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Bridging the Gap: Bringing Preservation to the People

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Bridging the Gap: Bringing Preservation to the People

Abstract

This thesis examines the intersection of preservation practices and social equity. It looks at how organizations communicate about preservation and how those methods may help or hinder the advancement of social equity. The focus is on practices of Philadelphia-based non-profit preservation groups, community development corporations and city agencies. To set the stage for the study of these organizations, this thesis looks at how social equity is one of the least-discussed aspects of sustainability, and how little attention is given to the importance of equitable preservation for communities. The author also reviews history of the sustainability movement, roots of inequity and marginalization, and scholarship on effective communication techniques.

The thesis concludes with chapters devoted to case studies of practices at a local preservation advocacy organization, a house museum, community development corporations, and the city's planning and preservation commissions.

Keywords

social equity, sustainability, marginalization, communication, preservation

Disciplines

Environmental Policy | Historic Preservation and Conservation | Social Influence and Political Communication

Comments

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BRIDGING THE GAP: BRINGING PRESERVATION TO THE PEOPLE

Jennifer Lauren Robinson

A THESIS

In

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2015

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This thesis is dedicated to the two most important people in my life. They made me the person I am today.

Life shrinks or expands in proportion to one's courage.

— *Anais Nin*

To my husband, Jack, whose love and support have given me courage I never knew I had.

To my mother, Terri, who has been an enduring supporter in life's adventures.

I owe deep gratitude to many people for their contributions to this thesis. The journey has been educational, enlightening, and engaging.

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To Dianna, knowing you has made me a better person. I'll never forget the lessons I've learned from you.

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CHAPTER ONE: Bridging the gap

One of the difficult challenges facing our society is the widening gap between the poor and the privileged. This extends beyond the conversation about the richest one percent into a conversation about the role social equity plays in nearly every important enterprise. This thesis works to understand the relationship between current historic-preservation practices and the advancement of social equity. I will look specifically at one key aspect of that relationship: communication between organizations participating in preservation activities and residents in underserved communities. This will include an exploration of the historical underpinnings of the disenfranchisement that many neighborhoods face today. In part because of initiatives like urban renewal and redlining, minority communities have a deep distrust of authority. And preservationists also have long ignored the cultural values of minority communities. Together, those realities create a powerful barrier to communication.

Why is social equity important to the practice of historic preservation? Most fundamentally, it is one of the “three Es” of sustainability which encompasses environmental, economic and equality considerations. Scholars generally agree on a definition of sustainability as “meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”¹ As one of the facets of sustainability, social equity is defined by the Department of Public Administration as “just and equitable distribution of public services and implementation of public policy; and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in

1 “What Is Sustainability?” SustainVU, accessed February 07, 2015, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/sustainvu/who-we-are/what-is-sustainability/>.

the formation of public policy.”² In writing about the goals of social equity, and the challenges to achieving it, I will delve into the evolution of the sustainability movement and the current status of these ideas.

As this thesis discusses in the next chapter, little is written about the relationship, good or bad, between preservation practices and the advancement of social equity. While I would not presume to fully explore all facets of the relationship between preservation and equity, I will work to understand their common goals, and offer ideas on how the two movements can reinforce each other.

One of the many possible ways to understand how preservation can affect the goals of social equity is to understand how preservationists communicate with and listen to the people who would most benefit from social equity. In a variety of low-income and disadvantaged communities throughout regions like Philadelphia, significant historic fabric exists but is unrecognized for its historical and cultural value and architectural significance. Due to practical, socioeconomic, and cultural barriers, preservation professionals often do not effectively communicate with residents of these neighborhoods.

This thesis will look at topics such as technical, exceptionalizing and othering language, community engagement, and organizational practices that overlap with these areas. I will largely use examples from Philadelphia, with some comparisons to other cities as needed. Specifically, I will look at the outreach efforts of a variety of organizations, such as community development corporations, preservation advocacy organizations, and local governments, to communities where historic resources are extant but are less likely to receive technical or financial assistance.

Often, these neighborhoods of low-income and working-class citizens are removed from the preservation world for reasons such as technical language

2 “Social Equity in Governance,” Social Equity in Governance, accessed February 08, 2015, <http://www.napawash.org/fellows/standing-panels/social-equity-in-governance.html>.

barriers, lack of disposable income that can be dedicated to “approved” materials, and misunderstandings as to how preservation practices in their municipality might benefit them. In a larger sense, preservationists and members of low-income communities have values that appear vastly different on the surface. While some preservationists are concerned about the needs and priorities of minority communities, others are focused on structures that have mainstream cultural and aesthetic significance. Members of communities that struggle with poverty, unemployment, and crime are often thinking about how they can contribute to creating good jobs, decent housing and effective schools. We know that these goals are not mutually exclusive. We know that preservation can lead to jobs, affordable housing and strong neighborhoods. But, as preservationists, we’re not doing a good job of sharing the message of preservation in a way that is relevant to communities facing significant challenges.

I hope to demonstrate that leaders of the preservation field need to be thinking about bridging this gap by increasing diversity in our practices. That means not just creating more house museums dedicated to people of color, but communicating directly, listening, and recognizing — in what we do, as well as what we say — what is important to these communities. Observing the neighborhood tone, built environment, and cultural landscape are important factors in how we approach preservation in these communities. We cannot just make a site visit to take the requisite photographs of a building and retreat to the safety of our vehicle. We must actively engage and listen. We must not assume that our academic credentials give us more say in a particular outcome than other interested parties.

Further, we must learn to strike a balance between our own ideas of what makes the site significant and what the local users think about its significance. Collaborating on ideas that achieve both the goals of the preservation community and the neighborhood or building owner are critical to successful outcomes.

The questions I hope to tackle in this thesis are:

- What are the existing models for community engagement with owners and residents of historic properties, whether or not those properties are recognized on official historic registers? Who is served by each of these models?
- How can these models work more effectively to serve a diverse population of residents?
- What efforts do these organizations undertake to reach a more diverse population? How successful are these efforts?
- What models of community engagement have been the most successful with non-traditional consumers of preservation practices?
- How are preservation decisions made in places where few residents remain from the communities that built the physical fabric?

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Relevant Literature

A review of historic-preservation literature finds that scholars until recently have paid little attention to social equity. Only since the field has increasingly become part of a larger discussion about sustainability — defined by the three pillars of environmental protection, economic development and social equity — has the issue begun to be more directly addressed. Sustainability principles argue that public policy must pay equal attention the interests of those in greatest need,³ and increasingly we see expanded attention to the topic in historic preservation as well. Aria Danaparamita, for example, notes that for younger preservationists, economic and social justice is critical: “For younger groups, preservation is more about saving communities and stories than buildings.”⁴

This shift has come in the context of a larger reexamination of the purpose of historic preservation — a dialogue that asks: What is the purpose of preservation? And whose history are we talking about? Among the first to ask these questions was Peirce Lewis,⁵ who argued in 1975 for a wider definition of the field; he contended that preservation failures were so numerous that either its arguments or methods were flawed. More recent critiques came in the first issue of *Future Anterior*, published in 2004. These include Robert Thomson writing about the need for preservation to take a critical view of

3 Susan M. Opp and Kyle L. Saunders, “Pillar Talk: Local Sustainability Initiatives and Policies in the United States--Finding Evidence of the “Three E’s”: Economic Development, Environmental Protection, and Social Equity,” *Urban Affairs Review* 49, no. 5 (2013), doi:10.1177/1078087412469344.

4 Aria Danaparamita, “New Voices, New Approaches: Young Preservationists Speak Up,” Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, January 07, 2014, <http://blog.preservationleadershipforum.org/2014/01/07/young-preservationists/#.VMBSK2TF-0c>.

5 Peirce F. Lewis, “The Future of the Past: Our Clouded Vision of Historic Preservation,” *Pioneer America* 7, no. 2 (1975), JSTOR.

itself; he argues that we must “analyze, discuss, and even discard some our motives.”⁶ In this same issue of the journal, Jon Calame offers a sharp critique of preservation,⁷ noting that despite common interests, heritage conservation and social development are not generally coordinated. He argues that, while the social advantages of historic preservation are thought to be self-evident, many in the field cannot enumerate them.

Perhaps the most widely recognized literature on the importance of social equity as part of historic preservation is Ned Kaufman’s *Race, Place, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*.⁸ He discusses the need to preserve not only grand monuments but also vernacular structures, such as worker cottages. These are necessary, he argues, to support a sense of place that is critical to strong community fabric. Another key component of that fabric is decent and affordable housing options, he says, contending that the U.S. tax system favors new construction over rehabilitation and sprawl over density, providing little incentive for preservation of our historic built environment.

Kaufman notes that the difficulty of including social equity considerations in the preservation dialogue is that in all facets of the preservation field, from advocacy to zoning, there remains a gap between what needs to be done and what is actually being done. Much of this gap is rooted in a lack of resources devoted to preservation. But Kaufman argues it’s more than a matter of money; there are few preservation organizations that focus on communities of color, for example. This is rooted in the one-

6 Robert Garland Thomson, “Taking Steps Toward a New Dialogue: An Argument for an Enhanced Critical Discourse in Historic Preservation,” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2004).

7 Jon Calame and Kirstin Sechler, “Is Preservation Missing the Point? Cultural Heritage in the Service of Social Development,” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2004).

8 Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

time belief that primarily wealthy white people were concerned with preservation, and that preserved sites largely related to the great men of history.⁹

This idea of preservation for and by the elite is supported by Jeremy Wells in “Historic Preservation, Significance, and Phenomenology.” He notes that formal preservation designations often are based on professional judgment, rather than values of the local population: “Intentional or not, historic preservation has done a remarkably good job at preserving the preservation views of the white, British, middle-class, male, 19th century value system.”¹⁰ Raymond Rast’s “Matter of Alignment” reinforces this point, concluding that the goals and methods of the preservation field are no longer in alignment. Our methods for designating historic places springs from an impulse to recognize properties that originate with “white architects and wealthy clients.”¹¹ Rast further argues that our historically designated sites do not represent the demographics of our country.

Despite the value given to a historic building or site by preservation professionals, many people say their appreciation of a structure comes from an emotional attachment to it. Herbert Muschamp supports Wells’ argument, arguing that a building does not need to be an important architectural work to become a landmark. Landmarks aren’t created by architects but by those who use them after they are built. As he points out: “The essential feature of a landmark is not its design but the place it holds in the city’s memory.”¹²

The idea that preservation is for and about people is rising in prominence. David Brown’s 2014 article, “Preservation is About People” notes that our field would likely be

9 Ibid.

10 Jeremy C. Wells, “Historic Preservation, Significance, and Phenomenology,” *Environmental & Architectural Phenomenology* 22, no. 1 (2011).

11 Raymond W. Rast, “A Matter of Alignment: Methods to Match the Goals of the Preservation Movement,” *Forum Journal* 28, no. 3 (Spring 2014), Project MUSE.

12 Herbert Muschamp, “From an Era When Equality Mattered,” *New York Times*, February 20, 2000.

different if we focused on people's relationship to their built environment instead of solely on the built environment.

At far too many places – historic places, in the neighborhoods we choose to designate, and through our publications -- we have told our stories in a way that conveniently forget the majority of the people whose lives are part of our layered history. Preservationists are beginning to work preemptively and collaboratively with all communities. The change of working against to working with marginalized communities in retaining their community structures (both social and spatial) is among the central crossroads for the preservation movement today. There has to be a greater end.¹³

Wells supports Brown's point with a sharp critique of preservation: "If ostensibly we are preserving older places for the benefit of people, then why does historic preservation regularly ignore or reject their experiences and values?"¹⁴

Daniel Bluestone supports this view in his discussion of post-World War II preservation and renewal. Bluestone argues that history and preservation reinforce certain histories while ignoring others. Carried to an extreme, this can lead to increased conformity and confirmation of the privileged narrative. As an illustration, he points to post-war planning and redevelopment literature that often referred to African American neighborhoods as slums "encroaching on the city."¹⁵ Bluestone notes that many buildings were demolished after being deemed "beyond repair," but contends this designation really reflected the density of residents in the building. He concludes: "In a sense today, as in the 1950's, preservation is only as good or as useful as the histories it values in the historic landscape."¹⁶

13 David Brown, "Preservation in the 21st Century: Preservation Is About People," Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, July 08, 2014.

14 Wells, "Historic Preservation, Significance, and Phenomenology."

15 Daniel Bluestone, "Preservation and Renewal in Post-World War II Chicago," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-) 47, no. 4 (1994), doi:10.2307/1425339.

16 Ibid.

Some recent critiques raise existential questions for historic preservation. Jorge Otero-Pailos, for example, notes that historic preservation asks us to “bear witness to our actions and take responsibility for them.” As the scale of our field has increased from single buildings to regions, preservation can “no longer naively presuppose that we are part of the solution without simultaneously recognizing that we’re part of the problem.”¹⁷ David Alpert, in his article “Historic Preservation Is a Political Movement,” questions the future of preservation, asking if we are on a path to irrelevance in pursuit of “ideological purity.”¹⁸ And Muschamp argues that preservation has transformed from an “expression of liberal conscience” to a “deeply reactionary mode of self-deception.”¹⁹ Ignoring the social-justice side of the democratic process is a “failure of the liberal imagination.”²⁰ Schneider quips: “Who cares about housing when we can rescue a landmark building, throw a fabulous party inside it and toast our sense of public spirit?”²¹

In an article on the importance of educating preservation students about sustainability, Jeffrey Chusid explicitly identifies what preservationists can do to advance both equity and environmental goals. He notes that poverty and powerlessness are difficult to fight, and that the poor are the likely victims in failures of sustainability planning, and are most likely to be victims of preservation plans that prioritize buildings

17 Jorge Otero-Pailos, “Historic Provocation: Thinking Past Architecture and Preservation,” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation History, Theory, and Criticism*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 2005).

18 David Alpert, “Historic Preservation Is a Political Movement,” Greater Greater Washington, November 7, 2008, <http://greatergreaterwashington.org/post/1396/historic-preservation-is-a-political-movement/>.

19 Muschamp, “From an Era When Equality Mattered”

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

over communities.²² Chusid writes that affordability and accessibility are keys to social equity — and that “Keeping people in their historic homes and helping them make changes to reduce resource use is effective.”²³

Toni Lee writes about the increased need for cultural diversity in the preservation field, noting that only a small percentage of designated properties are associated with minorities. While diversity in the field is slowly increasing, much work remains to be done. Lee also notes a need for increased cultural and racial diversity in policy positions.²⁴

Wiese takes a similar view on the class origins of planning and preservation. In his article, “Is There Room for the ‘Hoi-Polloi’ in Planning and Planning History? Thoughts on Class and Planning at the Turn of a New Century”²⁵ he argues that planners and preservationists reinforce the material advantages of some neighborhoods by “extending state support for the middle class while ignoring the economically marginal, and defining the terms of the debate in ways that make social inequality invisible.”²⁶ Further, Wiese believes that there is a disjuncture between the planning community’s ideals and the on-the-ground needs of working class communities.

Stephanie Ryberg-Webster and Kelly Kinahan support the notion that the idea of preservation has many class and race implications, with critiques of the field calling

22 An example of such a plan that focuses on buildings to the near exclusion of people is the June 2012 publication by the Philadelphia Historical Commission, “Historic Preservation Recommendations for the Lower Northeast Planning District.” The document is available at: <http://www.phila.gov/historical/Documents/LNEPD%20Preservation%20Memo.pdf>

23 Jeffrey M. Chusid, “Teaching Sustainability to Preservation Students,” *APT Bulletin: Journal of Preservation Technology* 41, no. 1 (2010), JSTOR.

24 Toni Lee, “Cultural Diversity in Historic Preservation: Where We Have Been, Where We Are Going,” *Forum Journal* 27, no. 1 (2012), Project MUSE.

25 Andrew Wiese, “Is There a Role for the ‘Hoi-Polloi’ in Planning and Planning History? Thoughts on Class and Planning at the Turn of a New Century,” *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 3 (2002).

26 Ibid.

preservation an expensive and elitist practice.²⁷ This legacy hurts preservationists who are attempting to work in low-income communities. Further, they argue, to keep preservation relevant and responsive to modern needs, preservationists need to “get out of the silo.” The authors suggest more research on the intersection of preservation and revitalization.

Some researchers have a blunt term for the problem: ethnocentrism. Some argue that the preservation movement traditionally views disadvantaged communities as people who lack an appreciation for “culture” — rather than a community with a different culture. Toni Lee notes that preservationists need to remember that “history and culture mean different things to different people.”²⁸ Ethnocentric attitudes toward the cultural beliefs and practices of diverse groups are highly likely to result in hurt feelings, anger, and further entrenched distrust. In scholarship presented in literary form — a play called “Listening to the City: Community Research with Newark’s Historic James Street Commons Neighborhood”— White, Makris, and Lizaire-Duff have one character put it this way: “The privileged, the smarter outsider is gonna come in and bring humanity to the natives.”²⁹

Members of minority and low-income communities often distrust planners and preservationists who come to the conversation with pre-conceived ideas of how to improve a neighborhood. In the past, these top-down approaches have led to limitations on community members’ opportunities and potential for advancement.³⁰ Peirce Lewis

27 Stephanie Ryberg-Webster and Kelly L. Kinahan, “Historic Preservation and Urban Revitalization in the Twenty-first Century,” *Journal of Planning Literature* 29, no. 2 (2014), Sage Publications.

28 Lee, “Cultural Diversity in Historic Preservation”

29 C. J. White, M. V. Makris, and S. Lizaire-Duff, “Listening to the City: Community Research With Newark’s Historic James Street Commons Neighborhood,” *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 11, no. 5 (2011).

30 Robert W. Collin, Timothy Beatley, and William Harris, “Environmental Racism: A Challenge to Community Development,” *Journal of Black Studies* 25, no. 3 (1995), JSTOR.

notes that urban renewal taught us that demolition and new construction was a bad strategy.³¹ Despite an American Planning Association code of ethics that reinforces public interests above private, a gap remains between this and actual practice. Disadvantaged communities end up poorly served as a result.³² This is supported by research that suggests that urban renewal projects led to poor neighborhoods experiencing an increase in social problems, marginalization, and vulnerability to social extinction.³³

In thinking about the importance of social equity in general, Emily Talen writes that social equity is an “equality of civic engagement across a community,”³⁴ and in its relationship to planning and preservation results in a fair “spatial distribution of people and resources.” Talen also notes that “for social equity to happen, neighborhoods need to be socially, economically, and culturally diverse.”³⁵

Supporting Talen’s thesis is Felipe Gorostiza in “Some Thoughts on Diversity and Inclusion in Planning History.” He argues that ‘otherness’ is created by economic and spatial distance.³⁶ He also stresses the importance of recognizing accomplishments and contributions by members of communities with high poverty rates, and not just the problems they face. The creation of otherness was common in the era of racial segregation in America and this legacy continues to taint modern race relations.³⁷

31 Lewis, “The Future of the Past”

32 Collin, et al, “Environmental Racism”

33 Martín Sánchez-Jankowski, *Cracks in the Pavement: Social Change and Resilience in Poor Neighborhoods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

34 Emily Talen, “The Social Goals of New Urbanism,” *Housing Policy Debate* 13, no. 1 (2002).

35 Emily Talen, “Zoning and Diversity in Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Planning History* 11, no. 4 (2012).

36 Felipe J. Gorostiza, “Some Thoughts on Diversity and Inclusion in Planning History,” *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 3 (2002).

37 Robert R. Weyeneth, “The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past,” *The Public Historian* 27, no. 4 (2005).

Jen Gray-O'Connor writes in "Solutions in Search of Problems: The Construction of Inequality in 'Smart Growth' Discourse" that the growing "racial and economic disparity" between residents of "residential enclaves and those in older, urban cores suggests segregation so profound" that it has been likened to an "American apartheid."³⁸ Gray-O'Connor continues, "The distribution of jobs, schools, municipal services, and opportunities has followed redlines, further entrenching social inequality in spatial location."³⁹ The author supports the idea that location of housing is critical for determining access to transportation, services, and education.

Alan Mallach in his "Managing Neighborhood Change" emphasizes housing as an important element in neighborhood revitalization. He writes that housing demand is a "critical lever" for increasing the vitality and quality of life in a neighborhood or community.⁴⁰ Strong housing markets and healthy communities are important, but it is also important that low-income residents benefit from the revitalization as well. Mallach defines neighborhood vitality as an "attractive place to live, desirable housing stock, safety, school quality, resident commitment and engagement."⁴¹

Connecting this discussion of housing to the goals of historic preservation, some argue that New Urbanism is a meeting ground for social equity, housing and preservation. They contend the movement can assist in rebuilding distressed neighborhoods by focusing on community involvement, economic opportunity, and a diverse array of housing types.

38 Jen Gray-O'Connor, "Solutions in Search of Problems: The Construction of Urban Inequality in 'Smart Growth' Discourse," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 53 (2009).

39 Ibid.

40 Alan Mallach, *Managing Neighborhood Change A Framework for Sustainable and Equitable Revitalization*, publication (Montclair, NJ: National Housing Institute, 2008).

41 Ibid.

A model “Just City” works to balance the tension between economic development and social equity, while maximizing quality of life through “people-based equity.”⁴²

Finally, the literature also gives us examples of how the historic preservation movement was absent from struggles by disadvantaged communities to save their homes. Urban renewal was profoundly devastating for minorities, as development projects and highway infrastructure were disproportionately planned with apparent disregard for communities of color. Local governments strategically planned and deployed images of these communities as ghettos, blighted, and slums to justify their eradication. Despite these labels, the targeted neighborhoods generally had good housing, strong social networks, and established community institutions. One scholar notes: “Preservationists have often overlooked buildings from communities of color because they weren’t by a famous architect, nor aesthetically or architecturally exceptional.”⁴³

While urban renewal today is considered generally destructive to communities, some renewal projects in Philadelphia took an innovative approach⁴⁴ that might be seen today as progressive. With limited urban renewal funding, many planners saw preservation and rehabilitation of homes as a viable solution for reducing blight. By contrast, the formal mechanism for historic preservation — the Philadelphia Historical Commission — was initially seemingly concerned only with pristine restoration of Colonial-era buildings. Its only collaboration with the planning department was on the preservation and renewal of the once-blighted Society Hill neighborhood, which did

42 Kristin Larsen, “New Urbanism’s Role in Inner-city Neighborhood Revitalization,” *Housing Studies* 20, no. 5 (2005).

43 Leland T. Saito, “From “Blighted” to “Historic”: Race, Economic Development, and Historic Preservation in San Diego, California,” *Urban Affairs Review* 45, no. 2 (2009), doi:10.1177/1078087408327636.

44 Stephanie R. Ryberg, “Historic Preservation’s Urban Renewal Roots: Preservation and Planning in Midcentury Philadelphia,” *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 2 (2013).

not escape completely from the demolition and displacement commonly thought of in relation to urban renewal.^{45,46}

Some neighborhoods in Chicago fought against urban renewal practices by working to get historic designation for their communities. North Pullman and North Kensington, in southern Chicago, were considered too blighted for designation by the city. Residents “motivated by a desire for racial justice,” saw the designation of their neighborhoods as historic as democratizing and righting historical wrongs. Michael writes: “The community-based preservation movement argued for a democratic process that challenged the old Progressive Era notion of the urban expert.” Opposition to the urban renewal plans by African American community members combined with consistent pressure on the political actors “expanded the preservation agenda beyond professional recommendations, revealing biases.”⁴⁷

Taken as a whole, this literature documents an awakening in the historic preservation field. We have gone from recognizing only a narrow class of structures to a broader definition that includes communities and public spaces that have meaning to all segments of society. This is a reminder of why we do preservation — why it engages our passions. Paul Goldberger’s interpretation is:

... perhaps the most important thing to say about preservation, when it is really working as it should, is that it uses the past not to make us nostalgic,

45 Ibid.

46 Many scholarly sources exist that are far more comprehensive and nuanced than can be written in this thesis. Some notable examples are: John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920–1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Guian A. McKee, “Liberal Ends through Illiberal Means: Race, Urban Renewal, and Community in the Eastwick Section of Philadelphia, 1949–1990,” *Journal of Urban History* 27 (2001): 547–83; Eric Avila and Mark H. Rose, “Race, Culture, Politics, and Urban Renewal: An Introduction,” *Journal of Urban History* 35 (2009): 335–47.

47 Vincent L. Michael, “Race against Renewal: Motives for Historic District Designation in Inner-City Chicago,” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation* 2, no. 2 (2005), JSTOR.

but to make us feel that we live together in a better present. A present that has a broad reach and a great, sweeping arc and that is not narrowly defined, but broadly defined by its connections to other eras, and its ability to embrace them in a larger, cumulative whole. Successful preservation makes time a continuum, not a series of disjointed disconnected eras.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ David Brown, "Preservation in the 21st Century: Change Is the Constant," Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, July 01, 2014, <http://blog.preservationleadershipforum.org/2014/07/01/preservation-21st-century/>.

CHAPTER THREE: Sustainability, Social Equity, and Preservation

What is sustainability?

Sustainability and sustainable development have become critical concepts in urban planning in recent years. Data collected by Google's book-digitization program suggest the term "sustainability" was virtually non-existent in English-language texts prior to 1980, while 'sustainable' started appearing around 1960. Both terms saw a rapid increase in usage around 1986.⁴⁹

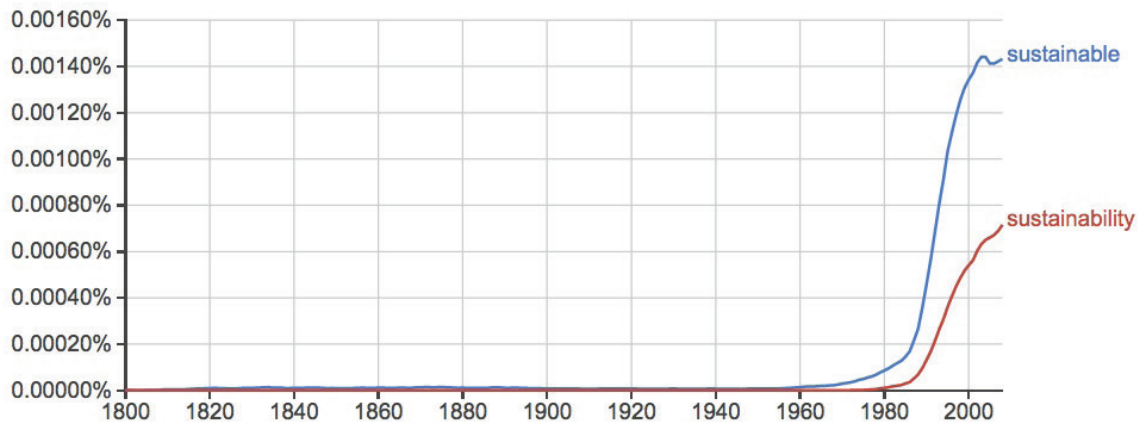


Figure 1: A Google Ngram showing the rise of the terms sustainable and sustainability in English language texts.

But what do these terms mean? Some refer to "sustainability" when they mean "environmental policy or protection."⁵⁰ But in many disciplines the meaning is far more encompassing. One example is the definition proposed by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development report, also known as the Bruntland Report. Its

⁴⁹ "Google Ngram Viewer," Google Ngram Viewer, accessed February 17, 2015. Graph was created using the terms 'sustainable' and 'sustainability,' covering a time period of 1800 to 2008, using an English corpus, and a smoothing of 3.

⁵⁰ Opp and Saunders, pg. #679.

authors conclude that sustainability means “meeting human needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”⁵¹

Reflecting a view of many authors, Chusid defines sustainability as a pediment resting upon “three interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars — economic development, social development, and environmental protection — which must be established at local, national, regional, and global levels.”⁵² This model conveys the message that sustainability is equally supported by social, environmental and economic considerations. “If any one pillar is weak then the system as a whole is unsustainable.”⁵³

Despite this definition of each element as equally important, most discussions of sustainability

focus on its environmental aspects. Opp and Saunders write that “American cities place a

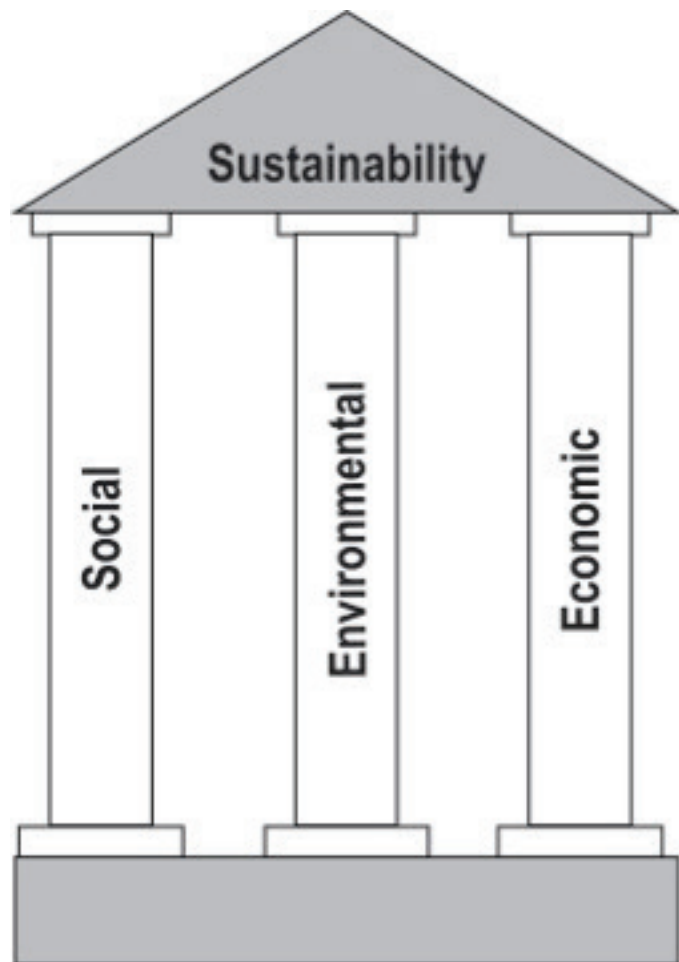


Figure 2: A graphic representation of the pediment of sustainability resting upon the pillars of social, environmental, and economic considerations.

Image by Thwink.org.

51 “Sustainable Development,” in *Our Common Future*, proceedings of World Commission on Environment and Development (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

52 Chusid, “Teaching Sustainability,” pg. #44.

53 “The Three Pillars of Sustainability,” Thwink.org, accessed February 17, 2015, <http://www.thwink.org/sustain/glossary/ThreePillarsOfSustainability.htm>.

greater emphasis on environmental or economic policies while minimizing — or outright ignoring — the social-equity or justice dimensions of sustainability ... little empirical evidence or analysis exists that examines the efforts of American cities in pursuing all three dimensions of sustainability.”⁵⁴

What are the roots of sustainability?

While a complete history of sustainability is beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief overview here will set the framework for later chapters. As discussed in the previous section, sustainability first was framed as concerns for the environment — and these have a long history in western world. Among the pioneers were the founders of Philadelphia; William Penn, in 1690, required that settlers on his granted land leave one acre of trees standing for every five acres they cleared.⁵⁵ In 1739, Benjamin Franklin petitioned the Pennsylvania Assembly to remove tanneries from Philadelphia’s central commercial districts, and regulate the dumping of their waste product in these districts. Business owners fought the regulations, citing their private rights. However, Franklin argued that these environmental nuisances infringed upon the “public rights” of the residents of Philadelphia.⁵⁶

At about the same time, many Enlightenment-age thinkers around the world began to express concern over the social and environmental effects of increased industrial production. For example, Thomas Malthus warned of overpopulation,⁵⁷ John Stuart Mill’s

⁵⁴ Opp and Saunders, *Pillar Talk*, 679.

⁵⁵ Alvin Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pg. 59.

⁵⁶ A. Michal McMahon, “Small Matters”: Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, and the “Progress of Cities” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116, no. 2 (April 01, 1992): pg. 158.

⁵⁷ Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on The Principle Of Population* (London: Murray, 1826).

writing on stationary state economies developed into the field of ecological economics,⁵⁸ botanist Eugenius Warming was the first to study the relationship between plants and their environment,⁵⁹ and Carl Linnaeus developed a concept of economy of nature,⁶⁰ both of which led to the field of ecology. Romantic poets Wordsworth and Coleridge wrote of their appreciation of the beauty of the natural world.⁶¹

During the Industrial Revolution, concerns over pollution and increasing rates of coal consumption led to pressure for environmental regulation from Britain's middle class. The 1853 Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Act and 1863 Alkali Acts are thought to be the earliest modern environmental laws.⁶² As an alternative reaction to industrialization, a "back-to-nature" movement emerged in Britain and spread to the United States. Promoted by the likes of Ruskin, Morris, and Carpenter, it advocated against activities that were harmful to the natural world such as consumerism and industrialized production.⁶³

In the United States, men such as Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson were writing about the American frontier and its "untamed nature," with Thoreau contending, "in wilderness is the preservation of the world." John Muir became an outspoken voice on the preservation of wilderness, eventually founding the Sierra Club

58 John Stuart Mill, "Of the Stationary State," in *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy* (London: Longmans, Green and, 1909), accessed February 15, 2015, <http://www.econlib.org/library/Mill/mlP61.html#Bk.IV,Ch.VI>.

59 Eugenius Warming et al., *Oecology of Plants; an Introduction to the Study of Plant-communities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).

60 Frank N. Egerton, "A History of the Ecological Sciences, Part 23: Linnaeus and the Economy of Nature," *Bulletin of the Ecological Society of America* 88, no. 1 (2007), 2.

61 Thomas De Quincey, *Recollections of the Lake Poets: And the Lake Poets: Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1881).

62 Doug Benn, "GG3068: Atmospheric Pollution," Pollution: Control Measures, accessed February 16, 2015, <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~dib2/atmos/control.html>.

63 Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pg. #724.

in 1892.^{64,65} The Organic Act of 1916 set out a mission of active management of national parks and monuments, stating, "... to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."⁶⁶

After the Industrial Revolution, consumption of non-renewable and renewable resources was increasing at a rapid rate. Debates over non-renewable resource consumption led to models for the management of these resources, leading to the evolving field of environmental economics.⁶⁷ After the Great Depression and resource restrictions imposed during WWII, a "great acceleration" in consumption led to a "surge in the human enterprise that has emphatically stamped humanity as a global geophysical force."⁶⁸

The 1960s and 70s saw a reaction to the era of consumption, in a growing environmentalism movement that recognized the past negligence of the environment. Further, increasing awareness of air and water pollution, the occurrence of large-scale environmental disasters, and the proliferation of nuclear technologies created a receptive audience for activists such as authors Rachel Carson and Aldo Leopold.⁶⁹

64 Ibid.

65 "John Muir: A Brief Biography," John Muir Biography - John Muir Exhibit, accessed February 11, 2015, http://vault.sierraclub.org/john_muir_exhibit/life/muir_biography.aspx.

66 Organic Act of 1916, United States Code § 1-1 (1916).

67 Harold Hotelling, "The Economics of Exhaustible Resources," *Journal of Political Economy* 39, no. 2 (April 01, 1931), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/1822328?ref=no-x-route:b87f0c42cd6f1de26d8319fab1ed762d>.

68 Libby Robin and Will Steffen, "The 'Big Here and the Long Now': Agendas for History and Sustainability," *History Compass* 5, no. 5 (July 6, 2007): pg. #1710, accessed February 16, 2015.

69 John McCormick, *Reclaiming Paradise: The Global Environmental Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

The 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development issued a report of its findings, “Our Common Future,” which offered detailed commentary on the need for sustainable development for all countries. Its authors include this touching call for action on the matter:

In the middle of the 20th century, we saw our planet from space for the first time. Historians may eventually find that this vision had a greater impact on thought than did the Copernican revolution of the 16th century, which upset the human self-image by revealing that the Earth is not the centre of the universe. From space, we see a small and fragile ball dominated not by human activity and edifice but by a pattern of clouds, oceans, greenery, and soils. Humanity’s inability to fit its activities into that pattern is changing planetary systems, fundamentally. Many such changes are accompanied by life-threatening hazards. This new reality, from which there is no escape, must be recognized – and managed.⁷⁰

In 1992, at an “Earth Summit” convened by the United Nations, leaders of nations around the world developed a “voluntary action plan” called Agenda 21. It is not a treaty or legally binding document and does not infringe upon the sovereignty of any nation, state, or local government. It is an agreement that focuses on:

... the need to become more sustainable—to meet today’s needs without sacrificing our future. Agenda 21 presents a vision for how all levels of government—especially in the developing world—can take voluntary action to combat poverty and pollution, conserve natural resources and develop in a sustainable manner.⁷¹

The sustainability movement has expanded drastically since the 1992 conference. Today, governments around the world are implementing their own sustainability programs. In the United States, a variety of federal agencies are involved with this process. For example, the Environmental Protection Agency writes of their efforts:

70 “A Call for Action,” in *Our Common Future*, proceedings of World Commission on Environment and Development (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

71 “FAQ: ICLEI, the United Nations, and Agenda 21,” ICLEI Local Governments for Sustainability USA, section goes here, accessed February 16, 2015, <http://www.icleiusa.org/about-iclei/faqs/faq-iclei-the-united-nations-and-agenda-21>.

In its early years, EPA acted primarily as the nation's environmental watchdog, striving to ensure that industries met legal requirements to control pollution. In subsequent years, EPA began to develop theory, tools, and practices that enabled it to move from controlling pollution to preventing it.

Today EPA aims to make sustainability the next level of environmental protection by drawing on advances in science and technology to protect human health and the environment, and promoting innovative green business practices.⁷²

⁷² "Sustainability Information | EPA Research | EPA," EPA, What is EPA doing? accessed February 16, 2015, <http://www.epa.gov/sustainability/basicinfo.htm#sustainability>.

Three pillars of sustainability

As discussed previously, the concept of sustainability rests upon three equally important components; considerations for environmental, social, and economic implications of any decision made. Sustainable development can be visualized as a Venn diagram with the three circles creating intersection points.⁷³ Sustainability is realized

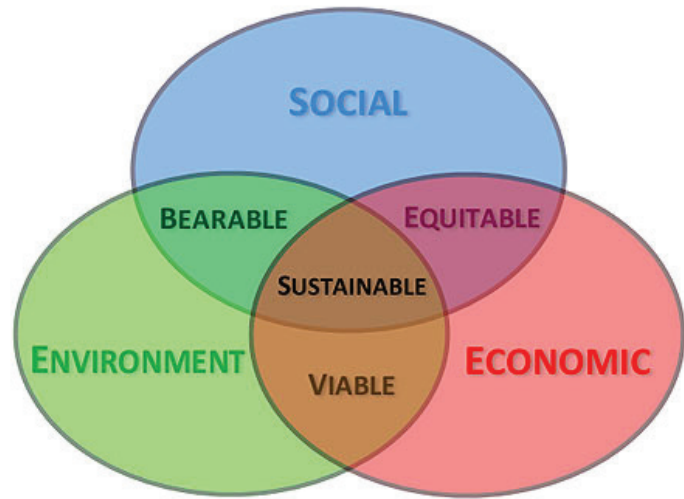


Figure 3: Venn diagram model of sustainable development. Image by: Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS) Joint Program Office.

when there is a balance of the three elements. If only two of the three are considered, the structure becomes unstable.

There is a growing concern that social equity has been ill-defined and is not commonly understood; this, some argue, leads to it being consistently pushed aside for environmental and economic considerations. But for many, “equity concerns are intimately related to the economic and environmental condition of the community and therefore must be considered to achieve perpetual sustainability.”⁷⁴ Jeffrey Chusid writes of social equity being missing from sustainability conversations and academic programs that claim to teach the subject, “This lacuna may be understandable; after all, measuring energy flows through a window is a tamer problem than fighting the politics of poverty and powerlessness.”⁷⁵

⁷³ Louis G. Neudorff, “Module 11: Sustainable Transportation,” ITS ePrimer, Introduction: The Broad Concept of Sustainability, accessed February 18, 2015, <http://www.pcb.its.dot.gov/eprimer/module11.aspx>.

⁷⁴ Opp and Saunders, *Pillar Talk*, 681-682.

⁷⁵ Chusid, *Teaching Sustainability*, 47.

Relationship between sustainability and preservation

The environmental aspect of sustainability, at least, has a strong foothold in preservation practices. In his series, “Why Do Old Places Matter?” Tom Mayes writes: “Keeping and using old places is one of the most environmentally-sound things a person or community can do — more than building or buying anything new that claims to be ‘green.’”⁷⁶ Carl Elefante famously writes: “the greenest building is ... one that is already built.”⁷⁷

Mayes outlines the environmental reasons for the preservation of historic buildings; avoided impact, land conservation, embodied energy, operating energy, passive design, and transportation and density. Taken individually, these might be easy to rebut with arguments for new building construction. But combined, they are a powerful argument for preservation as a sustainability strategy. Mayes notes that there are “deeply philosophical ecological reasons to keep, maintain and reuse old places.” He believes that older communities are “organic systems developed over time” and contain distinctive cultures that are “irreplaceable, if ever-changing, parts of our environment.”⁷⁸

There is also a cultural argument for preservation. Mok writes: “Building ‘green’ isn’t just about using the latest and greatest technologies—it can also be about preserving time-honored, local building traditions that respect regional cultures and have proven to be climatically appropriate over the centuries.”⁷⁹ The materials, craftsmanship, and energy that has gone into “extracting, transporting, making and installing” the features

⁷⁶ Tom Mayes, “Why Do Old Places Matter? Sustainability,” Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, October 30, 2014.

⁷⁷ Carl Elefante, “The Greenest Building Is... One That Is Already Built,” *Forum Journal* 27, no. 1 (2012), accessed December 20, 2014, Project MUSE.

⁷⁸ Mayes, *Sustainability*.

⁷⁹ Kimberley Mok, “Cool but Endangered Conical Houses Get Preservation Treatment in Indonesia,” TreeHugger, May 9, 2013, accessed January 18, 2015, <http://www.treehugger.com/green-architecture/yori-antar-mbaru-niang-preservation-worok-flores-island-indonesia.html>.

of our historic buildings deserve lasting respect. Further, these materials and skills might not ever be available again. Mayes writes that “throwing old floorboards and siding away is not only disrespectful to the materials and to the humans who labored to saw, plane, groove and install them, but inherently inconsistent with the very idea of sustainability.”⁸⁰

In modern discussions of sustainability, economic development — at least as conventionally defined — often is placed in opposition to environmental stewardship. Opp and Saunders note the long history of scholarship that sees “never-ending economic growth as detrimental to the natural environment.” Followers of Thomas Malthus (Neo-Malthusians) claim that “population and economic growth were to blame for environmental degradation” and cite an overpopulation trap that they “believe humanity will fall into unless we undergo a change in values that will lead us to have fewer children and consume less.”⁸¹

In the preservation world, however, many argue that the environmental and economic pillars of sustainability can work together. The National Trust for Historic Preservation sees economic development as a critical component of preservation and a sustainable future. The Trust writes:

Preserving historic buildings offers several economic advantages that serve as a catalyst for additional investment in communities ... repairing existing buildings produces roughly 50 percent more new jobs than constructing anew. In addition, reusing and retrofitting older buildings stimulates the local economy due to the fact that labor tends to be hired locally and materials are often purchased locally.⁸²

⁸⁰ Mayes, *Sustainability*.

⁸¹ Opp and Saunders, *Pillar Talk*, 680.

⁸² “Creating Sustainable Communities,” Preservationnation.org, Historic Preservation = Economic Development, accessed February 20, 2015, http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/sustainable-communities/creating/#.VOeFBrDF8_M.

Research by the Preservation Green Lab on building reuse supports both the environmental and economic benefits of historic preservation.⁸³

Reusing existing buildings is good for the economy, the community and the environment. At a time when our country's foreclosure and unemployment rates remain high, communities would be wise to reinvest in their existing building stock. Historic rehabilitation has a **thirty-two year track record of creating 2 million jobs and generating \$90 billion in private investment**. Studies show residential rehabilitation **creates 50% more jobs** than new construction.⁸⁴ (emphasis in original)

It is important to note that the economic benefits mentioned above are based on federal historic rehabilitation tax credit projects, which are only available for income-producing properties.⁸⁵ Federal tax credits are not available to individual homeowners for the rehabilitation or preservation of their home.

As noted previously, social equity has been given the least attention in discussions of sustainability; this is certainly true as well in discussions about preservation and sustainability. Social equity deals with subjects like decreased housing affordability, gentrification of neighborhoods, environmental racism, and accessibility. Chusid notes that the “development and regulatory processes” that deal with new construction and historic preservation “have negative impacts on affordability and accessibility”— concerns that are especially critical in developing nations.⁸⁶ Additionally, some neighborhoods with high owner-occupancy rates might feel that federal historic rehabilitation tax credit based projects are unwelcome. Because these projects require rehabilitation of historic

83 Some states offer tax credits for homeowners to preserve or rehabilitate their property.

84 “The Environmental Value of Building Reuse,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed February 20, 2015, http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/sustainable-communities/green-lab/valuing-building-reuse.html#VOFmrLDF8_M.

85 Further details on the details of the use of federal historic preservation tax credits are available at <http://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives/reports.htm>

86 Chusid, *Teaching Sustainability*, pg. #47.

buildings as income-producing property, there is legitimate concern that reliance solely on the federal tax credit for certified historic rehabilitation can significantly alter the neighborhood's social and cultural landscape.

Mallach's "Managing Neighborhood Change" looks at the importance of social equity in neighborhood revitalization efforts, noting that while demand for housing can lead to stronger and healthier neighborhoods, it can also lead to destructive outcomes. Redevelopment that is "driven by speculation, triggering little or no improvement in the community's quality of life ... can disrupt established communities, displacing long-time low- and moderate-income residents."⁸⁷

In her 2009 thesis Mackenzie Greer eloquently defined equity as "how well resources ... of a community or neighborhood, are distributed among its residents." And equity can be measured by "access, which accounts for both distance (ability to reach) and affordability, which includes housing, commercial or retail areas, jobs, safety and well-being, and transportation." She argues "Fair housing, access to transportation, and affordable commercial space for small businesses are all elements of equity that can be addressed through preservation of the physical form."⁸⁸

Chusid sums up the critical importance of the relationship between preservation, its practitioners, and sustainability efforts:

Sustainability, with its connotations of future availability of natural and cultural resources for coming generations, is a form of planning, which suggests that it requires practitioners to be adept at intervening at the right scale at the right time and at operating across scales. Clearly, sustainability requires thinking beyond individual structures to the infrastructure of modern life ... Preservationists should be part of the discussion about what

⁸⁷ Alan Mallach, *Managing Neighborhood Change*, Preface.

⁸⁸ Mackenzie Greer, "Modes, Means and Measures: Adapting Sustainability Indicators to Assess Preservation Activity's Impact on Community Equity" (Master's Thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2009), 3.4 Defining Equity Within A Community, <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1356&context=theses>.

to do, but they need to be armed not only with their traditional concerns but also with a sense of how to coordinate ... a response that integrates multiple needs.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Chusid, *Teaching Sustainability*, pg. #48.

CHAPTER FOUR: Inequity and Marginalization

Despite being a country largely of immigrants with large patterns of internal migration, and a high degree of mobility and transience, our society has a long history of housing discrimination. This chapter will highlight some of the ways that segregation and Jim Crow laws, redlining, urban renewal and the war on poverty have created housing inequalities that continue to challenge cities — and complicate our efforts to improve them.

The 1933 Athens Charter spoke to the importance of buildings as a form of cultural heritage: “Architectural assets must be protected, whether found in isolated buildings or in urban agglomerations. They form a part of the human heritage, and whoever owns them or is entrusted with their protection has the responsibility and the obligation to do whatever he legitimately can to hand this noble heritage down intact to the centuries to come.”⁹⁰

Yet planners and preservationists have long overlooked the urban fabric of minority communities, routinely labeling as “blighted” whole neighborhoods that have cultural or historical importance to residents.

For example, outsiders labeled Boston’s West End neighborhood as a slum. This is a derogatory term meaning a crowded part of a neighborhood or town inhabited by people of low socioeconomic status, “a reflection of middle-class standards — and middle-class incomes,” wrote sociologist Herbert Gans.⁹¹ He countered that the area is an “old, somewhat deteriorated, low-rent neighborhood that housed a variety of people, most

⁹⁰ Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973).

⁹¹ Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers; Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pg. #352.

of them poor,” but not an irreparable slum.⁹² Another well-known case is Heritage Hill, a neighborhood in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In 1968 the city planned to demolish three-quarters of it for urban renewal.⁹³ Residents successfully fought the project. It is now a thriving national, state, and local historic district, and a much sought-after — and diverse — neighborhood.⁹⁴

While residents of Heritage Hill were successful, others — including those in Boston’s West End — have not been as lucky. During the urban-renewal era, spanning the 1940s to 1970s, cities sought to scrape the earth bare and (sometimes) build again, rather than invest in communities and let them evolve.

Richard Moe once wrote:

Abandoned buildings can break a neighborhood’s heart. Demolished buildings can destroy its soul. When disinvestment, poor maintenance and abandonment leave a neighborhood pock-marked with vacant or dilapidated buildings, public officials and citizens often seek a quick solution to the community’s woes by razing the deteriorated structures. Demolition may effect a dramatic change in the neighborhood’s appearance, but it’s rarely a change for the better.⁹⁵

Continuity of a community’s built environment, cultural heritage, oral histories, inherited values, and social bonds cannot be repaired after fragmentation.

What defines a marginalized community?

In building a foundational understanding of inequity and marginalization, defining these terms is critical. There are as many definitions as there are words on this

92 Ibid, pg. #4.

93 “Great Places in America: Neighborhoods 2012,” American Planning Association, accessed March 01, 2015, <https://www.planning.org/greatplaces/neighborhoods/2012/>.

94 “One of a Kind Community,” Heritage Hill Neighborhood Association, accessed March 01, 2015, <http://www.heritagehillweb.org/about/overview/>.

95 *Rebuilding Community: A Best Practices Toolkit for Historic Preservation and Redevelopment*, report (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2002), pg. #3.

page. Oxford English Dictionary offers two definitions of inequity as “Want of equity or justice; the fact or quality of being unfair; unfairness, partiality” and “An unfair or unjust matter or action.”⁹⁶

Marginalization is more difficult to define, and has changed over time. A recent definition from the OED notes that it is “the process of making an individual or minority group marginal in relation to a dominant social group.”⁹⁷ But one group of scholars calls it a “slippery and multi-layered concept.”⁹⁸ Marginalization can happen from a global to local level, and can affect ethnic groups, families, neighborhoods, and individuals, excluded “from the dominant social order.”⁹⁹ Thirty years ago, another scholar, Peter Leonard, argued that social marginality is “being outside the mainstream of productive activity and/or social reproductive activity.”¹⁰⁰ Leonard distinguishes between two groups: those who are voluntarily marginal, such as members of some religions, communes, and artist communities; and those who are involuntarily marginalized. This latter group includes some experiencing lifelong and profound exclusion and some who become marginalized later in life, through forces such as “disablement or by changes in the social and economic system.”¹⁰¹ Our understanding of marginalization has expanded since Leonard’s writing, with increasing awareness of how minimum-wage employment, high health care costs, immigration status and criminal history can restrict options.

96 “inequity, n.” OED Online. December 2014. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/94981> (accessed February 21, 2015).

97 “marginalization, n.”. OED Online. December 2014. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/239550> (accessed February 21, 2015).

98 Carolyn Kagan and Mark Burton, “Marginalization,” in *Community Psychology: In Pursuit of Liberation and Well-being*, ed. Geoffrey B. Nelson and Isaac Prilleltensky (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pg. #314.

99 Ibid.

100 Peter Leonard, *Personality and Ideology: Towards a Materialist Understanding of the Individual* (London: Macmillan, 1984), pg. #180.

101 Ibid, pg. #180-181.

Beyond a merely economic condition, marginalized persons experience the effects through every aspect of their life:

Marginalization is at the core of exclusion from fulfilling and full social lives at individual, interpersonal and societal levels. People who are marginalized have relatively little control over their lives and have few resources available to them; they become stigmatised and are often at the receiving end of negative public attitudes. Their opportunities to make social contributions may be limited and they may develop low self-confidence and self esteem. If they do not have work and live with support services, for example, they may have limited opportunities for meeting with others. A vicious circle is set up whereby their lack of positive and supportive relationships means they are prevented from participating in local life, which in turn leads to further isolation. Limiting social policies and practices restrict access to valued social resources such as education, health services, housing, income, leisure activities and work.¹⁰²

Roots of inequity and marginalization

Racial segregation has a long history worldwide, but after the abolition of slavery in the United States with the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, discrimination and segregation based on race became enforceable by a set of federal laws that developed out of the previously instituted “Black Codes.”¹⁰³ These laws allowing the segregation of African Americans are sometimes called Jim Crow laws. The US Supreme Court’s decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) allowed “separate but equal” facilities for whites and African Americans. Legal segregation and discrimination continued until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. By that point courts had already found some of the laws unconstitutional; examples include school segregation,

¹⁰² Kagan and Burton, “Marginalization.”

¹⁰³ “An Act to Establish and Regulate the Domestic Relations of Persons of Color...” or the Black Codes of South Carolina, December 1865,” Teaching American History in South Carolina, 2009, accessed February 21, 2015, <http://www.teachingushistory.org/tTrove/scblackcodes.htm>.

which was outlawed by the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Among the decisions most relevant here was the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which disallowed discrimination in the sale or rental of housing on the basis of "race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, and disability."¹⁰⁴ This was meant to address inequities resulting from the Home Owners' Loan Corporation started in 1933 and 1934 National Housing Act.

The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) was created "during the Depression to slow down the dramatic increase in the rate of housing foreclosures. Between 1933 and 1936, HOLC made new low-interest, self-amortizing mortgages to one million homeowners who were in default or had already lost their homes."¹⁰⁵ In 1935, HOLC's parent organization, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, initiated a program to evaluate real estate risk levels in 239 cities nationwide. This program was responsible for creating reports for each city that included "a series of now infamous security maps that assigned residential areas a grade from one to four. Areas with African Americans, as well as those with older housing and poorer households, were consistently given a fourth grade, or 'hazardous,' rating and colored red."¹⁰⁶ The result of this was a practice called "redlining," which is a form of discrimination in lending or insurance decisions,

104 "Title VIII: Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity - HUD," Title VIII: Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity - HUD, accessed February 21, 2015, http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=%2Fprogram_offices%2Ffair_housing_equal_opp%2Fprogdesc%2Ftitle8.

105 Amy E. Hillier, "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation," *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4 (May 2003): pg. #394, doi:10.1177/0096144203029004002.

106 Ibid, pg. #394-395.

basing credit decisions publically inaccessible maps, “on the location of a property to the exclusion of the characteristics of the borrower or property”^{107, 108}

In his seminal work “When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor,” William Wilson writes that the federal government contributed to decay of inner-city neighborhoods through its tight hold on mortgage capital. Redlining “excluded virtually all of the black neighborhoods and many neighborhoods with a considerable number of European immigrants.”¹⁰⁹

An outgrowth of the redlining practices led to what we now know as urban renewal. Wilson notes that through manipulation of financing incentives, the federal government was able to attract “middle-class whites to the suburbs and, in effect, trapped blacks in the inner cities.”¹¹⁰ These suburbs were supported by extensive freeway systems, which were often built through the center of urban areas, damaging the built and social fabric of these communities.

While not all urban redevelopment harmed minority communities, much did. The Housing Act of 1949 built upon previous federal efforts to construct new public housing to replace units that were deemed “unsafe or unsanitary.” However, the implementation of the 1949 act resulted in large-scale clearance of “slums” and “blight.” Mark Condon writes, “Public housing was now meant to collect the ghetto residents left homeless by the

107 Ibid.

108 There are three known redlining maps for Philadelphia. J.M. Brewer’s 1934 map is available through the Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network <http://www.philageohistory.org/tiles/viewer/?SelectedLayers=Overlay,JMB1934> The 1935 and 1937 maps created for HOLC are available through The Society Pages, <http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2012/04/25/1934-philadelphia-redlining-map/>

109 William J. Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Knopf, 1996), pg. #46.

110 Ibid.

urban renewal bulldozers.”¹¹¹ The term “urban renewal” was popularized after the passage of the Housing Act of 1954. Displacement of residents, often poor and/or black, was a common effect of urban renewal efforts in metropolitan areas.

Noted novelist James Baldwin termed urban renewal as “Negro removal.” In a 1963 interview, Baldwin recounts a story of a distressed 16-year-old boy from San Francisco:

He said, “I got no country. I got no flag.” Now, he’s only 16 years old, and I couldn’t say, “you do.” I don’t have any evidence to prove that he does. They were tearing down his house, because San Francisco is engaging... most cities are engaged in... something called urban renewal, which means moving Negroes out: it means Negro removal, that is what it means. The federal government is an accomplice to this fact. Now, we are talking about human beings, there’s no such thing as a monolithic wall or some abstraction called the Negro problem. These are Negro boys and girls, who at 16 and 17 don’t believe the country means anything it says and don’t feel they have any place here...¹¹²

The urban renewal policies, meant to revitalize and renew central business districts, contributed to further exacerbation of the racial and economic segregation of former “minority slum dwellers.”¹¹³ Business districts were improved, but lives would never be the same. Noted economist John Kenneth Galbraith once said, “I am worried about our tendency to over-invest in things and underinvest in people.”¹¹⁴

Clinical psychiatrist and Columbia University professor Mindy Thompson Fullilove engaged in intensive research on the psychological effects on communities and individuals after displacement through urban renewal type programs. She writes:

111 Mark Condon, *Public Housing, Crime and the Urban Labor Market: A Study of Black Youths in Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1991).

112 James Baldwin, Fred L. Standley, and Louis H. Pratt, *Conversations with James Baldwin* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), pg. #42.

113 Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin, and Lynette Rawlings, *Public Housing and the Legacy of Segregation* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2009).

114 John Kenneth Galbraith, “Harvard in Epigram,” *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 61 (February 21, 1959): pg. #391.

“Africans and aborigines, rural peasants and city dwellers have been shunted from one place to another ... In cutting the roots of so many people, we have destroyed language, cultural, dietary traditions, and social bonds. We have lined the oceans with bones, and filled the garbage dumps with bricks.”¹¹⁵

The recent physical and economic revival of American downtowns is rooted in the backlash against urban renewal. Jane Jacobs is widely considered to be the most outspoken opponent to the policy decisions that led to neighborhood decline. Her 1961 book, “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” is now a canonical work of the urban planning field. Jacobs argues for mixed-use neighborhoods, sidewalk life, old buildings, density, and diversity. Urban renewal efforts, she argues, created “sterile, regimented, empty” cities.¹¹⁶

Jacobs was an advocate of “resisting over-scale development and permitting good design of urban spaces to encourage community involvement.”¹¹⁷ One wonders what our cities might look like today if we’d listened a bit more closely to pioneers like her. Sharon Zukin, however, suggests that doing so might not have mattered: “It is not clear that following her suggestions would have allowed cities to avoid the lack of investment in public institutions and the miscarriage of racial and social equality that depressed so many neighborhoods in the next generation”¹¹⁸

Viewed through the lens of today’s urban-planning principles and the values of our 21st century society, it is apparent that segregation caused damage to cities that must be addressed in future planning and preservation work. With a history of housing policies, both federal and regional, that were complicit in development of projects that

115 Mindy Thompson Fullilove, M.D., *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It* (New York: One World/Ballantine Books, 2004), pg. #5.

116 Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), pg. #222.

117 Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pg. #220.

118 Ibid.

were “racially segregated, economically isolated, under-funded, poorly managed, and inadequately maintained,”¹¹⁹ residents of these isolated communities continue to be marginalized. “The persistence of racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation in both housing and labor markets today hinders efforts to create healthy, mixed-income communities, deconcentrate poverty, and promote economic well-being.”¹²⁰

Thompson Fullilove puts it this way: “Segregation in a city inhibits the free interaction among citizens and invariably leads to brutality and inequality, which themselves are antithetical to urbanity.”¹²¹

Scholars like Fullilove and Talen say that preservationists and urbanists must continually reinforce the values of social equity, through planning decisions, distribution of resources, and consistent outreach to underserved communities. We must be ever cognizant of those who have gone before us, and the experience and history that predate our presence. In the notable “Making Equity Planning Work,” the authors write, “Without a sense of direction, we will walk backward rather than forward. Without a broad sense of purpose, our knowledge of historical experience may never seem to matter. Without a set of pressing questions, we may review our past without ever fashioning answers to the problems facing us today.”¹²² Our communities are comprised of a rich diversity of people and cultures, structures and streets. We must not allow that to escape our mind when discussing the built environment.

119 Turner, et. al., *Public Housing*.

120 Ibid.

121 Fullilove, *Root Shock*, pg. #45.

122 Norman Krumholz and John Forester, *Making Equity Planning Work: Leadership in the Public Sector* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), pg. #242.

Where is the gap between preservation and communities?

Practitioners in the field of historic preservation must recognize past injustices that planners and preservationists have committed against minorities and marginalized communities. As discussed previously, preservation has long had an image of being only concerned with affluent white men.

Emilie Evans notes that, “Socially equitable preservation means identifying and protecting resources and assets that are important to local communities and those can only be identified through inclusive dialogue, participation, and engagement with those communities. And that takes a lot of effort and investment.”¹²³ Michelle Magalong, a participant in the National Trust’s 2012 preservation conference, offered suggestions for preservationists who are working with and in diverse communities. These include ensuring that all affected communities are included with “real power to influence the outcome or process,” keeping in mind knowledge of the community’s history, integration of strong community leaders from representative groups and agencies, focused stakeholder meetings where community members are encouraged to be part of the planning and implementation of the meeting, and recognition of diverse communities as the “cultural bearers and protectors of the built environment.” Actively honoring community member’s contributions “can only bring positive results” while neglecting their legacy and participating at the end of the project “may perpetuate distrust and trigger negative responses.”¹²⁴

¹²³ Emilie Evans, “Preservation and Social Equity,” e-mail message to author, March 29, 2015.

¹²⁴ Aissia Richardson and Michelle Magalong, “Conversation Starter Part 2: Telling Richer Stories of Place,” Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, December 28, 2012, http://blog.preservationleadershipforum.org/2012/12/28/follow-up-richer-stories/#.VPEDz7PF8_M

Magalong notes, “Many marginalized communities have a history of discrimination, disenfranchisement, displacement, and invisibility.”¹²⁵ Resulting from this, communities that have experienced these past traumas might approach preservation with skepticism. Further, because many of these community members were denied the opportunity to own homes, they ended up “creat[ing] a sense of home and community in non-traditional ways.”¹²⁶ These non-traditional communities led to “buildings and sites that may be historically or culturally significant to these communities [but] do not fit traditional standards of historic preservation. A single site may have a complex, layered history, and it will be necessary to peel through each layer to understand the various interpretations and uses of this site.”¹²⁷ As Emilie Evans puts it, “Relationships to place and space shift across populations among generations, ethnicities, and other cultural strata.”¹²⁸ Further, many non-traditional communities now occupy “historic” neighborhoods that originated with a culturally and socioeconomically different group of residents. It is important for preservationists to understand and take into consideration all of the layers of the neighborhood’s history, including the ways that the current residents contextualize, adapt to, and enrich the pre-existing built landscape.¹²⁹

Preservationists need to work with communities to understand their values, achievements, cultures, and struggles. This all needs to be represented in the built environment in a way that pushes past a token recognition. Ned Kaufman notes “places nurture people and communities.”¹³⁰ This nurturing is something that can help heal wounds of the past.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 Evans, “Preservation and Social Equity.”

129 Cliveden’s recently revised National Historic Landmark statement of significance is an example of this, and will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

130 Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, pg. 30.

Seen from a broader perspective, recognizing the effects of discriminatory practices allows preservationists to address the third element of sustainability: social equity. Recall that sustainability is a balance of environmental, economic, and social considerations. In 2002, the Millennial Housing Commission wrote, “U.S. housing policy must recognize that preservation is cheaper than new construction, that the rehabilitation and preservation of units returns the units to low-income families faster than new construction can provide such units, and that maintaining and renovating existing units combats blight and contributes to healthy communities.”¹³¹

Evans discusses her efforts in equitable preservation with the Michigan Historic Preservation Network, noting that, for many communities, preservation is not a top priority. Community members, she notes, have many different concerns, from schools to safety to jobs. However, in conversations about community members’ concerns, it becomes apparent that demolition of buildings and loss of neighborhood fabric are troubling them as well, although they do not use the terminology of historic preservation to express these concerns. Evans has been successful at understanding these concerns and crafting projects to achieve the end goals of preservation while engaging with community members to address the issues they are passionate about. For example, she has assisted with helping residents acquire home maintenance skills that are often specific to older structures. She has engaged with local youth to discuss the places that were important to them, then equipped the conversation participants with cameras to take photos of “anything that caught their eye.” Following this, an exhibition of the photos was held in the local neighborhood, along with “visioning boards” for feedback and comments on vacant historic structures, and a celebration of the neighborhood’s history through talks and exhibition panels.

131 Millennial Housing Commission, *Meeting Our Nation’s Housing Challenges*, report (Washington, D.C., 2002), pg. #33, accessed February 28, 2015, <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/mhc/MHCReport.pdf>.

Preservation in a sensitive manner is critical to social equity. Kaufman writes, “preserving Pittsburgh’s African American heritage was inseparable from the efforts of the city’s African Americans to secure decent homes and neighborhoods ... a firm belief in the importance of heritage was rooted in a passionate dedication to social improvement for their community.”¹³²

A common critique of preservation is that it leads to gentrification and displacement. Preservation economist Donovan Rypkema disputes this claim, noting that one of the greatest strengths of historic neighborhoods is the fact that “in many communities the only place where there is racial, educational, economic, and occupational diversity is the historic districts.”¹³³ Rypkema supports this statement by noting that of the approximately 11,000 historic districts in the United States, including over 850,000 buildings, “About 60 percent of those buildings are in census tracts with a poverty level of 20 percent or more.”¹³⁴

In his past role as president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Richard Moe noted “the best way to restore vitality and livability to a community is to build on its strengths, to save and enhance the character and ambience that make each neighborhood unique, to preserve and celebrate the tangible evidence of the community’s history instead of smashing it to rubble and carting it off to the landfill.”¹³⁵ This sounds like a recipe for success of sustainable and equitable preservation.

132 Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, pg. #84.

133 Donovan D. Rypkema, *Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: The Missed Connection*, report (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2002), pg. #13.

134 Ibid, pg. #11.

135 *Rebuilding Community*, pg. #3.

CHAPTER FIVE: Theories of Effective Communication

A basic model for communication

For organizations and activists who wish to work with all communities in preserving the historic fabric of our cities, the most fundamental tool is effective communication. Understanding this tool, and the barriers to its use, must start with an understanding of what communication fundamentally is. Theorists in the field describe it as a deeply rooted societal and behavioral influence that affects every aspect of human interaction. Etymologically, the word “communication” is rooted in the Latin word *commūnicātiō*, defined as an “action of sharing or imparting.”¹³⁶

Communication is a process by which information is transmitted between senders and receivers. This act of transmission can reflect a variety of cultural, social, political, or economic influences. It happens through both verbal and non-verbal means. As much as a vocal tone of conversation between friends or the words chosen for the State of the Union address is communication, so is the stance of a professor at the front of a lecture hall.

In the realms of planning and preservation, communication happens in a wide variety of forms — email newsletters, social media postings, official notices posted on walls, and community meetings, just to name a few. Among the multitude of forms of communication, there is constant opportunity for strengthening or weakening the bonds between community groups and the organizations that are transmitting the message.

In the 1940s, Sapir and Whorf theorized that language, a form of verbal communication, “actually determines the way we think.”¹³⁷ This theory has been refined

136 “communication, n.” OED Online, March 2015, Oxford University Press.

137 Felecia Briscoe, Gilberto Arriaza, and Rosemary C. Henze, *The Power of Talk: How Words Change Our Lives* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin, 2009), pg. #17.

to say that our “primary language *shapes* or *influences* the way we think.”¹³⁸ Language also helps people to construct the world around them. It allows people to “create categories, labels, and relationships that are different from the ones used by people in other cultures — or even people who to a large degree share our culture.”¹³⁹

Language and communication have the ability to transform our culture. One common example is the use of unbiased language — that is, language that avoids assumptions reflecting sexism, ethnocentrism, racism, or classism. Briscoe, et al., contend that neutral language allows the status quo to change. “Language becomes transformative when it offers alternatives to the status quo and incorporates them into ways of thinking and discourse, thereby carving out new or different categories, relationships, and ways of representing the world...” This transformative language is sometimes called “language of possibility.”¹⁴⁰

One of the fundamental theories of how communication happens was proposed by social scientists Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver. Often called the Shannon-Weaver model, this theory is based on the transmission model of communication. They argue that there are five elements at work in communication:

- An information source, which produces a message.
- A transmitter, which encodes the message into signals
- A channel, to which signals are adapted for transmission
- A receiver, which ‘decodes’ (reconstructs) the message from the signal.
- A destination, where the message arrives.

Shannon and Weaver see three types of problems for communication using this model:

- The technical problem: how accurately can the message be transmitted?
- The semantic problem: how precisely is the meaning ‘conveyed’

138 Ibid, pg. #18.

139 Ibid, pg. #19.

140 Ibid, pg. #24.

- The effectiveness problem: how effectively does the received meaning affect behavior?¹⁴¹

A variety of critiques of the Shannon-Weaver model exist, focusing on its limitations. However, it remains a foundational theory for the transmission form of communication.

As a practical matter, word choice alone can have an enormous effect on the message. Word choice often requires a change in the thought patterns that we have ingrained in our minds. A Seattle nonprofit that advocates for safer streets provides an example of how important language can be in community organizing. Asking journalists to reconsider how they write about traffic safety, Seattle Neighborhood Greenways writes: “Language is powerful. The language we use everyday has the ability to change how people think about the world. Our ideas about reframing the language of

Let's Talk About Safe Streets


No	Yes
Accidents	Collisions, Crashes
"The car hit the ___"	"The person driving a car hit ___"
Bikers	People biking
Pedestrians	People walking
Drivers	People driving
Transit Rider / Trains / Buses	People taking transit
Cycletrack	Protected bike lane
Disabled person	Person with a disability
Active Transportation	Healthy Transportation
Transportation alternatives / alternative transportation	Transportation choices, options
RRFB, Half Signals, Pedestrian/Hybrid Beacon	Safer ways to cross busy streets
"As a cyclist..."	"As a parent, employee of Seattle Children's, and neighbor, who bikes..." "We all get around in many ways..."
Bicycles = Vehicles	People walking or biking are equally vulnerable and need protection
Bioswale, GSI, etc.	Raingardens
	

Figure 4: Alternative language suggestions for journalists to use when discussing traffic safety. Image by: Seattle Neighborhood Greenways.

141 Claude Elwood Shannon and Warren Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949).

traffic violence are starting to take root nationally!” The group discourages use of the term “accident” when “preventable crash” is more specific — and sends a different message. Use of the word “accident,” the group writes, “frames traffic deaths as unavoidable byproducts of our transportation system. In reality, these deaths are unnecessary, and often the result of 1950s era car-oriented engineering and/or unacceptable driver behavior.” They continue, “By working to change our society’s language to neutral language that describes ‘collisions’ where ‘a person driving a car hit three people walking’ we can undo the false idea that traffic deaths are a normal part of our transportation system.”¹⁴² We can think of the modified phrasing suggestions as a language of possibility. In context of Shannon and Weaver’s problem in transmission theory, this example can be appropriately applied to all three: technical, semantic, and effectiveness deficiencies exist in the pre-existing language.

Communicating with diverse populations

When communicating with variety of cultural and ethnic groups one must remain vigilant to avoid the use of language that can be construed as sexist, ethnocentric, classist, or racist. Sensitivity to the ways that a message can be misconstrued is critical. Further, the sender of the message needs to maintain inclusivity in their language.

A common mistake in communication is the practice of *othering*, a use of language to “make people different from *me* or *us*.” Briscoe, Arriaza, and Henze write that othering is practiced in “a context where *I* or *we* are part of the dominant group or the ones in power and the other people are parte of a minority or less powerful group, othering usually has the effect of making *I*, or the *we* group seem ‘normal’ and the others

142 “Let’s Talk About Safe Streets,” Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, January 06, 2015, <http://seattlegreenways.org/blog/2015/01/06/lets-talk-safe-streets/>.

‘strange.’”¹⁴³ In her groundbreaking *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir wrote of othering and the concept of the other:

Otherness is a fundamental category of human thought. Thus it is that no group ever sets itself up as the One without at once setting up the Other over against itself. If three travellers chance to occupy the same compartment, that is enough to make vaguely hostile ‘others’ out of all the rest of the passengers on the train. In small-town eyes all persons not belonging to the village are ‘strangers’ and suspect; to the native of a country all who inhabit other countries are ‘foreigners’; Jews are ‘different’ for the anti-Semite, Negroes are ‘inferior’ for American racists, aborigines are ‘natives’ for colonists, proletarians are the ‘lower class’ for the privileged.¹⁴⁴

The modern debates on immigration reform in the United States offer excellent examples of othering in practice. Quoted in a US News and World Report story, a New Yorker concerned about immigrants coming to his small town said this: “We are in a very protected and insular community. This is the kind of place where people don’t even lock their doors. There is a fear of crime. Whether it is true or not, I am worried about gangs. We don’t have that here and Grand Island does not offer a bilingual education system.”¹⁴⁵

In contrast, President George W. Bush used inclusive language in 2001, soon after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11: “America counts millions of Muslims among our citizens, and Muslims make an incredibly valuable contribution to our country. Muslims are doctors, lawyers, law professors, members of the military, entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, moms and dads.”¹⁴⁶

143 Briscoe, Arriaza, and Henze, *The Power of Talk*, pg. #49-50.

144 Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Knopf, 1953), Introduction.

145 Lauren Fox, “Anti-Immigrant Hate Coming From Everyday Americans,” US News, July 24, 2014, <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2014/07/24/anti-immigrant-hate-coming-from-everyday-americans>.

146 George W. Braswell, *Islam and America: Answers to the 31 Most-asked Questions* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2005), pg. #121.

In the context of this thesis, othering discourse is used in the explanation provided by Edward Said in his canonical *Orientalism*. He used the term to mean an “act of emphasizing the perceived weaknesses of marginalized groups as a way of stressing the alleged strength of those in positions of power.”¹⁴⁷ One of the problems with othering is that it casts a light of negative attributes on persons that we do not really know. This leads to stereotyping and further contention.

Related to othering is the concept of *exceptionalization*. This is the use of language to differentiate a person “from his or her peers and because of that difference, to position them as better than their group — a group which has been othered and stereotyped as inferior in one or more ways.”¹⁴⁸ In practice, exceptionalizing discourse permits people to maintain their prejudices, which can translate to a variety of oppressive actions or thoughts.

Briscoe, Arriaza, and Henze offer an example of exceptionalizing discourse in a 2007 statement from then-U.S. Sen. Joe Biden on a rival for the presidency, “I mean, you got the first mainstream African American who is articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy.” With Biden’s use of the word *first* and description of his opponent as *African American*, he has “linguistically mark[ed]” Obama. If Senator Biden had said, “I mean you got a guy who is articulate, bright, and nice-looking” this would be a non-exceptionalized statement.¹⁴⁹

In the world of preservation and planning, public meetings are a common setting where effective communication is crucial. Some scholars argue that with ever-changing immigration patterns and globalization, “sensitive treatment of ethnic differences has

147 Narayan Ch. Gahatraj, “Unheard Voices: Exploring the Subaltern Voices in Selected Women’s Texts,” *The Criterion: An International Journal in English* 4, no. 5 (October 2013): pg. #1.

148 Briscoe, Arriaza, and Henze, *The Power of Talk*, pg. #94.

149 Ibid.

never been more urgent.”¹⁵⁰ Michael Burayidi notes that sensitivity to multiculturalism is critical because different groups want and often expect to be treated in culturally sensitive ways, and that this is both a moral obligation and practical necessity.¹⁵¹

Emilie Evans notes that communication with disadvantaged neighborhoods and communities needs to be a concerted effort. “There are challenges among many residents with access to email, web, and social media platforms. Communication often needs to happen via non-preservation-oriented gatherings (such as block group meetings) and through mailings or otherwise talking with neighbors.”¹⁵² Most critically, Evans feels, is approaching “every conversation in every community ... with an open mind and be willing to build trust that fosters open dialogue.”¹⁵³

Language and communication also are representations of power dynamics. Xavier De Souza Briggs notes that the standard curriculum in planning and preservation education gives little attention to the ways that communication is “socially encoded and organized around power interests.”¹⁵⁴ While it might seem simple to identify the power dynamics at play in a planning or community meeting, De Souza Briggs argues that “power is alternately masked and performed in face-to-face community

150 Arla G. Bernstein and Romney S. Norwood, “Ethnic Differences in Public Participation: The Role of Conflict Communication Styles and Sense of Community,” *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 37, no. 2 (2008): pg. #120.

151 Michael A. Burayidi, *Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).

152 Evans, “Preservation and Social Equity.”

153 Ibid.

154 Xavier De Souza Briggs, “Doing Democracy Up-Close: Culture, Power, and Communication in Community Building,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 18, no. 1 (1998): pg. #2.

settings — performed by community members, for example, for their neighbors and for planners.”^{155,156}

These out-of-balance power relations can contribute to *coded* communication. In this sense, coded means verbal and nonverbal “linguistic forms” that encompass traits like speaking volume and tone, as well as nonverbal cues like stance, gesturing, and facial expressions. These codes can be interpreted as a form of “face-to-face rhetoric rooted in ethnicity and social class.”¹⁵⁷ In homogenous settings, where all participants have similar ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or are in the same life stage, code confusion is far less likely to happen. In settings with wide heterogeneity, acute sensitivity to coded communication is important to prevent needless confusion, distrust, or resentment. De Souza Briggs notes: “despite the meteoric rise of e-mail and other information technologies, clear, trustworthy face-to-face communication among actors is crucial to significant and sustainable results.”¹⁵⁸

Another critical component of effective and equitable communication is active listening. In a United Nations training manual, *Building Bridges Between Citizens and Local Governments to Work More Effectively Together Through Managing Conflict and Differences*, they note that active listening is “central to managing conflict and differences. Without all sides to a conflict or difference being willing and able to listen actively to

155 Ibid, pg. #4.

156 For further reading on the theoretical underpinnings of communication and power relations see: Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (July 01, 1982), Michel Foucault and Alan Sheridan, *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), and Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

157 Ibid, pg. #6.

158 Ibid, pg. #2.

each other, there is little hope of finding common ground for resolution.”¹⁵⁹ Beyond active listening is listening with empathy. Social scientist Daniel Yankelovich notes that empathy is “the ability to think someone else’s thoughts and feel someone else’s feelings.”¹⁶⁰ The simple but “profound capacity to listen is at the heart of dialogue,” and that this kind of listening “requires us to not only hear the words, but to embrace, accept and gradually let go of our own inner clamoring.”¹⁶¹

Preservation and planning, like many other fields, have their own set of terminology, acronyms, and technical language. In communicating with those not in the field, care to make the language accessible and understandable is important. So is willingness to abandon the language when, in active listening, it becomes clear that the language is not productive.

In order to promote effective communication, organizations like the American Planning Association (APA) and the National Trust for Historic Preservation are organizing guides to assist planners and preservationists. The APA’s *Communications Boot Camp* is an internet-based platform of webinars and how-to guides with topics such as: “Successful Public Meetings,” “Managing Contentious Situations” and “Effective Coalitions, Outreach and Engagement.”¹⁶² Another resource published by the APA, *Planners’ Communications Guide: Strategies, Examples, and Tools for Everyday Practice* highlights many of these same issues. Two examples from the Public Participation section of the guide note the importance of effective communication strategy:

159 Fred Fisher, *Building Bridges between Citizens and Local Governments to Work More Effectively Together: Through Managing Conflict and Differences* (Budapest, Hungary: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative of the Open Society Institute, 2001), pg. #10.

160 Ibid. pg. #29.

161 Ibid.

162 “Communications Boot Camp,” Building Support for Planning, accessed January 03, 2015, <https://www.planning.org/policy/communicationsbootcamp/>.

Meaningful public participation will include a continuous and multidirectional flow of information among the public, key stakeholders, technical professionals, and local decision makers. [This can be described as a] “feedback loop.” Ideally, community participation is an on-going process and the feedback loop is adjusted in both content and intensity to the size and scope of the project at hand. As the scale of the participatory effort increases, the intricacy of methods required for facilitating and organizing citizen input increases as well.¹⁶³

In the feedback loop model, while not explicitly stated, one crucial element of public participation is receiving feedback from community members. This may take the form of active listening at a public meeting, utilizing written comments from community members, or being receptive to opinions of residents as expressed through letters to the editor in the newspaper or posted to community-based blogs.

The effects of a project or sections of a plan must be divided into individual segments and the consequence of each segment explained in language meaningful to the targeted audience’s shared values. Understanding how your audience will most likely receive and interpret the information it hears through pre-existing values and information schemas is one of the most important steps planners can take, especially when addressing controversial issues or situations.¹⁶⁴

The importance of clear language is critical for effective communication, as is an understanding of how the information might be filtered or perceived.

The National Trust, as a national preservation awareness organization, works to make preservation understandable and exciting for members of the public while simultaneously serving as a resource for preservation professionals.

A National Trust publication, *Effective Communications for Preservation Non-Profit Organizations*, is largely geared toward communication with the media. However, they also cover some strategies for communicating with members of the organization.

¹⁶³ American Planning Association, “Public Participation,” in *Planners’ Communications Guide: Strategies, Examples, and Tools for Everyday Practice* (Washington, D.C.: American Planning Association, 2006), pg. #7.2-7.3.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, pg. #7.4.

This includes tips such as keeping language “jargon-free,” noting that “Preservationists spend so much time working with peers, colleagues, and the very committed, that they sometimes forget to shift their language when dealing with those who do not have the same knowledge or expertise in the field ... avoid jargon and insider terms.”¹⁶⁵

In a 2012 Twitter chat hosted by the National Trust, the “Language of Preservation” was discussed. One participant commented that preservation “jargon” can be overwhelming for “beginners.” While the reference to non-preservationists as beginners is problematic in itself, the idea that the use of technical language with people who are unfamiliar with the terminology can be overwhelming is accurate. Another commenter suggested that extensive photos and maps would facilitate “preservationists talk[ing] about saving places in a way that is more easily understood.” Visuals are certainly helpful, but the preservationist must be careful not to swing too far in the other direction and create what might be considered a picture book with the assumption that the recipient lacks reading comprehension. One respondent said, “It goes back to education and listening ... to be on that common ground.”¹⁶⁶ Common ground is a critical component of effective communication, treating every situation with assumed equality between participants. Our job as preservationists is to learn from the communities we serve, while sharing the knowledge we have in a manner that is understandable and accurate.

¹⁶⁵ Richard McPherson, Debra Ashmore, and Timothy O'Leary, *Effective Communications for Preservation Nonprofit Organizations* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2003), pg. #13.

¹⁶⁶ Sarah Heffern, “Twitter Chat Recap: The Language of Preservation,” PreservationNation Blog, October 12, 2012, accessed April 15, 2015, <http://blog.preservationnation.org/2012/10/12/twitter-chat-recap-the-language-of-preservation/>.

CHAPTER SIX: Philadelphia's Preservation Organizations

How do preservation groups communicate with the public? And how do they define that public? Philadelphia is a rich environment to ask these questions. One of the nation's oldest cities, it is a place where historic preservation has long been a subject of critical public importance. Its long history means the city is filled with old buildings. And its role in the nation's birth means history is part of the city's identity, culture and economic base. All of those things suggest that preservationists in Philadelphia should have advanced and effective mechanisms for communicating with the larger community. But even in Philadelphia, the evidence suggests preservationists do not always communicate well.

Among the most prominent of the many Philadelphia organizations involved in historic preservation are the many non-profit groups that have a mission focused on preservation of the built environment. Notable among these are the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia and Fairmount Park Historic Preservation Trust. Also active is Preservation Pennsylvania, which serves as the primary statewide non-profit preservation organization. On a national level, the National Trust for Historic Preservation shares the message of historic preservation to all parts of the country.

Within Philadelphia many smaller organizations exist, generally focused on a smaller grouping of sites, or a specific era of architecture or architect's body of work. These smaller organizations are too numerous to list, but examples include Historic Germantown, Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks, Docomomo US/ Greater Philadelphia, and Friends of Frank Furness.

Each of these organizations has a set of constituents, which to some degree overlap. Each also faces similar challenges in communicating with its target audience, understanding its needs and persuading it to support the group's mission.

Preservation Alliance: A big mission — and a big challenge

The Preservation Alliance is perhaps the most established, mainstream organization dedicated to historic preservation. Its board of directors includes a variety of consultants, architects, and attorneys as well as representatives of the development, banking, and educational sectors. Minority voices seem underrepresented on the board, with no apparent members of community-based organizations, clergy, or citizen historians. Caroline Boyce, executive director of the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, notes that the membership skews toward older people, with “gray hairs running the organization.”¹⁶⁷ But she says she considers all Philadelphians as constituents of the organization.¹⁶⁸

Community engagement, with the full group of constituents and smaller subsets, is important for furthering the mission of the organization. This engagement happens in a wide variety of ways: face-to-face meetings, social media postings, and mailings (both digital and paper) to name a few. Each of these engagement methods has its advantages and disadvantages, and the effectiveness of each is also influenced by demographics. Social media might be a more effective method of reaching millennials, while a hard-copy newsletter might be more effective for elderly populations. Some groups prefer to provide information in short, more frequent contact messages while others prefer longer and less frequent newsletters.

Ms. Boyce noted that the goal for community engagement for the Preservation Alliance is to “get the biggest bang for the buck and touch as many [people] as possible” to most effectively use the organization’s limited resources.¹⁶⁹ She also noted the importance of communications and events tailored to specific constituent groups.

¹⁶⁷ Caroline Boyce, “Interview with Executive Director of Preservation Alliance of Greater Philadelphia,” interview by author, March 18, 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

Specifically, Ms. Boyce mentioned that the organization's annual award ceremony is "the place for the [preservation] business community to gather," including people and companies such as contractors, developers, and affiliated professionals such as lawyers and engineers.¹⁷⁰

Seeking to reach younger people interested in historic preservation, the Alliance has a partnership with another group with a very different communication style. The Preservation Alliance is currently working with Hidden City Philadelphia, a group that describes its mission as "pull[ing] back the curtain on the city's most remarkable places and connects them to new people, functions, and resources. We celebrate the power of place and inspire social action to make our city a better place to live, work, and play."¹⁷¹ Hidden City's online publication, Hidden City Daily, encourages discussion on the "intersection of people and place, and the tension between the past and the possible future."¹⁷²

Boyce considers Hidden City a valuable partner in the outreach that the Preservation Alliance does. Hidden City, she feels, is able to reach an audience that the Alliance does not effectively reach. Boyce notes that Hidden City's audience is "more experiential" and not simply "preservation for preservation's sake," and that the Hidden City followers are more attuned to the relationship between preservation and community needs.¹⁷³ Similarly, an offshoot group of the Preservation Alliance, the Young Friends of the Preservation Alliance aims to more effectively reach younger preservationists who may not feel a connection to a mainstream organization. Hosting social events and

170 Ibid.

171 "About," Hidden City Philadelphia, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://hiddencityphila.org/about-3/>.

172 Ibid.

173 Boyce, *Interview*

discussions about urban issues, the Young Friends tries to connect with a new generation of preservationists and urban-minded citizens.

Whether young or old, those reached by the Preservation Alliance tend to be educated and passionate about preserving landmarks of architectural history. The group also has tried to reach out to disadvantaged communities. For example, the organization compiled an inventory of African-American historic sites in Philadelphia. The inventory catalogs over 400 structures, which include, “churches, schools, businesses, homes, clubs, and benevolent associations.” The group notes on the web-accessible resource list “Philadelphia has a long and rich African American history, but for too long, African American historic resources in the city and region have received little attention.”¹⁷⁴ In conjunction with this inventory, the Alliance managed a three-year grant funded program called the “African American Initiative” that was aimed at:

... increase[ing] awareness of historic preservation and preservation resources among African American communities and how preservation tools can be used for community revitalization; and second, to increase awareness of African American historic sites and neighborhoods among the general public.¹⁷⁵

The Alliance has de-emphasized the project after the expiration of the grant funding.

The Preservation Alliance also hosts a series of workshops for homeowners, focused on “meeting the need for information about the care and maintenance of historic properties.” The workshop series runs each spring and fall, and covers topics such as roofing on historic buildings, wood window repair, masonry and pointing, and weatherization. Workshops begin with either a presentation by topic-specific experts or a hands-on learning opportunity, followed by a question and answer session. The group

174 “African American Heritage,” Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.preservationalliance.com/what-we-do/african-american-heritage/>.

175 Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, “The Alliance’s New African American Outreach Initiative,” *Preservation Matters*, Winter 2009, pg. #1.

notes that “over 2,400 people have taken advantage of the free programs since they were introduced in Fall 2006.”¹⁷⁶

One might wonder how a workshop on weatherization helps to promote social equity. In fact, opportunities for community members from every socioeconomic class to participate in workshops on home repair allow the resident to save money on hiring a contractor or handyman, which further allows that resident to invest the money they might have spent on window repair on a larger home maintenance project. The aim of the workshops is to help people to learn to do basic repairs in a preservation-sensitive manner. Weatherization, through window maintenance, insulation, or roof maintenance helps to ensure the preservation of the built fabric where it might otherwise be lost.

Boyce expresses some dissatisfaction with marketing of the Homeowner Workshop series. While it is effective at opening a dialogue with those who participate, attendance has been diminishing over the past few years. She said “We need to have a better structure in place for follow-up ... and encourage further engagement with the Alliance.”¹⁷⁷

More broadly, Boyce recognizes that the Alliance, and the preservation movement generally, is not yet communicating effectively with its constituency — i.e., all Philadelphians. She feels that preservationists are often viewed as “naysayers” or the “no police” and that overcoming this challenging aspect of past preservation practice proves difficult for organizations like the Preservation Alliance. She notes that it is critical for preservationists to learn to talk to people “using their language.”¹⁷⁸ By this,

176 “Homeowner Workshops,” Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.preservationalliance.com/what-we-do/homeowner-workshops/>.

Note: Homeowner Workshops are free only for paid members of the organization. Non-members are charged \$10 per workshop.

177 Boyce, *Interview*

178 Ibid.

she means conversing with developers using a different vocabulary than one might use with politicians or community members. Tailoring the language to the parties in the conversation allows preservation to be viewed through a more cross-disciplinary lens. Further, conversation with developers or community members, in their own vocabulary, gives the opportunity for preservation to leave a positive impact on the person rather than alienating them through use of preservation-specific language.

Cliveden: A smaller mission — and different communication practice

Historic estate Cliveden, a 1767 summer home of Benjamin Chew and his family in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, was the site of the Revolutionary War's 1777 Battle of Germantown. The home and grounds are currently owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (National Trust) and managed by the non-profit organization Cliveden Inc. As an organization, Cliveden has undertaken a process to reframe the narrative of the site, and that of its National Historic Landmark context statement, from the story of the Chew family exclusively to a comprehensive story that includes the story of African-American slaves owned by the Chew family, and the social and economic environment of 18th and 19th century Philadelphia. This process speaks to the complex and layered history of the site, and works to recognize the contributions of all residents of the property, not just the contributions of the Chew family.

An organizational consultant assisted a community engagement process, managed by Cliveden staff. Through a series of meetings and charrettes, Germantown neighbors, elected officials, and various constituent groups were asked to review and comment on the developing guidelines for “choosing, evaluating, and generating future Cliveden programming that embraces racial issues and awareness through history.”¹⁷⁹

Cliveden's process for development of a more inclusive narrative might be viewed as a model for community engagement and socially equitable programming. Issuing

179 Phillip Seitz, *Cliveden Guidelines Charette November 22* (Philadelphia, 2010).

invitations to their charrettes and meetings, the group notes that “We ... asked a wide variety of people to join us for this planning event—European- and African-American—selected primarily for vision, intelligence, willingness to speak openly about racial issues, and commitment to quality programming for ordinary people.”¹⁸⁰ Language that was straightforward and honest about the goals of the meeting was included on mailings that were sent to invitees, one of whom noted, “I was astonished when the postcard I received and saw that the word slavery was used. I immediately wanted to come to the session to know more about what was going on but never expected to learn so much. Now, I can be a part of history myself.”¹⁸¹

At the start of each meeting, a discussion of “agreements and norms about how the meeting [was to be] conducted” was outlined. These norms were as follows, and serve as an exemplary model of how to set the stage for effective communication in the context of a difficult conversation.¹⁸²

- Pursue the truth as we know it
- Listen and talk
- Practice total involvement
- Respectful in attention, and language use: passionate, but not heated
- Let others finish their sentences
- Don’t take things personally
- Name the “ouch”
- Remain open
- Take mutual responsibility for success

Through extensive surveys and conversations, the staff at Cliveden gained a strong sense of what the needs and expectations were for the site from community members. The changing narrative for the site requires community members to address painful histories

180 Ibid.

181 Barbara Daniel Cox, *The Cliveden Project Community Engagement Sessions* (Philadelphia, 2010), pg. #29.

182 J. Kamien, Cliveden/The Chew Papers: Notes from our meeting on 11/23, November 23, 2010, raw data, Philadelphia.

and contextualize this into the modern world. Some African-American participants in community meetings noted that while they saw the potential for the project to create a new dialogue surrounding Cliveden, they still felt uneasiness at being hopeful for the project coming to fruition. “Bitter experience—several hundred years of it—has taught them the cost of making commitments to things that that inevitably fall apart. This can happen: the Board can kill the project; the unanticipated can happen; staff can leave. In their experience, white people walk away when the job gets hard.”¹⁸³

The project, “Emancipating Cliveden” as it is now called, has garnered national attention and an award for its innovative approach to changing the paradigm of historic house museums. The award citation notes that the project is:

... a model for other historic home/property organizations with regard to the stewardship of, and obligations to, both tangible and intellectual/historic property, the involvement of the local community with sincere consideration and respect, and the skill with which a difficult past has been reincorporated and transformed into a true appreciation of all aspects of a shared history.¹⁸⁴

David Young, Executive Director of Cliveden, notes that the “Emancipating Cliveden” project helps to bring the historic home an “important—and relevant—role in the future.”¹⁸⁵ One of the aims of the project is to create a safe space for people to talk openly about slavery. He said, as the project was about to be unveiled in 2012, “We’d like to consider ourselves a picnic blanket where we can discuss race, memory and history without screaming at each other. Germantown is a great place to do that...we will have succeeded if a

183 Seitz, *Cliveden Guidelines Charette November 22*.

184 Cliveden, “AASLH National Leadership in History Award for the Special Project: Emancipating Cliveden,” Cliveden, September 25, 2014, accessed March 26, 2015, <http://www.cliveden.org/aaslh-national-leadership-history-award-special-project-emancipating-cliveden/>.

185 Will Black, “The Truth about Cliveden: The Chew Family Had Slaves and It’s Time to Talk about It,” Newsworks.org, June 6, 2012, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.newsworks.org/index.php/local/nw-philly-multimedia/39573-clivedens-new-campaign>.

visitor leaves Cliveden with a couple of thoughts. We're assuming that the people who come to Cliveden think they know a lot about history. There's a lot more to it."¹⁸⁶

Today, Young is pleased with the results of the process, noting in a conversation with the author that Cliveden's relationship with the Germantown community has developed and the historic house is now home to an "award-winning public speaking forum" called "Cliveden Conversations."¹⁸⁷ This series features guest speakers, educators, historians, and poets to "ignite conversation in our diverse community for an intellectual and often emotional discussion on race, history, and memory in Philadelphia."¹⁸⁸

The process of community engagement that was undertaken at Cliveden is an excellent example of the way that social equity and equality can be incorporated into historic preservation practice. The continued engagement with community members on difficult subjects such as race shows a commitment on Cliveden's part to an equitable strategy for healthy communities.

186 Ibid.

187 David Young in discussion with the author, March 25, 2015.

188 "Cliveden Conversations," Cliveden, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.cliveden.org/cliveden-conversations/>.

CHAPTER SEVEN: A force for public service

Community development corporations are a staple in many cities around the country and Philadelphia is no exception. The city defines CDCs as non-profit organizations that “provide programs, offer services and engage in other activities that promote or support community development. CDCs usually serve a geographic location ... [and] often focus on serving lower-income residents or struggling neighborhoods.”¹⁸⁹

Unlike historic preservation groups, with which they may share some goals, CDCs are explicitly devoted to social equity. They are a strong force for public service in their neighborhoods. The community development corporation structure is particularly strong in Philadelphia, with a say in matters from zoning to advocacy. CDCs typically work to maintain strong relationships with elected councilmembers. And their sharp focus allows these organizations to be targeted and effective at communicating with their constituencies.

CDCs generally identify a focus area and geographic limits for their efforts, perhaps commercial corridor development or homelessness prevention, responding to specific economic or social challenges. Some focus on matters of housing affordability or quality. As a CDC’s reputation and funding grows, it might expand into related areas of community need. For example, a CDC that began with a mission of homelessness prevention might expand into workforce development, job training, or transitional housing. A CDC focused on development of the commercial corridor might expand into developing live-work spaces, business incubators or streetscape improvements. No matter the mission, a CDC’s goal is improving the quality of life for neighbors.

¹⁸⁹ “Frequently Asked Questions,” City of Philadelphia, What is a Community Development Corporation (CDC)?, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/commerce/aboutus/Pages/FAQ.aspx>.

CDCs are funded through a variety of programs such as the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG), philanthropic donations, private donations from community members and businesses, grants for service implementation, and developer fees.

With the CDC as ubiquitous as it is in Philadelphia, the groups naturally sought to create a collective voice and aggregator of best practices and resources. The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations maintains a membership primarily of individual CDCs, representing 44 groups.¹⁹⁰ The association also has affiliated members, organizations and businesses that are involved in activities that support the mission of the CDCs.

The association, also known as PACDC, has developed a five-point platform for equitable development that advocates for social and economic equity for all residents of Philadelphia. This builds on past projects of the organization. Focal points of this platform are:

- Strengthen the ability of neighborhood groups and residents to create inclusive communities
- Create and preserve quality, affordable home choices in every part of the city
- Expand economic opportunities on our neighborhood corridors and increase local hiring and sourcing by major employers and developers
- Understand the threats and impacts of displacement and expand assistance programs
- Attack blight, vacancy, and abandonment in all neighborhoods¹⁹¹

While acknowledging that Philadelphia is starting to see a rise in population and employment rates, as well as a growing housing market, the association argues for an emphasis on equitable development:

¹⁹⁰ “Member List,” PACDC, PACDC CDC Members, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://pacdc.org/member-list>.

¹⁹¹ “Equitable Development,” PACDC, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://pacdc.org/EquitableDevelopment>.

As much as we need to celebrate and encourage redevelopment, the enthusiasm about this renewed Philadelphia can feel like it's about a different city if you are one of the many Philadelphians still struggling, or live in a neighborhood fighting decline. Some moderate-income neighborhoods that have been stable for decades are seeing decreasing homeownership rates, property values flattening or declining, and properties that are staying vacant for too long. Other neighborhoods are still reeling from decades of devastation where poverty rates are persistently high, and low wages means too many Philadelphians are paying an unsustainably high percentage of their income on housing. Crumbling buildings and empty lots can be found in every neighborhood, and are magnets for garbage and crime. Vacant storefronts and poor property conditions on our commercial corridors frustrate small businesses that work hard to contribute to the local economy. Long time homeowners and renters live in properties that are becoming uninhabitable due to inadequate maintenance.¹⁹²

They note that while private investment in development is beneficial for the city, it does not always benefit those who are “most economically disadvantaged or struggling to remain in the middle class.”¹⁹³ The platform argues:

We must build the pipes and direct resources toward our neighbors and communities who have historically been hurt most when our city declined, and left out when things have improved. Without such a strategy, we will deepen the already inexcusable inequalities and economic segregation that exist today, and we'll hamper the economic stability of our city and region for generations to come. Philadelphia does better when we *all* do better.”¹⁹⁴

The development of an equitable development agenda was timed to influence the 2015 city elections.¹⁹⁵ The association went to great lengths to put candidates on the

192 PACDC, *An Equitable Development Policy Platform for Philadelphia*, report, February 18, 2015, Executive Summary, http://www.phillylandbank.org/sites/phillylandbank.org/files/u3/PACDC_EcDevPlat_Full%20Platform.pdf.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid.

195 “May 19, 2015 Primary Election,” Committee of Seventy, accessed March 28, 2015, <https://www.seventy.org/tools/elections-voting/2015-election>.
Note: Current Mayor, Michael Nutter, has served two terms as Mayor and is ineligible for reelection. Also, all 17 Philadelphia City Council seats will be on the ballot in 2015.

record about the topic, hosting a forum on equitable development for mayoral candidates on April 1, 2015 that was open to all and available on the web and later on a public-access cable channel.¹⁹⁶

While PACDC primarily communicates with its member organizations and affiliated groups, the association does host events and community meetings attended by a broader range of participants. Rick Sauer, its executive director, noted that the association relies on member organizations to reach community members, since PACDC is not able to effectively serve 1.5 million Philadelphians with a staff of seven.^{197,198} When PACDC does host meetings for residents, it focuses on maintaining effective communication with community members while addressing some of the common points of fear or misperception that might be present. Sauer said that past history has made residents of many communities distrustful of government. He noted, for example, that many residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods viewed former Mayor John F. Street's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative as another round of urban renewal.¹⁹⁹

CDCs throughout Philadelphia work for the cause of social equity. But some do this in a way that overlaps with the practice of historic preservation, because they often help owners of older homes improve their properties and to repurpose buildings that might otherwise be demolished for housing, retail, or community facilities. A few examples are:

196 "PACDC Mayoral Candidates' Forum on Equitable Development," PACDC, accessed March 28, 2015.

197 United States, U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, *American FactFinder - Community Facts*, accessed March 28, 2015, http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml.

198 "Interview with Rick Sauer, Executive Director, PACDC," interview by author, March 27, 2015.

199 Ibid.

Uptown Entertainment and Development Corp.

Also known as UECD, this CDC is working to revitalize the historic Uptown Theater on North Broad Street between West Susquehanna Avenue and Dauphin Street. The 1929 Art Deco-style theater was once a rival to Harlem's Apollo Theater for East Coast music venues.²⁰⁰ UEDC hopes to renovate the building, which closed in 1978, into a "technology center, artist lofts and office space. Proposed tenants include a faith-based institution, high school, record production facility and restaurant. The technology center will create jobs for 200 youth and adults and provide entrepreneurial opportunities for disadvantaged members of the community."²⁰¹ UEDC also engages with its community through a job training program, a summer day camp for teens, and a low-income housing referral service.

Women's Community Revitalization Project

WCRP is a non-profit developer of affordable housing for women and families with a strong commitment to social and economic equity for their residents. It notes: "When you start with women, you are at the core of communities and families. There is power in women working together to make change. WCRP has created a model that works for community development, putting that power to work for low-income women and their families."²⁰² While primarily focused on new construction, the organization has rehabilitated a few homes in Philadelphia, which were sold to first-time homebuyers. WCRP also assists other non-profit organizations to understand real estate development.

200 "Uptown Theater," Hidden City Philadelphia, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://hiddencityphila.org/uptown-theater/>.

201 "Uptown Entertainment & Development Corporation, Inc. Facts," UPTOWN Entertainment Development Corporation, Inc., accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.philadelphiauptowntheatre.org/#!>

202 "About Us," Women's Community Revitalization Project, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.wcrpphila.org/>.

Through these partnerships, it has assisted with the renovation of a historic church to serve as a child-care center and preschool teacher development facility, a renovation of an 1899 building by noted architect Frank Furness into a day care center.²⁰³

People's Emergency Center Community Development Corp.

With a core mission of serving homeless families through emergency and transitional housing, PECCDC also offers supportive services to “chip away at their barrier s to success.”²⁰⁴ Once families have graduated from the transitional housing program, they are eligible to rent or purchase a permanent housing unit. The organization has rehabilitated many of these homes for rent or sale. The development group engages in new construction and restoration of vacant and dilapidated buildings in the West Philadelphia neighborhoods of Saunders Park, West Powelton, Belmont, Mantua, and Mill Creek. PECCDC also manages a home repair and façade improvement program. The program helps homeowners in maintaining their aging homes. Repairs that the program provides assist to improve property values, which in turn creates improved financial equity for longtime homeowners and helps to further stabilize neighborhoods. The organization says it has assisted over 100 local homeowners, and invested over \$800,000 in façade improvement and repair programs. These investments can encourage property owners to further invest in their property, which increases both the quality of life for the resident and their neighbors.²⁰⁵ PECCDC also works to improve the commercial corridor of Lancaster Avenue through a variety of initiatives.

203 “Facilities Development,” Women’s Community Revitalization Project, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.wcrpphila.org/facilities-development/>.

204 “About PEC,” PEC Cares, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.pec-cares.org/about-pec.html>.

205 “Home Repair & Façade,” PEC Cares, accessed March 28, 2015, http://www.pec-cares.org/index.php?page=home_repair_and_facade.

New Kensington Community Development Corporation

This group serves the Kensington area of lower-northeast Philadelphia. NKCDC is involved in a variety of housing and commercial development projects, as well as sustainability initiatives. One project, the Coral Street Arts House, saw a \$7.5 million investment in the rehabilitation of a former textile mill that had been empty for decades. Transformed from a site of illegal dumping, graffiti and public nuisance, it is now a community for artists offering affordable live-work spaces.

Part of the NKCDC strategy of community-based improvements through the arts, the project was conceived as part neighborhood stabilization catalyst, part economic development, part affordable housing. What was unanticipated was the impact it had on the social and cultural fabric of the neighborhood ... Acting both as a model and catalyst, the Coral Street Arts House has spurred rehabilitation of over 40% of the surrounding vacant industrial buildings are undergoing renovation. There is a new sense of pride and civic duty in the neighborhood.²⁰⁶

NKCDC also initiated a sustainability initiative, Sustainable 19125 & 19134, aimed at making their service-area ZIP codes the “greenest ZIP codes in Philadelphia by promoting sustainability as a tool to improve quality of life, beautify, and support one’s community.”²⁰⁷ The group organizes neighborhood cleanups, a rain-barrel program to recapture water and divert it from storm drains, a composting program, electronics and waste recycling, and tree plantings. The group also offers educational sessions to assist residents with home composting, gardening, and tree plantings.

Mt. Airy USA

This CDC is working to rehabilitate homes and commercial spaces in the Mt. Airy neighborhood and the Germantown Avenue corridor in northeast Philadelphia.

206 “Coral Street Arts House,” New Kensington CDC, accessed March 28, 2015, http://www.nkcdc.org/_files/live/CSAH_2013.pdf.

207 “Sustainable 19125 & 19134,” About, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.sustainable19125and19134.org/about-us>.

The group is using the state law known as the Abandoned and Blighted Property Conservatorship Act,²⁰⁸ which allows groups such as CDCs to “take over tax-delinquent, blighted or vacant properties, and rehab or demolish them.”²⁰⁹ Anuj Gupta, executive director of the group, says that they are the first in Philadelphia to use this law successfully “start to finish” and possibly the only in Pennsylvania. Gupta adds that the law is a powerful force to combat blight and they are “planning to use it aggressively to address blight in our community.”²¹⁰ Mt. Airy USA also manages a Storefront Improvement Program in conjunction with the City of Philadelphia, as well as investing in streetscape enhancements, offering housing counseling services such as foreclosure prevention and financial literacy education.²¹¹

While each of these efforts might seem to be relatively minor impacts on a city with a wide variety of social, economic and environmental challenges — collectively they speak to a passionate current of activity that is making the difference in the lives of residents one at a time.

208 The Abandoned and Blighted Property Conservatorship Act. No. 135. Pennsylvania Statute, 2008.

209 Erin Arvedlund, “Nonprofit Works to Revive East Mount Airy,” Philly.com, March 22, 2015, accessed March 31, 2015, http://articles.philly.com/2015-03-22/real_estate/60373386_1_airy-usa-east-mount-airy-blight.

210 Ibid.

211 “Our Services,” Mt. Airy USA, accessed March 31, 2015, <http://mtairyusa.org>.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Local government has broad powers

In addition to the two nonprofit sectors involved in historic preservation in Philadelphia, preservation groups and CDCs, city government also plays a critical role. Two agencies are especially important: the Philadelphia Historical Commission and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. Both set policy and make decisions that affect the historic built environment. While these are public entities subject to political pressure that makes them responsive to a broad constituency, working with them also can be difficult and expensive, limiting their capacity to advance social equity.

The Philadelphia Historical Commission places properties on the local register of historic places, designates historic districts and reviews building permit applications for visible changes to a historic property.²¹² It also handles Section 106 reviews, which are required for federal projects affecting properties on the National Register, within the city. Finally, the commission provides technical information on preservation and conservation, as well as guidance on applicable federal and state legislation and the federal tax credit available for the restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings.

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission oversees development of the 18 district plans that contribute to the city's master planning initiative Philadelphia2035, as well as area plans and community-based plans. The Commission also prepares reports on blight and redevelopment in accordance with Pennsylvania's Urban Redevelopment Law, oversees the zoning and design review processes, and oversees the Citizens Planning Institute.

²¹² The Historical Commission provides Section 106 reviews as per their agreement with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation as a Certified Local Government. However, this aspect of the commission's work is outside the scope of this thesis.

Philadelphia's Office of Housing and Community Development, or OHCD, contributes to the city's affordable housing initiatives. It also provides information and resources to residents, developers, and contractors. OHCD manages the \$30 million Choice Neighborhoods program, an initiative of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to "... support affordable housing and economic development to transform neighborhoods of extreme poverty into functioning, sustainable, mixed-income communities ... focused on using the rebuilding of distressed public housing as a catalyst for neighborhood-wide revitalization."²¹³

Philadelphia Historical Commission

The Historical Commission, a regulatory agency formed in 1955, handles historic designation of individual properties and districts, involving over 22,000 historic buildings within the city.²¹⁴ To be considered for designation, a property must meet at least one of ten criteria detailed in Section 5 of §14-2007 of the Philadelphia Code. After a nomination for a building or district is submitted the commission staff reviews the nomination for completeness and accuracy. The nomination is forwarded to the Committee on Historic Designation, and will be reviewed in one of their public meetings to determine if building or district meets the criteria. After the designation committee approves the property, it will be reviewed at the next monthly meeting of the Historical Commission. If the Historical Commission agrees with the finding of the designation committee, the property is added to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. District

²¹³ "Choice Neighborhoods," Office of Housing and Community Development, Section 1: Purpose of the Transformation Plan, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/ohcd/choice%20neighborhoods.html>.

²¹⁴ Based on the document: List of Properties on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places (with OPA-compliant addresses) updated 11/17/2014.

nominations typically involve several public meetings to help residents of the area understand the benefits and implications of the designation.²¹⁵

In theory, anyone may nominate a building or district for consideration of inclusion in the registre. In practice, nominations must be prepared by experienced preservation professionals. The nomination format requires knowledge of the architectural vocabulary necessary for the property description section, and an educated understanding of how a “Statement of Significance” is crafted. The nomination also requires a description of the property boundaries. This information is found through city databases which requires either lengthy visits to archival repositories or paid access to Internet-based resources.

The Preservation Alliance noted these challenges in a 42-page guide on how to nominate a site, intended for homeowners and community members. The guide, published in 2007, notes that the architectural description and statement of significance can be difficult to write:

Because of the importance of this section of the nomination, it may be appropriate to seek assistance in the writing of it from an historical society in your area or from the Historical Commission staff, from the Preservation Alliance, or from architects, historians or other professionals familiar with the architecture and history of Philadelphia. Often, assistance can be obtained from graduate students at historic preservation programs in Philadelphia area universities.²¹⁶

It is important to note that the Preservation Alliance discourages community members from submitting a nomination that has not been reviewed by someone in the architecture or preservation fields. Often, these consultations are expensive. This helps explain why

215 “Designation Process,” City of Philadelphia: Historical Commission, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/historical/designation/Pages/process.aspx>.

216 Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, *How to Nominate an Individual Building, Structure, Site or Object to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places* (Philadelphia, 2007), pg. #14-15.

none of the seven properties nominated for the most recent review by the Historical Commission's designation committee, in November 2014, were from community members. Two were submitted by the Preservation Alliance, two by the staff of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, one by a professional architect, one by a professional historian, and one by the an employee of a community organization.²¹⁷

Historic designation of one's home, or a favorite neighborhood building, is an honor that recognizes the importance of the structure as a contributor to the architectural or social landscape of the city.²¹⁸ However, it does carry the burden of careful scrutiny of any alterations visible to the "entire exterior envelopes of buildings, their sites, and all site appurtenances."²¹⁹ Through the building permit application process, owners of locally designated properties are required to gain approval of the Historical Commission. On its website, the commission explains as follows:

The Department of Licenses and Inspections refers all building and demolition permit applications for properties on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places to the Historical Commission for its review. The Department will not issue a permit without the Commission's approval. The Commission welcomes consultation with applications before the formal filing of a permit application.²²⁰

217 "Agenda | Committee on Historic Designation," Philadelphia Historical Commission, November 12, 2014, <http://www.phila.gov/historical/meetingsandevents/Designation/DC%20agenda%2011-12-2014.pdf>.

218 Approval of the property owner is not required for a building to be added to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. Property owner approval is required for a building listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

219 "FAQ," City of Philadelphia: Historical Commission, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/historical/aboutus/Pages/FAQ.aspx>.

220 Ibid.

A building permit is required for “... all work that requires a permit or that may change the exterior appearance of a property.”²²¹ This includes but is not limited to reroofing, masonry cleaning and pointing, painting, window and door replacement, and the installation of fences and gates.”²²² The historical commission is required to act on all applications within 60 days of submission. A “staff review” of the application is all that is necessary for approximately 85% of the permits brought to the Historical Commission. For the remaining 15%, the application is sent to the Architectural Committee, then to the Historical Commission.

STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE TO NAVIGATING THE HISTORICAL REVIEW PROCESS

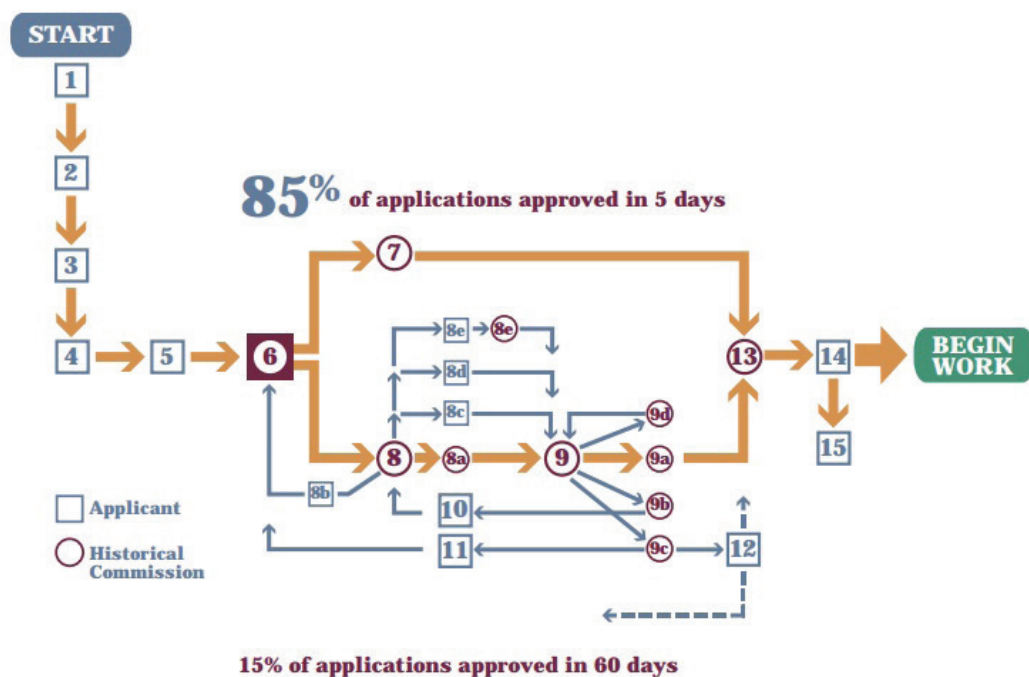


Figure 5: A guide to navigating Philadelphia’s historical review process.
Image by: Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia.

²²¹ Historical commission review only applies to buildings that are designated locally either individually or as part of a historic district. Buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places, but not on the local register, are not subject to this requirement.

²²² Ibid.

Phase One: Preparation	Phase Two: Application	Phase Three: Approval
1 Determine if your property is listed on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places.	6 Submit an application to the Historical Commission.	9 Review by the Historical Commission.
2 Determine if the work requires approval of the Historical Commission.	7 Approval by staff.	10 Approval in concept, prepare final plans.
3 Consult with the staff of the Historical Commission.	8 Review by the Architectural Committee.	11 Revise plans after denial.
4 Prepare plans.		12 Appeal decision of the Historical Commission.
5 Apply to the Department of Licenses and Inspections for a building permit		13 Application approved, plans stamped by staff.
		14 Building permit review and approval.
		15 Apply for tax abatement.

Figure 6: The three phases of obtaining a building permit when a modification requires review by the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Image by: Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia.

In an attempt to clarify the process for review and permitting by the Historical Commission, the Preservation Alliance published in 2007 a guide to managing the historical review process. Excerpts of their guide are shown here.²²³

This process is clearly complicated and fraught with opportunities for misunderstanding. For substantial alterations to a home, perhaps to add an access ramp for the handicapped, the process of obtaining the approval of the Historical Commission is likely to be complicated and expensive. The Preservation Alliance's guide details the required elements of an application that will be reviewed by the Historical Commission:

- A completed building permit application;
- A cover letter describing the proposed work and any special circumstances the Historical Commission should consider;
- Dated and labeled photographs of the present conditions of all locations where alterations to the property are proposed; and accurately scaled architectural or engineering plans, and/or examples of the proposed materials and design, such as catalog specifications or pictures.

²²³ Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, *How to Navigate the Historical Review Process in Philadelphia: A Guide for Property Owners*, report (Philadelphia, 2007), pg. #3.

The material submitted should show the existing conditions and the proposed changes as clearly and completely as possible and how the property will look once the alterations have been made, including materials and color.²²⁴

These requirements automatically require the property owner to enlist the services of an architect or engineer, whether or not the alteration to the property requires such. For example, imagine a homeowner has opted to take in her elderly mother. The owner wishes to add a wheelchair ramp for access to the front door of her twin in the Tulpehocken Historic District. A member of the homeowner's church is a licensed contractor and has offered to build the ramp for his friend for no labor cost; the homeowner just covers the cost of materials and permit for the addition. In this instance, the homeowner also will be required to pay an engineer or architect to prepare plans for the addition, including documentation of all materials proposed, and mock-up images of the property after the addition of the ramp. This can easily cost several thousand dollars. At the Historical Commission meeting, the architect, contractor and owner all must be present to answer questions or concerns of the committee. A commission member might object to the level of glossiness or color of the paint on the proposed handrail, arguing that it stands out against the coloring and materials of the home. All of these issues will need to be cleared up before the homeowner is able to get the building permit. Meanwhile, the owner's mother is waiting for a ramp so she can move into the main-floor bedroom that has been set up for her.

This example is not provided to argue for the elimination of the standards and protocols of the Historical Commission, but rather to highlight the lack of equitable treatment the commission offers to its constituents. The Historic Preservation Ordinance does have a clause for financial hardship that might be incurred by a property owner

224 Ibid, pg. #6.

in meeting the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. This clause reads:

In specific cases as will not be contrary to the public interest, where, owing to special conditions, a literal enforcement of the provisions of this section would result in unnecessary hardship so that the spirit of this section shall be observed and substantial justice done, subject to such terms and conditions as the Commission may decide, the Commission shall by a majority vote grant an exemption from the requirements of this section.²²⁵

While this clause does take into consideration cases of financial hardship in restoring or repairing a designated building, significant time and effort are required to gather and prepare the evidentiary materials for the hardship application to be reviewed.

Further, community members engaged in the process of historic designation and review are required to either attend the appropriate meeting where the matter of interest will be discussed, or review the applicable materials in person at City Hall during standard business hours. The Historical Commission meetings are held the second Friday of each month at 9 a.m. in a Center City conference room. The meeting agenda is posted one week prior to the meeting.²²⁶ If a working mother wishes to comment on a proposed demolition of an important neighborhood landmark, she'll likely need to arrange time off work and/or childcare. Homeowners cannot get copies of the paperwork electronically or by mail. And they cannot submit comments electronically to be read aloud at the meeting for inclusion into the official meeting minutes.

The Philadelphia Historical Commission needs to better incorporate considerations of social and economic equity into their practices. These factors are critical in forging a sustainable community where residents have open and transparent

²²⁵ City of Philadelphia, Historical Commission, *Historic Preservation Ordinance* (Philadelphia, 2009), Section 7.k.7.

²²⁶ "Public Meetings," City of Philadelphia: Historical Commission, Historical Commission, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/historical/meetingsandevents/Pages/HistoricalMeetings.aspx>.

communication with government officials. All departments of the City's government need to be accommodating and aware of the diversity of Philadelphia in setting standards. These standards should be set with recognition of their associated financial burdens. The Historical Commission could improve its equity practices by offering assistance, whether technical or financial, to assist property owners who do not have the means to meet the Commission's standards for documentation or research.

Philadelphia's City Planning Commission

The City Planning Commission has great power to advance social and economic equity for Philadelphia residents. The commission oversees the City's current master planning initiative, known as *Philadelphia2035*, as well as its affiliated 18 district plans. Also, it oversees design reviews for new construction, manages and implements the zoning code and oversees the Registered Community Organizations program.

The Planning Commission adopted *Philadelphia2035*, the comprehensive plan for the city, in June 2011. This document outlines the vision, strategies, and projects that will guide development policies for the next 25 years. City agency representatives, regional leaders and citizens designed the plan. Public meetings, a Facebook page, and an interactive website all were developed to harness the voices and vision of every Philadelphian who wished to participate. The project was guided by three "forward-looking themes: thrive, connect, and renew." Historic preservation is a priority under the theme of renewal.²²⁷

Of the 18 district plans, nine have been completed and adopted, two are underway, and eight will be completed in the future.²²⁸ One example is a plan for University Southwest district, which encompasses 4.5 square miles, a population of 81,746, 10.9%

²²⁷ City of Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, *City Wide Vision: Philadelphia2035* (Philadelphia, 2011).

²²⁸ As of March 29, 2015

of the city's employment, and nine neighborhoods.²²⁹ The plan notes the need for the preservation of single-family homes in many of the neighborhoods; it proposes to advance this goal in part through rezoning. Multi-family residential development would be directed toward commercial corridors and transit-oriented areas.²³⁰ Preservation recommendations in the district plan include the designation of two historic districts, designation of two individual "anchor" buildings (the Fire House at 701 South 50th Street, and the West Philadelphia Branch of the Free Library on the southeast corner of 40th and Walnut Streets), and one building of cultural significance (Paul Robeson House, 4951 Walnut Street), facilitation of "partnerships to utilize under-utilized religious buildings," development of a strategic plan for the reuse and stabilization of an historic cemetery, and efforts to increase tourism for three National Historic Landmarks. Also, the participation in commercial corridor development programs is identified as a historic preservation strategy.²³¹ These identified preservation strategies are excellent goals for the district plan. However, the plan could have been more aggressive in identifying the many undesignated and significant historic resources in the district. Social equity is not mentioned in the district plan.

While Philadelphia's planning and preservation apparatus can be inaccessible to residents lacking experience or the wherewithal to navigate bureaucracies, the city has made a conscious effort to open up the process by creating the Citizens Planning Institute. However, this requires that citizens who choose to participate have the time and resources to do so. This multi-week evening course is held twice yearly, with the mission of educating and empowering Philadelphians to "take a more effective and active role in shaping the future of their neighborhoods and of Philadelphia, through a

229 City of Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, *University Southwest District Plan* (Philadelphia, 2013), pg. #3.

230 Ibid, pg. #61.

231 Ibid.

greater understanding of city planning and the steps involved in development projects.”²³²

The course covers basic planning principles, zoning, development, climate change, land banking, and equitable development. The course includes printed copies of all materials, dinner each class session, and guest lectures each week, and costs \$100. The Citizens Planning Institute offers financial assistance for community members who wish to participate but are unable to afford the registration fee. Completion of the course and a term-project earns the attendee the designation as a Certified Citizen Planner.²³³ The term projects have addressed planning issues such as vacancy mapping, zoning, greening and commercial corridor revitalization. Graduates of the program include leaders of neighborhood groups and advocates for affordable housing, parks and playgrounds. Many graduates sit on community development corporation boards or have organized neighborhood groups. Many have formed relationships with other planning institute members to take on larger projects.

This initiative of the City Planning Commission is an ideal example of community engagement in a socially and economically equitable manner. By offering education to community members about specific ways that they can improve their neighborhoods, at a relatively low cost, in an accessible manner — the city is showing a commitment to sustainability and equality for its residents.

Philadelphia is a city of diverse people, landscapes, and ideas. Consideration of each of these factors is critical in the development of a city that is equitable, sustainable, and desirable for residents and visitors. The government structure for the city reflects many of these diverse facets. Some departments engage in sustainable and equitable

232 “Citizens Planning Institute,” City of Philadelphia: City Planning Commission, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://www.phila.gov/CityPlanning/Initiatives/Pages/CitizensPlanningInstitute.aspx>.

233 “A Better Philadelphia,” Citizens Planning Institute, accessed March 29, 2015, <http://citizensplanninginstitute.org/>.

practices more than others. A commitment to equitable treatment for all residents would be an excellent vision for the city.

CHAPTER NINE: Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated a variety of ways that neighborhood groups, local governmental agencies, and preservation groups engage with communities on issues of preservation of historic architecture and neighborhoods. Some are more successful than others. The example of Cliveden's revision of its statement of significance to reflect a more inclusive narrative is an excellent look at how a difficult history can be shared honestly and equitably. Communicating effectively with a diverse array of people on issues related to planning, preservation, and social equity can lead to moments of frustration, but also moments of bonding over shared visions and ideas.

In general, efforts by organizations that are managed in a "top-down" manner, where community members rely on the rules and permissions of the group, are less likely to foster socially equitable practices. Concerted effort to make social equity a top priority in every organization can result in wonderful and needed changes in our community. Some examples of this are: offering resources and information in as many mediums as possible, web-based and hard copy; hiring staff members who are knowledgeable and accessible; and pursuing equitable practices for communication. Adding members of minority communities to a board of directors or special consulting group can foster beneficial relationships for all involved, while simultaneously diversifying the group and increasing social equity.

This thesis has identified practices that lead to the advancement of social equity. These range from inclusive language, active listening, sensitivity to neighborhood and racial histories, and educational opportunities—all of which encourage active engagement between community members. When speaking about the City of Philadelphia or individual neighborhoods, preservationists should not be categorized separately. Preservationists are community members. Neighborhood residents are preservationists.

The gap between those engaged in historic preservation as a profession and community members often lies in the small details such as the creation of an appearance of professional exclusiveness through industry-specific language, or a lack of sensitivity to how an outsider to that neighborhood or community might be perceived at the outset. In many cities nationwide—the legacy of segregation, race-based discriminatory lending, urban renewal—among many other problematic histories, has created tension between minority communities and those thought of as outsiders. The perception of top-down planning practices and the outsider arriving to the scene as the “expert” acerbates these tensions. Recognition of the cultural values, contributions, accomplishments, and ongoing efforts in the communities where preservation professionals are working is critical to socially equitable practice.

With the continued importance of sustainability, it is important that every decision be thoroughly assessed for its environmental, economic, and social effects. Our society cannot continue to prioritize one of these three over the others. Many of the new generation of preservation professionals are concerned with quality neighborhoods, safe streets, and healthy communities. There are ways to accomplish all of these goals with historic preservation as part of the multifaceted strategies required to address these issues. Problems of poverty, unemployment, and crime are on the top of the mind of neighborhoods throughout Philadelphia. Preservation professionals need to be active participants in the conversations about how to address these issues, and accept that sometimes, preservation of a historic structure becomes a lower priority when contrasted to critical quality-of-life issues.

Preservation and planning professionals are becoming more diverse. However, we cannot stop now. We need to continually engage, share, learn, and listen. We must practice inclusive and forward-thinking behaviors.

This thesis, I hope, is a step in that direction.

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