery Movement: Precursor to Urban Park Planning

The strongest connection between parks and cemeteries can be seen during the rural cemetery movement. Eggener notes the influence of this movement:

> While the new rural cemeteries were in one sense sacred precincts isolating death from the world of the living, they were also popular attractions serving as scenic retreats for city residents and visitors alike. Their popularity and approach to planning contributed significantly to the emergence of new public parks and residential subdivisions, and to the professionalization of landscape architecture in the United States (2010).

Boyer, among others, suggest that "American urban public parks developed from a blending of two traditions – rural landscape parks and urban public space…Aesthetically complex, landscape-park principles were first applied to rural American cemeteries in the 1830s and two decades later to the urban park" (Boyer 2001).

It seems as though the initial public cry for naturalized open space was only temporarily satisfied by the rural cemetery movement. The role of cemeteries as places for the public to escape the grime and congestion of the city was all but lost in the commercialization and sterility of the cemeteries designed in the second half of the 19th

century and after. This role was quickly picked up by the urban park movement. The urban park movement came with a shift in American attitudes. While the rural cemeteries demonstrated a complete physical separation of city and country the urban park movement brought the country into the city.

Emerson and Transcendentalism continued to play an instrumental role in park design and planning throughout the second half of the 19th century. "The softened popular version of transcendentalist ideals attributed virtues to the things found in nature like trees and meadows that could be transplanted or duplicated by human ingenuity and paved the way for park propaganda and park design theory" (Cranz 1989, 7).

The Pleasure Grounds (1850-1900) are identified as the remedy to urban life. Generally large (300 acres or more), these parks were designed with curved pathways, natural landscaping, open meadows and lawns. One of the first pleasure grounds, New York's Central Park (1858) designed by Vaux and Olmsted, became the model and inspiration for numerous other parks during this era. Intended to stimulate worker's minds with fresh air and sunlight, many of these parks were located on the fringes of cities, out of the reach of those who lacked the time and transportation to access these spaces (Boyer 2001, Cranz 1989).

With the increase of city dwellers' free time and the turn-of-the-century progressive attitude, the Reform Park era (1900-1930) was born. The need for structure overshadowed the transcendental ideals that encouraged the Pleasure Ground. The Reform parks were smaller and located closer to the interiors of the city, and in contrast to the Pleasure Grounds, they facilitated scheduled and organized activities. Containing

playgrounds, sport courts, field houses, and swimming pools these parks were designed for utility rather than beauty. Attitudes of designer and park administrators in this era did include an “idealistic effort to use parks as a mechanism for social reform” (Cranz 1989).

The Recreation Facility era (1930-1965) abandoned the idealistic notion that parks were tools promoting citizenship and ethics. Park officials around the country adopted the attitude that they no longer had to justify parks and that recreation had been accepted as an essential of life.

This era was characterized by the integration of parks with community services such as day care, schools, and the local housing authority. While this systems approach led to citywide and parks master planning, Cranz notes that a shift to bureaucracy resulted in fewer services focused on the park user and his/her welfare but instead, ... the park department took on a life of its own and came to be committed first of all to its own maintenance and enhancement (p. 109). The author cites unemployment following the Great Depression, patriotism for foreign wars, and later, the development and growth of suburbs as factors that drove demand for development. In contrast to previous eras, these activities occurred not at parks, but at recreation facilities (Cranz 1989).

The fourth era, The Open Space system, was thought to dominate from 1965 until the book's publication in 1981. As a reaction to the playgrounds, parkways, stadiums and parking lots of the Recreation Facility era, a movement for open space in urban eras was advocated as early as 1960. Pocket parks were created in vacant lots, campaigns were mounted to restore natural areas, and designers struggled to create spaces that offered both contrast from the city and allowed a natural flow with the city. Popular culture,

politics and art exhibits were apparent in parks for the first time in this era, although Cranz notes that their inclusion was contested.

By understanding the ways in which we have used public spaces to improve our quality of life allows planners to continually recognize changes in culture and provide solutions for the future. Overarching trends can be further researched allowing a more accurate evaluation of current conditions and more accurate prediction of future constraints and opportunities. Current conditions must first be explored to confirm that cemeteries are appropriately suited to serve as public open-space.

CHAPTER 4

A HISTORY CULMINATED: CURRENT CONDITIONS EXPANDED

This chapter explores the separate roles of cemeteries and parks. The planning of cemetery land-uses alone poses many challenges for the planner today. History allows us to better understand the current day challenges in planning. The specific challenges or constraints associated with cemeteries and parks are discussed here. The subsequent role that parks have taken on to meet urban open-space needs is also discussed. Identifying the challenges or constraints posed by urban growth as well as the constraints of planning for cemetery space and park space uncovers the potential opportunity for cemeteries to meet urban open-space needs. Questions of feasibility are raised here for further discussion.

Cemeteries in the City Plan

Worpole, in his book *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West*, succinctly describes the current overarching conditions that history has yielded. He states;

> Death is more normalized and integrated into the domestic economy. In general terms, the longstanding relationship between 'life space' and 'burial space' is in some parts of the world, becoming attenuated by the rise of cremation, modern funeral practices and the geographical displacement of new cemeteries out to the suburbs or urban fringes (Worpole 2003, 30).

The normalization of death and "geographical displacement" of cemeteries is a significant constraint if these places are to become public open-spaces within an urban area. Planners that seek to use these places must overcome both cultural and geographic boundaries if cemeteries are to be used to their full potential. The fading reality of death and cultural insignificance of these spaces in the minds of the public is most likely strengthened by the physical location of cemeteries within our cities. The face of death is in the cemetery and the cemetery has been slowly moved out of our daily conscience through the careless placement of these places. This cultural sentiment has not always been the case. History provides evidence that when cemeteries are present in our daily lives they are appreciated and even hallowed. In the late nineteenth century George-Eugene Haussmann, a civic planner, was commissioned by Napoleon III to plan the renovation of Paris. The plan "proposed to close the existing cemeteries of inner Paris in the late nineteenth century and remove the bodies to newly created cemeteries beyond the city in order to fulfill his remodeling of the capital's streets and boulevards" (Worpole 2003). Consequently the crowds protested in the streets with the cry "Pas de cimetiere, pas de cite!" meaning, "no cemetery: no city!". The people of Paris understood the importance of cemeteries and understood that without the cemeteries there could be no city. The importance of these places should be remembered and it is the planner who has the ability to remind the public of this importance.

William Whyte, in *The Last Landscape*, speaks of cemeteries as an "under-use that will not be easily resolved in dense urban areas that expect to see future growth". He calls them "the most frustrating open spaces to contemplate" in the city (Whyte 1968). He observes that they take up a large amount of the overall open-space within the city.

"Many a planner has toyed with the thought of all the good things that could be done with the land were there a relocation effort. Those who are wise have kept the idea to themselves. Title problems are immense, and the whole subject politically explosive" (Whyte 1968).

Whyte's observation of the challenges associated with cemetery land use continues to be valid today. His solution simply relocating these uses to make room for better uses may seem to be the easiest way to side-step these constraints. Pushing these spaces further from our cities would only temporarily resolve any planning issue associated with this type of land-use. This approach only compounds planning issues and leave a mess to be cleaned up by future planners. Facing the challenges that cemeteries pose is the only way to turn these constraints into opportunities. The time to discuss these constraints is now.

Unlike European planning practices, cemeteries are rarely discussed in the context of city planning within America. Planners of European nations are tasked with the disposal of their deceased. Therefore most European cemeteries are government owned and managed, with the exception of those in Britain (Basmajian & Coutts 2010; Jackson & Vergara 1996, Barrett 2001). American planning literature that discusses the issue of disposal is limited in comparison. Of the few extant, Carlton Basmajian and Christopher Coutts, both of who are Urban and Regional Planners have most recently brought light to the subject in the context of planning in their article "Planning for the Disposal of the Dead". Coutts and Basmajian address a number of increasingly popular alternatives to traditional cemeteries, investigate the potential socio-political trends that may have an effect on the future of cemeteries, and suggest approaches for the profession of planning.

They argue that cemeteries cause four main public issues: “First, their sensitive contents make burial grounds essentially permanent… Second, burial facilities are often perceived as nuisances… Third, burial and cremation produce both positive and negative environmental externalities... Fourth, greater expected numbers of deaths in coming decades will make it more difficult for communities to accommodate human remains” (Basmajian & Coutts 2010, 306).

An average of 2.5 million Americans die each year (NVSR, 59, 2, 2010). Not all of these deaths can be expected to result in burials. The most common form of body disposal is to embalm and bury the body (Prothero 2001, 2). In 2007, 70% of the deaths in the United States used caskets and were accompanied by some type of ritual or ceremony (National Funeral Directors Association, 2007). The second most popular method is cremation. The Cremation Association of America reports that cremation is expected to rise to 36% in 2010 and 43-51% in 2025 (CANA). Cremation has much less impact on the physical urban form of the city, but as populations continue to rise there is still be need for some amount of land to care for the dead. Some evidence suggests that this need for space will be significantly higher as the “demographic bubble of baby boomers move towards mortality age over the next three decades” (Frey, 2007). Alternatives to traditional burial such as cremation will account for some of the increased demand without a noticeable increase in space needed, but the majority of people will continue to expect embalmed burial with spacious plots in cemeteries (Kellaher 2005, 248). Although planners in the United States have very little authority in decisions about the amount of land needed for burials or the way in which disposal should occur, these decisions do ultimately effect community development and overall welfare. Planners

work to meet community needs and facilitate sustainable community growth. As burial space is a necessary component to serve any healthy community, it is vital for community leaders and planners to ensure that burial space is responsibly planned for and carried out.

There are currently few standardized publications that serve to guide planners in forecasting the demand and land use implications of burial grounds (Basmajian & Coutts 2010). The Planning Advisory Service (PAS) report entitled "Cemeteries in the City Plan" (American Society of Planning Officials 1950) and "The Multiple use of Cemeteries"(American Society of Planning Officials 1972) both contain data that is obsolete, but do convey some factors to considered when projecting local needs for cemetery space that may still be applicable today. Eminent domain and perpetuity are discussed as tools that can be used by governments to relocate or revive a cemetery to better serve the public need (American Society of Planning Officials 1950). Most recently Eminent Domain was used by West Virginia's Division of Highway Officials to relocate a number of cemeteries to make room for constructions of the Coalfield Expressway (www.virginiadot.org). The massive expense of relocating graves sites further supports the need to include cemeteries within long range planning objectives. Planners and decision makers who wish to include cemeteries in the long range plans are left with few resources and guidelines that are increasingly becoming obsolete.

Nevertheless, Zelinsky points out that, "In few of the many maps and drawings of nineteenth-century American cities that I have recently examined is the cemetery an integral part of the initial plan… when the cemetery did come into being in plan or in actuality, it was obviously an after-thought" (Zelinsky 1976, 172). Over 25 years later,

"[c]emeteries are rarely a part of comprehensive plans, revitalization plans, or community conversations" (Basmajian & Coutts 2010, 306)

Valerie Capels & Wayne Senville, in "Planning for Cemeteries" (2006), address some of the general challenges that come with estimating and planning for cemeteries. These include forecasting burial needs, assessing the capacity of existing cemeteries, and dealing with the politically unpopular need to expand cemeteries in urban areas. There is no single organization that tracks the development of cemeteries or central database that identifies the location, size, or capacity of existing or planned cemeteries. Many cemeteries "have policies that limit certain types of interments, and may also choose not to be forthcoming with information about their capacity or future plans" (Capels 2006). Cemeteries owned by local governing bodies are more transparent and make available their public capacity and death records. There is also no central database that can be used to understand the basic demographics of death. Accurate public death rates cannot be obtained because it is not required to report a death or the type and location of that body disposal. Creating an existing conditions report that marks the specific number, size, and capacity of each cemetery within a community is needed to plan for future burial space. A community death registry may also be necessary in tracking community death trends and forecasting need.

Pattison's (1955) investigation of Chicago cemeteries is one of the first and most thorough studies of the specific number, location and distribution of cemeteries in a large metropolitan area. Harvey's (2006) study of the City of Portland's cemeteries as urban land use is another rare example. Harvey's investigation was inspired by another

geographer, Wilbur Zelinsky, who has written extensively about the geography of the American religious landscape since 1962.

In a study published by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development entitled "Cemeteries as Open Space Reservations" (1970, it was estimated that almost two million acres of land in the United States were occupied by cemeteries (HUD 1970). With a current US population of 310 million and growing there is a significant shortage of space designated for burial (US Census 2010). Lehrer notes that "the problem, however, is not the amount of land being used for burials, but rather that much of this land is choice urban property" (Lehrer 1974, 182). Choice urban property is further explained by Lehrer to be land that is best suited for cemeteries which cannot be better used for any other use. One criterion for locating cemeteries is its proximity to population centers. "Cemeteries must be located within easy commuting distance of population centers – a necessity which the courts have protected" (Lehrer 1974).

The most recent and comprehensive legal document on planning for cemeteries was published by the Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law. The note entitled "Cemetery Land Use and The Urban Planner" summarizes the typical legal framework within which the urban planner must work. He notes that challenges can be divided into two separate categories; "*where and how to locate proposed cemeteries; and how to deal with pre-existing cemeteries in urban areas*" (Lehrer 1974, 181). Lehrer's article, despite being written over twenty-five years ago, covers many of the same land use regulation tools used today including, zoning, police power, and eminent domain relative to cemetery land uses. In addition, Lehrer highlights some innovative solutions to the demand for more burial land.

One formulated in Basel, Switzerland in 1919, called Hornli Gottesacker, proposed choosing a large 125-acre plot of land on which all future burials for the city would be made. All existing cemeteries were to be maintained for fifty years and then to become property of the state. All burials would then be made at the cities expense for twenty years, at which time the grave would be reused for the next person. This would supposedly solve all cemetery land use issues. A similar plan was actually implemented in San Francisco in reaction to "legislation enacted in 1923 to remove all cemeteries from the city and prohibit future burials. Most of the graves were moved to Colma, on the outskirts of San Francisco… this small town soon became a necropolis or cemetery city (Lehrer 1974, 196). As of December 2006, Colma's population was around 1500 living residents and approximately 1.5 million deceased (US census, American Fact Finder).

The rules and regulations that govern burial vary between cities, states, and region. "In most places, cemetery owners retain considerable latitude in how they plan, build, and operate their burial grounds… [L]ocal governments tend to rely on a rather basic approach, simply describing the zoning categories in which cemeteries can be built and specify minimum lot sizes and setbacks" (Basmajian & Coutts 2010, 308). As the majority of cemeteries are privately owned, there are limited tools that planners can use to make decisions about where, how, and when cemeteries will be built. Zoning regulations restrict cemeteries to certain areas within a city but, generally, cemeteries are a permissible use within other zoning designations such as commercial or retail zones. Cemeteries do not generally have their own designation. However, without sufficient data to predict the amount of land needed for burial, planners are left to react to market forces rather than anticipate and facilitate solutions.

It may be the case that there is a certain level of cultural aversion toward the discussion of burial and death. The unease this topic can evoke may be the culprit behind our lack of planning for these spaces. As planners we innately believe that the worst plan is no plan. We must be aware of the cultural aversion towards death and present the benefits that cemeteries bring to communities. One indicator of the specific cultural aversion to cemeteries is the perceived land value of adjacent property owners. Studies of cemetery proximity have shown that they neither raise nor lower nearby property values. In fact the numbers of people who view cemeteries adjacent to their homes as a "calm beauty" are typically equal to those who find adjacent cemeteries upsetting (Harnik 2010, 125).

Forecasting a measure of how many deaths are likely to occur in a specific region or city is also difficult due to an unpredictable "population mobility" (Zelinsky 1971). "Sustained levels of population movement have made it difficult to predict mortality for small areas and the associated capacity to accommodate human remains" (Basmajian & Coutts 2010, 307). Some demographers and planners have started to claim that demands for communities that are more compliant to age diversity, and which enable people to live, age and die in one place, are rising (Frey 2007). This would make forecasting mortality for urban areas more clear, but factors that cause populations to migrate is still fairly unpredictable (Rogerson & Kim 2005). Demographers predict that there may be a significant spike in death rates as the large baby boomer cohort reach average life expectancy of seventy-eight years between 2024 and 2042 (Figure 8) (Frey 2007). To further complicate the forecast of cemetery needs, there are recent trends that indicate increasing popularity of cremation and other methods of disposal. As recently as the

1950s, only around 4% of Americans preferred cremation over burial (American Society of Planning Officials, 1950), but it rose in popularity slightly during the 1960s (Sanders 2008), and rose to 15% of all disposal of deceased by 1990, 25% by 2000, and is projected to rise to 36% in 2010 and 43–51% by 2025 (Cremation Association of North America 2005; National Funeral Directors Association 2005). Basmajian and Coutts predict that the total national area needed to account for the baby boomers will be around eighty square miles. They assume an average cemetery plot size of four by twelve feet and that 49% of the total 76 million baby boomers will choose a traditional burial over cremation (Basmajian and Coutts 2010). It is not possible, however, to determine how much of this space needs to be in the form of newly developed cemeteries since there is no way to know how much space is currently available in U.S. cemeteries. Planners must rely on the expertise of geographers and demographers to advance prediction methods that result in more accurate estimates of the number, location, and preferred burial methods in the future.

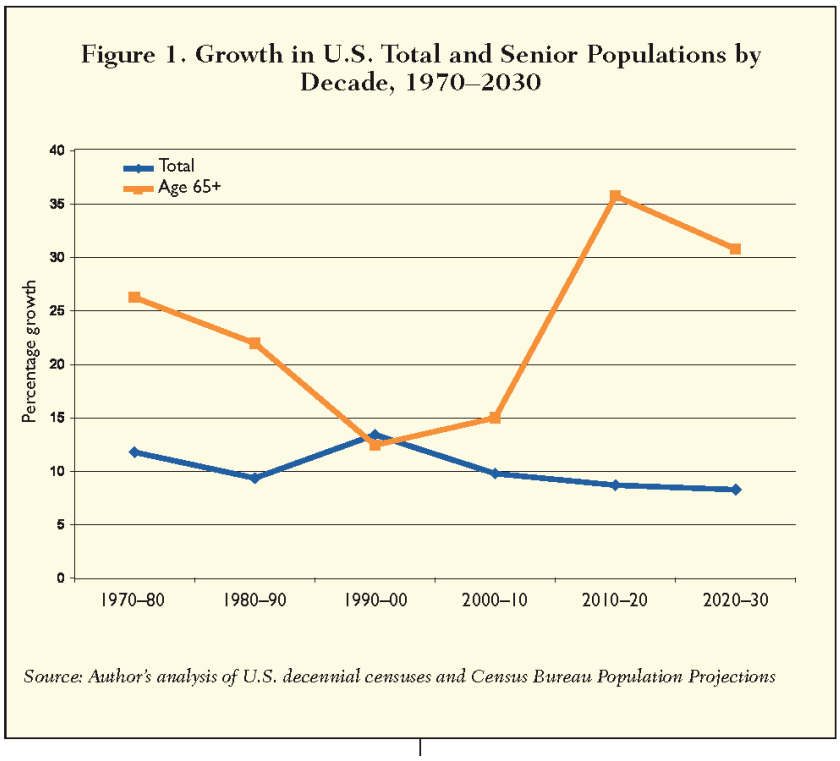

Figure 8: Growth in US Total and Senior Pop by Decade

There are rising concerns that many of the modern end-of-life rituals are not the most ecologically sensitive burial options available. Concerns include the use of the carcinogenic chemical formaldehyde used in the majority of embalming fluids (Harris, 2007). The reduction of energy used and waste produced in the manufacturing and production of many burial accessories is also now advocated by the Green Burial Council (greenburialcouncil.org). These are just two of the ecological constraints that planners must be aware of if cemeteries are to be frequented by the public.

One of the largest constraints for planners is the fact that cemeteries are generally privately owned. It may be the case that private cemetery businesses cannot make financial gains and stay competitive if they are also providing park-like open-space functions for the public. The president of Spring Grove Cemetery and Arboretum,

Andrew J. Conroy attests to this challenge. "Not very long ago, a cemetery could be administered with a caretaker mentality and still survive. That is no longer the case. In this day of cemetery conglomerates, smart consumers, and a difficult labor market, administrators who manage their property like a park, rather than the tough business that it is, simply will not survive" (Llewellyn 1998). The economic constraints not only limit private cemetery owners to the simple land use functions of burial and memorialization, but also impose an incentive for those businesses to purchase land where it is most affordable. This consequently does not allow cemeteries to develop within urban cores where the cemetery would be most accessible to the majority of the citizens that it serves. Likewise, it is difficult for existing cemeteries to thrive where urban development has grown around them over time and thus raise land value and property taxes. However, in many cities and states, cemeteries are exempt from many property taxes. The economic determinates that encourage or discourage cemetery development should be understood by planners.

When a cemetery business fails the corporate entity may go away but the land use does not. They often become nuisances, eyesores, and financial burdens to their communities (Uslu 2009, Llewellyn 1998). A privately owned cemetery business that is in danger of failing presents the opportunity for some type of public private cooperation. Preventing failures or abandonments of cemeteries should be a concern for any community as these spaces are essentially permanent. Cemeteries that are abandoned or dilapidated can be restored to provide economic and social value to their surrounding communities if capitalized on (Uslu 1991).

Cecelia Paine has identified the existing landscape conditions of cemeteries that have been abandoned in Ontario, Canada. She suggests an initial process that considers fiscal restraints to encourage long-term revitalization and conservation of these valuable spaces. The diagram below identifies the issues that must be taken into account when municipalities take on the management of abandoned cemeteries (Figure 9) (Paine 1992).

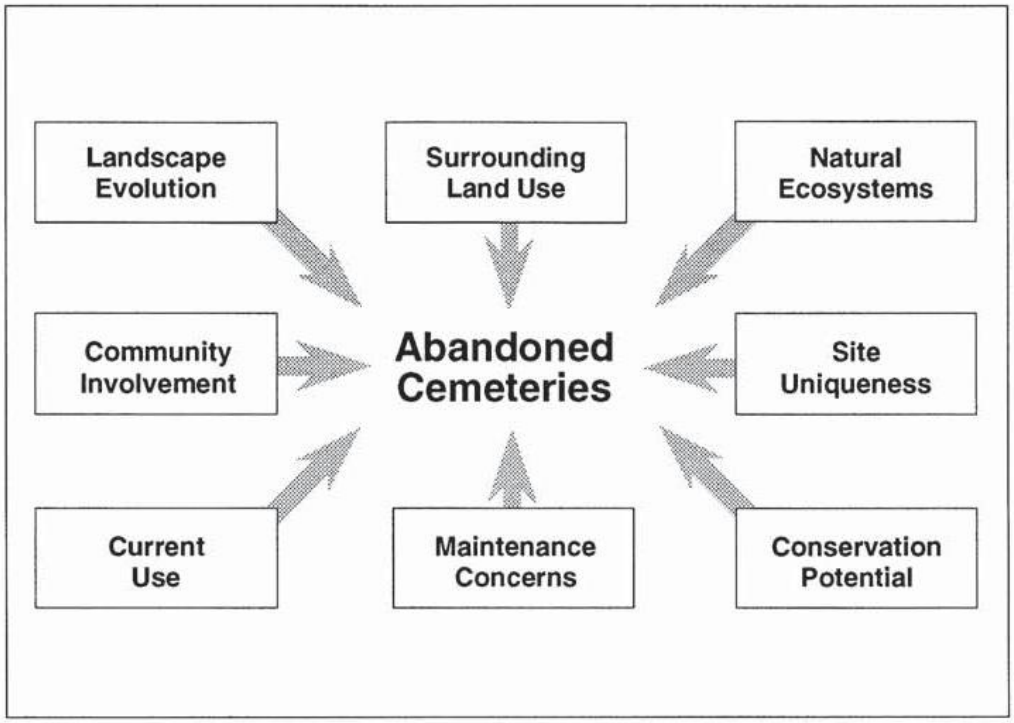

Figure 9: Management Issues of Abandoned Cemeteries

There are few private cemetery owners who understand the overall responsibility they have to their surrounding communities. John Llewellyn is one of few who understand this commitment. In his book, *A Cemetery Should be Forever*, declares that he is "committed to the responsibility that cemeteries have to families through successive generations", and believes that they "continue to have a valuable role in our changing society" (Llewellyn 1998, xvi). He is one of the few cemetery owners and managers that

hold themselves to a higher standard. This presents an opportunity for planners to lend support and incentives that encourage a sense of stewardship within the cemetery business. Specific opportunities to achieve this are discussed later.

As spaces within our city with relative permanence, the location of these areas should be a major consideration in the long-term planning goals and objectives. The design and placement of these places has deeper implications than that of others due to this permanence. The cemeteries that have been poorly designed and situated may be a detriment to the communities around them for many generations. Whether it is the eyesore that continually turns development away, or the political and economic turmoil that can be caused by a cemetery if it is for example located in an area that is blocking a future transportation artery , the unplanned cemetery can be one of the largest impediments to healthy community growth. Examples

Urban Parks in the City Plan

Alexander Garvin in his most recent book, *Public Parks: the key to livable communities*, notes that throughout the past two centuries parks have evolved to become "an important part of the complex, modern metropolitan infrastructure that supports the physical, social, and mental health of an entire region" (Garvin 2011, 33). He goes on to explain that;

> "[Parks] accommodate various habitats and ecosystems, help to improve air and water quality and maintain habitable temperatures, and provide a framework around which metropolitan development takes place. They serve many less obvious purposes and they affect the very character of daily urban life. These

functions include enhancing personal well-being, incubating a civil society, sustaining a livable environment, and providing a framework for urbanization" (Garvin 2011, 34).

Cemeteries carry the potential to serve all of these same purposes yet there are constraints that do not permit them to carry out these purposes.

It is easy for planners to become involved in the location and programming of public parks, and this is a critical part of most city planner's job descriptions. This is not to say that the planning of parks comes without endless complexities and challenges. The planner must be continuously aware of the political, economic, and social contexts that are influenced by their daily decisions. Understanding how a planner's decisions affect certain aspects of a community entails understanding the community's current, historic and projected conditions. A formula for these types of decisions is not easily identifiable. If planners are to use cemeteries as urban park-space, it can be assumed that the opportunities and constraints associated with open-space or park planning is somewhat analogous. The following touches on a small percentage of open-space/park planning opportunities and constraints.

As the US economy has become more service-oriented and global, businesses can locate their offices wherever they choose. They are more frequently locating their offices in cities that will attract the best employees. The open space system that a city has can have a huge impact on the economy and the future success or failure of a city (Harnik 2010).

One of the first challenges faced by planners when planning for park space is identifying the need for parks. This involves first taking an inventory of existing parks and forming a methodology to determine whether the existing parks are meeting demands. The question of how much park space a city should have, is raised at this point. There have been periods of standardization and prescriptions in response to this question. Harnik points out that "none of us can fully comprehend the complexity of the urban labyrinth…real cities have too many physical impediments, political interferences, and cultural and economic exceptionalities for simple standards to rule" (Harnik 2011). The needs of parks must be identified by assessing overall community needs and wants.

City parks face opposition and competition with many other types of urban recreational components. These include entertainment systems, recreation facilities, restaurants, backyards, home fitness equipment, indoor pools, movie theaters, etc. Accessing a community needs means understanding the alternatives that people have and providing amenities that people don't have with parks and open-space. A cemetery that functions as a park has the ability to provide a combination of cultural, artistic, and historic interest that cannot be replicated. Elements of memorialization have long been implemented in parks to enhance their cultural significance. Cemeteries would innately provide this cultural significance without any added effort.

Money and time constraints must not be overlooked when planning for parks and public space. Developing and maintaining these spaces in urban areas are often exponentially more expensive than in suburban areas (Cranz 1985). A budget must be formulated at the same time as the master planning process. The budget must be approved by a city council before anything can happen. Budges however require

knowledge of the cost of materials, salaries, contingencies, and an accurate prediction of development time-frames (Harnik 2010).

CHAPTER 5

A QUESTION OF COMPATIBILITY

In this chapter the type of park functions that are compatible with cemetery functions are investigated. There are a number of types of cemeteries and a much larger number of park types in any given city. It would not be reasonable to suggest that all cemetery types can accommodate all park functions. There may be types of cemeteries that provide more opportunities than others to contribute to urban open-space needs. By first identifying the different types of cemeteries and the different activities that commonly occur in parks, we will be able to identify the compatible functions that would provide the largest opportunity for cemeteries to function as open-space both culturally and physically.

Further, this chapter reviews two successful cemetery case studies. These cemeteries currently function as urban public open-spaces and provide a guide for success in other urban areas. The case studies exhibit the accepted park-like functions that are possible within cemeteries providing a framework for future cemetery uses. The opportunities and constraints identified by these case studies are invaluable for the development of these spaces in other urban areas.

Cemetery Types & Functions

The cultural and physical definition of the cemetery in America has evolved over time. Whether the planning of our cemeteries has been the product or the cause of the current cultural and physical definition of a cemetery is not a question resolved within

this thesis. This thesis assumes the notion that the definition of cemeteries can be reformed to reflect the current and future urban needs through informed and proactive planning measures.

One cannot only evaluate the types and functions of modern cemetery planning and design. The cemeteries that have existed as part of the built environment for hundreds of years must also be addressed. The permanence of these places has left a clear illustration of the planning design changes that cemeteries have undergone overtime. Throughout American history cemeteries were planned and designed to reflect the culture and community needs of their time. These permanent spaces do not always respond to modern urban needs or have the ability. Planners must identify the types of cemeteries that will provide the greatest opportunities for public open-space functions.

Cemeteries vary widely by type; they can be "large and small, rural and urban, old and new, private and public. They are religious, municipal, military, institutional, or commercial in nature. In their approaches to enclosure, landscaping, circulation, ownership and division of land, and the arrangement and kinds of grave makers used, they bear varied forms" (Eggener 2010). We can once again reference Sloan's cemetery categorization to get a better understanding of the type of cemeteries that present the greatest opportunity to facilitate open-space functions (Figure 3).

Assuming that an existing cemetery is located within an urban area and there are particular open-space needs unmet, it is apparent that the typical rural cemetery would be the most appropriate type of cemetery to be used as public open-space. The initial design intent of rural cemeteries makes this cemetery type the best candidate. The initial location

of these cemeteries were located in rural or suburban areas, but as cities continued to expand, many of these rural cemeteries are now surrounded by dense urban development.

On the whole "the functions of cemeteries…once-varied services to both the living and the dead, have been reduced". The modern memorial park, where most Americans who choose to be buried today will likely end up tidy and efficient but neglected on most days (Eggener 2010).

It is important to note that the design evolution of cemeteries is not completely static. The typical image of a cemetery is that of an efficient grid of plots marked by some type of headstones. This may be the most common, but it is not the only option and is not a design type that will most likely function as an active open-space. New and creative ways to dispose of the dead and memorialize them may allow users to use the space in new ways. In fact many of the modern cemetery designs reflect the desire for these places to function as parks. The Cemetery Planning Resource Alliance, LLC (CRPA) is just one of many consulting firms that are responding to the need for more public open-space oriented cemeteries (cprastudio.com). They have done this with the design of Cypress Lawn Memorial Park in Colma, CA (Figure 10) and Rocky Mountain Memorial Park in Denver, CO (Figure 11).

Figure 10: Cypress Lawn Memorial Park in Colma, CA

Figure 11: Rocky Mountain Memorial Park in Denver, CO

Urban Park Types & Functions

Harnik explains that there are many different spaces and places that are categorized under the nomenclature of "park". These include but are not limited to;

> ball fields, woods, meadows, gardens, overlooks, playgrounds, lakes and lakeshores, seashores, riversides, wetlands, picnic areas, memorial grounds, historic sites, trails, greenways, parkways, boulevards, commons, plazas, squares, quadrangles, and courtyards, among others (20). He goes on to say, the large number of park types, ranging from insect-filled wetlands that have no human visitors to center-city brick plazas that have no grass and sometimes even no trees, can be confounding to any planning process and even to a conversation. The vast number of activities that can and do take place in parks makes the discussion even more complex (Harnik 2010, 21).

In an attempt to distill and simplify this definition, it is common for professionals to divide parks into two classes: "active" and "passive". This has helped many to distinguish parks on the basis of the activities that occur there. Harnik rightfully points out that "this nomenclature has caused countless hours of confusion and wasted analysis" (23). There is not always a clear definition or distinction between the two terms. While it is clear that something like playing soccer is "active" while sitting is "passive", not every activity that goes on in a park can be defined as one or the other. There is a scale associated with both of these words and no clear dividing line. Furthermore, it is difficult to categorize a park as an active or passive park, as most parks have a multitude of users who use the park in a multitude of ways. Some have suggested using more accurate descriptions of activities like "competitive" and "noncompetitive" or "regulated" and

“unregulated”, with “competitive” and “regulated” referring to activities that generally require some type of playing field or court, generally mowed or paved, and often fenced or with boundaries. These activities tend to involve greater speed and violence, thus posing a threat to babies, children, seniors, women, men, pets, sunbathers, and picnickers. “Noncompetitive” or “unregulated” is everything else. Admittedly, tossing a Frisbee or roller skating on a plaza does pose a small risk to other park users, but the fact that it takes place in a noncompetitive fashion allows the activity to stop if a toddler ambles past or a senior rolls by in a wheelchair ” (Harnik 2010, 22). The chart below, adapted from Harnik’s list of typical city park activities, separates park activities into six categories (Figure 12). Those activities indicated in green are considered socially acceptable activities in cemeteries and those in orange are socially unaccepted or less appropriate.

What People Do in City Parks: A Partial List		
Traditional Team Sports	**More-Active Non-Sports**	**Other (Generally Considered Positive)**
Tennis	Fly a model airplane	Take a nap
Golf	Float model boat	pick up litter
Basketball	Tag	Sell or buy arts & crafts
Football	Hide-and-Seek	Sell or buy food
Hockey	Use playground	Have a party
Baseball/ Softball	Tai Chi	Talk on the phone
Volleyball	Walk/ Hike	Surf the Internet
Cricket	Walk a pet	Watch people
Rugby	Perform (music, plays)	Kiss
Soccer	Geo Cache	Improvise Games
Lacrosse	Orienteering	Hold a class
	Paddleboat	Restore a landscape
	Ride a horse	Community service
	Fly a Kite	
Less Traditional Sports	**Less-Active Non-Sports**	**Other (Generally Considered Negative)**
Cycling	Eat	Have sex
Skateboard	Drink	Sell or buy drugs
In-line skate	Orate	Use illegal drugs
Ice-Skate	Gather with other people	Fight
Run	Read	Panhandle
Fish	Write	Draw graffiti
Fisbee	Think	Destroy Property
Kickball	Sing	Hide
Hacky Sack	Garden	
Rock Climb	Yoga	
Swim	Meditate	
Raft	Watch Wildlife	
Kayak	Photography	
Conoe	Paint/Sketch	
Surf	Sit in Parked Car	
Sail	Sunbathe	

Figure 12: What People Do in City Parks

Examples of Success

Atlanta's historic Oakland Cemetery, owned by the city's parks department and run by a foundation, is one of the city's oldest public spaces and offers a fascinating glimpse of the possibilities of a well-rounded cemetery park. Oakland is an excellent example of a rural cemetery that was placed on the outskirts of a growing city and served

as a popular destination for Sunday carriage rides and picnics in the late nineteenth century. Oakland was increasingly surrounded by residential and industrial development in the twentieth century, and eventually reached capacity and fell into serious disrepair and neglect by the 1970s. It quickly became vilified and shunned, but a small group of dreamers had the ambition and foresight to revive it. Mayor Maynard Jackson chose the facility as Atlanta's signature project. "The mayor wanted to transform Oakland from a municipal expense to a municipal benefit" (Harnik 2010, 66). To do this, the private Historic Oakland Cemetery Foundation was created, and a formal management partnership was arranged with Atlanta Department of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs. As with almost all prosperous public-private partnerships, ultimate authority rested with the city, but the foundation was given considerable latitude on programming, publicity, and fundraising. The cemetery has functioned as a success and amenity to the community ever since. The redevelopment of the cemetery has spurred surrounding development, including a themed pub and restaurant, the Six Feet Under Pub and Fish House. In addition to the common winding roads and walkways of a typical rural cemetery, Oakland has benches, gardens, and a small central building for events and programs. Oakland retains an impressive collection of specimen trees, some dating back to the 1880s. Visitors are allowed to bicycle and jog, picnic and stroll with their dogs. The foundation offers tours, photography classes, charity runs, a Halloween festival with period costumes and educational talks, and an annual Sunday in the Park festival with music, food, and crafts (oaklandcemetery.com, Harnik 2010).

In Hartford Connecticut, Cedar Hill Cemetery is another example of a park-like cemetery. Established in 1864, Cedar Hill is known as one of the premier American rural

cemeteries. The grounds encompass 270 acres of landscaped woodlands and watercourses providing a natural habitat for a variety of wildlife (cedarhillcemetery.org). The cemetery is managed by a not-for-profit, private organization called Cedar Hill Cemetery Foundation. Their mission is to preserve, protect and promote in perpetuity the art, culture, history and natural beauty of the cemetery (cedarhillfoundation.org). The neighborhoods surrounding the cemetery use its green space in a variety of ways. Surrounding residents run, walk dogs, ride bicycles, and picnic. The foundation also programs some of the open spaces with jazz concerts and other group events that allow residents to bring food and wine. Tours are of the cemetery fund the organization and allow tourist the chance to learn about the cemetery's long history.

Comparison

We can see that a cemetery and an urban park share some of the same characteristics and activities that occur within them. They are both classified as open spaces. Both are areas of visual relief and both have generally pervious surfaces. It is clear that a majority of cemeteries have the potential to function as parks. One could argue that the burial and memorial of the dead is just one activity that occurs within a certain type of park. Putting theory aside, it is the regulations of the governing bodies that have the last say in whether a cemetery can be a park and/or a park a cemetery. The activities that are allowed to happen within a cemetery ultimately determine the level at which it can serve the public needs as a park. The development regulations that determine the activities that can occur within a new park similarly determine whether an existing or new cemetery can function as a park and meet urban open-space demands. There are

obvious activities that are considered park activities that would not be appropriate or culturally accepted within the majority of American urban areas.

The acceptable uses include those that are generally considered passive recreation or unorganized activities. The list of these typical activities is identified in green in the previous chart of "What People Do in Parks" (figure). However the specific permissible activities compatible in cemeteries is ultimately left to the planner, who should determine the exact needs and wants of his/her community.

CHAPTER 6

POWER IN PLANNING POLICIES: CASE STUDY AND REVIEW

Planning policies have been identified as the chief constraint preventing cemeteries from functioning as public open-space. It is planning policy that can provide the greatest opportunity for change. Identifying and presenting the specific restrictive and/or permissive policies of a typical growing US city will allow planners to make revisions to similar policies within their own cities. Understanding where a planner must look for and identify these policies provides an opportunity for revisions within their own codes and ordinances.

First, selection criteria for choosing a sample were developed to ensure that the planning policies evaluated were representative of a typical growing US city. In order to understand the characteristics of a typical growing US city. Cities within the top 100 growing metropolitan areas were evaluated. Selection criteria were then further developed based on the characteristics found within these cities. Next, as methodology was developed to ensure consistency when evaluating each city's planning policy. Finally, the methodology was applied to three case studies.

Methodology

Selection criteria developed for choosing cities that represented growing urban areas include: (1) The city must be within one of the top 100 growing metropolitan statistical areas (MSA). There are a total of 366 MSAs identified within the US according to the US Census Bureau; (2) The city must have experienced positive population growth

since 2000; (3) The city must have accessible planning policy documents; (4) The selected cities must represent a range typical US cities of varied population size including: small (pop. below 100,000), medium (pop. btwn 100,000 and 500,000), and large (pop. over 500,000); (5) The selected cities must represent both old (founded before 1800) and new (founded after 1800).

The selected cities are; Greenville, South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, and Dallas, Texas. Each of these cities meets the selection criteria previously identified.

Greenville meets the selection criteria as it is the sixty-fifth fastest growing metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) in the US from 2000 to 2009. The city has experienced a 10.3% increase in population since 2000 (US Census). There are accessible planning documents available for review. The city was founded in 1831. It is the largest city within the Greenville-Mauldin-Easley Metropolitan Statistical Area, the largest MSA in the state. The current city population is 61,782 and has a metro area population of 639,617 according to the 2010 census (US Census). The total city area is 26.2 sq. miles. For the purposes of this study Greenville represents a typical small (pop. below 100,000) growing US city founded after 1800.

Charleston meets the selection criteria as it is the forty-eighth fastest growing metropolitan statistical areas (MSA) in the US from 2000 to 2009. The city itself has experienced a 19.6% increase in population since 2000 (US Census). There are accessible planning documents available for review. The city was founded in 1670 as one of the first of the original 13 colonies in the US. It is the largest city within the Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville Metropolitan Statistical Area, the second largest MSA in the

state. The current city population is 120,083 and has a metro area population of 659,191 according to the 2010 census (US Census). The total city area is 164 sq. miles. For the purposes of this study Charleston represents a typical medium (pop. btw 100,000 and 500,000) growing US city founded before 1800.

Dallas meets the selection criteria as it is the number one fastest growing metropolitan statistical area (MSA) in the US from 2000 to 2009. The city itself has experienced a 9.3% increase in population since 2000 (US Census). There are accessible planning documents available for review. The city was incorporated in 1856. It is the largest city within the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington Metropolitan Statistical Area, the largest MSA in the state and fourth largest in the South. The current city population is 1,197,816 and has a metro area population 6,477,315 according to the 2010 census (US Census). The total city area is 164 sq. miles. For the purposes of this study, Dallas represents a typical large (pop. over 500,000) growing US city founded after 1800.

Once the three above mentioned cities were selected a process of identifying influential policies began by following the subsequent actions:

1) Review the written planning policy definitions within each city's code of ordinances to understand how each city defines their cemetery land uses. Specifically the recognition of cemeteries as potential open-space or park uses should be noted. Open-space and park land use definitions should be reviewed as well to identify any cemetery or burial land use.
2) Identify the locations where cemetery land uses are permitted within the city. To do this, the zoning codes and ordinances of each city should be reviewed.

The aim here is to identify whether or not cemeteries can be developed as open-space uses within the urban core or if policy restricts them to the edges of the city where they cannot meet urban open-space needs.

3) Assess the zoning codes and ordinances in an attempt to identify the activities and functions permitted within the cemetery land use. These activity permissions or restrictions will reveal the level to which cemeteries are able to function as public open-space.
4) Review the current and future land use plans of each city to better understand their classification of open-space, parks, and cemeteries. This will indicate whether the policy writers recognize some open-space value in existing or future cemeteries.
5) Review the comprehensive plan and downtown master plan of each city to understand the degree to which each city considers cemeteries as part of their long range planning goals. If cemeteries are mentioned within any other related planning document or vision, this should be mentioned. The following documents should also be identified as a part of each city's historic preservation efforts, open-space or park plans, tourism, economic development plans, environmental sustainability plans, etc.

Policy Findings

Greenville, South Carolina

Cemeteries are defined within Greenville's Zoning Ordinance as "Land used or intended to be used for the burial of the dead, including columbariums, mausoleums, and chapels when operated in conjunction with and within the boundaries of such cemetery"

(Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011). There is nothing within this definition that identifies cemetery land-use as a public open-space.

The Greenville Zoning Ordinance, under Article 4 "Definitions", defines "Common Open Space" as "Land and/or water within or related to an open space residential development, not individually owned, which is designed and intended for the common use or enjoyment of the residents of the development or the public, which may contain such accessory structures and improvements as are necessary and appropriate for passive recreational purposes" (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011). Under this definition privately owned cemeteries would not be included as they are individually owned.

"Open Space" is defined as "Land areas that are not occupied by buildings, structures, parking areas, streets, alleys or required yards. Open space shall be permitted to be devoted to landscaping, preservation of natural features, and recreational areas and facilities" (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011). The definition of Open Space does not explicitly include cemeteries, but restricts most cemeteries as they commonly require parking and some type of building or structure.

"Recreation, Outdoor" is defined as "An area free of buildings except for restrooms, dressing rooms, equipment storage, maintenance buildings, open-air pavilions and similar structures used primarily for recreational activities" (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011). Cemeteries that function as public open-space can best be described by this definition as it does not explicitly restrict burial use.

The permitted land use regulations within each land use zone identify cemeteries as a "Special Exception Use (SE)" within all land use zones. The SE is further explained

within Article 11 “Provisions for Uses by Special Exception” under section 11:2 “Cemeteries/ Funeral Homes” (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011): “Cemeteries are permitted in all districts as a use by special exception [SE] by the Zoning Board of Appeals”. It is also noted that, “the minimum area for a cemetery shall be 30 acres”. The general provisions for uses permitted by SE are further explained in Article 11. Section 11:1 “General Provisions”. These general provisions state:

> The zoning appeals may grant permission for those uses permitted by special exception which are in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance and the specific conditions set forth in this section. The Board may grant, deny, or modify any request for a use permitted by special exception after a public hearing has been held on the written request submitted by an applicant in accordance with Article 3, Section 3:3. The Board may also attach any necessary conditions such as time limitations or requirements that one or more things be done before the use can commence…The Board shall consider the following factors; A) The use meets all required conditions. B) The use is not detrimental to the public health or general welfare. C) The use is appropriately located with respect to transportation facilities, water supply, fire and police protection, waste disposal, and similar services. D) The use will not violate neighborhood character nor adversely affect surrounding land uses (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011).

11:2.7, “Preexisting Cemeteries”, explains that “[a]ny cemetery or portion of a cemetery that was approved, or was in the process of gaining approval, as a special exception by the Greenville County Board of Zoning Appeals on the date of adoption of this Ordinance shall be considered a nonconforming use. All others shall be subject to the

specific provisions of this Ordinance" (Greenville Zoning Ordinance 2011). If there are cemeteries that fall within this exception, then they may be able to function as public open-spaces.

The zoning and current land use maps are not necessary in determining the specific locations within the city boundaries where cemeteries are allowed, as cemetery uses are permitted by Special Exception (SE) within all districts. The Future Land Use map does however designate the two municipally owned cemeteries as Public Park or Open-Space use (Figure 13).

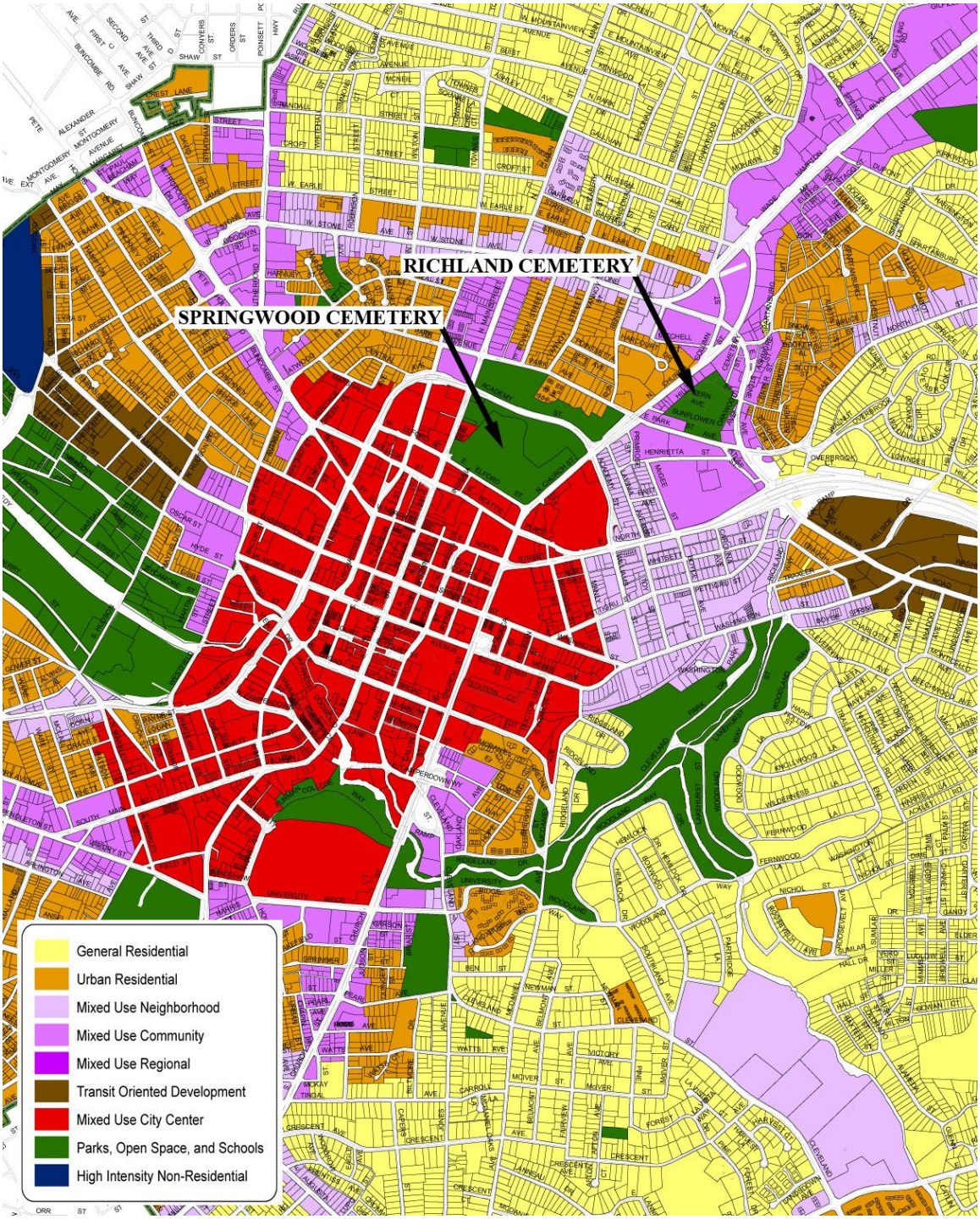

Figure 13: Greenville Future Land Use Map/ Cemetery Locations

The Greenville comprehensive plan, last updated in 2009, makes no mention of cemeteries. The "Trails and Greenways Master Plan", intended to acquire and develop a

network of trails, also neglects to recognize the two city owned cemeteries or any of the other privately owned cemeteries as potential open-space amenities. Under the section entitled “Cultural Resources”. a list that touts the amenities of a large city, including visual and performance arts, museums, libraries, festivals, major venues, historic area, churches, synagogues, and top-notch schools fails to include cemeteries. Cemeteries are also left out of the section entitled “Historic Resources”. The “Parks and Recreation” section also neglects any mention of cemeteries.

The Downtown Master Plan does, however, mention the potential to connect “Springwood Cemetery and McPherson Park, which could become more accessible with better pedestrian crossings, connecting the district to the Green Necklace”. It also suggests that “[o]pen space throughout the downtown area should be connected into a system”. Whether cemeteries are included in this use of open space is not clear.

Although not a step in the previously developed planning policy evaluation methodology, supplemental documentation pertinent to Greenville’s cemetery land-use policy was discovered and investigated. The City of Greenville Park and Recreation Department has developed and published “Rules and Regulations of Municipal Cemeteries” and subsequently included them in Chapter 10 of the Code of Ordinances. The document was developed to provide guidelines for the only two city owned cemeteries, Springwood Cemetery and Richland Cemetery. Springwood Cemetery was first opened to the public in 1829 (greenvillesc.gov). Richland Cemetery was one of the first African American cemeteries in the city of Greenville, established around 1884 (greenvillesc.gov). Both municipally owned cemeteries are located in the heart of downtown Greenville, ideal locations to meet urban open-space needs. The following

excerpts of the published rules and regulations identify the extent to which these cemeteries are able to function as public park space and meet urban open-space needs.

Cemeteries are open from 8:00am to 5:00pm daily. No trespassing after hours is allowed. Permits are available for approved after-hour activities… Permissible activities include, but are not limited to holiday/memorial services, monument unveiling ceremonies, educational, historical or cultural awareness tours; public recognition ceremonies, religious events, family or church gatherings, photography or nature appreciation activities, conservation, beautification or cemetery improvement activities… Restricted Activities: Athletic events, treasure hunting, loud gatherings, weddings and other activities or events determined to be offensive, disrespectful or disruptive to the dignity and character of the cemetery will not be permitted... Activity Conflicts: Burial services shall have precedence over special activities or events in cemeteries. Groups may be asked to move or leave an area where burial services are scheduled… No beer, wine, liquor or other alcoholic products… Noise: Loud conversation or offensive language is not permitted. The playing of radios, record or tape players, or other noise making devices is not permitted on cemetery grounds. All workers in the immediate vicinity of the interment must cease operations and remain quiet during the conduction of services… Intrusion: Casual visitors to the cemetery, who are not members of the funeral procession or party, may not intrude upon a funeral party or loiter about an open grave. Any persons or vehicles in close proximity to a funeral service that are not a part of the service should leave at once. Vehicles or equipment should not operate within sight of a funeral service… Athletic Events: No person shall engage in any athletic event while on cemetery grounds… Animals: All pets must be held firmly on a leash held by a person

while in the cemeteries. No animals, except seeing-eye dogs, shall be allowed in any of the cemetery buildings, without the written permission of the Sexton. No horses or large animals are allowed in the cemetery without written permission… Respect for Property of Others: No person or persons shall sit or lean on monuments, markers or statues. Any person who causes damage, either intentionally or unintentionally, to public or private property will be held accountable for that damage. (Sec VIII-Special Activities or Events in Cemeteries)

As you can see there are very few park-like activities that are permitted within the city-owned cemeteries of Greenville. Nevertheless it is promising that an effort was made to consciously think about the cemeteries as public open-space.

Dallas, Texas

The "Dallas City Code" is the legal document that informs all development and land use within the city. This 2,900 page document contains all zoning regulations, comprehensive plans, and land development codes. It was originally published and adopted in 1960 and has most recently been updated in August of 2010. The code defines a cemetery as "a place designated for burial of the dead". This definition is found under "Institutional and Community Service Uses" Sec 51A-4.204.

Chapter 11, "Cemeteries and Burials", clearly states in Section 11-1 that "it shall be unlawful for any person to lay out or establish a public or private burying ground within the city". There is one exception, which allows for the "establishment of a national cemetery for veterans pursuant to Chapter 24, Title 38 of the United States Code Annotated, as amended" (Dallas City Code 2010). Section 11-2 of this chapter lists the

seventeen existing cemeteries that were established before the publication of the ordinance. The code recognizes and authorizes these seventeen cemeteries as "legal and proper places for the interment of persons who may die in the city or who may be brought to the city for burial". The code adds that "the limits of any cemetery in the city shall never be extended". Exemptions, however, may be granted by the zoning review board.

Cemetery uses are permitted with all land use designations by specific use permit (SUP) only. The requirements to obtain a SUP vary slightly depending on the current land use zone and particular property it falls within. All SUP's require an application that must be reviewed and accepted by the Zoning Board, City Planning Commission and City Council.

Parks are defined within the code as "a park, reservation, playground, beach, recreation center or any other public area in the city, owned or used by the city and devoted to active or passive recreation". Uses that occur within City of Dallas Cemeteries are only regulated by the city in regards to official visiting hours outlined in Section 11-19.

Carter and Burgess in collaboration with the City of Dallas Parks and Recreation Department prepared a Downtown Parks Master Plan in 2004. This plan made no mention of the six existing cemeteries downtown. Of the six, four of these cemetery locations were identified as "Existing Public Park/ Open Space" (Figure 14). The other two were not identified. The identification of these spaces as public open-spaces is not reflected in the City Code definition of what a cemetery can be, nor reflected in the uses permitted within cemetery land-uses.

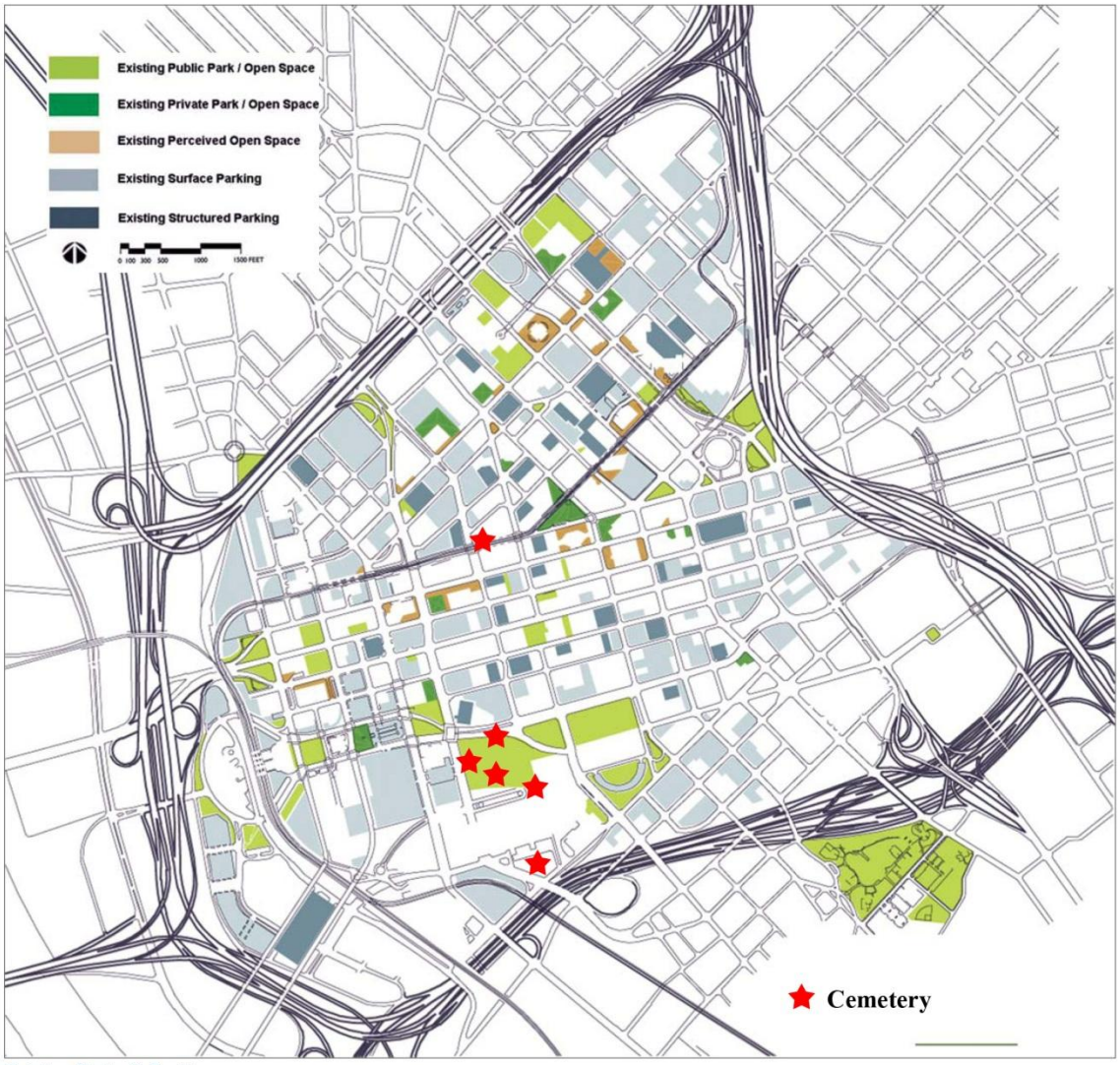

Figure 14: Dallas Open-Space Plan/ Cemetery Locations

As a part of the Dallas Park and Recreation Department a "Long Range Development Plan" was prepared for the City of Dallas in 2002 by the consulting firm Carter and Burgess. This plan was accepted as a part of the comprehensive plan in 2002. In the document, Carter and Burgess identify the strengths and weaknesses of the park system at the time. They identified five historic cemeteries and recommended the "Integration of Historic Parks into Plan". Specifically, this would involve the preparation

of a “historic parks plan component identifying conditions, improvements, needs, future changes and opportunities to preserve the historic parks and cemeteries and their prominence within the park system” (Dallas Comprehensive Plan – 2006). There is no indication within any other published plan document or press release that these efforts have been made. This is the only mention of cemeteries in the city of Dallas Comprehensive Plan.

Charleston, South Carolina

In the city of Charleston, cemeteries are considered a “permitted use” in about half of the zoned districts and considered a “special exception use” in the remaining half. The following chart identifies those specific zones (Figure 15). The Charleston Zoning ordinance defines a Special Exception as “a departure from a general provision of this chapter which, by the expressed terms of such provision, may be permitted by the Board of Zoning Appeals upon application only after the Board finds the existence of facts and circumstances detailed in such provision (Charleston Zoning Ordinance 2005).

Under Sec. 54-206 “Special Exception Uses” of Charleston’s Zoning Ordinance the cemeteries “shall be permitted within the Conservation and all residential zones only as an exception where the Board, after review, finds that no building or parking lot thereof will be closer than one hundred (100) feet to an adjoining lot, and that all facilities will be adequately screened and landscaped in a manner appropriate to the character of the district” (Charleston Zoning Ordinance 2005).

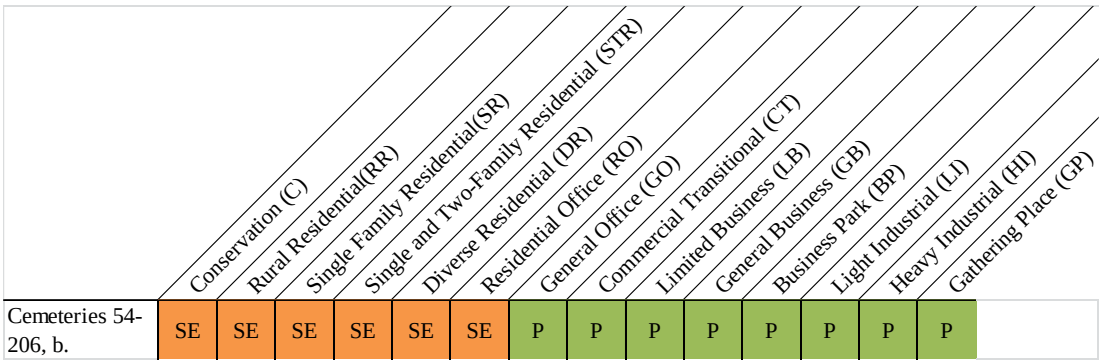

Figure 15: Permitted Cemetery Land Use Zones Charleston

The map below reflects the areas within Charleston's downtown historic district that permit cemetery land use (green) and permit under special exception (orange) cemetery land use (Figure 16).

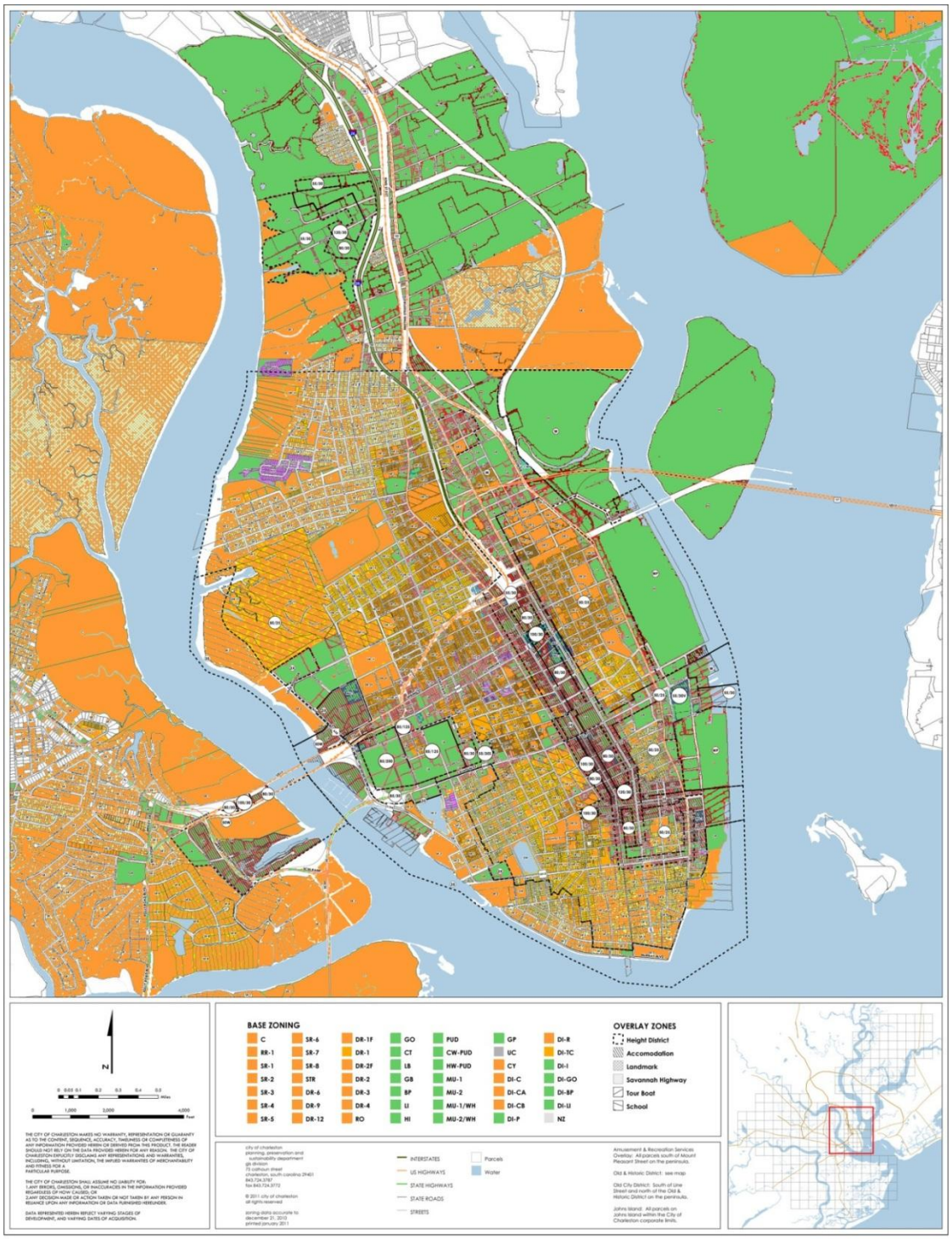

Figure 16: Location of Permitted Cemetery Land Use: Downtown Charleston

Within the zoning ordinance there is no specific definition of cemetery use or further language that speaks to the restricted or permitted uses that can happen within a cemetery land use.

There are three major planning initiatives within Charleston that have corresponding published documents those include; Charleston's "Century V 2010 Comprehensive Plan Update", "A Preservation Plan", and "Charleston's Green Plan: A roadmap to sustainability". Each of these documents was reviewed to understand how cemeteries were included.

Within Charleston's "Century V 2010 Comprehensive Plan Update" cemeteries are mentioned within the Cultural Resources and Historic Preservation sections. It also notes that Charleston is home to hundreds of historic houses, churches, cathedrals, synagogues and cemeteries (Century V 2010).

Charleston's Preservation Plan suggests that "cemeteries and other archaeological resources on the island should be recorded and preserved, along with rural roads and scenic corridors" (Preservation Plan 2008). There is a list of objectives that are suggested in attempt to educate the public about preservation. One of these objectives states: "work with congregations that own significant historic buildings and cemeteries to educate the public and preserve the historic fabric" (Preservation Plan 2008).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Studies and efforts to create more public spaces and parks within urban areas remain frequent. As land within urban areas continue to increase in value and open space is forced to compete with seemingly more cost-effective uses, city planners are forced to be creative in the design and planning of urban open-space. Creative solutions that integrate open-space functions and public-private partnerships are tools that are increasingly used in an effort to meet demands. Many growing urban areas are using a multitude of solutions to provide their citizens with a more livable environment which include; converting rooftops into gardens, transforming abandoned rail corridors into hike and bike trails, decking highways to become parks that connect separated downtown districts, covering drinking reservoirs and landfills with useable sports fields, revitalizing stream corridors that in turn revitalize the downtown economy, city park departments sharing space with school districts, converting utility corridors into trails and community gardens, and adding hours to high use parks (Harnik 2010). These are just a few of the successful projects that have required an integration of two or more uses that were formerly either not considered or thought most appropriate when separated. The cultural, political, and physical synergies that these spaces create have exponentially elevated the standard of living within the communities in which they are situated. These synergies are not achieved without some political or cultural constraints. The integrations of uses may be difficult to achieve in many cities that have antiquated policies or regulations that

prevent them. Our park and open-space systems will always be a vital component to a healthy and livable urban area. As planners, we must continue to allow our open-space systems to evolve and change so that they can continuously develop and adapt with the constantly changing development and growth patterns within complex urban systems. Planning policies that attempt to protect our precious public spaces from harmful outside forces may be the very policies that inadvertently leave a city stuck in second place in the race for livability. As cities become more competitive, it is those cities that offer unique experiences and opportunities that will attract the brightest and most valuable citizens. A large portion of our current population are choosing the city in which they live in on the basis of the opportunities it provides them outside of the workplace, in contrast to previous generations who exclusively followed job opportunities (Florida 2002). Perfect

This thesis assumes that cemeteries in America are undervalued and underused. They are forgotten spaces that can be used to meet current urban needs and benefit the community in numerous ways. Parks currently serve the vast majority of urban open-space needs. Realizing the ability that cemeteries have to serve open-space needs can relieve the pressure on parks to serve all open-space needs. Activating the public open-space potential of existing and proposed cemeteries in urban areas will generate multiple cultural, economic, and ecological community benefits thus enhancing the livability of urban areas. The untapped community benefits cemeteries possess have been confirmed by the historical success of these spaces in America. These benefits can be further witnessed by a few current day case studies of urban cemeteries that are being used as public open-space amenities.

If planners are to implement or advocate the use of cemeteries as urban open-spaces, they must first be aware of the associated opportunities and constraints. The neglect of cemeteries in long range planning efforts is a result of multiple factors. A certain lack of discussion and knowledge within the planning profession has resulted in a neglect of these spaces. The cultural aversion towards topics of death and burial may be at the core of this issue. One of the primary constraints associated with any cemetery related planning efforts is the private ownership of the majority of these spaces. As with any public amenity that is privately owned efforts must be made to form public relationships if these spaces are to meet their full potential. It is within planning policies that key opportunities and constraints are found. Current planning policies tend to reflect obsolete notions that cemeteries should be restricted from urban areas and are rarely considered public open-space amenities. Planners must use their power to evaluate and revise current policies within their own communities. There is a great opportunity for planners to educate the public about the potential value cemeteries possess.

Armed with the discovered opportunities and constraints associated with using cemeteries to meet urban open-space needs there are a number of practical applications for planners that present themselves. Planners have the ability to apply the methods discussed in chapter 6 to evaluate the fitness of their own zoning and land use ordinances. Revisions to these ordinances can be made through comprehensive plan updates and other planning initiatives. Restrictions that force cemeteries to the edges of urban areas can be revised. Additionally, incentives can be put in place to promote cemetery development within urban areas and ensure the economic viability of these spaces. In return cemeteries would be able to serve public needs as open-space. Within municipal

ordinances definitions of cemeteries can be revised to accurately recognize cemeteries as public open-spaces. Open-space and park definitions can be revised to include cemeteries. A complete inventory should be carried out to identify the location of existing cemeteries along with an evaluation of their potential to be used as public open-space. Design standards for future cemeteries can be developed to reflect open-space or park-like standards. There is also the potential for cities to acquire derelict cemeteries in prime locations from private land owners and renovate them to function as public open-spaces. For those cemeteries not municipally owned, non-profit organizations can be formed in partnership to advocate and facilitate open-space uses within existing cemeteries.

The findings here allow for this discussion to continue within the planning profession. A furthered discussion will hopefully lead to a consensus of ideas and future standards can be written. The need for standards is great as planners currently have no current guidelines to aid in the development of their own community ordinances and long range plans. There is an opportunity for the network of existing cemeteries within an urban area to function together and enhance the current network of parks and open-spaces. There are some cities that have realized this vision and are able to extend trail connections and close ecological gaps within their sustainability plans. Including all cemeteries in the master planning process is necessary in activating these spaces as ecological, visual, and economic amenities to the community.

As planners and decision makers we should continue to provide solutions for our communities that enhance our quality of life. Constraints that prohibit an increased quality of life should be faced and transformed into opportunities despite the challenges. Cemeteries are forever a part of our evolving built environments. Efforts to better

understand the value of these land uses should continue. Consideration of these spaces as urban open-space amenities should be reflected in all planning endeavors.

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