


2018

# Effects of Historic Preservation Policy on Urban Neighborhood Stabilization

Lisa Vaughan Jordan  
*Walden University*

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# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Lisa Vaughan Jordan

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Walden University  
2018

Abstract

Effects of Historic Preservation Policy on Urban Neighborhood Stabilization

by

Lisa Vaughan Jordan

MA, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2010

BA, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1995

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

August 2018

## Abstract

Since the 1960s, urban neighborhoods in the United States have been affected by historic designation and local historic preservation policy raising concerns about social inequity in housing and services, environmental resources, and economic challenges. Although there is consensus that the role of public policy in historic preservation decision-making is related to neighborhood stabilization, little is known about the extent of the impact. Using Ostrom's social-ecological systems theory as a guide, the purpose of this single case study of a historical district in the U.S. Mid-Atlantic region was to investigate the impact of implementation of local historic preservation policies and programs related to social and economic change. Data were collected from 11 interviews with residents and government officials and publicly available documents provided by the local government agency. These data were inductively coded and then subjected to thematic analysis. Findings indicate that areas of deficiency in historic preservation policy in the urban neighborhood affect social-economic systems due to the complex and integrated way that the components often work asynchronously. Collaboration between multiple types and levels of entities can offset the negatives and bolster the more positive aspects of historic preservation. The study includes recommendations to local government policy makers and organizations that emphasize the importance of integrated planning and development and the revision of current policy to reflect constituent needs. Maximizing the efficiency and operation of historic preservation policy may engender positive social change by optimizing economic impacts and lessening social disparities and environmental concerns, which may improve citizens' quality of life and affected areas' fiscal health.

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## Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Bill Jordan, my husband, for remaining steadfast in his support of this pursuit and of me during this journey. He has not wavered in his patience. This study is also dedicated to my son, Jared Dylan Jordan, who has inspired me from the day of his birth.

There are two other men who had a profound effect on my character and drive. Though they are no longer here physically, they remained integral in this process. At times, it almost feels as though they are looking over my shoulder providing encouragement and advice when most needed. Therefore, this study is also dedicated to Professor James Moore, my first collegiate history instructor, who pushed me to continue my education years afterward. It is also dedicated to my father, Ammon Cliborne Vaughan, who was my rock for many years and ardently persuaded me to fulfill my goals.

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The Planning and Economic Development Department of the studied area has offered tremendous support throughout this process. Their patience with my presence and constant questions is greatly appreciated. The organizations throughout the city that contribute to the historic preservation efforts, particularly in regards to this study, are formally acknowledged. Many non-profit state and local organizations and their respective members are a collective fountain of knowledge, and I gratefully took everything they offered. The sheer number of dedicated individuals desiring to sustain and promote the city and its historic assets is truly inspiring.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Urban areas in the United States have endured many social, economic, and environmental challenges in the past several decades. Although some stakeholders have found effective ways to address these challenges sustainably and with equity, many of the areas in which they live remain in a similar, or worse, state (see Boehlke, 2012; Ryberg-Webster, 2013). Collectively, the issues of access, fairness, and maintenance and their related tenets have affected individual neighborhood compositions and stabilities. In particular, historic preservation policy has substantively affected these urban neighborhood characteristics. Petroncelli (2011) and Shipley and Snyder (2013) illustrate what happens when the focus of prevalent short-term, present-centered policy activity in local government administration limits an area's economic development. It can be a useful mechanism to support and enhance the area while increasing the quality of life. Communities require more than infrastructure and systems in order to successfully provide programs and services to constituents, according to (Ijla et al., 2011; Li, 2007). Doing so will increase fiscal health of the city as a byproduct, researchers have found (Blumenauer & Turner, 2016; Thomson & Etienne, 2017).

The individual cities within the United States have unique cultural markers and identifiers. These communities have shared characteristics, yet identity in historic preservation terms constitutes the concept of place. This concept weighs heavily in the investment perspective of historic preservation in regards to perception and policy decisions (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). The role of policy in revitalization, therefore, requires more attention to its long-term aspects, the many parts that make up

historic preservation, and how the effectiveness of those increases likelihood of sustainable results (Ijla et al., 2011). Beyond the field of historic preservation, many public administrators and officials do not understand the scope and composition of historic preservation as a tool or asset for their locale (Folke et al., 2007). Instead, these professionals often make decisions based on selected criteria that does not include a comprehensive, continual approach (ICIC, 2011; Thomson & Etienne, 2017). This negatively affects area and residents, researchers have found (Burnett et al., 2017).

One missing item in the contemporary discussion of historic preservation relates to how policies are instituted and evaluated over time at the micro-level. Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan (2014) asserted that discussion of historic preservation and urban planning centers on sustainability of neighborhoods within individual historic district designations, which exemplifies the micro-level impact of macro-level policy. Though an ordinance or program may be enacted for the entire urban community, the repercussions may be different within the individual districts and neighborhoods. Future planners must take into consideration how tools of historic urban planning fit within comprehensive planning of cities, including considerations such as arts-centered programs, tourism, creative niche industries, and more (Anderie et al., 2012; Crane, 2010; Fabinyi et al., 2014). Researchers have found evidence of the connection between historic preservation and economic development across many social science fields, as noted in a 2008 manual published by the mid-Atlantic State Historic Preservation Office.

Historic preservation plays a critical role in urban communities' functionality and is manifested in positive and negative ways. The benefits include revitalization of an

area, maintaining the character of a community, providing jobs, and generating revenue, among others (Bhattarai, 2018; Boehlke, 2012). Those benefits are overshadowed when barriers of ownership and maintenance of properties within those districts cause homeowners to move or contribute to blight. (Hobbs et al., 2014; McCabe et al., 2016). Although federal, state, and local governments refer to historic preservation and neighborhood stabilization as public goals, the connection between them remains obscure in academic studies (Ryberg, 2010). It is difficult to determine how the facets of federalism affect the initiatives and changes made in the policy affecting these historic districts from the perspective of structural landscape.

In this dissertation, I examined how leaders of one U.S. particular city have instituted these goals and influenced change in a neighborhood within one of the city's historic district. I used a qualitative case study design with theoretical framework and conceptual design to examine the relationship between historic preservation policy and its impacts. I drew upon the social-ecological systems (SES) framework of Ostrom (2010) and the theory of organizations and society by Shafritz et al. (2016) to better understand the systems involved here while indicators and models created by preservationists and scholars institute practical application considerations. For the case study, I used qualitative tools of interviews, demographic models, observations, and document analysis to explore the social, political, and economic impacts of local historic preservation policies at the neighborhood level and how these contribute to changes in neighborhood stabilization factors. I sought to contribute to the scholarship by providing insight into the interplay between historic preservation, community development, and neighborhood



stabilization. My research also provides an opportunity to prompt collaboration between community organizations, local government officials, and developers to implement sound practices for their members and residents.

### **Background**

From its beginnings, historic preservation has been controversial in its implementation. Although empirical data are lacking, scholars have debated the merits of the use of historical preservation in several areas (see Marshall et al., 2012; Strahilevitz, 2016). Gentrification, for example, is a well-documented possible byproduct and negative association caused by stringent historic preservation local policy on exteriors, locations, and use (see Kinahan, 2016; Ryberg-Webster, 2013). Although changes in urban neighborhood populations have many causes (population change, physical deterioration, fiscal shifts), migratory patterns cannot always explain the phenomenon of housing issues within historic districts. Changes in economic development or historic preservation policies, especially at the local level, influence the people living in historic districts, thereby modifying the social dynamics of the area (Li, 2007; Ostrom, 2015). Challenges to local government historic preservation regulations and ordinances include high costs of maintenance, a lack of understanding of the policies, and a lack of specialized resources (Franklin, 2014; Lan & Anders, 2000). In the Mid-Atlantic U.S. city analyzed in this study, historic districts have been in place for more than 30 years. This urban area is one of the oldest cities in the nation, and it presents an opportunity to examine the principles and questions of historical preservation at its most fundamental level of process. Records,

descriptive statistics, and even several original residents at the time of historic district formation remain intact in the area, providing a rich set of resources.

In the literature review in Chapter 2, I will more thoroughly attend to scholarly gaps in the literature on historic preservation. Here, I think it is important to emphasize the ties between historic preservation and neighborhood stabilization within the backdrop of urban development in the United States during the 20th century. Prior to World War II, efforts to institute historic preservation in the United States included small-scale endeavors centered on specific sites or structures tied to the nation's founders (The Historic/Cultural Traveler, 2013). As mentioned in a 1994 housing development report for the city's planning department, a handful of cities and sites secured funds to protect important structures or places of profound importance to the nation (Listokin et al., 2012). After the war, however, many government projects prompted a revision of why and how to enact historic preservation policy. Beginning in the 1960s, the federal government's move to use historic preservation practices on a wide scale generated discussion and scholarship within associated professional fields. In particular, the history and development of historic preservation law and policy captured the attention of researchers from an assessment and value perspective (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, n.d.a; Center for Urban Policy Research, 2015; Finney, 2014; Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011). Its relevance has not dwindled, but instead intensified given the economic investment and benefits.

The political and social climate has also emphasized affects in terms of equity and environment. Issues such as gentrification and demographic studies focus on the effects

of the policy, though they are varied in methodology (Chi & Ventura, 2011; Freeman, 2009; Noonan, 2007). Many of these associations have generated questionable or negative results. This has led to the suggestion that historic preservation is an elitist program designed to displace minorities is long-standing (Ryberg-Webster, 2013). Lack of housing options, particularly in a densely populated city, pose additional related problems. The presence of gentrification, in turn, contributes to crime, education, income opportunities, and a host of other detrimental effects, researchers have found (Goldstein, 2012). Hints of significant impacts have led to scholarship in neighborhood change cycles and how historic preservation use by localities becomes a foundational element of the overall urban economic development strategy (Landis, 2016; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Shiply & Snyder, 2011). Questions of consistency in this nascent field have led to an examination of economic and social change through a variety of methodological techniques (Petroncelli, 2011; Phillips & Stein, 2013; Shipley & Snyder, 2013).

A lack of continuity in practice and applicability has long been a gap in the literature on historical preservation. As a result, various indicator systems and models have been suggested as reliable metrics. Several researchers (e.g., Accordino & Fasulo, 2013; Mowery, 2015; Oktay & Onal, 2009; Othman et al., 2013; Rypkema, 2013) have relied on their individual preferences in indicator systems or metrics to examine distinct conditions and features of urban sustainability work as it relates to heritage planning and policy. These varied studies serve as another reminder that there is no systematic method or means of measuring the changes arising from historical preservation.

Researchers have also focused their attention on the synergistic forces of urban competitive advantage, community revitalization, and the uses of integrated decision-making processes to evaluate historic preservation policies. One of the difficulties when working with multiple systems is variance in type, level of responsibility, and supports or resources. Gentry (2013), Armitage and Irons (2013), and Connolly et al. (2013) examined the viability of heritage as a sustainable practice and how it fits into the continuum of urban ecosystem services. The harsh predicament of urban places in recent years led to a subset of scholars has focused on legacy cities and how the lack of coordination or collaboration contributes to the exacerbation of social and economic difficulties in its neighborhoods (Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2013, 2015; Kinahan, 2016). The importance of urban areas in the United States requires a closer look at how its resources can be effectively leveraged to aid in the sustainability of the community.

In this study, I addressed the methodological and concrete gaps related to historic preservation discussed by Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan (2014), particularly the impact of integrating preservation with urban revitalization and how urban policy influences those variables. The lack of empirical or standardized research in historic preservation studies has made it difficult to determine necessary changes for evaluating preservation's relationship to social and economic factors and issues of displacement, affordability, and so forth (Blumenauer & Turner, 2016; United States Cultural and Heritage Tourism Study, 2009). Qualitative studies like this one may provide a robust and blended portrait of historical preservation efforts, which can assist policy makers in their resource allocation and decision-making.

## **Problem Statement**

Using historic preservation policy as an economic development strategy in designated historic neighborhoods of urban areas makes the network of service exchanges and social-environmental relationships in residential portions of communities more complex. Although local government preservation programs and planning have a goal of stabilizing the neighborhoods within communities, the efforts often result in gentrification within historic neighborhoods, fewer affordable housing options, and lower property values, generating lower-income households and property vacancies (Glaser 2012; Heintzelman & Altieri, 2011; Mallach 2014). Existing residents often cannot adjust to higher tax rates or afford the investment of maintaining or restoring property as mandated by architectural view boards, local ordinances, or cumbersome departmental procedures (Billis, 2010; Meyer & Bromley, 2013). Recent scholars have explored the use of indicators, evaluative systems, or economic planning strategies to reduce these problems and form alternatives as part of a comprehensive strategy to address concerns. By determining effectiveness of policy ties between economic development and historic preservation, the resulting assessment can better illuminate effects on these smaller urban areas and neighborhoods (Freeman, 2009; Laurie, 2008; Petroncelli, 2011; Phillips & Stein, 2013; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). This only aids in developing better or innovative procedures to improve outcomes.

Despite these data, leaders of local governments do not often understand how their policies affect these areas or whether their economic development practices are sustainable (Shipley & Snyder, 2013). Possible factors contributing to this lack of insight

include inadequate resources, difficulty coordinating efforts between agencies and organizations, and omitting the importance of place in decision-making (Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2015; Safiullin et al., 2014; Tengberg et al., 2012). In order to understand the impact of historic preservation within the smaller urban environment, particularly historic district neighborhoods, a qualitative case study needed to explore the inherent challenges of understanding and evaluating impacts of local economic stability or renewal efforts.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to improve the understanding of how local historic preservation policy affects neighborhood stability in urban neighborhoods like those in the Mid-Atlantic U.S. city analyzed in this study. To address this gap in understanding, I used a case-study paradigm for my research approach. I analyzed census data, city tax and assessment records, interviews, observations, and documents to understand how historic preservation policy, particularly through organizational practices and economic development programs, affects smaller urban neighborhood areas.

### **Nature of the Study**

The case study method informed this qualitative study. The use of multiple qualitative data source components in case study research allows researchers to explore a topic and fully develop inferences using triangulation (Patton, 2015). Researchers can use intracase models and comparisons to address theoretical markers and gaps to form a unique perspective of national and local historic preservation policy and its effects on economic development at a local level (Tighe & Ganning, 2016). I analyzed varied data sources consisting of interviews, observations, documents, census data, and city tax and

assessment records to expand the narrative and describe changes to the locale during various stages from the period of historic designation (1980) to the present. Illustrative of a pragmatic design, this work exhibited an abductive design in that I alternated between techniques used throughout data collection and analysis to see the individual and collective development through instruments (see Kitto et al., 2008; Miles et al., 2013).

### **Research Questions**

I sought to answer one primary research question and three secondary questions.

RQ1 – How does local historic preservation policy impact neighborhood stabilization in smaller urban areas?

- a. What are the drivers of historic preservation policies and practices in a smaller urban area (economic, environmental, and social factors)?
- b. What are the challenges pursuant to historic preservation policies and practices in a smaller urban area (economic, environmental, and social factors)?
- c. What role does historic preservation policy play in relation to the planning and management of the broader social-ecological systems context?

### **Theoretical Framework**

Applying sound design practices throughout the research becomes critical to continuity and standardization. Since 2010, researchers studying historical preservation have adhered to scholarly protocols and used theory to explore and explain phenomena associated with historic preservation and its use in urban neighborhoods for economic development (Hill et al., 2012). The SES framework of Ostrom (2010) and the theory of

organizations and society of Shafritz, Ott, and Jang (2016) served as the theoretical foundation for this study because they provided a common terminology and orientation to evaluate outcomes from existing conditions and actions taken by governing bodies on their respective environments. Both theories can be used to evaluate the various social, political, and economic elements of the public action arena for equity and efficiency in application.

Connolly et al. (2013) uses the SES model to emphasize the need for integrated systems to revitalize and manage the individual areas of a city into the whole. The ideas couched within an environmental stewardship and urban ecology model link to other disciplines and topics, which includes historic preservation as one of the components. Working within the parameters of the SES theory, the integrated systems and bridge organizations of metropolitan areas arguably have the most impact on sustainable practices to revitalize and manage neighborhoods (Connolly et al., 2013; Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2015). Another key consideration rests on the link between property and policy. Attaching the 'place' of communities to this connection, according to Brunckhorst (2010), creates a 'landscape lens' of interdisciplinary arrangements that drive the importance of policy deliberation and action. This groundwork does not resolve the particulars in this research project, however. A required closer examination reliably ascertains effects of historic preservation policy on neighborhood stabilization. As the SES theory allows qualitative components, this provides an additional opportunity to compare the descriptive statistics of census data and illustrate findings through GIS



software to provide a visual link and breadth to document analysis, observations, and interviews.

The theory of organizations and society discussion incorporated in the essays of Shafritz, Ott, and Jang (2016) explains the importance of communities of interest to the interactive flow of influences and effects in urban areas. Cumulative effects arise when there is an insistence on using a technique to reach an economic development goal without holistic planning (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2016, p. 412). This theory suggests that isolated approaches without full and integrated planning for long-term goals results in failure of systems and detrimental side effects. For historic preservation, these problematic issues include gentrification, the lack of affordable housing, and differentiated resources (Benn et al., 2014; Freeman 2008; Hwang, 2015; Safuillin, 2014; Wood, 2014.) An authoritative model of decision-making affects the capacity of government, so governance with a multilevel coordination model promotes a more interdependent growth of positive horizontal relationships. Wachhaus (2014) offers the idea that emphasizing the power of voluntary association, cooperative action, and grassroots efforts increases the likelihood that shared goals navigate toward success between the government and the governed.

Both frameworks reinforce the notion that public administrators' actions influence multiple environments, adding that modifications to programs that serve historically designated communities is necessary (Holman and Ahlfeldt, 2015; Tengberg et al, 2012). The influence of sustainability practices and smart growth principles in the last few decades have caused renewed interest in how the public institutions operate and meet the

needs of their constituents. Sabatier and Weible (2014) suggest that Institutional Analysis and Development and SES frameworks rest on the firm belief that matters of public agency, including events, decision-making, and evaluated outcomes, add to the more efficient exchange of goods and services. Further, the public administrator should understand the strengths and weaknesses of the system in order to modify or adjust programs and environments, which is true for historic preservation policy in communities as well (Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2015; Sabatier & Weible, 2014; Tengberg et al. 2012). Historic preservation is one part of an urban area's governance and should be addressed in its own right, but also evaluated comparatively with the other systems in order to be sound.

For the theory of organizations and society, the overlapping concerns for public administrators focuses on the dynamic convoluted and interconnected elements which operate multidimensionally, constantly changing the equilibrium of the system (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2016, p. 341). In particular, those officials must accept that their actions affect multiple environments, which thereby fosters public's goodwill. Thus, public entities must take into account the needs of the people when making decisions. At times, this does require acting in the public's best interests rather than what is popular based on society's notions. While both assume common good as the basis of decision-making, one accounts for the community's sustainable health as a whole. A networked and collaborative governance moves citizens beyond their traditional role to emerge as problem solvers and co-creators actively involved in the production of the valued public good (Bryson et al., 2014). Holman and Ahlfeldt (2015) reiterate the idea when

mentioning that the key to instituting sound historic preservation policy that avoids problems with coordination obstacles and unintended housing problems is remembering this responsibility to those served. Those challenges fuel neighborhood instability, which thwarts the social responsibility issues discussed by Shafritz, Ott and Jang (2016) to integrate those policies within the larger scope of planning (p. 342). This has the added benefit of supporting the notion that indicators or frameworks are necessary for adequately addressing potential needs and corrections for local historic preservation policy (Laurie, 2008; Phillips & Stein, 2013; Ryberg-Webster, 2015).

### **Assumptions**

One of the main assumptions of this study is the need for its undertaking. The researcher assumes that changes will be derived from the study because of the multitude of challenges represented in the city and the gaps presented in the literature. If the changes are noted, a further assumption posits that these can be explained with relatively untested indicator tools and inconsistent empirical measures. As with any qualitative undertaking, the researcher assumes that the archived data supplied is valid and calculations performed for census data subsequently will align with the design of the research and present the best possible set of outcomes.

An additional assumption for qualitative research is made that interview participants will answer questions honestly and factually. Taking measures to preserve confidentiality and protect data may reduce the likelihood that participants feel the need to answer with omitting information or by being vague. The perceptions and feelings of an individual naturally adjust based on their experiences and recollections. Focusing on

the commonalities in the answers may increase the reliability of information gleaned through the process.

Data collected and analyzed from the city is assumed genuine and accurate. There is the possibility that a government agency has goals and motives that may not align with true factual knowledge. Given that the tax assessor's records are deemed more reliable, this possible detractor will be limited. Rules and by-laws for programs and policies are assumed to be reviewed by legal counsel and approved by the governing body, thereby guarding against vagary or deception.

### **Scope and Delimitations**

The scope of the study will be limited to one urban neighborhood within one historic district in the mid-Atlantic part of the nation. Though it is limited in geographic territory given the multitude of districts and neighborhood across the United States, this unique example enables unequaled understanding. Social and economic changes are often easier to detect when limiting the area studied. The insights gleaned from this case study allow greater depth of understanding through highlighting the complexities of the policy process and outcomes related to historic preservation. Instead of focusing on the breadth of similarities, the information focuses examination at the micro and macro level to incorporate the variance within systems.

### **Limitations**

As previously mentioned, the sample size poses benefits in analysis, but detracts from applicability to a larger field in a few respects. Frankfort Nachmias and Nachmias (2008) explain the difficulty working with the social sciences because they do not

provide results that have exact origins. The value-laden concepts included in this study predicate the inability to empirically generate all types of data. Therefore, instruments become a vital part of enduring that the concepts actually measure the attribute designed. This is the common problem for any case study, in that the causal inferences cannot be applied in general and requires looking at alternative explanations when forming conclusions.

### **Definitions**

The following definitions are included for the reader to understand key terms associated with the field and this research. The terms did not appear as tested variables included in the study.

*Community development:* Any activity that will improve, stabilize, or revitalize a specific urban area (Ryberg, 2014). The term is often applied to techniques or financial tools used by local governments to improve low- to moderate-income neighborhoods.

*Disadvantaged:* The use of this term is used interchangeably with impoverished, marginalized, or depressed refers to populations or neighborhoods in this study. In general, this applies to the area or set of individuals experiencing a low socioeconomic profile. Factors such as low median income, high rates of poverty, or low homeownership rates are included (Ryberg, 2014).

*Gentrification:* Though no definitive description exists, Cortright and Mahmoudi (2014) suggest that the term should mean any measurable change in neighborhood population. Therefore, using it within the context of its historically negative connotations is not an accurate depiction. Here, its use will be associated with any demographic data of

social or economic changes, such as median income, education level, and other subtypes as shown through U.S. Census data over the time period studied.

*Heritage tourism:* Section 7 of Executive Order 13287 defines this as “the business and practice of attracting and accommodating visitors to a place or area based especially on the unique or special aspects of that locale’s history, landscape (including trail systems), and culture” (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, n.d.a)

*PlaceEconomics:* Recent scholarship by Rypkema (n.d.) and his colleagues suggest that places of significance, notably areas of historic preservation, have a unique set of economic factors that influence its development and how it fits into the overall plan of a locale. Many align with Smart Growth principles and encourage resourcefulness. In particular, employment, housing, tourism, and construction are a focus within overall economic sustainability applied to historic property or districts.

*Preservation:* The National Historic Preservation Act (2014) states that this includes any one or combination of the following: “identification, evaluation, recordation, documentation, curation, acquisition, protection, management, rehabilitation, restoration, stabilization, maintenance, research, interpretation, and conservation, education and training regarding the foregoing activities” as it pertains to designated structures or sites at least 50 years old (§ 300315).

*ReLocal:* This term refers to the tool constructed by Rypkema et al (2011) as a measure of PlaceEconomics, an evaluative criterion of areas based on 78 individual metrics in multiple categories. This indicator scale has been used for tracking property

characteristics and change in chosen neighborhoods. It measures the aforementioned influencers including demographics from the area.

*Rightsizing*: The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (n.d.b) states that this is the dynamic process undergone by many urban areas caused by changes leading to a reduced population, dwindling tax base, and infrastructure challenges. It is also associated by planners and programming as an identifier of legacy cities (a term created from a conference by The American Assembly of Columbia University, the Center for Community Progress, and the Center for Sustainable Urban Development of Columbia University's Earth Institute to describe the plight of large and small urban areas in the United States experiencing these circumstances). Though there is a range of causes, targeting historic preservation as a way to address some of the main concerns of urban growth and sustainability grows.

*Stabilization*: This term appears frequently within historic preservation research, but in a variety of ways. For this study, this definition is a critical component of understanding the choices made in an urban locale's historic preservation policy and ordinance, as well as how the factors work as a platform to inform results. The term is used in conjunction with social capital, social disparity, and economic elements of a neighborhood. Residents become invested in the property and the community. When a neighborhood is stable, there is little turnover in population and rates of property values remain level. If the neighborhood is negatively impacted, evidence reveals fluctuations in turnover rates and additional social problems such as crime, poverty, blight, and more (Federal Reserve System, 2011).

*Stringent*: Used in conjunction with policy adherence and enforcement, the term refers to a strict and rigid interpretation of the standard or rule. The rigor with which a local government's Architectural Review Board (ARB) reviews proposals demonstrates this concept. In this case of this urban area in the mid-Atlantic, there are precise standards documented for citizens that compel owner action and procedure. The failure to uphold them results in pre-conceived, immediate consequences, as well as residual impacts for future work and public perception.

### **Significance of the Study**

Rypkema and Cheong (2011) and Hwang (2015) challenged the previous causal links between preservation and gentrification of neighborhoods and suggested that there are better models to explain the relationship between preservation policies and economics. In conducting this study, I sought to further add to the research by assessing the direct relationship between a locality's historic preservation standards and ordinances with a neighborhood's economic and social dimensions. The results elucidate policy impacts on smaller urban neighborhoods. The results of this study provide vital insights into the real and perceived impact of historic preservation processes on individual urban neighborhoods and the subsequent impacts of policy changes over the long-term.

The knowledge from this research should aid members of urban local governments and organizations in helping their residents adjust to the responsibilities of home ownership in a historically designated neighborhood. Additionally, it should inform local government officials and agency heads of the importance of public engagement in planning and evaluation of strategic economic measures. Developing needed economic



designs has long been a concern of municipal professionals in U.S. urban areas (Hill et al., 2012; Listokin et al., 2012). Historically, past actions have proven ineffective or socially detrimental (see Billis, 2010; Marshall et al., 2012). Therefore, researchers have concluded that stabilization forces in individual neighborhoods is paramount to an area's vitality and longevity (Hartley et al., 2015; ICIC, 2011). Future decision-making by city officials to alleviate some of the current difficulties and progress toward a sustainable community depends upon these relationships between policy and the people.

### **Summary**

Chapter 1 included an introduction to this study, presenting the challenges of urban areas to use historic preservation policy sustainably within the midst of other social and economic challenges. Evidence from census data and qualitative data provide the foundational elements of this study, which brings awareness of the intricacy of multiple systems in a historic district within the greater context of the metropolitan area.

Government officials, agency leaders, civic groups, owners, and investors can use the material to bring about positive changes to their respective sites. The problem addressed is the determination of a relationship between historic preservation policy and neighborhood stabilization effects, especially the social, political, and economic impacts resulting. By improving the understanding of local historic preservation policy impacts on these smaller urban designated neighborhoods, decision-makers can better apply reasoning in a way that reduces problems and stabilizes its community.

The theoretical framework provides the base for conceptual elements, discussing social-ecological systems and aspects of the theory of organization and society. It covers

indicator systems and evaluation tools suggested by scholars as a way to effectively evaluate how historic preservation policies influences the dynamics of an urban area. The research questions highlight qualitative gaps discussed in the literature. Demographics from U.S. Census data is necessary to gauge evidence of change in neighborhood stabilization factors after policy implementation. Further, individual historic designated urban neighborhoods are examined to discern the types and depth of social, political, and economic change caused by the policies over time.

Chapter 2 will describe and review the body of literature on the subject's theory and conceptual frameworks, evolution of historic preservation policy, and indicators and measures used in the field of historic preservation. Further discussion provides insight into issues of historic preservation such as gentrification and displacement, property values and assessments, and policy trends and initiatives. Discussion is provided on federal and state laws and mandates related to historic preservation policy, yet the primary focus is on localities, specifically on smaller urban areas. Chapter 3 provides descriptions of methodology choices and rationale in this study, including sampling, instrumentation, design, data collection and analysis, social change implications, and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 contains the detailed results of the study with particular attention paid to the data collection and analysis of the tools employed, which in this case are interviews, observations, document analysis and descriptive demographics. Key findings from the data generated is discussed in Chapter 5, which also includes recommendations and discussion necessary to complete the goal of furthering understanding of the topic.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

Historic preservation, as a field of study, continues to confound experts and create contentious debate because of its evolving systems, practices, and interdisciplinary approaches. Within the scholarly community, researchers have voiced a multitude of concerns and noted gaps (methodology, causal links, standards and identifiers) in recent years (Lan & Anders, 2000; United State Cultural and Heritage Tourism Study, 2009). Further challenges have arisen because the discipline is new when compared to others. Historic preservation policies have been in place for decades, however, which has provided an opportunity for researchers like those in a 2007 independent firm for the city to conduct many studies to address community needs and standardize approaches while reaching consensus on terminology and concepts (see Kinahan, 2016; Ostrom, 2015).

The intention of the literature review in this chapter is to examine theoretical, conceptual, and empirical works in historic preservation as they relate to preservation's effects on urban neighborhoods in the United States. Using these works, I will identify issues and trends in methodology, theory, systems, and history. These issues and trends provide understanding that can inform scholars and practitioners on the role that historic preservation plays in their communities and how its use may be effectively evaluated. The literature review concludes with highlighted topics that warrant further research beyond the scope of this case study.

### **Literature Search Strategy**

I found literature on the topic and related theory by using Lan and Anders' (2000) tiered approach, which involves developing the historical basis of key areas and then tying more recent literature to this basis. This method requires that recent work be published within five years of the research, though older material forms the foundation. Using seminal works on historical preservation allowed me to tie together past, present, and future methods and trends to highlight the development of the topic. This approach also allows the reader to gain a holistic sense of relevant questions and issues. Given that historic preservation policy aligns to government policy and decision-making by virtue of its legal and programmatic parameters (Meyer & Bromley, 2013), I decided to explore and include additional materials from agencies and organizations tied to institutional analysis in the review.

I focused my literature searches on journal articles, though I also included some books in my review. I used the "library" settings feature when searching Walden University Library's databases and those of the community college system in my area. In addition, I searched the Google Scholar search engine. The tools included in results of the searches, such as "Cited by" and "Related Articles," provided alternate sources of data as well. Several other types of professional information from association publications and e-mails provided useful avenues to locate source material. Dissertations and professional conference materials held notable value for their ability to address recent happenings and point to other resources that proved valuable.

I used several different search terms when conducting my searches. These included *historic preservation, historic preservation policy, local government and historic preservation, heritage tourism, economics and preservation, revitalization and preservation, and neighborhood stabilization*. International journals were not excluded since thematic similarities exist within the professional fields of inquiry in historic preservation. The work published in these journals provided alternate viewpoints on the impacts and programs resulting from historic preservation policies.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

Researching literature on the theories underlying historic preservation yielded a multitude of approaches for systemically assessing and exploring the impacts of preservation on smaller urban neighborhoods. These approaches include historical narratives, value-driven concepts of patriotism and memorialization, and architectural structure preservation. Federal policy in the 1960s and 1970s fueled the transition of historical preservation in the United States to a viable specialization of study that reflected a firm foundation in urban policy and planning (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). Since the 1970s, researchers have focused on sustainable practices through interdisciplinary approaches based on specific theoretical knowledge (Hartley et al., 2015; Hays, 2004). When searching for direct ties to specific theories, however, I found few articles. This is one reason why scholars insist that additional empirical studies using frameworks and indicators as tools of validation and measurement for the field of historic preservation are vital (Barton, 2014; Rypkema-Webster & Kinahan, 2014; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012).

## **Social-Ecological Systems**

Ostrom, and Cox (2010) explained that the SES framework can be used to examine the social, economic, and political settings of an area and compare it to related ecosystems in terms of how interactions take place between resource units, the resource system, the governance system, and the users (Sabatier & Wieble, 2014). A tenet of the SES framework is that historic preservation designations and design reviews and interventions are intrusions in an ecology (Ostrom, 2009; Ostrom, 2015). The local systems must employ a sensitivity to enable dynamic stability within the complex adaptive urban system (Allison, 2005). The “lived experience” blend of historic environment to value, as noted by Wells and Baldwin (2012), authenticates historical buildings as a part of the fabric of the landscape. This idea purports the outcomes, which often becomes tied to a focal unit of analysis. Indeed, the neighborhood is often the basis for creating a common identity in an area (Miller & Nicholls, 2013). In particular, the urban environment remains the key area of struggle compared to other landscapes, and its social distribution, implementation, and violation has far greater impact on current transnational effects than assumed (Dietz et al., 2003; Ostrom, 1998). The SES Framework has not been widely recognized or used in social science, however, the reason for this may be that so many of the action situations show formal characteristics without a clear practice attached (Ostrom & Cox, 2010; Schlager & Ostrom, 1995).

Ostrom (2009) reminded readers of the complexity of multiple subsystems and internal variables of resource systems and governance systems. Those settings and related ecosystems interact and experience outcomes in social, economic, and political settings

that have a push/pull relationship with economic development, demographic trends, government policies, and a host of other incentives and factors (Dietz et al., 2003; Ostrom, 2009). Local and regional environmental resource stewardship can, however, cross boundaries of politics, policies, and property rights – all critical parts of historic preservation (Armitage & Irons, 2013; Brunckhorst, 2009; Ostrom et al. 2002). Compatibility between governance institutions and the ecosystems managed dictate flexible, iterative, and adaptive approaches (Garmestani & Benson, 2013; Leslie et al., 2015). Indeed, the entwinement of elements becomes critical in sustainable practices, particularly local economic development, poverty reduction, and market-based conservation initiatives (Brunckhorst, 2010; Ostrom & Cox, 2010). These complexities require further examination to understand how these systems work and what best practices may optimize their effectiveness.

In urban planning, the term *brownfields* is used to describe property whose expansion, redevelopment, or reuse is “complicated by the presence or potential presence of a hazardous substance, pollutant, or contaminant” (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2016, paragraph 1). Brownfields are relevant to this discussion because, with roughly hundreds of thousands of these properties in the United States alone, there is ample room to consider how these more industrial sectors can contribute to historic preservation and the plight of the urban environment (Siikamaki & Wernstedt, 2008). In reality, these properties can transition into mixed-income housing, with greenspace and active living as a component. The key barriers include the initial distasteful appearance of these properties, the scope and scale of rehabilitation, the lack

of funding, and long-term maintenance and land acquisition issues (Siikamaki & Wernstedt, 2008). These areas can form a nexus of opportunity, however, if local governments will support them and private/public involvement takes place (Price, 2005). In the chosen city in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States, multiple examples exist of development where older tobacco warehouses and factories have been turned into housing with clustered developments of retail, service, and food industry juxtaposed within the neighborhoods at the heart of the district.

Multiple scales, sectors, processes, and policy makers require an approach to urban place stewardship that can be flexible and coordinated. Connolly et al (2013) suggest that using bi-modal mechanisms can lead to cooperative agreement between all groups and agencies that share responsibility. In the SES system, work combines not only conservation or restoration, but also advocacy, education, and monitoring. All parties become managers of the ecological forces and promote advocacy for the required components that lead to sustainable communities and allow goal preparations that can be multifaceted enough to encompass the comprehensive needs of the public served. If part of the locale's plan includes economic development, for example, then historic preservation must work in tandem with the plan instead of against it, or worse be sacrificed in order to achieve it (Tengberg et al., 2012). The policy must apply the concepts of landscape and place as a useful bridge linking functionality with outcomes. Interdisciplinary methods assure that the collective history equates in importance along with the technological components. Social networks have the capacity to develop and facilitate ideas and communication between the polycentric management components



(Garmestani & Benson, 2013; Ostrom, 1998). This communication incorporates environmental measures not often included or lacking in research. Examining historic preservation in an aggregate way ensures that these elements become a significant portion of the measurement. Rypkema and Cheong (2011) suggest that a prior lack of integrated data or standardized approach disregards infrastructure savings, embedded energy, and Greenfields (undeveloped lands) contributions in preservation on environmental planning and structuring. Additionally, institutional design principles and community homogeneity in desirability form consensus, compliance, and endurance of policy, which becomes critical for historic preservation policy implementation and evaluation (Dietz et al., 2003; Ostrom, 1990).

### **Theory of Organizations and Society**

Shafritz, Ott, and Jang (2016) present the theory of organizations and society (TOS) as one of the works in their volume, which prefaces an assumption that in an open societal system, the obligations of a community go beyond its well-being to include broader thinking encompassing how it fits within the whole of its locale. In this scenario, the organization must act as a responsible citizen, working toward society's best interests with its decision-making and implementation. To be effective, the procedure requires a dynamic process, blurring lines between the government, non-profit, and corporate sectors. Katz and Kahn (1966) proposed that idea that networks integrate across boundaries to form vertical, horizontal, or spatial differentiation (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2016, p. 344). Bryson et al. (2014) describe it as steering, rowing, or sometimes just getting out of the way. In doing so, a societal consciousness develops to address diversity

and cultural competency concerns, as well as social responsibility and entrepreneurship (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2016, p. 341); Wacchaus, 2014). Nicholls (2010) uses a mean integration of models to find creative solutions to community problems and deliver sustainable social value to clarify the aspect of entrepreneurship. This emergence of the idea that social problems are not intractable means often-diffusing programs and services into networks and hybrid organizations.

Brammer et al. (2012) developed a case that supports moving away from the voluntary, ad hoc, and discretionary practices of corporations or institutions of the past to address the penetrable role they have in societal expectations and accountability. Social norms have general goals embedded, yet there is no accountability to define the rights and responsibilities that a local government or agency has in historic preservation, and thus no way to perform a check on governance in the area. Positive relationships between the citizens, government, and other sectors of the community can form partnerships for detecting and solving matters that arise, which encompass all realms (Bromley & Meyer, 2014). An empowered agency, as discussed by Suarez and Esparza (2015), reinforces the idea that encouraging contributions from non-profits and civic groups provides leverage in establishing trust and garnering buy-in for policy. The delicate balance of local culture into globalization allows for transferable ideas, structures, and practices that inform practitioners of the social spheres and influence embraces dynamic processes (Drori et al., 2014; Wacchaus, 2014). Overlapping analyses of the axes involved cover the nested, shared, and temporal contexts of change and process.

Recent work has suggested renewed emphasis on a neighborhood level analysis as a micro-level way to research and conduct a study on this theory within a real-world context. Historical, macroeconomic, and global forces all impact urban neighborhoods, yet neighborhoods often serve as the critical mechanism to account for variation in concentrated inequality and policy evaluation (French, 2015; Sampson, 2012). Meaningful change begins with an understanding of the impacts of various dynamics and social structures on the processes and systems of governance. In this way, examining this particular historic district and neighborhood in the mid-Atlantic area of the United States can serve as a mechanism to reveal the complexities of historic preservation policy and implementation on a smaller urban area. As Ebrahim et al. (2014) suggest, the hybrid construct of governance and social enterprises has benefits, yet can cause mission drift, accountability challenges, and other detrimental factors in policy implementation. For historic preservation, research that may help avoid these pitfalls deserves attention.

### **Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts**

#### **Evolution of Historic Preservation Policy**

Initially, in the United States, historic preservation action seemed motivated by the need to memorialize figures perceived as politically important to the foundation of the nation. George Washington, first president under the United States Constitution, embodied value to the public both due to his role as the military leader during the Revolutionary War, but also as the founder of our government. Therefore, soon after his death, efforts to preserve his home, Mount Vernon, as well as the birthplace and childhood home, became paramount. Beyond these selective methods, the idea of

preserving an entire urban district did not become formal practice until the 1930s, when Charleston, South Carolina implemented historic districting as a zoning tool (Finney, 2014; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). New Orleans' French Quarter followed the trend shortly after by formulating a policy which would preserve neighborhood architecture and character through design and renovation. The significance of the landmark acts signaled a shift away from singular efforts to broader ones by urban planners to shape the landscape through protecting its older neighborhoods.

After World War II, planners had to address multiple issues with urban overcrowding, including housing shortages, substandard living conditions, and modernization. The construction of highways and other federal projects further complicated possible solutions. In many cases, demolition of building for developments, including mass housing complexes, grew rampant. Naturally, this type of construction produced tension among residents and preservationists in some areas. Several cities tried using preservation as a part of an overall strategy to revitalize underutilized portions of the community. With the advent of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949, and other subsequent organizations, attention given to the problems associated with preservation and the perception that it rid cities of its neighborhoods did cast a negative light. Changes in public sentiment and political leanings in the 1960s led to an increased interest in how cities had been affected by preservation planning and policy, as well as the integrated efforts and impact of secondary state and federal programs. Scholars assert that the massive migration after World War II, along with the Civil Rights Movement, fueled the flight from the cities to the suburbs. This period prompted a counter-movement

in which community groups and affluent citizens banded together to save downtown places from abandonment, demolition, and destruction (Finney, 2014).

In 1966, the conflict between growth and preservation reached its climax with the publication of *With Heritage so Rich* by the United States Conference of Mayors. This document fueled additional research on the unsavory outcomes that previous decades of destruction had accomplished. In response, the federal government produced legislation in the form of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), which would fall under the purview of the National Park Service, an agency of the Department of the Interior. This sweeping law included provisions to form a National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks, as well as creating State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) and an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). The primary function of the ACHP is to oversee Section 106 Regulations, also enacted to compel federal agencies to consider the effects of their programs and operations on historic properties and work in conjunction with the SHPOs to inform and involve the public on its deliberations. Subsequent amendments have extended the oversight to individual agencies of the federal government as well and broadened the scope of what may be considered historic property in the eyes of the law (NHPA, 2014). Ideally, the local, state, and federal offices work cooperatively to evaluate, implement, and support activities of preservation (Finney, 2014; Noonan, 2010).

As Young (2011) discussed, the American Bicentennial in 1976 acted as a catalyst to renew interest in all matters of national significance, including its storied architecture and historic neighborhoods. The preparations prompted many localities to

pursue historic designation and ushered in the unprecedented era of local urban ordinance in historic preservation. This urban reinvasion propelled a diffusion process of movement throughout the community that seemed contagious. Research and development in fields such as New Urbanism induced mixed-use development and sustainability practices as well. These tie the population characteristics, values, economics, and interactive social dynamics of a community together, so when compelling change affects one, all will suffer some degree of impact (Spall, 1995). According to the National Trust for Historic Preservation (2002), the legal power to safeguard historic places lies chiefly with local governments and not with the federal level, as many would believe. Though the intent is to protect historic property and districts, especially against devaluating effects of unsightly properties or inappropriate land use, others argue against it as a violation of private ownership rights. In 1978, in the case *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York*, the United States Supreme Court set a precedent for local governance when it ruled that historic preservation held a valid public purpose and that as long as the private owner had “reasonable beneficial use,” the city could place caveats on use and appearance (NTHP, 2002).

One piece of legislative history, the Tax Reform Act of 1986; however, produces over a thousand projects annually. The policy does not apply to owner-occupied property, however, which accounts for the largest percentage of historic buildings (Ryberg-Webster, 2015). Further, the small scale of the work in these owner-occupied structures exacerbates the cost of expertise, fees, and time that ensues in an undertaking to rehabilitate or restore these residencies. Though researchers have pointed at the influx of

targeted generations, like the millennials, into the urban setting as a saving grace, the reality is that many downtowns are gaining residents while the city as a whole suffers losses translated through poverty and vacancy (Mallach, 2015; Mowery, 2015; Urban Land Institute, 2016). The universities and medical complexes within commercial centers have also developed into intriguing scenarios where the city experiences active, transitory daytime growth while the permanent face of the area stagnates or, in some cases, declines.

Within the last several years, government agencies and associated organizations have taken steps to begin an active process of gathering data and using it to drive action. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (n.d.b), or ACHP, formed the Rightsizing Task Force in 2011 and used the PlaceEconomics system to reach several important conclusions that will influence policy and activity for years to come. Though the findings may seem rather commonsense, the step to publish and acknowledge them warrants further review. For instance, the team determined that using a variety of tools and strategies integrated into local systems and plans have the best chance of optimizing the benefits (ACHP, n.d.b). An interesting note here, however, suggests that vertical and horizontal partnerships should be used to access all resources so that a thorough approach, factoring in environmental and economic factors, applies. The report also indicates that there have been inconsistencies in federal implementation causing failure or the omission of fundamental pieces to the historic preservation planning process (ACHP, n.d.a).

Many countries view heritage as a part of the nation's wealth, important to the spiritual and material development of society (Safuillin et al., 2014). Compared to its international counterparts, the United States focuses more on the market, mainly as a byproduct of the economic system that has thrived since the nation's founding. As a result, findings narrow in on dollars and profit. To that end, the historic rehabilitation tax credit system's workings have become a source of debate among analysts and economists (Adam, 2017). While scholars have studied the returns on investment via job creation, structures reused, and other related benefits, the actual return generated by the federal government has often gone undiscussed. Rypkema (2012) offers the idea that the tax credit program contributes more money to the treasury than initially used to pay out to investors. In a sense, the gaining momentum of cities as residential areas through millennials who represent 37 percent have made the phrase "what's old is new again" seem realistic (PwC & Urban Land Institute, 2016).

### **Indicators and Measures**

One of the most pressing difficulties in historic preservation is a lack of standardization in terminology, evaluation, and implementation. The varied cleavage in economic and social urban systems has scholars and professionals at a loss. Many overlapping complexities in an urban system add to the conundrum of sorting out fact from fiction. An agreement is reached; however, given that numerous bodies, agencies, processes, and shifts over time added to the current state of affairs, whereby many cities suffer and can find no effective means of sustainability through historic preservation or any other aspect of governance (Morrill, 2014). The complexity of overlapping and



integrated systems in the social, environmental, and economic spheres complicates the applicability of normative models of assessment (Accordino & Fasulo, 2014; Oktay & Onal, 2009; Tengberg et al., 2012). Those in the social sciences have struggled to find common ground in conceptual design that can translate into practical solutions. Moreover, there is no common method of pinpointing economic value. As Maskey (2007) points out, values of historic properties include both passive ones such as existence, option, bequest, and altruism with tangible measurements of visits or site use. These can enhance the neighborhood's quality, balance competing interests, and even provide a sense of unity (Noonan, 2007; Oktay & Onal, 2009). The passive value would incorporate common or public goods if this framework is used. This further fouls costs and benefits because it places historic resources in the quasi-public role of having utility for society, but also possessing private equity.

Internationally, entities such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) propose integrating the decisions and planning with a participatory approach (Tengberg et al., 2012). The World Heritage Convention and European Landscape Convention have promoted the DIVE method: Describe, Interpret, Value, and Enable as a way to assess various perspectives and parts of any considered action in the area of cultural heritage and historic preservation. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment specifically addresses the fact that most management plans do not consider the social, cultural, and spiritual belief systems of a locality. These methods end up ignored within the more immediate and recognizable goals of a community's government. Regardless, it has become a common practice internationally to evaluate the

heritage concepts and cultural identity of the people affected by tourism and economic planning using the structural landscape and ecosystem as a means of empowering the people involved in local government and administration (Anderies et al., 2012; Tengberg et al., 2012).

Methodologically, inconsistency and oversight has led to poor understanding and perhaps even misunderstanding of historic preservations intricacies, even at its base level in individual municipalities. Specifically, several central components require scholarly standardization for improved findings and recommendations. Many preservationists, for example, have long touted job creation and household income as the rationale behind the use of historic preservation. Property values maintain research interest often because there is a belief that the changes here reflect economic impacts of historic preservation. In most circumstances; however, the input-output multipliers like RIMS Maturity model. While the measure is effective in certain circumstances, it does not include projects receiving tax credits, nor does it distinguish between factors such as part-time and seasonal employment, or reports and databases from related agencies (Rypkema & Cheong, 2011). Lastly, heritage tourism and the Main Street program make up the *Big Four* when discussing the economics of historic preservation at a local and state level (Rypkema, 2011).

Many of the problems addressed through the use of historic preservation include poverty, majority-minority demographic disparity, vacant and abandoned structures, and depressed city centers. Associated consequences are crime, deficient educational system, loss of employers and employment, and loss of quality of life (ACHP, n.d.b). One way to

combat these difficulties is through programs like those of The Preservation Rightsizing Network (PRN), led by Rypkema and his team. The purpose of the group led to the development of practical tools for planning and strategy, which include an interdisciplinary membership approach of planners, community development organizations, stakeholders, financiers, and advocates to meet those needs. The stated goal of PRN includes creating livable communities, which will lay the foundation for revitalization in older and historic cities and neighborhoods (PRN, 2016). In pursuit of this goal, they have instituted a *PlaceEconomics* tool, which evaluates localities for the purpose of encouraging best practices, facing current challenges and opportunities, developing partnerships, and promoting flexible tools and mechanisms able to supplement existing regulatory frameworks (PRN, 2016). Based upon the ReLocal framework for long-term use by Rypkema (2013), the categories include real estate, stability, neighborhood characteristics, walkability, fiscal health, economic opportunity, engagement, and environment. These are subsequently evaluated through a spectrum of uses and roles to highlight assets and identifies priorities in the future strategic allocation of resources.

When determining parameters of change at the micro-level of a neighborhood, Landis (2016) suggests four ways: aggregate sociodemographic and economic characteristics derived from Census data, changes in housing (including the number of units, financing, and type of occupation), characteristics of new residents, and the physical and capital investment made. Those rest on the notion that five central factors exist in determining socio-economic variance using a comparison model of those moving

out and those coming in. The initial rent levels or rates, the percentage of residents with a college education, the initial and current change in Caucasian population, the presence of historic property stock (residential), as well as the income levels of those who left and those who entered are the determinants (Landis, 2016; McClintock et al., 2016). The idea differs substantially from Noonan's (2007) earlier research indicating that omission of variables and endogenous designation skewed empirical results and formed an incomplete causal relationship when determining impacts.

Continuing the local focus, the work of an academic institution near the target area in the neighboring urban locale of a nearby mid-Atlantic location used several different quantifiable measures to determine the impact of rehabilitation tax credits. Employment of several appear, including the Regional Input-Output Modeling System (RIMS II), Regional Economic Models, Inc. (REMI), Impact Analysis for Planning (IMPLAN Pro), and the Preservation Impact Economic Model (PEIM). The PEIM measures jobs, income, wealth, input, and taxes. As an example, the Center for Urban Policy Research (CUPR) in 2015 found that between the years of 1978-2014, nearly \$2.493 million jobs came from federally funded rehabilitation projects generating nearly \$39.3 billion dollars of tax revenue (federal - \$28.6 billion, state - \$5.4 billion, local - \$5.3 billion). Collective findings reflect production of 510, 953 housing units with 28% of those dedicated to low and moderate level housing (CUPR, 2015). At the state level, Accordino and Fasulo (2014) found that in the fiscal year 2012, the chosen mid-Atlantic state ranked third in total dollar volume for rehabilitation expenditures. In the period of 2000-2011, according to the work of a State Historic Preservation Office in the targeted

area, an average of 174 projects funded per year resulted in a \$3.97 billion investment, 31,133 jobs, and \$133 million in taxes. These figures directly relate to the needs and benefits experienced in this particular East Coast area. Aside from the focus on dollars and cents, a related study by Accordino and Fasulo (2013) found that the place-based development approach has challenges, mainly due to inefficient allocations, lack of coordination, and maldistribution. Despite the stimulants provided through the Neighborhood Stabilization Program and Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, the successful programs fused political interests with technical rationality in execution. Those that have funds specifically targeted to needed populations show significant growth, yet when taken away or depleted, these areas fall once again into decline with no exit strategy in place (Accordino & Fasulo, 2013).

### **Property Values and Assessments**

Determining what a neighborhood is has led to much debate within the scholarly community. Though theories may vary, the one area of agreement seems to be the understanding that the targeted area contains a myriad of systems and components. Galster (2012) proposes a definition of bundling spatially based attributes within the cluster of residences according to the type of commodity. There are certain related ecological perspectives first mentioned in the 1960s, including physical and symbolic boundaries of place. These attributes form a physical or geographical entity. Additionally, integrating those elements with social organizations and networks forms a more unified understanding, evidenced by academics in the 1980s. Regardless of the interpretation and its application to historic preservation study, the motivating forces behind neighborhood

change is the most valuable piece of information. In that sense, one of the fundamental components is the housing market. External and internal action can adjust the character of a neighborhood through this neighborhood change. What is telling; however, is that once the adjustments begin, the degree of change becomes a contagion, often dictated by social intercourse and the inability to provide a price to social and sentimental attributes (Armitage & Irons, 2013; Galster, 2012).

Initially, localities balked against the use of historic districts due to the fear of reducing property values. Though divisions among the scholarly community exist on this issue, a portion of the research suggests that designation can maintain, or even boost, values of property within the district and directly outside of it (Been et al., 2015; Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2013; Mason, 2005). Many believe the reverse to be true, however. Officials fear the increase in values because it leads to higher taxes and can produce symptoms of gentrification through endogeneity bias (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2011; McClintock et al., 2016; Rypkema, 2012; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012). Given that common measures base economic success on property values, job growth, tax revenues, and revitalized communities, historic preservation often seems like the one type of policy that can accommodate all of these factors for a community (Gorska, 2015; Noonan, 2007; Young, 2011; Gorska, 2015). Unfortunately, the argument currently made in scholarship centers on the fact that in the prosperous 1980s, the new program generated great interest given its novelty. The attention stimulated an already effective market. However, since that period, the economic environment of urban areas has suffered, and the impact of historic designation has lost its momentum (Schaeffer & Millernick, 1991). Historic

preservation should not be a promotional homeownership tool. Though it brings about the perception of neighborhood stability by increasing home ownership, as discussed by Ryberg-Webster (2014), the real key rests with targeted public sector revitalization programs that include private sector investment. The only properties that gain the most value are those at the lower end of the scale (Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012).

Past research displays results based on economic valuations. In these studies, the techniques of contingent valuation method (CVM) and choice modeling are used to determine the benefit-cost analysis of investments for public programs, particularly related to art, museums, archaeological sites, libraries, and historical sites, and more (Maskey, 2007; Noonan, 2007; Zhao et al., 2016). Some scholars believe the method does not take into consideration the many factors that affect a neighborhood market. A historic district naturally limits the supply and raises the cost because it becomes a commodity, affecting the market variation within the urban location as a whole. Inconsistency in results relates to the dependency of the historic preservation program due to local restrictions, geographic scale, and the level of significance placed on it (Schaeffer & Millernick, 1991; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012). Even with regression modules using the hedonic price method, the conceptual measures of “sense of place” cannot be assessed. A true demonstration of the impact of property values within a local historic district requires year-to-year evaluations for comparison. Since research performed irregularly often discounts national data, this adds to the variance in methodology, proving difficult to determine a baseline and account for fluctuations

(Armitage & Irons, 2013; Rypkema & Cheong, 2011; Tighe & Ganning, 2016; Zhao et al, 2016).

Another area that causes confusion and complication in measuring and evaluating housing effects is new construction. Nearly a quarter of locations currently undergo some form of neglect, illustrating the need for adaptive reuse, retrofit, or renovation (Newman & Kim, 2014). Urban infill often creates a residential pattern incongruous with the landscape as a whole (Petroncelli, 2011; PwC & Urban Land Institute, 2016; Zahirovich-Herbert & Gibler, 2014). These alterations in structure and space can greatly alter the property values, regardless of the neighborhood's historic designation. The additional consideration of rent factors into the discussion as well. Should the site provide amenities, there will be a boost to the interest and rental rates garnered (Gorska, 2015; Snyder & Shipley, 2011). If the opposite is true, there can be devastating impacts including transit challenges, increased noise, potential crime, and other unsavory consequences. In fact, Tighe and Ganning (2016) state that transportation costs in these areas often exceed those of housing, indicating that perhaps improvements in housing costs could combat displacement. The idea adds to the possibility that gentrification takes place because the main determinants in housing choice are location and price. Those who can afford the area essentially push others out further away from the needed resources of services, as evidenced through a spatial econometric approach with weighted metric and fixed effects analysis (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2011; Tighe & Ganning, 2016; Zahirovich-Herbert & Gibler, 2014).



## **Gentrification and Displacement**

If research has truly demonstrated the issues of historic preservation within the urban social-economic system, then regardless of the outcomes, there is a disjuncture between the geography of life worlds and those most intransigent and paradoxical challenges represented. Systemic displacement and dispossession for spaces perpetuate the symptoms of a dysfunctional urban environment and governance. Though urban residents often use these difficulties as the rationale to assert their power and produce space in subtle ways, there is no denying that historically, those efforts have been channeled or suppressed by the institutions and general functionality of the systems (Galster, 2012; Miller & Nicholls, 2013). The complexity of public engagement involves multiple, co-implicated stakeholders and processes within diverse geography or spatiality. In doing so, marginalized groups continue to be cast aside in the frameworks that diagnose or prognostic problems. The recent work of Strahukevitz (2017) suggests that even in our modern era, the range of exclusionary practices continues, despite federal policy enacted to level the housing and preservation fields.

Numerous articles have flowed through mainstream media to suggest that the composition of a neighborhood is one of the most important determinants to one's future life chances (Freeman, 2009; Jun 2013). One of the most contentious charges laid upon historic preservation has been that it substantiates and further drives the desires of the affluent while neglecting the needs of the citizens who have made the area home. Studies in the last few decades have not clarified the existence or extent of displacement, nor have they measured change on a municipal level (Chi Ventura, 2011). The range on the

continuum ranges from decidedly gentrified practices to the explanation of other migratory factors as the reason for neighborhood change, not the deliberate dislocation of individuals and families. One reason behind the decree that the policies behind historic preservation have caused these demographic shifts centers on the understanding that diversity, or differentiation by class and race, is essential to the growth and sustainability of an urban area. Freeman (2009) goes so far as to say that if the population is not heterogeneous, there is an increased likelihood that political inequality not only continues, but often divides jurisdictions and intensifies challenges.

Admittedly, the lack of consensus in defining what gentrification is and how it manifests further impedes the ability to design and conduct quantifiable studies that can answer some of these lingering questions about a neighborhood's transformation since the inception of historic preservation policy. The politically charged term applies to a plethora of circumstances in varied ways. The literature focuses on the ideology rather than the impact, though creating contradictory understanding about gentrification (Cortright & Mahmoudi, 2014). Earlier studies in this area suggested that immigration, property values, rents, and desirability worked collectively to accelerate the gentrification process. Since the greater responsibility for preservation lands on the owner, this exacerbates the costs and taxes applied to a property and thus contributes to flight by residents (Allison, 2005; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Spall, 1995). Selective outmigration factors in these areas also compound the ability to determine the change from original members of a neighborhood, though the recent development of the American Housing Survey does provide a more frequent, and actual, data supply (Ellen & Regan, 2011).

Scholars often apply a seemingly pessimistic view of meaning to the term gentrification. It evokes signification as a process of disinvestment and economic decline (Freeman, 2008; Gentry, 2013; Landis, 2016). Hence, the lamentation from academia that only middle and upper middle classes have benefitted from the reinvestment and in-migration to historically designated neighborhoods. Other researchers take this a step further to suggest that the displacement of lower-income households adversely affects the essential character and flavor of the community, failing to consider the ethnoracial context (Barton, 2016; Mowery, 2015; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2016; Tighe & Ganning, 2016). Further, the idea that the upper-income newcomers overpower lower-income people causes political and cultural displacement tends to bring a qualitative element to the discussion. The differences in preferences and feelings between groups often exacerbate perceptions of threatening circumstances, causing detachment and disillusionment (Hyra, 2015).

One path discusses neighborhood change as a whole and looks at the many factors that contribute to the active composition of its residents. Scholars remind that immigration patterns have spurred gentrification and ethnic enclaves in varying locations across the United States and different periods, including domestic movement as well as the influx of migrants (Hwang, 2016; Spall, 1995). Their research concludes that poor neighborhoods have a greater risk of fluctuation in income, job opportunities, and housing values that can contribute to the change (Jun, 2016; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2016). Scholars also tend to point to the composition of college graduates and homeownership rates when determining influence and alteration. As if that is not

convoluted enough, the bipolar pattern brought about by historic preservation used as an economic development tool has bolstered unprecedented growth in some areas while accelerating decline elsewhere (Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Landis, 2016; Mallach, 2015). Yet another assertion purports that only certain ethnicities suffer. African Americans, in many cases, seem to suffer a burden of both living in a derelict area of the city while also experiencing less net income growth than other groups due to the low-wage, low-skill jobs that have moved to the suburbs (Mallach, 2015).

How, then, can migratory elements be examined in these neighborhood communities? Most research does not take into account renters and absentee owners as viable members in this discussion. To get a true sense of the migration dynamics; therefore, their inclusion in the case studies is necessary. One of the failures of employing this type of study rests on the inability to employ summary metrics comparable to time and space (Freeman, 2009). An attempt to assess drivers of neighborhood change has prompted the use of multiple types and scopes of models. As an example, Jun (2013) suggests that the physical quality of housing units within a bounded area is subject to the life cycle, which is susceptible to economic decline and renewal. Also, factors such as racial preference, place stratification, and spatial assimilation (tied to crime and education levels) can be indicative of conditions in a neighborhood at any given time (Hwang, 2016; Jun, 2013; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2016). Chi Ventura (2011) provides five putative influences in population change (temporal or permanent): demographic characteristics, socio-economic conditions, transportation and accessibility, natural amenities, and land development. Regardless of the combination or type of factors, the

market, production, and personal choice generally do not find their way into the attributed list of items.

The methodological implications are worth mentioning as well. Several calculations applied, such as the informational theory index, theil's entropy index, and the index of ordinal variation, demonstrate an effort to provide a more concrete, explicit understanding. Regardless of which is employed, the results show mixed results that, aside from offering a warning to planners on pitfalls connected with historic preservation policy, offer up no real ability to predict gentrifying activity or its effects of racial segregation in the urban context (Barton, 2016; Freeman, 2009). Additionally, it appears important to include both quantitative and qualitative measures to understand the complex, multidimensional concepts and identifiers (Barton, 2016). Failing to incorporate demographic evidence would provide an incomplete picture of preservation policy's impact on the area. Thus, the decision to include U.S. Census Bureau demographic statistics of the targeted neighborhood within the time frame of the qualitative research is appropriate. Given that the contemporary pathways of gentrification do not take into account existing inequality by race and class, traditional data sources fail to capture nuanced forces and the degree of affliction requiring a look a newer techniques such as difference-in-difference regression models (Hwang & Sampson, 2014; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Zhao et al., 2016).

Despite the inconsistency in gentrification data and scholarship, there is no doubt that policy makers in urban areas face challenges of both increasing affordable housing options and ensuring sustained development and reinvestment (Avrami, 2016; Hwang,

2016; Jun 2013). An obvious disconnect develops between the rhetoric of historic identification and the practice associated with it. There must be involvement from the municipal government to controlling declines and waves of revitalization to the degree possible and promoting retention of home ownership. Responsive and effective governance gets driven by public participation and cooperation, yet if a homogenous population is a primary player, the performance of policy drops substantially (Gorska, 2015; Jun, 2013). Specialized amenities attached to historic preservation, such as a heritage tourism components and a clustered-economy, can often intensify the gentrification of an area (Avrami, 2016; Mallach, 2015; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2016). McClintock et al. (2016) suggest that the urban agriculture movement also contributes to gentrification and displacement because spaces are more amenable to higher-end investment. The increased revenue generated by the municipality, therefore, is often offset by the amenity demands of the population attracted (Spall, 1995).

Reaffirming the tenets of the SES and TOS theories, complementary supply and demand-side perspectives, rather than competing ones, will likely reveal intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic gentrification (Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2016). In Mallach's (2015) study, African American middle classes showed movement to the suburbs, and a gap between levels of education, producing a barrier to upward mobility and opportunity. The inequity, in this case, affects more than the area in which African Americans live and work. The scenario also subjects them to political and social decline, as well as continued negative collective appraisal (Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Mallach, 2015). Additionally, the maintained impacts of political equity and power balance happen

with contributions from both newcomers and longstanding citizens (Allison, 2005; Hyra, 2015). Whether actual or perceived, the possible myths and misconceptions add to the concerns of civil liberty infringement to cause further burdens on the locale, or even inaction toward negotiating improvement (Young, 2011). To offset these, McClintock et al. (2016) favored target grant funding for underrepresented groups, as well as stipends to them for participation in policymaking.

### **Urban Planning Tools**

Several collaborative strategies instituted by various localities address the ideals of historic preservation with the practical development of concerns for an urban area, precisely economic growth and sustainability. Newman and Kim (2014) bemoan the fact that many historic districts have not received the necessary support needed to maintain and protect the integrity, function, and value of the structures. The idea of adaptive-reuse has gained momentum as a way to stem resource depletion and reuse structures, and places more structurally sound than new development (Finney, 2014; Rypkema et al., 2011; Young, 2014). In this scenario, the building's purpose transforms while the restoration of physical elements takes place. The built environment merges with new technology to provide that balance between a sense of place and modern needs.

Addressing the issues of population density through a design supporting economic niches such as cluster-based development can boost the space, resources, and energy of an area through more affordable and efficient means. Given that historic preservation is a complex matrix of laws, incentives, policies, and organizations at all levels of government, it is not surprising that public, private, and non-profit agencies cross

geographical, political, economic, and even social boundaries (Rypkema et al., 2011). No firm theoretical basis exists to understand and document social benefits as a function of these many factors. The lack of a consistent definition of the determinants further adds to the inconsistencies of the metrics and evaluation procedures.

Bertran (2015) suggests that our current global knowledge economy favors urban areas because their density and infrastructure can support the activity, which perhaps explains why approximately 84 percent of Americans live in metropolitan areas. Many cities across the nation struggle to recapture their former glory in all its forms. Reinventing these once successful places depends upon the understanding of the past as well as a realistic approach for an achievable future. From market-support to land controls, incentivizing property stewardship, which includes historic preservation, becomes instrumental in accomplishing these goals. The locality's obligation to navigate the federal regulatory power with the state facilitation provides the real protective powers. As such, there is a measured tension in determining where those powers should be applied (Zhao et al., 2016). Neighborhood-focused leadership and development can promote the type of sustainable plans necessary to leverage private investment in structure and economy. Vernacular architecture becomes an expression of logistics and produces a "system" of evolution and harmonization of elements that improve functionality throughout, expressly if the adaptations take place within the existing spatial configuration (Petroncelli, 2011).

Despite the complex matrix of historic preservation programs and policies, its use as a tool for nearly every type of economic development community program and



associated promotions means that its imperfect balance between benefit and cost reconciles (Oktay & Onal, 2009; Rypkema & Cheong, 2011). The ACHP (n.d.b) emphasizes that more collaborative efforts should take place between other entities such as the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, among others. One recent example of rhetoric in action has been the Strong Cities, Strong Communities (SC2) program, which provides an opportunity for local governments to collaborate with federal agencies so that incorporation of these practices in a meaningful way gives localities access to clear instructions and valuable assets (ACHP, n.d.b).

Another popular program has been the Main Street America initiative. As a nationwide program with over 1,600 localities as members, the low cost of the yearly membership fee in return for services such as publications, grants, and insurance programs. Data associated with this program has proven difficult to use in many studies on historic preservation, mainly due to the lack of robust, defensible data of the varied locations, which does not account for Community Development Block Grant measures of offer comparisons to control groups (Rypkema and Cheong, 2011). Despite these weaknesses, Rypkema (2011) suggests that over the past thirty years, these communities involved in the program have contributed \$45 billion to the physical improvements of areas in the United States while also forming 83,000 new businesses and over 370,000 jobs nationwide. Despite economic trends, the Main Street program seems to increase its success, reflecting higher levels of cumulative business growth and job creation in many states (Gentry, 2013; Rypkema, 2011).

Heritage Tourism, though frequently referred to in historic preservation literature, has no clear definition, often leading to irregular conclusions based on many aspects of visitation that provide glimpses at locales without a base at the national level (Anderies et al., 2012; Rypkema & Cheong, 2011; Shipley & Snyder, 2011). Regardless, many states that incorporate policies in this area have recorded growth in money spent in lodging, meals, retail, transportation, and recreation (Rypkema, 2011). Though its cultivation can be an investment of real returns, transforming the area to a destination makes the viability of success dependent on balancing the economic development and physical revitalization with land values and community culture (Armitage & Irons, 2013; Hatcher et al., 2011; Nasser, 2003; Oktay & Onal, 2009). Planning for sustainability should ensure that changes made do not form a commodification or distortion of morphology, functional pattern, and public space (Nasser, 2003; Phillips & Stein, 2013). The historic designation brings people in, yet often those same protectants serve as barriers when businesses cannot use certain promotions or signage due to local ordinance. The business value of a “destination” appeal varies and incorporates other factors of influence forming a symbiosis between function and protection (Nasser, 2003; Shipley & Snyder, 2011).

Local public policy. The National Trust for Historic Preservation mandates five provisions for a locality to designate a historic district. These provisions include: (a) municipal policy that will protect the area, (b) the establishment of an objective and democratic process to determine the district, (c) the protection of historic integrity by developing a design review requirement, (d) the creation of requirements for new construction within historic districts, and (e) the formation of policy to assuage declining

neighborhoods and stimulate and maintain current property values (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2011). By laying out a plan of action and standards for localities, the non-profit has actually placed these areas in a precarious state. On one hand, officials must determine what is in the best interests of the public good. Alternatively, those provisions must be weighed against the implicit cost of restrictions on renovation and development produced through historic designation. Ultimately, the tension between the two can lead to a situation in which one is sacrificed for the other, further complicating the ability to correctly evaluate program success.

The chapter of the chosen state's American Planning Association (2014) has explained that although no specific codes or planning elements for historic preservation exist in local planning, broad zoning is a discretionary tool effectively used for local governance goals. Further, these municipalities have been given great authority in affecting and enforcing the visual character of a neighborhood well beyond the conventions of zoning provisions through this mid-Atlantic state's municipal code. Local governments see the benefits of infill construction because of its association with reduced sprawl, increased ridership in transit, infrastructure financing, and economies of scale (Zahirovich-Herbert & Gibler, 2014). Of the available tax credit funds, 43 percent of the projects in the chosen mid-Atlantic state using these funds are for single-family residences, showing a need for more public-private partnerships (Accordino & Fasulo, 2014).

In order to meet these demands, state government has allowed the formation of Architectural Review Boards (ARB), and other oversight measures, for that purpose. The

serve as the enforcement arm of the local government by ensuring that construction and rehabilitation projects meet the goals of the city's overall historic preservation ordinances. Charleston, South Carolina formed a similar entity in 1931, and since then the development of nearly 1,800 local boards, gaining momentum in the 1960s as the result of federal policy, took place (Hodder, 1999). Seldom do the members of these ARBs focus on the meaning of these historic districts. Rather, they act as an oversight mechanism designed to enforce design appropriateness. This is mainly due to the fact these are the measurable, visual impacts resulting from the action. It becomes difficult to determine and sanction matters of preserving identity and improving neighborhood conditions, while enhancing a tourist trade and supporting community economic development have more immediate outcomes (Hodder, 1999; Price, 2005). Though due process must be given and economic hardships considered, localities often circumnavigate these principles in the course of their actions (NTHP, 2002). The chosen state's Municipal League (2016) has argued, on behalf of its membership, that real estate disclosure agreements do not go far enough to inform buyers of what this may entail. Many eager consumers have virtuous intentions, only to end up with a property that they cannot afford to maintain or improve. In a sense, the policy makers are "picking winners" by creating historic districts (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2011). These maintenance burdens also limit options, as mentioned by Avrami (2016), for future use because economic vitality and energy consumption remain absent from historic designation criteria.

Historic designation's use as a tool for economic revitalization by cities endures. The rationale fueling its use to generate economic opportunities and neighborhood

development through related measures like heritage tourism remains rampant (Armitage & Irons, 2013; Maskey, 2007; Mowery, 2015; Oktay & Onal, 2009; Rypkema, 2011). Supportive scholars like Hatcher et al. (2011) suggest that enacting these policies fosters the development of a creative class of entrepreneurs who will integrate the creative, service, and manufacturing industries. Property owners; however, view the use of use of local historic preservation ordinance with trepidation due to the ties with displacement and excessive economic and regulatory burdens (Allison; 2005; Been et al., 2015; Noonan, 2007). The reality suggests that safeguarding historic structures to design controls and review does contribute to the general welfare of the area or obligate the owner to act, offsetting any potential infringement upon private rights (Allison, 2005; Noonan, 2007; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012). Regardless, it is Rypkema and Cheong's (2011) assertion that research related to the relationship between economics and historic preservation is critical to localities understanding of how actions impact progress. Cities often have a difficult time persuading effective use of these policies in a productive way – mainly as rehabbing properties with the goal of needed affordable housing in mind. When doing so, an opportunity is missed to signal a “public commitment” to an area that catalyzes rehabilitation by strengthening the social fabric (Noonan, 2007).

Initiatives. One of the most prominent ways to encourage economic benefits flow through adaptive use of vacant and underutilized historic property comes from a combination of federal investment with state and local incentives (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2016). Interestingly, localities and states generally have relatively few strings

tied to funding. Therefore, alternatives are not always considered. Receiving federal funds; however, means following standards and procedures that often provide an opportunity to review and revise zoning, program development, and other municipal tools (ACHP, n.d.a). The federal incentives consist of Historic Tax Credits (HTC), Historic Preservation Fund (HPF), and Transportation Enhancements (TE). Since 1978, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (2014) has noted more than 28,000 buildings, which created 2.2 million in jobs and \$100 billion in private investment nationwide, at a ratio of a \$5 investment for every \$1 of tax credit. In the chosen mid-Atlantic state, From 2001 to 2011, \$374.4 million in federal tax credits for 871 projects totaled \$1.87 billion in expenditures and offered 35,001 jobs, \$1.58 billion to gross state product, \$112.7 million in state and local taxes, and \$365 million in federal taxes (NTHP, 2014). In addition, the state's historic tax credit incentivized more than 464 units of affordable housing, museums and archives, and senior housing among other projects. Ancillary benefits include boosts to local economics, support of small businesses and heritage tourism. Since 1985, the institution of the Main Street Program of the National Trust in more than twenty-five of the targeted mid-Atlantic state's communities, prompting 4,900 new businesses, 14,300 jobs, and the rehabilitation of 6,100 buildings tells the tale (NTHP, 2014). Positive outcomes seem likely when incorporating flexible and creative funding mechanisms that serve as platforms for partnerships and collaboration between governments, historic preservation organizations, and other willing parties (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2016; Wood, 2014).

From an environmental standpoint, retaining the building becomes the ultimate form of recycling, and under the current trend of sustainability practices, it seems that historic preservation can be a public relations coup. The positive policy impacts of historic preservation can prevent demolition by neglect, since risk factors to structure are incipient and progressive (Avrami, 2016; Newman & Kim, 2014). The attention paid to waste removal and the known pressures of landfill space, along with the long-acknowledged depletion of natural resources, adds value to these policies and uses as one way for a locality to deal with cultural, social, and ecological concerns (Young, 2011). The NTHP (2014) has four tenets of stewardship that support this as well: reuse, reinvestment, retrofitting, and respect. Historic character forms the underpinning to downtown growth, often attracting private investment and creating spillover effects that boost the economy (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2016).

One common way to engage the community while instituting and reviewing historic preservation policies and initiatives comes from the formation of a Community Development Corporation (CDC). These quasi-governmental groups are non-profit, locally-based focused on grassroots participation, revitalizing disadvantaged places and people, and forming relationships between the varied structures of government. The CDCs can be assets to a historic preservation program because they contribute to socioeconomic improvement objectives, which build or reinforce place-based identity (Ryberg, 2010; Wry et al., 2013). Citizens benefit through education, affordable housing, and improved services. In this particular East Coast urban area, there has been renewed interest in this type of governance. One particular community organization in the targeted

study area reformed after a hiatus. Though originally formed in 1999, the renewed group has contributed housing, playgrounds, health screenings, and other projects to one challenged area of the city, primarily. However, outside the physical parameters of this study, the organization's mission to revitalize and redevelop the human and physical capital through quality of life and empowerment has merit in this discussion (RPCDC, 2016). Though often requiring complex regulation, these entities have powerful capacity in terms of financing, diversification, and expertise, which proves vital to substantive positive change (Ryberg, 2010).

If improperly or inconsistently used; however, historic designation protections can, and will, undermine the fragile foundation that supports it (Allison, 2005; Armitage & Irons, 2013; Schaeffer & Millernick, 1991; Young, 2011). The historical landscape includes indicators that are highly diversified in their conceptual framework, i.e. built heritage, cultural heritage, and the sense of place. Reclaiming history in communities can be a powerful catalyst to involve members who will support and complement the assets (Phillips & Stein, 2013). The programming scope often suffers when the emotionally charged beliefs and feelings become tied to property so strongly. Wood (2011) has found that in terms of policy, those ideologies remain unconsidered and uncalculated, causing conflict between the economic, political, and social microcategories. Policy contributes to neighborhood stability and the level of positive impact. When done correctly, those policies shape place-based identification, regenerate or enhance the environment, form more active communities, and stimulate creative and quality builds (Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2013). The smaller the area, the more restrictive these forces tend to be, often reflected in



the types of rules, regulations, and resources instituted. Compounding forces cause uneven application of historic preservation policy so that it can be a piecemeal or weighted scenario in many circumstances. The vast continuum of these differing factors further complicates the application of these historic preservation efforts, in addition to imposing restrictions on evaluation protocols and measures of objectives.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NHPA has prompted renewed interest and review of historic preservation policy in the nation and around the world. Its celebrated achievements have furthered the campaign in some ways, while the challenges enable an unprecedented dialogue in all stages and at all perspectives of the program and its consequences. Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan (2016) explain that the only way to truly understand and improve the programs and impacts of historic preservation is to focus on studies of investments made, requiring a closer examination of processes, impacts on quality of life, economic development, and the stability and diversity of neighborhoods. In fact, the symbiotic relationship between growth and development leaves specific measurements out that help to determine the impact of external growth management strategies with the internal historic built environment of these urban areas (Newman & Kim, 2014). Local policy serves to either strengthen public commitment or create tension. Reciprocity between the public and private interests can bolster the coordination and cooperation between entities and increase the utility of action pursued (Holman & Ahlfeldt, 2013).

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the body of literature on historic preservation theory and conceptual frameworks. The evolution of historic preservation policy discussed both national and local actions. Indicators and measures used in the field of historic preservation were described and compared. Discussion of related issues of historic preservation such as gentrification and displacement, property values and assessments, and policy trends and initiatives became a part of the analysis at length. Focus on the development of policy at the local, urban level emphasized micro-level initiatives and impact. Chapter 3 will provide the rationale behind methodological choices and study design for this research. Sampling, instrumentation, data collection methods, analysis strategy and social change implications are among the categories discussed.

## Chapter 3: Research Method

### **Introduction**

The underlying role of administrators, arguably, is to operate in the best interests of constituents and the respective community. This view can have lasting and unanticipated effects, which enhance or exacerbate real and perceived historic preservation challenges resulting from adopted programs and policies. Historic preservation policy has been the center of controversy for decades, in part because of the value-laden motives and intentions of stakeholders (Ijla et al., 2011). At times, those policies work in conjunction with the locale's overarching vision to create a stable and viable system of integrated factors including economics, social equity, and the environment. In other cases, however, unintentional consequences promote shifts in population and attitude, furthering backlash or inconsistent changes. Many leaders of urban areas continue to struggle with the right balance of policy that will sustain the goals of historic preservation and improve the lives of citizens and systems (Kinahan, 2016). Understanding and exploring the myriad relationships involved with historic preservation and other domains of urban planning and operation can allow the growth and development of strategic action by municipalities to conduct policies in a positive, sustainable manner, according to (Paez & Scott, 2005; Ramachandra et al., 2012).

In this qualitative, descriptive case study, I examined the relationship between historic preservation policies and neighborhood stabilization factors and also identified areas of discrepancy between the chosen urban area's social, economic, and political impacts. Chapter 3 includes the research problem, sampling strategy, design rationale,

research questions, and ethical considerations of the study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the opportunities for social change and a summary of procedures.

### **Setting**

The neighborhood I studied, which is in one particular census tract of the chosen Mid-Atlantic urban historic district, represents the oldest residential community in this urban area and is one of the oldest in the nation. Its proximity to government offices and commercial districts gives this community a prominent role in terms of accessibility of records and resources in comparison to other neighborhoods that may prove challenging in terms of adequate availability of data. Additionally, several residents have remained in their respective homes throughout the duration of the 30 years that I explored through this study. The neighborhood provided approximately 100 residences for demographic study. Five residents participated in qualitative interviews for the study. I also conducted six interviews with individuals from the city's government offices and boards.

### **Research Design and Rationale**

A case-study design seemed most applicable given that the situation studied is not controlled and the events are contemporary. As researchers have noted, use of a case-study design allows for a variety of data sources and multiple facets of a phenomenon to be revealed (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 1994). The chosen case study city and specific historic district provided a real-life contemporary context for the overall broad themes on the subject I studied. This method's bounded system feature matches with the parameters of this research geographically and practically. Use of a case-study design allows for detailed data collection from a variety of sources, more or less creating a bridge with rich

qualitative evidence into a mainstream deductive research design (Creswell, 2013; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). A multitude of source material existed in this sample, allowing various formats of information to be incorporated into the study. Case-study methodology enables the researcher to seek answers to questions, examine complex causal links in real-life interventions, and apply a full body of evidence to an otherwise conventional study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 1994). There may be disadvantages related to researcher bias, time consumption, and tying material back to theory; however, using a general analytic strategy to the degree possible minimizes these concerns, according to (Hartley, 2004; Hays, 2004).

An interpretivist or antipositivism paradigm seemed the best framework to use. The dynamics of the topic explored allow multiple contexts to be studied to determine interactional or interventional effects. The intricacies of the research impact the experience, thus creating a less objective reality (Ritchie et al., 2013). Using an interpretivist paradigm to study historical preservation, I did not focus on the truth of a topic or the reality of its use; instead, I examined whether historic preservation policy works or does not work. In that sense, the purpose of my research could be clarified and developed, instead of tested. The examination of action and change and ensuing recommendations can be obtained through a combination of interpretive research with interventions or actions (Starke, 1995). The scheme aligns with the exploration of policy effects on neighborhood development in this case. Inferences made and supported came directly from the data generated. The information provides a simultaneous view of the actions (policy) that have affected or caused the changes.

The demographic data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau for the neighborhood I studied was collected at three separate intervals of time based on designation and policy enactment. This repeated review allowed for a degree of control over internal validity effects. Use of supplementary documentation, such as comparisons to similar studies, can buffer lingering concerns of researchers regarding the history and maturation of data (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Historic preservation research by Ryberg-Webster (2015) in a nearby urban area of the same Mid-Atlantic state provided helpful data and served as a comparative location. Government records and other related materials also support concerns of validity and establish further credibility. Census data provide comparison demographic information, allowing the significant changes and gaps to be easily identified. Using GIS software and mapping conducted by state nonprofits as visual evidence provided the ability to form more empirically-based conclusions than those made from inferences alone.

Measurement often necessitates classifying objects into numerical data. The interpretation of census data components necessitates the formation of causal links. Symbols represented facts like gender, ethnicity, and marital status to generate statistical information for analysis and form frequency distributions, variation and covariation, and a multitude of other testing for correlation (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). These socio-economic factors formed the basis for my identification of whether historic preservation policy affected the particular neighborhood I studied. This point solidifies the importance of analyzing supportive materials, such as tax records, real estate

assessments, and property values, in order to view the effects comprehensively rather than solely on the basis of descriptive statistics.

Units of analysis are tiered or layered foci, which often cannot be mutually exclusive (Paez & Scott, 2005). A case study with purposeful sampling provides information-rich material that illuminates the inquiry (Ritchie et al., 2013). Subjective decisions in qualitative research support the analysis and generate meaningful observation and evaluation (Patton, 2015). U.S. Census Bureau data produce causal links by virtue of its design allowing the information generated to be effectively used in triangulated measures (Starke, 1995). The interviews for this study included 11 participants, six chosen due to their service within the governmental structure of the city (three in the planning office and three on the architectural review board). The other five participants consisted of key residents who had been in the neighborhood for the duration of the study. Because of their dual role as policy decision-makers and enforcers, the government officials in the study provided understanding of the reasoning for historical preservation policy. The participants included as neighborhood residents shared their insights about the impacts of the policy and the experience of going through the process.

### **Research Questions**

RQ1 – How does local historic preservation policy impact neighborhood stabilization in smaller urban areas?

- a. What are the drivers of historic preservation policies and practices in a smaller urban area (economic, environmental, and social factors)?

- b. What are the challenges pursuant to historic preservation policies and practices in a smaller urban area (economic, environmental, and social factors)?
- c. What role does historic preservation play in relation to the planning and management of the broader social-ecological systems context?

### **Role of the Researcher**

Qualitative studies provide unique opportunities for researchers. The more subjective models appropriate in qualitative research provide a degree of creativity and conceptual framing usually missing from quantitative work. Regardless of the methodology, the researcher is at all times an overseer, ensuring standardization and validity to the degree possible. Researchers facilitate the processes and conduct the activities in conjunction with the study's protocols and objectives. Discernment becomes critical, notably when forming conclusions from emerging patterns and data results. There is also a role as interviewer, which requires listening and communication skills. In a sense, the researcher is also an interpreter, as emerging themes through document analysis together with the other techniques prompts identification and further explanation. In this study, there are no personal or professional relationships that may impede the ethics of the work conducted. No explicit or implicit biases or power relationships exist. Though the researcher serves as a political figure in a local town, this role does not connect to this locality or study in any way. What it does offer, however, is the ability to discern nuanced behavior and rhetoric from those in governmental positions.



## **Methodology**

The target population for this study is one residential neighborhood within one historic district of an urban area in the mid-Atlantic region of the East Coast United States. The population serves a critical purpose in this process given that this group makes up the foundation for the case study. It thereby affects the inferences made on the topic and the validity and reliability of the research. The calculated choice of the 30-year span marks the period just after this neighborhood experienced designation as a part of a historic district, the time after the initiation of key local ordinances enacted, and the time after all policies and adjustments have been in place. The policies reflect guidelines and sanctions posed on residents with anticipated convoluted relationships and widespread change to develop as a result. Recent literatures gaps provide evidence that warrant urban site examination (Mason, 2005; Othman et al., 2013; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2013). Given the increasing attention to the nearby mid-Atlantic urban area, choosing a smaller, yet comparable location to highlight further insights and add to the knowledge base.

In general, the neglect of cities with smaller populations, yet complex historic districts, seems painfully obvious within the body of previous historic preservation studies. Therefore, this particular neighborhood provides a unique perspective on an understudied problem. This mid-Atlantic community houses one of the oldest residential groups in the nation, as well as within the targeted city. Since the purposive sample increases the ability to transfer inferences, it makes sense to choose a neighborhood that has lasted over time (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008). Continuity of conclusions across multiple examples is necessary to prove reliability in a case study. Replication and

consistency are central to study success (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008, p. 167). In addition, this unit of analysis includes several originators of the movement to apply for historic designation. The subjection of homes in this area to the stringent protocols of the city's Architectural Review Board provides more residences with experience in this principal examination of historic preservation policy than similar cities do. This naturally occurring sample also means that the information is not contrived. The specificity of purposive sampling reveals a data well more focused and rich than other techniques (Starke, 1995; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Though a degree of variance is expected, it is difficult to postulate the extent until the data analysis phase. Expected population shifts over time and changeover in demographics within the longitudinal parameters on this study persist. Therefore, emerging patterns may be indicative of types and degrees of change related to the policies or elements of normal population adjustments.

The community examined offers a unique opportunity to address the various independent factors necessary for analysis, while also supplying a smaller sample size for the qualitative components of study, cross-validating conclusions through a joint application of sorts (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008, p. 217). Approximately 100 affected households lie within this community. Public records at the state and local level, government census records, and interviews will provide the data for this mid-Atlantic urban historic neighborhood study. Yin (1994) suggests that the utilization of multiple evidence and creating a chain of evidence in their analysis through researcher's notes and minutes makes the material available for the future, increasing the reliability of the study and addresses external and internal validity concerns.

## **Instrumentation**

The social sciences can be problematic in terms of providing data that measures and describes individual attributes. Conceptual information on feelings, attitudes, beliefs, pose challenges in transferring the seemingly unempirical information into a format that can be analyzed and correlated for themes and patterns. Instruments use and the collective strength of other methodological choices influence interpretation. Forethought becomes imperative to the process and the resulting conclusions. One way to address the shortcomings in this process lies in using instruments that can represent these human behavior characteristics reliably (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008, p. 414). Scales and indexes become the likely candidates for applying concepts into composite variables or items with empirical properties. Indexes and scales serve either as a representation of accumulating scores of individual items or through assigning scores to patterns of responses. The second allows comparability between the variables. The straightforward nature of the demographic categories allows for a streamlined approach. The United States Census (2015) provides databases and tools applicable to this study. One is the American Factfinder Database, which supplies thorough content in households, household occupancy, income level, and other socio-economic characteristics such as race and age for 2000 and 2010. Older census data will be pulled by hand in conjunction with assistance from the U.S. Census regional representative. Calculations based on their protocols mean the containment of internal threat of validity. Though the Neighborhood Change Database is a tool that could be more effective for the study time period, yet its

cost prevents use. Other databases will be examined to see if they can form a valid comparison for census data or fill missing and incomplete sections.

Using Creswell's (2013) analogy of the unique fabric, the qualitative aspects of research show unique features like color, stitching, and style while a machine-made, standardized material represents the quantitative method. Often, qualitative approaches require extensive time, not just in the field, but also in the data analysis portion of the research (Janesick, 2011). It can be more complex since the researcher is dealing with human behavior, including Institutional Review Boards (IRB), ethics, balance, and other elements. A researcher plays an integral and active part in qualitative research, which inevitably allows incorporation of their respective perspectives and experiences (Creswell, 2013, p. 1129). There is a fluid component of complex dynamics that forces the researcher to center assumptions and patterns on multiple contexts, allowing the systems, values, and meanings drive the themes (Patton, 2015, p. 1147).

Interviewing has elements of skill and art, requiring a blend of its use as a tool of communication, as well as one for data collection (Janesick, 2011; Patton, 2015). Protocols and precautions generated and observed by the researcher ensure consistency. Preparations for equipment failure, ineffective strategy correction, and disorganization are paramount to minimize bias and increasing credibility. Rapport between interviewer and participant is fundamental from the initial contact through transcription and analysis by following the instructive procedures established and adhering to the contracts and prepared lists made in advance of the interview. Follow-up questions are appropriate as follow-up for clarification and assurance of accuracy.

Given that observation of community meetings and events is a part of understanding the city dynamics and the organizational structure that exists within its governing systems, proper preparation is important. The directed observation techniques of Janesick (2011) to begin with a broad context and then narrow the environment to certain spaces or characteristics seems apropos. The scope and design of this study dictates that the observed scenes and interactions should have a framework aligned to conceptual inquiry with rational components (Patton, 2015). The chosen community has an organization that meets monthly at a neighborhood restaurant. This is where the key members of the targeted area reside, so it is critical to include these in scheduled observations. The researcher self-mandates attendance at meetings of the city's Architectural Review Board and any other council or public meeting. Lastly, organizations that function as non-governmental agencies in the historic preservation field, whether state or local, but who post open meetings that would assist the researcher with understanding fundamental choices and actions by the respective members on behalf of the community as a whole. In an effort to systematically rule out the subjectivity of human perception, Patton (2015) provides a list of suggestions including recording field notes, separating detail from trivia, systematic methods of notetaking, and descriptive writing.

To determine the pool of interviewees, as previously mentioned, priority lies with those residents who have lived in their residence for the duration under study. At least five individuals with active organizational membership records should form this subset. The government officials naturally form the basis of the remainder of the interviews by

virtue of their position and its relationship to historic preservation for the city. The researcher focused on obtaining informed consent prior to conducting the interviews. Before conducting any aspect of the research, approval from Walden University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) is mandatory. Informed consent forms and interview data/transcripts are further secured in a lockbox at the researcher's office or held in encrypted digital files. Follow-up with participants ensured clarity and provided an opportunity for modifications based on member checking, which ensures accuracy and validity in qualitative research. Preferably, the interviews with residents take place in a public building near the location of the neighborhood, such as the local library just two blocks away from the targeted community. Video is the preferred method of recording, if agreed to by the participant. Resident participants will be recruited through their involvement with the local historic preservation organizations, instrumental in the historic designation process. Government official participants will be recruited either by virtue of their role in the planning office or, as in the case of the ARB, voluntary choice. Chosen government participants will be interviewed in their offices or respective places of business. This will allow transparency and the opportunity for them to pull records and other materials if desired. All interviews will be conducted one-on-one. Each interview will last approximately one hour unless the participant chooses to continue or conclude early. Any of the participants who decided to withdraw from the study are allowed to do so, then the original list of potential candidates remains to replace that individual. After the interviews are completed and transcribed, participants are offered an opportunity to review them for accuracy or clarification as earlier described. The researcher provides

contact information through the consent form and be available to answer questions or follow-up as necessary.

### **Participant Selection Logic**

Sampling procedure. Sampling strategies influence the overall strength or weakness in quantitative research. Generalizations derived from the research are comprised to an extent by virtue of the fact they rely on causal links and partial information related to the problem. Accurately planning the sample design and size naturally affects the inferences made, especially when small numbers of cases examined occurs. One of the key considerations in design centers on ensuring that repeated sampling using other samples within the same population will generate similar findings (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008, p. 167). To meet this caveat, this research examines the same neighborhood at three distinct time intervals. In sum, ten identified historic districts lie within the chosen case study city limits. The concentration of residents potentially impacted by historic preservation policy and its related urban change served as the basis for choosing this particular neighborhood in this particular historic district. The chosen tract is documented as the second oldest in the city. The oldest, and original, area of the city experienced compromise through historic events and modern adjustments, causing mixed zoning applications that exclude it from being primarily residential like its counterpart.

The United States Census Bureau (2015) publishes its sampling and estimation techniques for decennial compilations. The methods used have few errors, with benchmarks within its datasets. Additionally, a dual system of measurement of survey

and enumeration samples can be viewed through documentation publicly available.

Probability samples have no purpose in the study since the geographical area has a small, straightforward grouping based on criteria already discussed. Instead, the convenience of the population and readily available associative data make this a nonprobability sample.

Patterns should be readily identifiable given the targeted selection versus a broader review, and the collected data will reflect demographics without directly involving direct participation of subjects. In a sense, this contributes to the clustering sample provided in the guidelines included by Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2009). Though the framing problems cannot be fully eliminated, multiple steps taken by the federal and local agencies, as well as industry professional, reduce it and comprehensively tackle a difficult problem beyond the researcher's purview.

### **Sample**

The sample was comprised of approximately 100 households identified as a part of the census tract 8103 for the area of the residential neighborhood in one of several historic districts within the chosen urban area in the mid-Atlantic region of the East Coast United States. Data examined from the sample frame continues over a span of more than thirty years from the original time of designation around 1980 to most recent data around 2010. Within this sample, several residents actively involved in the historic preservation designation process during the time period will be chosen for semi-structured interviews. The basis of the five individuals selected hinges on involvement in organizations with a historic preservation mission, who also happen to live in the target area. Additionally, three government officials in the administrative offices of the city's planning and



economic development office and three appointees on the Architectural Review Board panel will be chosen for interviews.

### **Procedures For Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection**

The residents living in the targeted mid-Atlantic urban community throughout the more than 30 year time frame starting in 1980 examined in this study provides the author an opportunity to delve into the possible neighborhood changes in-depth. Choosing to base the conclusions on the change in the area over time heightens the likelihood that the results include more holistic values rather than anomalies. Using these stories from the residents and officials involved in these policy changes provides a context quantitative analysis alone cannot provide (Hwang and Sampson, 2014). Additional notes from observations of meetings and events held by local government agencies and related organizations affecting the chosen urban historic neighborhood through historic preservation provide a real-time opportunity to gain knowledge of actions and decisions while revealing group dynamics, organizational culture, and related conceptual information. Studying the secondary material of government documents allows aligns the information and forms a foundation for comparison without deriving the conclusions from the more empirical nature of the census alone. Barton (2014) reinforces the need to bridge the gap between qualitative and quantitative analysis when researching questions of historic preservation and indicators of change. This serves as the basis for the choice of spatial data analysis as another tool in this study to show the changes in a GIS or comparable format. The visual has the advantage of forming a more comprehensive and poignant view of change over time.

In case study research design, typical conduct for interviews target open-ended format, which allows a researcher the flexibility of semi-structured questions. That way, elaborations naturally flow and clarifications are garnered. Each participant is provided with IRB-approved questionnaires, in addition to the research agreement, in advance of the date for the interview. This allows participants to think through the questions and ruminate about their experiences. Though this is shared in a written e-mail format, the interviewee may contact the researcher through e-mail or phone to ask questions. Once agreement is made on the contractual obligations, the interviewee is given the opportunity of choosing a suitable date and time. The environment is limited to public places, including the city offices or public library.

The potential disadvantage of semi-structured interviews is time. This relatively small number of interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes to allow in-depth answers to each question and provide time for follow-up questions and comments. The interviews recorded resulted in a transcribed document between 15 and 23 pages in length. As opposed to other survey methods, interviews provide large amounts of data from smaller pools of individuals. Given that the participants' selection assumes their particular role, the rationale of the researcher centered on the fact that the breadth of data would provide a more telling cross-section of opinion. This research intentionally creates a comparison of professional, direct influence and roles in historic preservation policy with those indirectly affected by virtue of living in the targeted neighborhood. These recordings, agreements and transcriptions stay held in a lockbox in the researcher's office for the duration of IRB directives with an encrypted identifier for each interviewee.

Observations took place at regular monthly meetings held by local organizations with historic preservation involvement. Additionally, the city occasionally holds community meetings or hearings as posted through their website and twitter. The researcher attended these as scheduling dictates. Prior approval for attendance and recording acquired from the governing body or individual in charge before the meeting dates was based upon IRB protocol and permission. In these direct interviews, the researcher did not serve as an actual participant. This allows for an unobtrusive, detached perspective. This focused sampling of the situation provides real-time opportunity to monitor body language, facial expressions and other physical manifestations of reactions. Additionally, the tone of voice, volume, and pace become cues as well. Lastly, the content of comments and procedural statements provided frameworks and patterns for the meeting agenda and action. In addition to taking notes at these one to two hour meetings, the researcher made recordings of the proceedings to the extent allowable by the governing body. This additional safeguard prevents human error in transcribing events and misunderstandings of translation.

Records for document analysis obtained through written and verbal requests to the governing agency formed the basis of a portion of research. Many of the documents are available online as a part of the Freedom of Information Act. Others, such as older tax records and specific case records, required in-person visits to the city planning department or the city courthouse. Given the differences in reported categories of information in the census data for the thirty-year span of time, one-on-one assistance has been acquired from the data dissemination specialist serving this region of the Customer

Liaison & Marketing Services Office of the U.S. Census Bureau. This optimized the likelihood that calculations used in defining correlating statistics from the identified tract of the targeted urban neighborhood remain consistent prior to the FactFinder period.

In sum, the following is a summarization of data collection methods:

1. ***United States Census demographic data comparison models*** for the time periods of 1980 (time of designation), 2000 (time for policy implementation), and 2010.
2. ***Visual graphics*** showing markers in home assessment values, demographics, and real estate market prices from the same periods through GIS software data compiled by various non-governmental agencies involved with the city.
3. ***Interviews of primary stakeholders*** initiating the historic preservation designation and continuing to enforce its policies through the government planning office.
4. ***Document analysis*** of city records to gain further insight into motivation and subjective concepts, as well as frequency distribution for emerging patterns.
5. ***Observation of key events and meetings*** by organizations and city agencies that center on the targeted historic urban neighborhood and/or historic preservation issues for information gathering and knowledge base.

## **Data Analysis**

Data analysis is specific to each study and should be continually revised (Kitto et al., 2008; Miles et al., 2013). The processes of collection, analysis and reporting should be interrelated. A multitude of analysis strategies exist, yet one methodical step would be to incorporate as much reflective material and field notes as possible. These allow the researcher to understand what feelings or thoughts emerged at that moment, forgotten since the original collection of data. At every step, summarizing and coding should be innately evident. It also seems important to incorporate graphic visuals such as graphs, charts and maps that highlight and strengthen understanding of the concepts and findings. Yin (1994) explains that case study research focused on qualitative data uses four types of analysis: time-series analysis, explanation-building, pattern-matching, and program logic models. Each has relevancy to this research.

Though precautions in qualitative analysis appear to be common sense (i.e. looking for gaps in data and protecting the data), it becomes imperative to employ precautions throughout the process. Applied research in case studies require a more scholarly orientation and rigorous approach in its research standards and contribution to theory. Safeguards or checks persist throughout to ensure standardization of practice and quality of results. Member checking will validate the material, findings and eventual interpretations (Patton, 2015). In addition to hand coding, the researcher will use of qualitative analysis software to categorize themes and identify relationships. Using the software program NVivo, for the coding of data can organize, store, and provide information in visual formats that lessen the exercise of categorizing and filtering (QSR

International, 2012). NVivo has a user-friendly application, which increases security and has features like a merge function, multiple languages, and graphic presentation. Node creation allows for the review and assessment of initial hand-coded data. The formatting of the transcriptions of interviews and documents took place in Microsoft Word standardized the labels and words. Though it does not perform correlations or formulaic calculations, the empirical aspects of its coding process reduced the likelihood that mistakes may be committed and performs structured themes and connections with a high volume of data. Word frequency queries list the words used, but can also produce three-dimensional visual productions of the query, along with the top values listed within the range. Charmaz (2003) suggests a hand-coded exercise as well with questions guiding the researcher such as action taken, what people do or say, what the actions or statements take for granted, and how the structure or context support, maintain, impede or otherwise change them.

A priori themes, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), are characteristics of the phenomenon found in literature reviews, common sense applications, empirical data, and the researchers own experiences, biases, and values. It is standard that the body of previous work in a topic has formed some baseline categories anticipated in subsequent qualitative work. In selecting techniques to develop themes, the answer becomes dependent on the type of data, skill required, labor required, and type or number of themes to be generated (Ryan & Bertrand, 2016). Many studies require the use of several techniques in order to address questions of validity and reliability in resulting themes. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that a priori themes are initially derived from

professional source materials and definitions, as well as familiar constructs and characteristics of the topic. Table 1 illustrates predicted emerging themes of historic preservation.

Table 1

*Anticipated Qualitative A Priori Themes*

	Residents	Government officials	Board members
1. Community valuation	Nonuse threats like blight and crime, lack of financing options, lack of assistance with process and paperwork, lack of public engagement	Resource depletion, lack of financial assistance from state or federal government, allocation concerns	Maintenance and improvement of historic property and sites to entice new residents and business owners, sense of place authentic, encouragement of tourism economics
2. Regulation perceptions	Complex, time consuming, traditional	Necessary, accommodating, flexible	Prioritization of reputation and integrity of process, strict interpretation with accommodation for arts and culture
3. Planning attitudes	Space protection, smart growth, mixed-use space	Adherence to building codes, revenue concerns, cultural-resource management	Advocacy for growth management parallel to nonuse values of historic preservation, cultural capital
4. Ecological and environmental	Private-goods focus	Encouragement of economic growth while balancing natural resources, public goods focus	Maintenance of attractive and livable spaces, quality of life for the common good

The data collection and analysis included document analysis methodology. This technique is essential when trying to establish connections between government decision-making, policy, and impact. A wealth of public records exist that can triangulate many of



the inferences made from the census data and interviews. There may also be alternate considerations, such as newspaper articles or other documents provided by participants. Bowen (2009) proposes that this type of analysis, in conjunction with a case study approach, is most compelling. Documentary evidence provides multiple advantages, including the context, situational circumstances, supplementary data, tracking changes and developments, and verification or corroboration of information. Using an alternative coding strategy like the open method could tag the statements with a category describing the overall subject or content (Gibbs & Taylor, 2010). Those actions included word identifiers and notes. Working collaboratively during the coding process with the dissertation committee definitely elucidates possible deficiencies or errors in the process and present alternatives to consider. The reflective process of the interviewer, along with the committee training, becomes critical as a means to further uncover and correct any discrepancies or gaps. Coding steps previously mentioned produced consistent results in this area. In addition, the inductive approach geared to identifying patterns and discovering theoretical properties in the data through the original constant comparison model of Glazer and Strauss (1967) identifies and validates emerging themes and patterns. Once completed, Bowen (2009) suggests an interrelated thematic model that correlates the themes between the various documents. This identifies priorities, clarifies motivating factors of action, form possible connections, and enables possible explanations to emerge. Then the same steps occur when comparing them to interview transcripts and other data from the case studied.

Community members should have a voice in the research because it contributes to the storyline of the examination. Interviewing officials performs the role of allowing an opportunity for opposing views and expanding on the basis for decision-making. It also strengthens the position of researcher by allowing the conduction of interviews in a manner that supplies multiple views of the implementation of the policy. As Patton (2015) mentions, interpretation goes beyond the definition to attach significance to values and judgments, deepening the understanding of the phenomenon through a critical thinking and creativity lens. One of the positives attached to interviewing as a data measurement rests on the fact that it integrates multiple skills of the researcher, such as; observation, interviewing, communicating, analyzing (Janesick, 2011, p. 1866).

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2009) advise researchers to pursue common agreement in the panel about the criterion for establishing valid evaluation when none exists, particularly when discussing demographic data. Given that no consistent data collection methods in the field, using methods and analysis provided by suitable entities like the U.S. Census Bureau ensures a standardized approach to accurately compare data without the additional concern of human error. It also has the capacity to provide visual demonstrations of data, as well as steps instituted by the researcher to derive results. In that way, the analysis of categories is transparent, which is essential to review processes and authenticate results. Full explanation of steps and the rationale, why, and how inform peers and allow for replicability of the study elsewhere.

Demographics serve as indicators of social and economic change, becoming pivotal to assessing progress longitudinally. Therefore, it is imperative to briefly mention

the factors and models used by the U. S. Census Bureau. In an effort to reduce possible error within the demographic materials used and shared, multiple exercises and determinants for the uniformity needed to reduce internal validity. It is the agency's role to produce and adjust for environmental change over time. The role of the researcher here remains the sharing of that information to prompt scholarly discussion and furthering the field of study, and not the production or calculation of any type of quantitative measure.

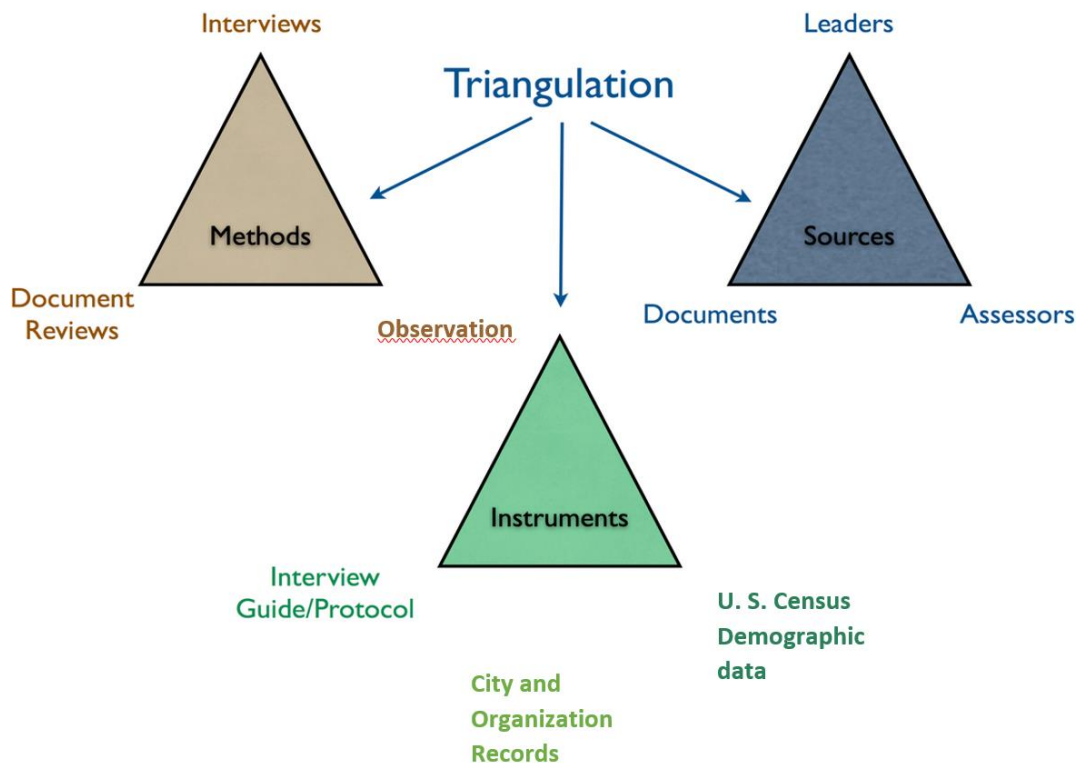
Other considerations when partnering with the U.S. Census Bureau on the demographics center on the work of Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), which illustrates various analogous analytical processes such as exploratory regression, confirmatory regression, pattern-matching and variance analysis. As with most quantitative analysis, the bureau removes outliers to “screen and clean” the material, thus giving the best possible sample measurement. Outputs can be affected by other elements, such as decision variables and uncontrollable circumstances. This researcher's role to explain and rationalize the choices made to the audience becomes paramount, requiring additional study, practice, and deference to specialists who know and understand the methods much better. Taking additional steps to acknowledge possible weaknesses also creates a transparency in action and intent. These are further considerations in choosing to use data already screened and calculated by skilled experts in their field rather than conducting the quantitative study portion within the study.

### **Data Triangulation**

The qualitative design model shown in Figure 1 reflects a modification of data collection work by John Latham (2013). This version accounts for the multiple types of

triangulation shared by Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999), which allows constant comparisons between and across all data sets of the case study. It incorporates the methods, sources, and analyst while working within the theories and perspectives. Using this framework means that the census data from the designated historic neighborhood, coupled with the interviews and documents supplied by residents and officials, accedes to constant review at each stage of the study. From conceptualization through meta-inference, equal priority is shown to all methodological strands in a concurrent manner first, followed by a merging of analysis and interpretation at the end (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2010). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) describe this exploratory format, which allows natural development of factors and variables, providing adequate opportunity for the researcher to mine for category development and correlational relationships.

## Data Collection



*Figure 1.* This modified qualitative triangulation model shows the data collection methods of this dissertation. It was originally created by John Latham of the Organization Design Studio in the “Data Collection” segment retrieved from <https://drjohnlatham.com> Copyright 1997-2007. Permission was granted and is included as Appendix E.

Interviews, along with other qualitative components, require frequent and consistent review, reflection, and consultation. The aspects of the methodology that make it user-friendly, like flexibility and creativity, could also cause difficulties to the study as a whole if left unchecked. Janesick (2011) mentions that the researcher becomes a practitioner, sharing the feelings and thoughts of others for greater understanding. This

becomes a blessing and a curse, as many inhibitors of validity exist without taking precautions. Qualitative measures of interviewing and document analysis provide balance to the demographic data generated, serving as an additional explanatory and exploratory measure. Triangulation of results, as well, as rigorous protocols of annotation and definition, increase the likelihood of transferable and credible outcomes (Creswell, 2013, p. 1240). Systematic comparisons can be conducted using the dimensionality of multiple sets of data at any given time. Gibbs and Taylor (2010) suggest that this has the additional benefit of reflecting on similarities and differences in perspectives of participants.

The design of this study allowed the various qualitative measures to emerge individually and then together, forming relationships within each and in an integrated fashion. Since each has an equitable share of effort and time in analysis and then interpretation, coding systems rigorously validated through triangulation (Patton, 2015). Further, this cross-validation encourages natural patterning to emerge, thus unveiling the actual and perceived realities and perceptions of longitudinal case study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2008, p. 217). In truth, qualitative data must be treated like quantitative data in the sense that each coding level continues to narrow the field, formalizing categories and reinforcing emerging themes with data. Bounded case study contributes to the ability to focus in on data and deductively reason conceptualizations related to the topic (Patton, 2015). Just like coding, transcribing the data can be problematic because the reliance becomes on the researcher is basically relying on human error. Protocols and standards must be in place that show understanding and commitment. Multiple checks for

mechanical errors, omissions, and other inconsistencies transpired throughout. As a further consideration, critical assessment of documentation included takes into account that governments and organizations often alter or withhold key pieces of information. Keeping this in mind throughout the process minimizes material that could be invalid or unsubstantiated.

### **Issues of Trustworthiness**

#### **Threats to Validity and Reliability**

The unique connection between validity and reliability exists because though they are related, validity ensures reliability, yet this does not work in reverse. Reliability is achieved if the case study is fully documented, providing a trail for subsequent researcher. The basis of reliability for this study is achieved through Yin's (2009, p. 199) advice to maintain the case study database as a chain of evidence available for review by committee and peers. Entertaining possible rival interpretations in the findings also reduces the likelihood that alternative conclusions may be responsible for the results. Yin (1994) provides five characteristics of exemplary case study research: significance of the unusual individual case, completeness of the data studied, inclusion of alternative perspectives for findings, sufficient evidence for correlation and completion, and an engaging composition.

As mentioned by Ryan and Bernard (2003), identifying themes has no one particular solution. Categories can be discovered and invented according to a multitude of applications and techniques. A portion of this places the decision-making on the researcher to make judgments and share the rationale behind choices made.

Additionally, significant attention must be given to the criteria used to find material that suggests a similar theme. Rules are applied, and collective opinion validates the sorting and naming expressions. In qualitative research, more is better, though not equal (Ryan & Bertrand, 2016). The ultimate demonstration of validity is the utility of device used to measure the concepts.

One logical fallacy produced from this study discussion involves the causal connection between policy mandates in preservation and the sustainability of urban neighborhoods. The possibility exists that no impacts are found, or that negative connections are discovered. There should not be an assumed link between planning policy and historic districting. The best way to avoid the possibility is to let the data speak. Attempts to interject extraneous information or random applications has no scholarly benefit. The evidence provided leads to discussion. No associations manifested that could not be validated through documentation.

Measurements reflect a concept tied to operational measurement, numerals (numbers and symbols), and can be used by researchers to represent empirical properties (variables) in the study. Social science presents inexact data. When examining data and analyzing components, the general rule applied to transforming data is that higher levels can be measured at lower levels, but not vice versa (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Construct validity centers on whether the instrument used is measuring the attributes of the concept assessed. The constructs must effectively model the everyday situations. When applying and studying psychological concepts such as empathy, prejudice, and intelligence, these concerns are commonplace. Empirical validity concerns



the ability of to assess generated results for predictive validity. Accepted agreement among researchers will suffice in regards to the type of criterion needed in order to validate scholarly claims (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). This is an imperative issue with the census data and government records included in this research.

External validity, in case study research, becomes an important consideration since the central basis of selection rests on abstracting factors back out to a theory instead of forming generalizations about populations. The results of this particular case study highlighted the issues of what has happening in the case study neighborhood of the chosen mid-Atlantic city as the result of historic preservation policy and explored its relation to theory explaining the preservation implications in other similar urban locations. This remains the most important aspect of case study work; reflecting a microcosm with the broad implications of a particular phenomenon. Results of this case can be used by officials to inform preservation policy application in localities.

### **Other Ethical Considerations**

Qualitative scholarship addresses several areas of trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Each is fundamental to the overall validity and reliability of results and must be addressed in each phase and throughout the design plan. In terms of trustworthiness, the inherent triangulation of any study works in tandem with member checks to detect and correct potential errors or areas of concern. For case study approaches, there should be multiple sources of data with balance between details and the relevance as illustrated through accurate, coherent narrative (Patton, 2015). In fact, validation emphasizes the process, meaning that negative inquiry must be a

part of the analysis, with rich, thick description clarifying all possibilities and steps taken to audit the material (Kitto et al., Miles et al., 2013). This indicates that the more care taken in the data collection and analysis steps, the more likely that enacting multiple means ensured quality of the information gathered and produced.

Transferability works much like trustworthiness in the sense that it relies on the narrative to describe and explain the process in as transparent way as possible. One cautionary deliberation when using the case study method rests on ensuring that smaller units are examined to the greatest extent possible before attempting to form a causal link between the information and possible findings. Systematic and in-depth work throughout the processes can work as a barrier to counteract alternative explanations and limit adversarial quantizing (Patton, 2015). It is important that material in the study be interchangeable with other studies to standardize the scholarly field.

Dependability centers on the ability to corroborate. Critical multiplism combines elements of qualitative and quantitative theories and methods to elucidate aspects of the phenomenon (Patton, 2015). It is not enough to systematically plan for comparison at various stages. It requires an integration of information between the two types to enhance capabilities. A balance between depth and breadth, along with weakness and strengths creates a natural flow of data appropriate for analysis. In the least, it acts as a measure of standardization. Coupled with the techniques of software that programs like NVivo can provide those steps to solidify a comprehensive, process-oriented strategy. The rigor of the production aids in this area.

Lastly, confirmability equates to objectivity. While qualitative techniques are often ambiguous and perceived as biased on some level, it remains an effective means of capturing conceptual insight that would otherwise remain obscured. Ethical reflection and disclosure must be included from the beginning of the research plan. The training and experience of the researcher plays a role in the belying suspicion of the researcher's predisposition. Rival explanations should be inserted throughout explanations and conclusions, forming a type of advocacy-adversary style of debate. Cross-checking by others who may in turn corroborate the results also works as a safeguard against the possibility of bias. In this way, peer review and debriefing promote ethical and substantive validation (Creswell, 2009).

Ethical procedures. Ethics are of utmost scrutiny throughout all phases of development in design strategy and implementation of data collection. The key to ethical behavior in all aspects of a study focuses on the ability to anticipate possible questions or dilemmas that may develop over the course of the research (Kitto et al., 2008; Miles et al., 2013). Consulting with other professionals and periodically reviewing the material is vital, yet one of the critical features of ethical consideration involves the participants. Ensuring their understanding and gaining consent can be consequential to successful avoidance of risk. Admittedly, the selection and compilation of participants centered on census tracts location and does not rely on choosing a group or set of individuals, whether purposeful or random. The guidelines for selection denote the location of the individuals, not on subjective measures or sets of beliefs. Additionally, no instruments such as surveys, questionnaires, or other processes that would yield abstract data became part of

this research. Instead, the measures used relied on the information produced through complex and thorough mathematical systems and procedures conducted by the United States Census Bureau (2015). Using this system belies a level of protection between those conducting the study and those studied.

Confidentiality of participants' identities and maintaining an arrangement that prevents disclosure of potentially intimate and harmful information is of primary importance (Creswell, 2009). Each person was assigned a number, and interview recordings and transcripts will be labeled according to IRB protocol. A separate sheet of paper/file with the corresponding names and assigned numbers is maintained. As with the recordings and other documentation, this paper/file is housed in the lockbox in the researcher's office. The categorical basis of data analysis and interpretation exhibit no reliance on association with particulars such as names or other identifying pseudonyms. The central focus will be on the accuracy of information obtained. Though the data will be obtained through rigorous and regulated authorities, there must still be a check for veracity. This aids in determining validity of inferences and formulating conclusions.

While producing the written product and distributing the research, enacted protocols ensured that information would not be suppressed which could affect findings, or otherwise compromise the integrity of the contributing base. Language becomes an important aspect of deliberations because it often associates biases with concepts (Kitto et al., 2008; Miles et al., 2013). The use of appropriate terms optimized effectiveness and avoided potential bias in the level of discussion to the degree possible. Given that this can influence policy and decision-making, there are many possible ways that the research can

be a catalyst for positive change. This fact increases the need for securing and maintaining the ethical standards of the field and throughout the research. Therefore, the methodology of the varied dynamics of case study design can also serve as a protector against more intuitive stances or derivatives in its qualitative components. In other words, the dynamic qualities of a case study often become a safeguard against subjectivity because of the different instruments involved.

Semi-structured interviews included a set of similar questions for both community members and government officials who participated in this study. The inquiries did, however, incorporate questions specific to the perspective and action associated with the overarching research question. For example, questions posed to the residents pinpoint their feelings and thoughts of how the neighborhood has changed, what they think about the procedures for modifying their residence, and what they believe could improve or enhance current historic preservation measures. For government officials, the questions target how the municipality developed its current set of standards, what is likely to change in the future, and compliance challenges. The public documents and records analyzed enhance the information garnered from each group and perhaps enlighten the researcher and audience on aspects of the issue unanticipated. The IRB approved all interview procedures and questions prior to data collection to ensure quality in content and operation.

Implications for social change. Practitioners and scholars alike link the formation of historic districts to economic development in many instances. Taking a proactive role in determining what aspects contribute to the sustainability of the process for urban

locales becomes principal to the discussion. These findings have applicability on some level to the general field by stimulating possibilities for future policies and removing barriers to current programming. Professionally, it is imperative to support the efforts of the respective discipline by looking for ways to connect the data to applicable methods and conclusions. This is the cornerstone of social change, and providing relevant, valid data and recommendations act as an impetus to move it forward.

By furthering the discussion and data on key issues previously noted by scholars in the field as needing extension, it increases the likelihood of employing more impactful methods and decisions. Local government officials contemplate decisions made not just for our constituents today, but those of tomorrow. The goal of all public administrators should be to enact policy that proactively sees potential in the economic factors and quality of life elements in the surroundings and turns that into sustainable environments. By ascertaining the link between policy decisions and the sustainability of historic districts, the practices in our urban areas are improved or enhanced. The study affects more than policy and property. Findings offer a blueprint of awareness and future possibilities to be considered.

### **Summary**

The purpose of the study was to illuminate the historic preservation field and its practitioners on the relationships involved in historic preservation as it relates to urban local government policy and direct social, economic, and environmental change. This objective was achieved using a descriptive qualitative case study to analyze the correlation between historic preservation policy and urban neighborhood stabilization, the

contributing factors, and the resulting indicators of the phenomenon. This chapter contained a detailed description of the research methodology employed to achieve this goal. The chapter began with a brief overview of the purpose of the study and the importance of best practices in qualitative analysis. There was further discussion regarding the components of research design, which emphasized the units of analysis and relationships among the census demographic data and the rich description provided by qualitative measures. Lastly, the components of the research instrumentation and possible questions of validity and related concerns were discussed, followed by an introduction to the specific research questions used in the study.

## Chapter 4: Results

My focus in conducting this case study was on exploring relevant impacts of historic preservation policy on urban neighborhood stabilization. In considering the selected U.S. Mid-Atlantic city's policy impact in the targeted neighborhood within a prominent historic district, I collected and analyzed qualitative data to weigh the benefits and harms of preservation policy against its roles and contributions. I did so through the lens of the SES framework (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992; Wry et al., 2013) and the theory of organizations and society (Rosenberg & Ferlie, 2016). In this chapter, I discuss the data collection and analysis processes for the various instruments and methods used in this study.

Results of the study presented in Chapter 4 provide results related to following the research question and sub questions:

- RQ1. How does local historic preservation policy impact neighborhood stabilization in smaller urban areas?
- a. What are the drivers and challenges from an economic, environmental, and social perspective?
  - b. What role does historic preservation play in relation to planning and management of the broader socio-economic systems context?
  - c. What role does historic preservation policy play in relation to the planning and management of the broader social-ecological systems context?

An in-depth analysis of findings is presented by question for each of the various qualitative techniques (observation, document analysis, demographics, and interviews



with resident and government sources) used in this study. Evidence of trustworthiness is discussed at length with a summary of chapter material focused on the connection to preservation policy outcomes.

### **Setting**

No personal or organizational conditions diverged from the original proposal or that influenced participants or their experience at the time of the study that may influence interpretation of the study results. I sought interviews with residents of the neighborhood by making an announcement at the historic preservation organizations' meetings. The city's municipal cooperation letter mandated procedures for choosing government and ARB members. It was the city planning director's suggestion to contact the former historic preservation planner whose work responsibilities took place in a nearby Mid-Atlantic urban area and who served longest in the role of historic preservation planner. Individuals who had lived in the case-study neighborhood from the historic designation period (1970s and early 1980s) through the present had priority as participants. Interview details planned through e-mail and, in a few cases, via phone calls effectively made the process easier in track and complete. Resident interviews occurred at the public library, a convenient, neutral setting that is a block away from the street studied. City officials and ARB members had scheduled interviews at the city hall. Participants were informed of all procedures and rights as noted in the Interview Consent Form. Transcription review garnered no requested changes.

### **Demographics**

Study participants went through a verification process to validate as residents of the chosen Mid-Atlantic neighborhood through organizational meeting minutes (required for membership) and through the case-study city's online real estate database. Participants' names changed to numerical identifiers in a process beginning with residents and ending with members of the ARB. Diversity existed within all interviewed groups in terms of gender and race. Most of the residents fell into an age category of over 55, which should be expected given the study parameters of longitudinal data desired for those residing in the chosen location. A few participants interviewed with the ARB could be dually labeled in the category of resident; however, the determination obliged their use as representation in the ARB only and did not factor in residence. Efforts focused on masking identify and provide confidentiality.

### **Data Collection**

A total of 11 participants were interviewed for this study, including five residents of the case study neighborhood, three members of the city's Department of Planning and Community Development, and three members of the Mid-Atlantic urban area's ARB board. The data saturation achieved is significant because the individuals possessed knowledge of both past and present conditions in the city despite the small number of interviews, as demonstrated in their interview responses and qualifications. Their familiarity with the city's past historic preservation activity and personal involvement, either as a resident or public servant, allowed a rich narrative to develop, naturally forming conclusions for this study. Proactive and anticipated measures employed in the

design reduced the challenges and benefits of a smaller sample size. The length and depth of the interviews, as well as the additional information gleaned from documents, demographics, and observations, provided a broad scope of data. All interview protocols were following as described in Appendix B. Taking the smallest element of a city, its neighborhood, then expanding the context into the historic district, then out to the city center, and throughout the city at large allows researchers to take an inductive process and garner a holistic perspective (Berg, 2004; Maxwell, 2012). Only through understanding what happens at the grassroots level can the entire historic preservation approach be adequately and beneficially applied.

Participant responses followed the questions shown in Appendix A and afterward separated by their cohort and coded based on those subjects discussed during data collection. The interviews were recorded using Screen-o-Matic software and transcribed by the software as well. In an attempt to validate the material, simultaneous separate recording through a handheld recorder offered me the option to check the transcription for missing material or mistakes. During the sessions, I reported notes and observations in handwritten form using the aids as described in Appendix C. This step aided in coding methods used in the analysis phase since it required both a mixed compilation of the responses, as well as their interpretation in isolation. Per the IRB agreement, all records stored followed approved protocols. The observations conducted purposely happened at varying dates and times depending on the meetings and organization. Over the course of a 6-month period, I attended approximately 20 meetings within the confines of the historic district examined. Three of the sessions materialized through the city' planning

department on its targeted structure's survey and report. Two convened at a local historic chapel in a nearby historic district, while the last met at a municipal building in the preferred historic district. All occurred in the early evening. Meetings for the chosen Mid-Atlantic area historic preservation organizations took place in local businesses. Several venues had more frequent use than others based on availability and convenience, and all are located within the chosen district examined. These meetings each lasted approximately one hour in most circumstances and happened at either in the late afternoon or evening. Last, the historic preservation state conference assembled at a municipal historic structure within the targeted city and lasted for an entire day.

Documents gathered came from a variety of sources. Table 2 includes a breakdown of the categories of the records, but it is important to note that the records not available online could be examined on site in the city hall of the chosen urban case study location. Visits for research lasted 3-5 hour intervals on five separate dates. In several cases, the records amounted to over a hundred separate documents though they could be categorized together (i.e., property assessment records for the case-study neighborhood, inventories, and meeting minutes). The chosen city's department of planning and community development on the third floor of city hall at a prominent location within a main historic district provided access to records and files. Online documentation downloaded and examined worked out when available based on my schedule. In all online cases, preserved material in files on a flash drive could allow printed copies for evaluation as well. The form shown in Appendix D was used to keep documents separated by information, but allow for collective review as well. Unrelated material to

the targeted community remained saved with the rest, but not examined past an exploratory perusal stage.

A variety of plans became available from the chosen Mid-Atlantic city, including those requested by local organizations and those solicited from consultants on strategic planning, organizational culture, and urban design. The comprehensive plan provided critical components to understand and process meaning as well. One deviation from the material used occurred in the demographic data. Initial intent to garner specific information from the targeted neighborhood area alone, aside from the recent American Community Survey from the U.S. Census Bureau, proved to be insufficient, as no further information could be gleaned on the case-study neighborhood alone. In discussions with the regional representative, procedures by the U.S. Census Bureau had necessitated the split in the area so that the opposing streets had separate reports. Given the complexity and time it would take to determine that information, an alternative seemed the best option. The general data for the Mid-Atlantic city, therefore, explored data through the use U.S. Census Bureau reports, as well as figures from several state agencies and various real estate sites (see Table 2 for an overview of the documents used in the study). For the targeted urban neighborhood specifically, I relied on assessment records and used Microsoft Excel to calculate and organize the variables.

Table 2

*Documents Used in the Study Based on Source and Topic*

Source	Total	Reports	Minutes	Media	Records
Local association	3		1	1	1
Case-study city	14	8	1	4	5
State or federal agency	13	6		1	2
Nonprofit/Academic group	3	3		1	
Newspaper	2			2	
Other city organization	3		1	1	

*Notes.* Totals reflect one set of materials rather than each separate document; that is, all property records were counted as one source. In the case of hybrids, authorship was given to the agency requesting it.

Modifications had to be made to a few of the other components originally presented in chapter 3 of the proposal. Instead of using NVivo for all of the coding processes, a few of the processes employed Atlas.ti qualitative software or Microsoft Word add-on applications. The no cost availability through my employer prompted the choice. The other reason is that it works similarly to the hand-coded initial steps preferred by the researcher like mind mapping, for example. The other change lay in the recruitment of participants which targeted community residents. So many volunteered at one organization's meeting that choices had to be made based on longevity of residence.

Therefore, there was no need to recruit through one of the historic preservation organizations for those individuals. Lastly, at the time that process began, the Historic Preservation Planner left for another position. Since a new hire would not have the knowledge base and understanding of the area the way the former employee did, seeking out the former employee for interview seemed the most viable option.

### **Data Analysis**

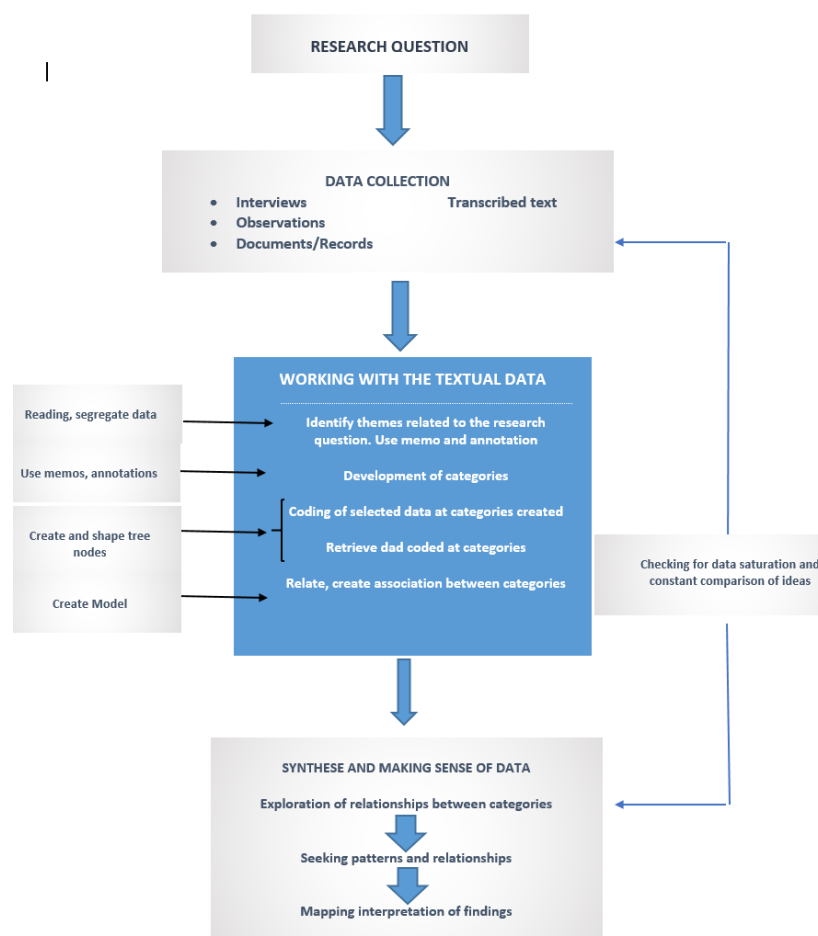
The case study design allows a critical evaluation of the preservation policy outcomes at the micro level of urban areas. It further allows the interplay of an array of evidence beyond conventional empirical methods, furthering the benefits of qualitative study in general (Yin, 2014). According to Groat and Wang (2013), the ability to take raw data and reduce it to its simplest forms prior to their expansion for explaining the phenomenon has multiple advantages. In addition to studying the subject in its natural setting, the researcher is allowed to be the instrument in this emergent analysis and design. The interpretive conclusions produce a more holistic account of the matter.

Opening coding conducted came from preset codes based on theories and study issues using the a priori anticipated themes chart included in Chapter 3. These descriptive codes included elements from residents, government officials, and ARB board members with similarities, yet focused on different matters at times. For instance, all categories revealed concerns about compliance issues, yet the residents concentrated on reasons behind the violation – i.e., property rights, defensive vocabulary, documented complaints. ARB views on the same topic elicited conceptual responses of responsibility, upholding the law, and applying it with consistency. Government Officials fell in the middle, both

concerned with aiding and “providing guidance” to residents while acknowledging that the code is the ultimate authority (shown by recorded certified letters and court case documents). Construction of the second coding process using data codes relevant to research questions combined categories into related groups, then themes – incorporating details from the various instruments and measures, interpretation, and frequency.

Aggregation of direct material from codes to themes shown through Figure 2 illustrates the development of theme from major code groupings derived from individual codes. Frequencies ended up being more of a hindrance than help because the terms that repeated developed in association with the topic and not necessarily indicative of emerging patterns or themes, i.e. historic, preservation, district, architecture, and more. Therefore, patterns through other characteristics, such as causation, correspondence, sequence, and contrast contributed valuable insights (Saldana, 2014). More analytic methods require advanced scrutiny and analysis rather than simple calculations. Gordon-Finlayson (2010) reminds us that it is our reflections in the coding process that reveal the connections with other categories not the basics of coding. First cycle coding included generic methods such as attribute mining, holistic overview, descriptive technique that provides a detailed inventory of contents, and NVivo coding for language and initial categories. For this beginning round of coding methods, the application blended affective and exploratory types. The subjective qualities such as emotion, judgement, and values were evaluated and labeled while the exploratory consisted of preliminary assignment of codes based on a start list, as noted in the Anticipated A priori Themes chart presented in Chapter 3.





*Figure 2.* This data analysis chart shows the steps and considerations of data collection and analysis for this study. It includes the types of instruments used and how they were coded and used to develop patterns and establish relationships.

The second tier of coding involved reorganizing and condensing the data into a consistent set of analytics forms. This meant the activities of pattern coding into themes and constructs, focused coding to search out significant or frequent subjects, axial coding of categorical properties and dimensions to determine relationships, and longitudinal coding to see how earlier materials compared to more recent data or reporting. Though in

most cases a serial practice, overlapping stages show at times. One explanation could be the length of observation and activity and another rests on the nature of the material and any naturally occurring emergence of similarity or difference.

Social science research often prescribes to three characteristics. The work predicts action, explains why something happens and its causes, or supplies insights and guidance for developing better systems or programs (Patel, 2014; Saldana, 2015). Using the anticipated A Priori Themes outlined in chapter 3, it quickly became apparent that several commonalities existed as the collection of information grew and the application of coding took place. Table 3 provides a listing of the concepts and examples derived from the data analysis that collocate with themes.

Table 3

*Analysis and Concepts Based on Anticipated Themes*

Theme	Subtheme	Key concepts	Examples of participant responses
Community Valuation	Evaluation	Authentic, equity, consistency, resourcefulness, goals	“don’t understand why some get away with it (violations) and others don’t;” “our goal is to complete another strategic plan that is more detailed;” “there are times when we (ARB) disagree and the majority vote decides”
Regulation Perceptions	Understanding Approach	Privacy, reputation, complexity, equity, responsibility, integrity	“the ARB’s duty is to the City’s historic buildings;” “mission to save as many buildings as we can;” “can’t always trust that they (ARB) knows what it’s like for us (residents);” “who are they (ARB/City) to tell me what to do”
Planning Attitudes	Process Interpretation	Protection, growth, management, advocacy, capital, strategy	“there needs to be a way we (ARB) can communicate with other board members across the state;” “we (the city) work with residents to resolve complaints and help them with their design plans;” “part of the plan has to be historic preservation because it’s the heartbeat of the city”
Ecological and Environmental	Economic Development Systems Space	Balance, partnership, quality, advocacy, common good, place	“organizations have stepped up to help us (city) out of this financial crisis;” “we want what’s best for our neighborhood – it should be a safe place that everyone can appreciate and enjoy;” “sometimes our decisions have to be for the good of the whole”

*Note.* Thematic analysis shown here is adapted from earlier a priori themes and based on the multiple research instruments used in this study, (2018).

A researcher's natural inclination when encountering a discrepant or atypical case is to, upon reflection, consider them as contaminants, signs of poor decisions, or results of an imperfect data collection process. Further deliberation yields an oppositional view. These possible distractions provide an opportunity to reflect on the intended purpose and predisposed notions, which leads to a more meticulous examination of possible meanings and representations (Patton, 1990). In this case study, divergent information served as a signal to question the results and either reaffirm or disregard categories and themes revealed to prevent erroneous themes and findings. For example, if a member of the Architectural Review Board felt that the formal mural policy to be acceptable practice and the others did not, then it prompted further reflection by the researcher on the difference in beliefs. Could it be related to another practical issue or did it reflect other reasons besides explicit guidelines?

### **Evidence of Trustworthiness**

Conducting interviews through presentation to a group and sending participants questions in advance of the session increased perceived credibility of the researcher and research, which contributed to the quantity and quality of information gathered. The researcher spent time building rapport with the organizations and individuals in an effort to become more approachable. Policies, guides, and histories of the city were reviewed, along with the current events throughout the duration of the study. Though this intentional step by the researcher reflected quality finding, it also had the added benefit of

allowing data comparison for findings and emergent themes. Gathering documents and research from local, state, and national sources provided multiple perspectives and information that could be compared. Altogether, the efforts supported the data triangulation by providing multiple sources of data with varied degrees of bias.

Similar to credibility, the intentional transparency with the process and application of the study mollified the likelihood that any possibility of compromising the data would take place. Adhering to earlier suggestions to exhaust data sources of the chosen case study location, there was a deliberate choice to find as many different types of reports and public information on the targeted case study community area possible. This meant gathering relevant material from historical books and documents, examining propaganda by the various groups associated with the neighborhood, and evaluating reports prepared by federal, state, and local agencies to survey and explore historic preservation issues and impacts on properties. Using studies previously conducted in a nearby mid-Atlantic urban area and a particular study by Accordino and Fasulo (2013), the two areas compared determined the strengths and weaknesses between both. Doing so explained how the region has leveraged initiatives to spark revitalization in historic areas. Add to this the intense accounts of residents through interviews and an image emerges that is easily conveyed to similar circumstances or locales.

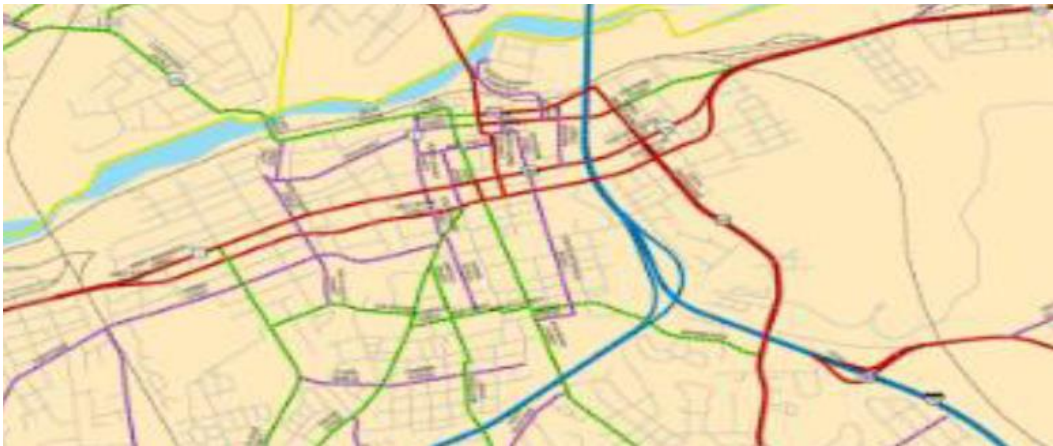
Best practices to ensure the dependability of data throughout the study process is to use methods of triangulation (Creswell, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Since the collection of material occurred from multiple instruments and methods, the quality of the results becomes probable. One of the main techniques to meet this requirement is to

evaluate the intended purpose of the action or document and determine the audience. In addition, ascertaining the authenticity of the source can increase the likelihood of a secure set of results and conclusions. Throughout the data collection and analysis phase, multiple efforts to conduct tests such as constant crosschecking and blending rudimentary reviews with technological ones occurred. Steps seemingly insignificant served to reinforce certain items and themes emerging while revealing inconsistencies or anomalies that should be further reviewed or extracted.

The ability to corroborate the results and findings developed in multiple ways. Reflective notetaking throughout the process, as well as protocols for all tools used in the collection and analysis phases, generate consistency and exhaustive evaluative measures. These efforts also decrease the likelihood of prejudiced or irrelevant material gaining entrance into the shared study discussion. It creates another point of inspection to question decisions and compare data throughout each level and process. Aspects of this process that made it difficult for the researcher to stay in an observer role rather than becoming further immersed in the efforts of the neighborhood. The best way to assure objectivity is to acknowledge the effect on the researcher, maintain ethical behavior, and explicitly evaluate the relationship between researcher and conduct throughout the process (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006; Kitto et al., 2008; Leung, 2015). Following this guideline and practice, the researcher managed to fulfill those suggestions and maintain detachment when necessary.

## Results

One of the most interesting aspects of this case study lies in viewing the evolution of the neighborhood, both in terms of physical changes, but also for the architecture, history, and social stages of its lifespan. The original “New Town” is shown in this Figure 3 map of the targeted neighborhood. It is a hub of transportation, as shown through the waterways, highways, and byways. Historian and Educator Arthur Kyle Davis referred to this mid-Atlantic urban area as “the most interesting city in America,” largely in part to its survival of two wars, natural catastrophes like tornados and fire, and economic downturns.



*Figure 3.* City map illustrating the waterway and central district, as well as major transportation routes through highways, railroads, bridges, and byways. This map is public information through the state agency in the case study location.

The community that developed on the targeted neighborhood resulted from the initial success of industry and tobacco production. These wealthy and influential elite held prominence locally, and at times at the state and federal level. The demographic of

the period's ownership is Caucasian, further evidenced by servant's quarters, often referred to as "slave's quarters," depending on the source. The prosperity of these individuals is one reason for the varied architectural designs and large lots on this street. Documents on file in the city planning office provided a breakdown of housing forms for the case study neighborhood. Based on city assessment records and state agency surveys, the following inventory reveals: 32 Italianate, 11 Federal, 10 Eastlake, 7 Commercial, 7 Greek Revival, 7 Colonial (Tidewater), 6 Georgian, 5 Victorian, 2 Empire, and 1 Queen Anne. Figure 4 provides visuals of a few of the properties in the neighborhood with the last illustration being the Methodist Church, which is the only remaining church on the street.



*Figure 4.* Images of case-study community architectural styles. Used by permission of John A. Rooney, Jr. (See Appendix F).



## **How Does Local Historic Preservation Policy Impact Neighborhood Stabilization in Smaller Urban Areas?**

Regulation and systems. It seems appropriate to begin this discussion with the law of historic preservation and the influence of government in its implementation for the area. The legal code of the mid-Atlantic state examined in this study opens with the statement that localities are free to adopt any ordinance as established by the State Historic Preservation Office. This provides wide latitude for local governments to address their historic areas and cultural or architectural interests. Some other specific components referenced include the establishment of an Architectural Review Board, zoning ordinance, owner responsibility, demolition processes, judicial review and the appeals process, and the ability of municipalities to purchase endangered properties. Some of the conceptual language stated includes “preserve,” “accommodate,” “public input,” “curation,” “rights,” and “technical assistance.”

Government agents. This makes it easy to understand why the ordinance of this particular mid-Atlantic urban location is complex and detailed. There are more than 18 parts of the code that result from a search of “historic preservation” in their municode system. Four separate definitions are provided for what a historic structure classification means. The range goes from federal to local levels; individual properties on the National Register of Historic Places to individual listings on a local inventory in a community that has been certified. Many concepts are explicitly stated throughout the articles. In the section of purpose and objectives alone, terms and phrases such as “promote,” “general welfare,” “stabilize,” “development,” and “improve” appear. This provides insight on

what the city feels are its primary obligations. Though the language and content is far more thorough than the state code, areas with vague terminology remain. For instance, in the city's Code Section 16's Protective Maintenance required paragraph, the discussion about property owner responsibility includes the phrase, "shall keep such structure properly maintained and repaired," according to the 2018 city code Article 35, §16. This allows for extensive interpretation, which could lead to questions about applicability and consistency, particularly over time given the turnover in homeownership, board representatives, natural cycles, and the like.

One city employee acknowledged that "the city needs to build on the strengths of the districts and make decisions based on what's existing. We need to build relationships with residents and approach homeowners about free assistance. There are people who simply can't maintain property. We don't want to punish a person for living in a historic district. Historic preservation becomes a burden in some areas, yet the people are equally deserving of attention." In other words, a person should not necessarily be without resources or feel shame for the inability to maintain a property simply because they could not afford it. Many existed as residents of these homes at the time of historic districting. Another claimed that "Having [this non-profit] in the city is invaluable. With partners we can accomplish more." Through several agencies working together, Operation Renew started, which would allow disadvantaged home owners low-cost repairs and restoration from the same expertise that others are able to access.

Residents. Those interviewed from the chosen mid-Atlantic historic urban neighborhood acknowledged that the difficulty working within the city's regulations

stemmed not from the legality of ordinance or the necessity of the guidelines for historic districts. Indeed, several had similar feelings about walking into ownership with responsibility as a given. “You have to understand you’re moving into a restrictive area. Those that live here have two things in common – they like old home and they like antiques.” Rather, their frustration rested on the process. “The 1991 association report actually took a decade. It was a process started in 1982.” This sentiment echoed in the statement “The city had a method, but now it’s done by need...reactive. No true plan exists.” A different sentiment rises when discussing the state agency’s role in the city. This state agency “is politically motivated. They had an office here at one point and we were able to get things done.”

Within the 40 plus years since this process began, much has changed. One resident shared his journal entry from the first time he visited the case study city.

On stopping...we saw nothing but a boarded up, dilapidated old railroad station. No one was around who could help. All we saw was a virtual ghost town, with vacant and boarded up building everywhere.

This same individual has been prominent in many of the projects in the city and owned several homes in or near the targeted neighborhood through the years. Early on, the residents noticed a “historic districting problem” or six discontinuous areas. Several proposed a boundary adjustment, which set off a firestorm of negative press and public sentiment. Review of public hearings from this period in the late 1980s revealed that most of those speaking at the meetings spoke against the proposal. Even the media referred to the step as “the last acre” and penned an editorial that included the statements,

They've done enough. The process of claiming that [city's] future lies in its past must end somewhere. Let it end with Tuesday night's vote. Let the preservationists have the nondescript frame houses they love. Let the part of the city zoned historic be written off where progress, renewal, and the desires of future generations be concerned.

Regardless, the city council and these members of the case study historic neighborhood, along with others, had a vision in mind, and the boundaries had unanimous approval. This type of contentious argument and disconnect between the views ultimately causes disenchantment with the political process.

We are less politically active, more insular. Getting people to care and gaining attention from government is tough. Even little things like sweeping sidewalks seem to be an upward battle.

### **Community valuations.**

In the paragraphs that follow, the information and findings in this category are broken down by participant type. Each includes the main ideas associated with the topic, along with details and support provided by those interviewed. The material included reflects all instruments used in the research, from interview segments to documents in the planning office and any other relevant data.

Government agents. On the mid-Atlantic city's planning and zoning section online, the Architectural Review Board is discussed at length. These volunteers are appointed by council and directed to approve all "erection, construction, alteration, restoration of the exterior of any building or structure, including signs...as well as any

demolition of a structure,” according to the mid-Atlantic city’s 2018 section on “Historic Districts.” Their main guideline is the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. The city also has a significant 2007 volume published in conjunction with consulting firm Frazier Associates incorporating diagrams, resources, images, and more. General factors under consideration in the city’s Design Review Guide (2007) include color, configuration, form, mass, material, proportion and scale, texture, relationship to similar features, and character of design. Though this urban area is explicit about responsibility lying with the property owner, one of the important messages included in the guide is not the technical information, but the fact that it specifies the ARB does not dictate, but points out solutions and possibilities.

In terms of the ARB function, their commitment is significant. The group meets monthly, sometimes more in special cases, and this does not include the time and research spent by the members on their own. Training and collaboration with other city agencies also takes significant time and effort. The person who accepts appointment, therefore, acknowledges the enormous trust and authority placed upon them. It is not an easy or compensatory position. A multitude of considerations are involved in their operations and decision-making. Education, enforcement, and process are a few areas that will be discussed in the sub-question results on drivers and challenges.

It would help to have a pro-preservation active council person because we are short staffed. This would help with communication. We’re overwhelmed with complaints on compliance.

The city personnel and ARB acknowledge that having neighborhoods organizations that want to positive is welcomed as a positive because “it allows for dialogue with us.” One explained,

If people don’t understand, then they aren’t able to handle things responsibly. The challenge is education.

Several went on to explain that other localities are able to provide more for homeowners and this weighs heavily on them. As one employee stated,

I was hopeful to have an impact...to do interesting, hands-on work with preservation in an underserved area.

Repeatedly, city agents used language that showed their intent. Words such as “help,” “resources,” “outreach” or “educate” and “relationships” materialized frequently in conversation. This goes against the idea that the motivation lies in penalizing individuals or holding unreasonable expectations. There seems to be a firm grasp on the weaknesses and strengths.

Residents. Repeatedly, the residents of this street have positive approaches toward how they view the community, despite any reserves or frustrations.

During the past we continue to look around and it seems hard to believe all the positive changes that have taken place.

One individual stated that it took him and his wife fifteen minutes to make a decision to buy a home on this Street.

The structure we found was about 75% complete in its restoration. It would eventually take us about two years to finish the house to our specifications and satisfaction.

Another spoke of the “sense of community” and “being part of a greater area.” Additional sentiments included “a great place to raise kids,” “richer, interesting culturally varied,” and “comradery.” Several shared events held in the targeted historic urban neighborhood within the last several years. Block parties, Happy Hour socials, and monthly neighborhood dinners are just a few examples of how the residents stay connected. As one person explained, “this was THE place to live.”

### **Planning attitudes.**

The material included in the subsequent paragraphs shares the relevant data and information to the topic of attitudes about city planning as related to historic preservation. Details from the interviews, documents, and associated source information provide support to the main emerging concepts and themes. It is divided by the type of person interviewed, i.e. government workers, residents, and ARB members. Similarities exist in some areas while differences emerge.

Government agents. The chosen city’s Department of Planning and Community Development is small in comparison to other cities. As of April 2018, a new hire for the historic preservation position came aboard. There are currently two other full-time members in the office. All of the matters related to the city’s responsibilities in this area are handled by this handful of employees. This is a far cry from neighboring municipal governments. A neighboring urban area in this mid-Atlantic region has more than seventy

individuals working in the comparable department. One county, right next door, has more than fifty broken down into teams including zoning, code compliance, plans review, customer assistance, and information management. The volume and complexity of the case study city places significant strains on a planning office. When observing the daily operations, it is evident that the demand exceeds supply. Also, the position of historic preservation planner, as evidenced through ARB minutes and reports, has changed at least five times in the last decade. This does not allow for continuity and confidence from the community or from an ARB that relies so heavily on the planner's assistance. The inability to address all concerns and functions has manifested in simplistic, straightforward reports and processes. As an example, the housing inspection reports are one-page evaluations. Exterior codes include sanitation, draining/grading, accessory structures, protective treatments, walls, decorative features, chimneys, doors, rubbish or garbage, and rodent harborage, among a few other items. There is a basic yes/no compliance check-off accompanied by an area for remarks.

Residents. A pervading frustration with many of the city's attempts to privatize services or delay projects repeated in the discussions with those in the area. Phrases such as "investment in infrastructure," "stability in education," and "cleaning the trash route," and "moving it [trash pick-up] to the back of property" came up repeatedly. Community residents feel that this all stems from city personnel, particularly planning and development. Some signs emerged that took an objective look at the past management has impacted the owners' ability to determine what items are worth fighting for and how



to do it. For example, comments on the past city manager referenced a “micro-management style” that allowed nothing to be accomplished.

There is a perception by other areas of the city that this particular neighborhood gets everything, so now there’s backlash.

“Tourism takes ingenuity, not dollars.” One individual discussed the perception of an advantage since the “City Manager lives on this street” and “knows what we go through.”

This last comment reflected strong feelings from the neighborhood fire that occurred.

Others noted that in the 1980s a “strong commitment from council members, but only an easy truce” existed. This prompted residents to form a political action committee that resulted in redistricting when it successes seated three of the four candidates proffered.

### **Driver and Challenges of Historic Preservation: Economic, Environmental, and Social Perspectives**

#### **Regulation of systems.**

Perhaps one of the most contentious aspects of historic preservation policy lies with how to regulate its guidelines. Though the intent may be protection and access to resources, this comes into conflict with personal property rights and individual responsibility. Many feel that mandating policy without financial options places the burden on the home owner while the city benefits from the results. In many cases, the inevitable result is blight, tiered housing, and population shift.

Government agents. In this case study, a multitude of drivers and challenges emerge. Using multiple instruments has supplied the researcher with a holistic sense of how historic preservation influences the policy, but also affects those working from

positions of power along with the residents. Economic burdens and financial strains have shaken the city in recent years. A complete overhaul of government has taken place, with state appointed consultants in leadership positions for a time. As a result, a firestorm of negative press and strain on government-public relations has ensued. The past, however, has yielded evidence of success on a scale that has prevented this adversity from becoming catastrophic. For instance, in 1990 the city partnered with one local historic preservation organization to conduct a real estate fair. The document from that 1990 event has a cover of the row homes from the targeted neighborhood with the slogan “Make your own history in [city].” Inside is a brief introduction followed by listings given by historic district. Only four homes in the chosen case study neighborhood are listed, including 276, 281, 319, and 629. Considering the eight pages of selections offered, the endeavor shows that by this point the chosen area stayed in the throes of improvement. What is more compelling, particularly in terms of economics, is the discussion of local incentives. Main Street Design Consulting offered no charge consultations with design assistance to buyers. Façade incentive grants of a 50/50 match became available through the city’s Main Street Office at the time, though the program that no longer exists. Zoning and tax credits are explained and resource contacts provided. Most compelling is the listing of incentives in the city’s Enterprise Zone Program. These include business and homeowner exemptions, waivers, and rehabilitation with the city’s public works program. In a 2008 report prepared by an independent economic development firm for the city’s planning department, the consultants

recommend five key initiatives, and one of those is an aggressive economic development approach similar to this project. Those will be revealed in a later section.

Residents. Environmental concerns garnered more comments and concerns than the other parts of the systems complex. In particular, zoning, compliance, and enforcement emerged as key terms repeated throughout documents and interviews. Only one document from the city planning office alluded to former activity by the ARB board. Unfortunately, it does not paint a positive picture. An appeal made by a homeowner to city council over an ARB decision took place in the early 1980s. The council reversed the decision, leading to a newspaper article that accused the board of being fanatical. Indeed, observations of conversations allowed the researcher to hear terms in reference to the ARB of “crazy crew,” “hysterical society,” and “freak board” by non-residents of case study mid-Atlantic urban area. It would seem that the media attention left a lasting impression, even years later. Many feel that this has prevented business development from progressing as it could have.

Mismanagement and poor schools do not form a business friendly culture in terms of regional cooperation. They [ARB] make it seem that the protection of architecture is more important than business.

Even government employees recognized,

the way we regulated through replacement of materials and micro details has been off-putting and cumbersome, not to mention cost prohibitive.

Acknowledging the challenges, the targeted mid-Atlantic state worked with the International City/County Management Association (2000) to produce an ARB

Handbook. In that manual, several key statements are made worth relaying. One is that “without proper planning and maintenance of historic property, heritage tourism, which is so vitally important to the state, becomes a short-term solution to the challenge of fiscal livelihood. The business of historic preservation is called a ‘blessing and curse,’” according to the aforementioned publication (2000). Chapter 1 of the handbook goes into detail about the mid-Atlantic state’s code and provides a better measure of how to form and conduct historic preservation policy, including reminders of limitations, such as the Fourteenth Amendment due process and equal protection.

### **Community valuations.**

One of the challenges in historic preservation studies stems from the lack of standardization in evaluating effectiveness and determining how to make those determinations. The ARB and citizens have had a relationship of ups and downs. It has taken time to work out the nuances and build on interpretations of what can be done to effectively implement historic preservation policy in the individual city districts.

Government agents. Three responsibilities fall to localities per the commonwealth (2000) Chapter 3: adopting a historic district ordinance, approving designation, and forming an ARB. Given this mandate, the chosen case study city has met its requirements. Attorneys are mentioned as an integral part of this process, no regular position existed in use by the city’s ARB until 2012, per meeting minutes. The Review Process is supposed to be efficient, consistent and fair, comprehensible with several steps include in conducting business , according to this state’s policy manual (2000). This urban area meets those requirements as well. The reality versus perception is a lingering

affair, however, and even with the stringent details of this type of document, ARB members continue to be confounded by some of the regulations. Included in Table 4 is a breakdown of issues, available information, and Certificates of Appropriateness (COAs) by the ARB from 2011 through 2017.

Table 4

*Case-Study City ARB Activity, 2011-2017*

Case-study COAs	Agendas available online	Minutes available online	Issues or significant events
2011 10 (Total 55)	Missing 3 (March, June, Jan.)	0	New Construction , compliance enforcement and protective maintenance discussed, city petitions included, national register nomination review, one complaint noted
2012 12 (Total 54)	Missing 3 (Jan., Feb., July)	0	State agency boundary extension of one historic district, two appeals – one in case study area, Lofts project discussed, revised by-laws (unavailable), discussion of Certified Local Government, COA report summary lists staff recommendations
2013 0 (Total 15)	Missing 3 (Oct. – Dec.)	0	State agency markers proposed, issue of flags, fee schedules and violations developed (unavailable), past due notifications and plaques, targeted area violation - chicken wire fencing, new preservation planner
2014 5 (Total 93)	Missing 3 (Sept., Oct., Dec.)	9	Attorney involvement, NACA (Neighborhood Assistance Corporation of America), temporary COAs given, discussion of enforcement, preventive maintenance clause, city property work, eminent danger clause, Operation Renew, “Spot Blight” ordinance, “in kind” is vague terminology, demolition policy
2015 4 (Total 74)	Missing 8 (Jan.-April)	3	Public Mural Policy, Trailways Bus Station discussion on state agency nomination, Public Art Guidelines, Administrative approvals, house fires
2016 5 (Total 50)	Missing 3 (Feb., June, Aug.)	0	Training discussion, Lofts, project, Special meeting held on property demolition and new construction, paint removal enforcement and recommended process, 33 administrative approvals
2017 1 (Total 21)	Missing 5 (Aug.-Dec.)	0	State agency historic register nomination, city property, site visit, 12 administrative approvals, two plaque approvals

*Note.* Data were obtained from available resources on the city website and categories were organized by year, number, and topic, 2018.

Out of 59 municipalities surveyed, one of the targeted state's non-profit arms involved with historic preservation (2011) produced a document that emphasized the strengths of an ARB:

highly qualified and experienced members who are willing to work with applicants and have a high regard for Preservation.

Weaknesses surfaced as more procedural, top awards going to lack of staff, lack of training, inconsistency, lack of resources, and insufficient guidelines. Those categories yielded similar responses from members. The “greatest issue is training opportunities...up-to-date” and “a better centralized system for accessing information is needed” with proposed solutions of webinars and databases to reduce costs to the community. Another common thread reiterated

funding that is provided through the local government is limited, which limits what we offer to citizens.

Even the state government criticized former programs by saying that “the Commonwealth would benefit from a comprehensive soup-to-nuts review of the program.” This view suggests that the failing of effective legislation increases appeals of decisions. Other comments dealt with homeowners and enforcement. “Absentee owners do not have the resources or interest to save them (the houses).” Strangleholds on enforcement showed in the frustrations like “our board is essentially without teeth...makes recommendations that cannot force someone to act.”

Residents. Multiple social considerations serve as drivers or challenges in historic preservation. Many of these are reflected in the demographics of the area and the shifts or changes over time. Given the census data difficulties in accumulating neighborhood-specific data, the focus has shifted to the chosen mid-Atlantic urban area tax database and assessment records. Based on the documentation, 99 properties were included, covering most of the targeted neighborhood. The Lofts project at the old factory was not factored into these calculations given the uniqueness of the housing compared to the rest of the neighborhood. The figures would skew activity due to the large number of units. The fire that occurred would also have shifted the results, so the deviations did not calculate those units. Records for those properties included demonstrate an increased pattern of property sales developed from the 1970s through the 2010s as follows: 1970s – 3 properties sold, 1980s – 7 properties sold, 1990s – 12 properties sold, 2000s – 36 properties sold, and 2010s (thus far) – 40. Currently, there are 5 properties listed for sale in the neighborhood. In a comparison of sales prices, 17% of homeowners had a higher price at the close of the transaction than the assessed value of the property. This is particularly telling in regards to regular assessment, market demand, and buyer preferences. One particular property sold in 2015 with an assessed value of \$166,900, yet sold for \$65,000. Another interesting feature is the dissection of ownership. Several residents own multiple properties on the street (4 currently). In addition, absentee ownership is relatively low based on these city tax assessment records, reflecting 35% of the total housing on the street. It is impossible to tell how many of these are rented since the city has no inventory or database related to this issue. Out of the 35 absentee owners, 13 live in other areas of



the city, 14 live in the region, 4 live in other areas of the state, and 4 live out-of-state (2 in a neighboring state, 1 in the islands, and 1 in the Mid-West). No vacant properties are noted, however there are vacant lots. Property tax rates do not seem to be an issue though this mid-Atlantic city is above the national average of 1.211% per \$100 assessed value at 1.35%. Surrounding areas are much lower at .86% in one neighboring county and .96% in another. The average across the state is .797%, so the desire to move to the case study city is not based on personal property assessment lowered rates. Table 5 includes a breakdown of U.S. Census Bureau information by decade for the Mid-Atlantic city chosen as a general base of activity and comparison.

Table 5

*U.S. Census Data for the Case-Study City, 1980-2010*

	1980	1990	2000	2010
Total population and percentage change	41,055 – 13.7% *	38,386 – 6.4% ^	33,740 – 12% ^	32,420 – 4% ^
Number and percentage of households	14,920 – 32.5% *	14,322 - .4% ^	13,799 – 15% ^	12,512 – 9% ^
Total number of housing units	16,139	16,196	15,955	16,326
Gender and majority race	Male – 56.2%, Female - 49.2%; Black 61.1%	Male – 46.2%, Female – 53.8%; Black 72.1%	Male – 45.7%, Female – 54.3%; Black 79%	Male – 46.7%, Female – 53.3%; Black 79.1%

*Note.* Symbol \* denotes increase and symbol ^ denotes decrease. Data used to create this table was taken from the U. S. Census Bureau through their online site as a part of the federal Freedom of Information Act, Retrieved 2018.

**Planning attitudes.**

As with all professional fields, the evolution of practice becomes a study of its own. Planning can be used as one example. Over time, government decisions have impacted localities and the multiple communities within them, causing unique social, environment, and economic changes. Whether positive or negative, studying the movements over time provides insight into formulating best practices.

Government agents. The chosen urban area of this mid-Atlantic state produced a Comprehensive Plan (2014) explains that the city once had a near equal population of white and black residents, but that changed in the 1960s as African-Americans slowly became the majority. No explanation emerged for this change in multiple sources of population change. The conundrum becomes even more perplexing when considering that the city annexed property in two neighboring counties in 1972, adding significant acreage, just before the historic preservation drive and policy began to be implemented. Further demographic information is worth incorporating for purposes of understanding the populace and the impact policy may have on the audience. The state's Employment Commission publishes a Community Profile for the cities in the state. The targeted city's edition (2018) shows little projected growth through 2040. The largest employers do not have any connection with historic preservation: healthcare, education, and city/state agencies. Educational attainment has improved, but 5,164 members of the population had less than a high school diploma as of 2015, according to the chosen mid-Atlantic state's Employment Commission (2018). The real estate database provided by datausa.com (2018) showed a median rent price of \$875. The closest area that incorporated the case

study neighborhood included an area with significant pockets of poverty, thereby altering results. The robust transit system of the city seems not to have an impact as 96.4% in the area who reported to use their own transportation (DataUSA, 2018). Altogether, this creates a compelling picture of the city's population and potential opportunities.

Residents. In the targeted mid-Atlantic community area chosen for this study, the neighborhood has gone through serious environmental challenges, even within the last year. The one piece of property that has been negotiated, rehabilitated, and offered as multiple housing units is the former Seward Luggage Factory. This large multiple-building set-up produced conundrums for development and for the city in terms of appropriate use. The property physically absorbs a large footprint in the neighborhood. In January 2018, a fire devastated two of the structures and displaced many residents from their condominiums. Figure 5 depicts on the left the fire as shown through drone footage taken by a resident and a brick conduit found by the city when they worked on the removal of debris on the right. It is important to acknowledge that the neighborhood residents rallied around the people affected and worked to provide food, clothing, and other necessities.



*Figure 5.* Drone image of factory fire in 2018 (left) and uncovered conduit discovered by public works while cleaning up the site. These images are available through the federal Freedom of Information Act on the city website.

Another recent environmental challenge to the case study community has centered on complaints with the private contractor of waste management for the city. Residents have complained of violations and a stench that pervades the area at certain times of the day. Meeting minutes from the case study community's organization and correspondence shared between members, revealed letters written to the Department of Environmental Quality asked that "something be done to prevent us from losing our health and our quality of life." A few are business owners nearby, and their succinct sentiments shared include "it is killing our businesses...who wants to be out when all they smell is trash." This appears typical for the group in terms of advocating for their community because in a different case, a business on the end of the street applied for a liquor license. The high incidence of crime and other ABC board violations caused the business to lose its ability to sell alcohol. Residents were quick to begin sending correspondence to the board

requesting denial. One HSA member stated, “It’s not that we don’t want him (the owner) to have a successful business, but he has to realize that this is where families live and we won’t allow this (late night behavior/crime incidents).”

### **Historic Preservation Planning and Management Within the Broader Socio-Economic Systems Context**

#### **Regulation of systems.**

Historic preservation is unique due to the multiple systems included and the related synergy attached to their cycles and inter-relationships. Environmental, economic, and social considerations tied into the overarching impact of policy often complicates efforts. When federalism factors into the considerations, a picture emerges which shows the intensity and depth of the role of historic preservation in urban areas.

Government agents. How does this chosen neighborhood factor into the broader socio-economic systems context of the city and state? One of the most recent and profound influencers for the city that affects tourism, economics, and the city structure/governance is the film industry. This mid-Atlantic state has a state department strictly devoted to this type of business, and the city reached a climax of activity in the last several years with television shows such as shows on the AMC Channel and the Public Broadcasting Channel’s. Steven Spielberg’s blockbuster movie filmed in the city generated revenue and attracted attention to the area. Below, Table 6 provides an itemization by type and year of activity. The city existed as the sole site of filming or one of several for a total of 47 projects. It is important to note that a well-known actor and owner owned a studio and property on the targeted neighborhood, until recently. What

degree of influence this had on the overall success of marketing this chosen urban city as an area to work is unknown, however, the studio produced 3 commercials, 2 films, and 1 television show during his tenure as a resident.

Table 6

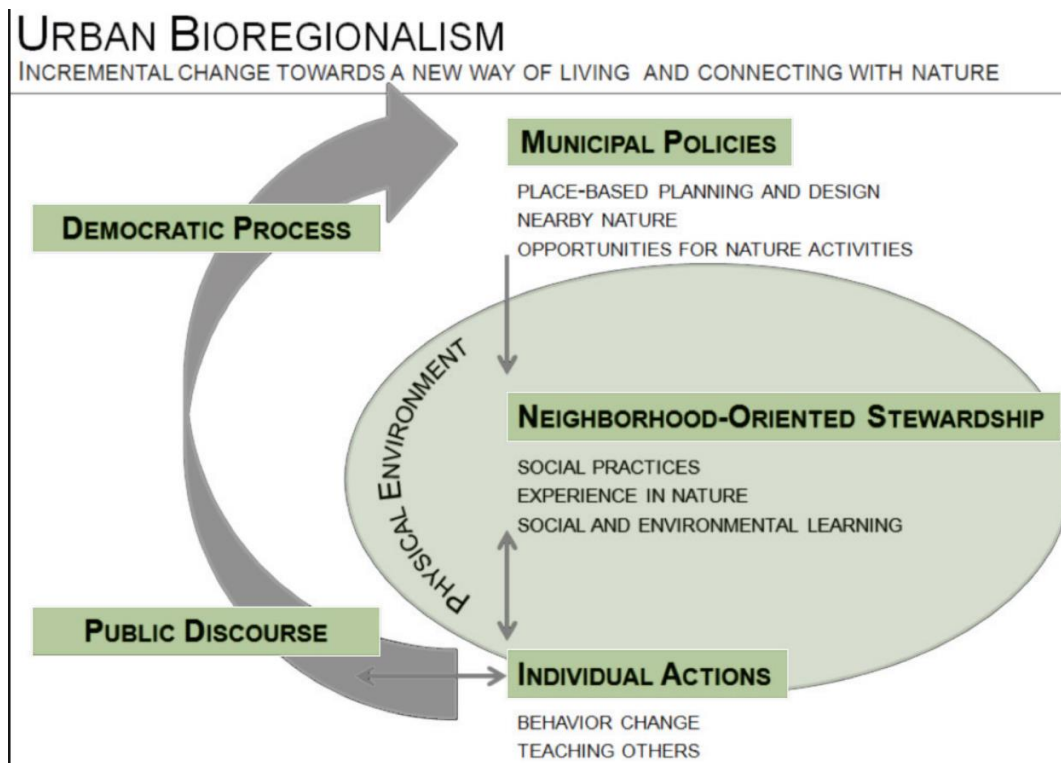
*Film Activity in the Case-Study City*

	1989-1999	2000-2009	2010-2018	Total
Television shows	10	5	8	23
Films/Movies	4	2	6	12
Commercials	0	5	0	5
Documentaries	2	4	1	7

*Note.* This table was calculated and organized using the records of the mid-Atlantic State Film Office available through the federal Freedom of Information Act on their website, (2018).

Residents. The city's civic organizations and civic organizations are plentiful, active entities with widespread influence. In the case of the chosen urban community, even the neighborhood has an association that embraces the opportunity to advocate their causes and make demands of multiple fronts – federal agencies, local entities, and state representatives. In much the same way Church (2015) models in Figure 6 below, a change cycle exists in the city similar to this construct. Individual action influences neighborhood-oriented stewardship and/or public disclosure. Those actions then inform the democratic process, leading to municipal policy or policy change, which then impacts the neighborhood all over again. Within that flow is the ever-present physical environment in the form of various categories, including the historic structures involved

in the process, as noted in Figure 6. The case study historic urban neighborhood association meeting minutes (2018) include multiple examples of the dynamic. For instance, discussions of the condition of sidewalks and lights in the neighborhood took place for over a year. When representatives for the city came to speak to the organization, i.e. Historic Preservation Planner or City Manager and Deputy City Manager, the group did not hesitate to relay their concerns. In turn, the officials would define their roles and what could be reasonably accomplished – a negotiation of sorts. In the weeks that followed and communications continued, progress to improve those areas came to the forefront. The same has been true with crime and traffic studies with the city’s Chief of Police on two occasions. Requests to the viable city departments from the community eventually caused minor adjustments to signage and parking at certain areas along the street, based on 2018 documents from the neighborhood association.



*Figure 6.* This urban bioregionalism model illustrates the processes involved between policy and environment. Reprinted from Church, Sarah. (2015). Exploring Urban Bioregionalism: a synthesis of literature on urban nature and sustainable patterns of urban living. *Surveys and Perspectives Integrating Environment and Society. Sapiens. 7(1)*. Retrieved from Research Gate. Copyright 2015. Permission is provided in Appendix G.

### **Community valuations.**

Sometimes citizens interpret historic preservation municipal policy and decisions differently than the way they are intended. Often, it is only through implementation that the challenges become more obvious. Rather than evaluating these outcomes and making necessary changes, the parameters of the original ordinance or program stay in place.



This forms a dichotomy in interpretation and need. In the case of this example, there are similarities and differences that emerge in all types of participants.

Government agents. Officials acknowledge that there are challenges with the “proximity of shadier areas,” but that it should not negate the “history and architecture that provide one of the city’s strengths.” Those interviewed appear to embrace neighborhood involvement and active participation. The relationships are the reason that many felt that the historic districts were “improved” and that multiple reasons existed. For instance, the mechanism of financing projects came up repeatedly. Using Community Development Block Grant funds for infrastructure, economic development funds in phrases and tax abatements have had positive impacts. Several supplied “multiple and varied housing options” as one of the strengths of historic preservation policy. One felt that, in essence, it is “building on the strength of housing options that raises home ownership rates, scaled projects and allows for mixed use of properties.” When asked about what should go in the vacant spaces, the responses all held one commonality – that whatever the plan, it should “reflects what’s already there” and “fit with the neighborhood.” An advantage arose to allow the change with the ARB to allow the preservation planner to give “administrative approval” to frequent requests like “fencing, paint colors, windows, driveways, and in-kind replacements.” “This provided the additional incentive of no wait time.” When asked if the process of attending the hearing brought about a positive or negative, several noted that “it probably is because people do not like to speak in public” and “it does seem like a trial at times.” One member of the city’s team mentioned that in larger municipalities, the professionals speak for the

homeowner, which negates many of the misunderstandings and negative connotations with the process.

Residents. Other organizations have been vital to fulfilling the needs of the city's historic preservation goals. Previous actions mentioned how the one historic preservation organization partnered with the city on numerous occasions, buying properties and finding potential homeowners. The organization originated in the 1960s as a result of a southern city's progress in preservation and soon prompted the inventory and survey of historic properties in the city, according to their 2018 document. In addition, the arrangement has furthered tourism efforts through the group's coordination of tours, holding special events, and providing resources to the public. Their influence led to the formal inventory conducted of the case study neighborhood homes in 1974, spurring the interest and repair of several (see Figure 7). Numerous other groups have contributed to the more recent work of historic preservation in the case study city, including municipal, business, and civic organizations. Near the city are other influential partners that work with the city in abundant and diverse ways; the National Park Service, a large state university, a community college, and state agency office.



Figure 7. Target neighborhood properties: 1974 and 2018. Black and white images from the State's Landmarks Inventory (1974) available through the Freedom of Information Act and the color versions by John A. Rooney, Jr. (2018). Permission through e-mail shown in Appendix F.

One particular organization with recent meaningful outcomes is a relatively new historic preservation organization. When the city closed its museums in October 2016, a group of concerned citizens formed this non-profit in an effort to reopen three of the most critical sites used for tourism and local events. A Memoranda of Understanding with the

city gives the group an opportunity to work through March 2019 and the possibility of renewal. Two members are paid, the Executive Director and Director of Museums, while everyone else volunteers with “energy and ability with the passion for preservation,” as noted in a 2018 document. As noted in an observation of one of their 2018 meetings, their goal is for everyone “to understand the value of the historic treasures they have and to bring to the public the value of that history, and to be authentic.” Their involvement has been successful on many fronts, including special events, rehabilitating property, organizing and documenting collections, and promoting the city’s assets.

#### **Planning attitudes.**

Fiscal inquiry generally takes center stage in examining success of any program. In the case of historic preservation, this is no different. Tangibles often outweigh or overshadow the intangible effects because of their ability to be empirically calculated. Tax credit programs and other formulas to determine financial benefits seem to be the catalyst for further policy, whether instituting new ones or substantiating the older ones.

Government agents. The mission of this particular mid-Atlantic state is to “encourage and support stewardship of significant architectural, archaeological, and historic resources” for the benefit of communities and their citizens (VDHR, 2017). Part of the organization’s work plan is to contribute to the culture and environmental sustainability, as well as economic vitality, of a place. The state agency provides resources to the public in regards to historic preservation, yet they state in their Work Plan for Fiscal Year 2017-2018 that there must be a “rebrand” of their work and the inclusion of a variety of diverse stakeholders (VDHR, 2017). This sentiment is duplicated

in many of their documents. *The Report on the Stewardship and Status of State-Owned Historic Property: 2017-2019* (2017) notes that the “reinvesting and recycling of historic buildings is a both environmentally sustainable and economically prudent.” The agency has had a significant increase in listings and activity, perhaps in part due to the chosen mid-Atlantic state’s 2017 Executive Order 54, which enhanced the area of historic preservation by encouraging active pursuit of property listing on the state’s Landmarks Register, increasing use of highway markers, preparing and implementing surveys and structural plans, leveraging private investment, proactive action on maintenance, and providing treatment plans (VDHR, 2017).

The case study mid-Atlantic state currently emphasized historic preservation in an effort to support Preservation 50, commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act. In doing so, the state has invested funds in studies and enterprises highlighting the achievements and successes of historic preservation in the public eye. In a recent article by *The Progress-Index* (2018), the First Lady takes an occasion to discuss the connection this mid-Atlantic state has with historic preservation. She discusses new state developments that demonstrate collaboration between local, state, and federal government. The mid-Atlantic state’s role in the resurgence of activity and the inter-disciplinary operations have a compelling impact on the region’s economic value is asserted. Mistakes are acknowledged, in terms of leaving out certain aspects of history or failing to deal with them correctly, yet the idea to “anchor,” “identify,” and “protect” are mentioned in the context of the entire speech accenting projects and statistics (*The Progress-Index*, 2018).

Residents. When the federal government passed the tax reform bill eliminating the Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit program, many spoke out about its necessity. The Executive Director of one historic preservation organization said, “It would be devastating to [the city]” and a prominent attorney and developer with many projects in [the city] added, “without the tax credits, many of these projects wouldn’t be financially viable” (*The Progress-Index*, 2017). Since 2002, over 50 projects have been completed in the targeted city using historic tax credits, and that is the fourth highest total in the chosen mid-Atlantic state (*Saving Places*, 2018). The most recent collaborative published study by the chosen mid-Atlantic state agency and one of its universities (2018) provides compelling information about the empirical value attached to historic preservation. Their findings reveal how spending each dollar on these tax credit projects results in construction and activities with a one-time impact of \$4.73, which means \$16 in state and local tax revenue. Additionally, estimates of more than 3,565 jobs created and post-rehabilitation income generated add to the supporting evidence. According to the calculations, the Commonwealth receives a positive return on investment within 9 years and property values increase 170%, according to this 2018 study. Qualitative comments from the study included discussion of the importance of the historic tax credit tool for community revitalization and stabilization, particularly in distressed areas. According to the cooperative publication (2018), more should be done to support threatened sites.

An earlier publication in 2017 by the same examined mid-Atlantic state and university echoed these sentiments. The focus directed attention to heritage tourism, which is this state’s major contributor to the economy. Over 42 million visitors came to

the state in 2012, according to a 2017 study published by its largest historic preservation non-profit. This targeted state's tourism corporation (2018) provides economic impact figures by area, so for the case study city, there are 389 in the industry with over a million in tax receipts from travel in 2016. Their records show an increase from 2012-2016 in the tax receipts for the locality as a direct result of tourism, according to the same 2018 state agency study. According to the case study city's ordinance, meals tax income is supposed to be used to subsidize culture and tourism efforts, including the museums. Using TNS, CRUSA and CURA survey data using IMPLANPro, the following statistics emerged based on using U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: economic impact of heritage tourism in this mid-Atlantic state totaled over \$6 billion, labor income over \$3 billion, 105,373 jobs created, state and local tax revenues of over \$640 million, and federal tax impacts of \$709 million, according to the 2018 study of the examined state's largest historic preservation non-profit. Comments shared from interviews reflect sentiments such as, "everyone wants to move to [this area]...people want the walkability the district offers," "people like the feel of [this area] with brick sidewalks and such," and "historic preservation provides us with an identity and sense of distinctiveness that others don't have," as described in the same 2018 non-profit report.

### **Summary**

In an effort to explore the effects of historic preservation policy on neighborhood stabilization, this study collected and analyzed qualitative data. Through observations, document analysis, interviews, and demographics the researcher sought to understand the impacts of the case study's local level municipal policy on the environmental, economic,

and social aspects of the urban neighborhood in this particular historic district. A case study design allowed investigation of these research questions. The state and locality have significant input on policy impacts of historic preservation, but most important is the Architectural Review Board and their activities. Drivers and Challenges include economic pressures, resources and incentives. Environmental facts incorporate a range of issues in this case, from natural disasters to compliance and enforcement of protective zoning codes and overlays with sustainable resource use. Broader socio-Economic systems context involves the state impact of historic tax credits, tourism and demographics, physical variation in buildings, and organizations and organizational culture. Chapter 5 includes a general discussion of the research, key findings, and the conclusions resulting from the data analysis for this study. Recommendations for further research and implications for social change are provided, along with a review of recent research and related circumstances.



## Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

### **Introduction**

I conducted a qualitative case study to thoroughly examine the effects of historic preservation policy in the chosen Mid-Atlantic state and locality on urban neighborhood stabilization. I used the framework of SES (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992; Wry et al., 2013) and the theory of organizations and society (Rosenberg & Ferlie, 2016) to evaluate the many entities involved in this particular topic. Data used included documents from local associations, property records, planning records, ARB minutes, and the city's organizational reports. Interviews transpired with 11 individuals: five residents of the chosen neighborhood, three city planning department personnel, and three ARB board members. Observations were conducted at various organizational and governmental public meetings that either affected the chosen urban neighborhood or had an impact on historic policy for the city. Demographic data gathered from multiple sites, including the U.S. Census Bureau, informed the research. Analysis of data included description coding, categorical aggregation, and direct interpretation.

Historic preservation policy provides benefits and challenges for an urban locality and its various neighborhoods. Many factors serve as drivers, including economic measures, environment change, and local policy leverage, as well as social organization and collaboration (Ramachandra et al, 2012; Thomson & Etienne, 2017). Furthermore, these factors influence the broader socio-economic systems context so that the state and federal levels serve dual roles of influencer and benefactor. Validation retained in the study remained consistent through constant comparison and member checking. The

multiple source materials and instruments provided opportunity for thick description and peer review. Results from this study should enable stakeholders in the community and city to develop policies and practices that facilitate effective and sustainable historic preservation in the area's districts and neighborhoods. In this chapter, the interpretation of findings for this research will be shared in detail. Limitations, recommendations, and social change implications are included. Further indications for practice from this study will also be discussed.

### **Interpretation of the Findings**

I analyzed multiple data sources including documents, observations, demographics, and interviews to generate findings for this study. Exploring the effects of historic preservation policy on urban neighborhood stabilization through the SES framework (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992; Wry et al., 2013) and the theory of organizations and society (Rosenberg & Ferlie, 2016) assisted me in forming the conclusions discussed in this section. The findings detail the outcomes of data analysis, followed by discussion of any issues that arose and overall interpretations. This snapshot of the current case study location reflects a synergistic and resilient example of multiple agencies and systems supporting an underrepresented and poorly reputed urban historic district.

### **How Does Local Historic Preservation Policy Impact Neighborhood Stabilization in Smaller Urban Areas?**

Standish et al. (2012) asserted that while urban areas have a number of environmental issues solutions are also offered, the most successful are those in which historic preservation and restoration become a form of land management. The SES

network at the city level offers provisions and regulations that support diverse patterns of cultural and place-based decision-making in a protective capacity (Ernstson, 2012).

Although these may be altered to different degrees, the decisions are interventions that take into consideration historical configurations and strategically position all systems in the model of public value (Hartley et al., 2015; Hobbs et al., 2014; Rosenburg, 2016). For the historic urban neighborhood examined, this means that the decisions impacting the community are a type of stewardship marrying its position in the market with competitive advantage and productive capacity. By providing programs such as the real estate fair, grant-funded landscape improvements, and rehabilitation rewards, the city exemplifies a more inclusive and deliberative model of grassroots communication and action.

### **Drivers and Challenges of Historic Preservation: Economic, Environmental, and Social Perspectives**

According to Sayer et al. (2012), decision-making is an ongoing process with several stages: improvement, learning, adaptation, and negotiation. Results here provide evidence of all components of this process starting with acknowledging areas of improvement. Over the years, reports and studies from consultants, state agencies, and academic institutions have aided work and understanding of historic neighborhoods. The community's civic organization, in conjunction with the city, has made strides to address concerns. Though it has taken time, the desired outcome can eventually be achieved. Evidence of the ARB continuing to learn and evolve, adapting as years pass, reflects a willingness to negotiate and assist homeowners through the process of historic preservation. Comparing cases shows the changes in perspective from the start of ARB

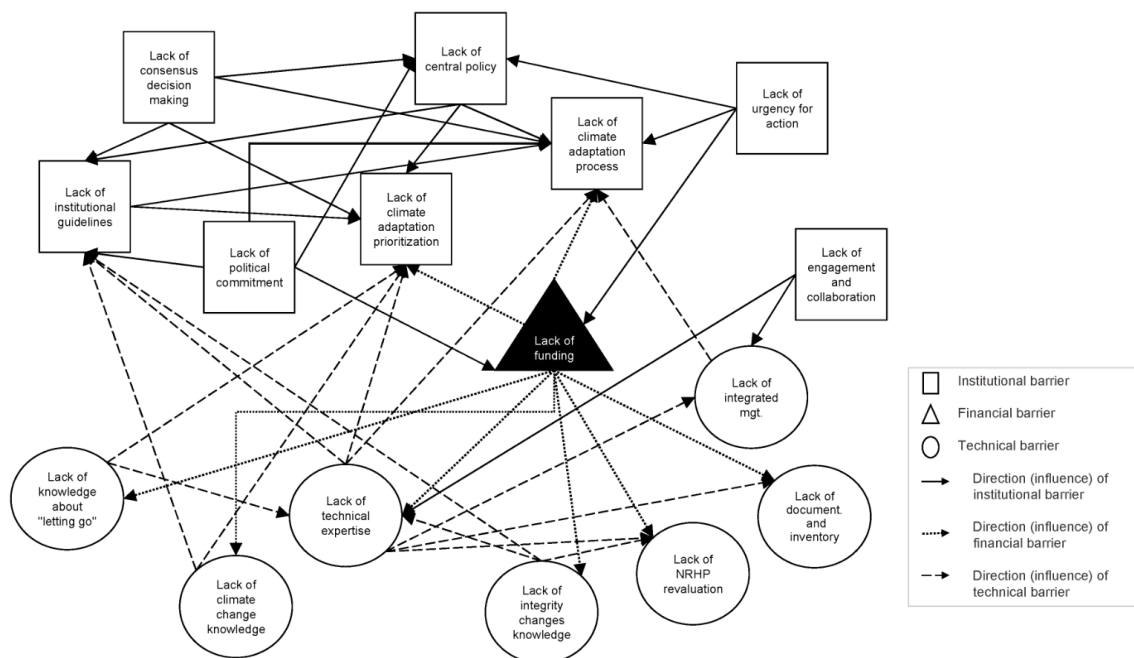
procedures in the 1980s and the ensuing press that resulted, versus the willingness to share information with the public and be more interactive.

In the theory of organizations and society, organizational culture can make or break intergovernmental and interinstitutional principles (Strahilevitz, 2016). Poor culture means that priorities are not aligned and no clear definitive formula or solution emerges (Sayer et al., 2012; Vining, 2011). The complexity necessitates creativity and as noted by the 2008 independent economic development firm's report. The key to this Mid-Atlantic city depends on transformation leadership, requiring an overhaul of organizational structure and a framework of operation allowing for transparency and effective communication with all stakeholders. Currently, the only attempt at this style of administration involves using their modes of operation social media platforms like Twitter and Instagram.

### **Historic Preservation Planning and Management Within the Broader Socio-Economic Systems Context**

Two urban areas in this Mid-Atlantic region are located within the same statistical metropolitan area. Although both had strategic geographic targeting of declining areas, the lack of resources and scope of problems meant an inefficient allocation or application of resources to address the problems in the targeted urban area (Accordino & Fasulo, 2013). The fragmented use of programs lacked coordination and a vision of outcomes. One of the main observations of the work conducted revealed lack of trust between the city and its collaborating agencies or groups. This results in stagnant relationships at times. Groups and agencies continue to support measures in the central region of the

targeted mid-Atlantic state, though with a modicum of success. Additionally, local organizations seem to elicit responses similar to a protective or defensive stance from top-tier municipal leadership. As Figure 8 illustrates, most governmental policy challenges can be traced back in a rather convoluted, yet reasonably understand set of circumstances and patterns of flow.



*Figure 8.* This conceptualization of barrier interdependencies in sustainable heritage culture was originally created by Fatoric and Seekamp in 2017. This item is open access with permission for use available through the Creative Commons.

Chi and Ventura (2011) lists criteria for prime historic preservation development, which include demographics, socio-economic conditions, transportation accessibility, national amenities and land development. This case study city has used a similar operational framework in the chosen neighborhood and other historic districts through a

variety of enterprises, whether through grant funding or other financial mechanisms. Indeed, the commitment by the city officials is shown through the consistent efforts in some form since the early 1970s. While the execution may be questionable in terms of timeliness and overall alignment to an overarching plan, in any evaluation of process, the reality of governance is that it takes considerable time. Civic organizations and other entities have partnered with the city to craft their vision of historic preservation for their community. It may result in improved sidewalks and light fixtures, but the lasting impacts are the intangible ones, those that prove that though it may be a long-term goal, inevitably positive change is forthcoming. Over the last two years alone, strides to repair infrastructure, undertake traffic studies, dialogue with law enforcement, and prevent inappropriate property usage while supporting ventures that encourage proper infill and rehabilitation are moving forward. Even from the beginning of the historic preservation efforts, one particular organization took an aggressive and intrusive route, buying real estate to begin the process of rehabilitation and facilitating ownership with informed and earnest parties.

A wealth of socioeconomic indicators exist when examining historic preservation. The Federal Reserve System (2011) for example, connects, the registration of records and assessment with building and code enforcement, as well as public works to manage neighborhood change in partnership with nonprofits using surveys and datasets. Other agencies like the Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Postal Service, and Realty Trac suggest that the indicators should be based on measurable factors such as crime rates, child care, educational attainment, foreclosure rates and mortgage

information, and housing data. Neighborhood stabilization is found to include multiple processes of impact. These include citywide regulation and enforcement capabilities, prioritizing and targeting specific areas for projects, provide guidelines for individual properties, carry out strategies for the community, and manage programs that track performance (Federal Reserve System, 2011; Kingsley et al., 2014; Mallach, 2008; Rypkema, 1999). This can also be observed in the case study mid-Atlantic neighborhood because it is targeted for special improvement programs, individuals produce COAs and garner plaques of recognition for rehabilitation work and involve themselves in citywide regulation and enforcement through regular communication with city officials, according to the targeted city's 2018 publication.

In the decision of *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Company*, the idea of historic preservation's capacity to foster community cohesion and form stability through a convention of physical form is solidified. In terms of housing values; however, the historic tax credits function as a command-and-control policy more suited to large-scale development than individual properties (Avrami, 2016). Research by the ACHP (n.d.b) suggests that it is less about the tools and programs and more about the process through civic participation and capital, catalyzed economic development, promotion of stewardship, public safety and bridging boundaries, transmitting values and group identity, and preserving both the cultural and physical heritage. Scholars suggest that displacement and gentrification can result from these practices, yet in the case of this mid-Atlantic neighborhood that does not seem to be the case when looking at the holistic demographic picture. For most of its existence, the neighborhood landscape has

maintained a similar make-up from its origins in terms of race and type of household. The difference may lie in the socio-economic base, as many of the homeowners purchased the property cheaply and are not necessarily the wealthy elite of years past. While it is true that the ethnic and racial make-up of the historic preservation organizations are not diverse overall, which reflects the past and present demographics of residents. The dominant Caucasian membership does not seem to affect advocacy for African American programs or including a broader range of history than the Civil War.

Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan (2017) discuss incentives for weak markets to spur investment, yet more direct research is needed on the intersection of historic preservation and affordable housing to understand and optimize practice. Improving quality in the built environment requires addresses the vacant and absentee property within the strategic community area. The Urban Design Associates (2007) suggested that catalysts to quality of neighborhood rested on these integrated planning policies which look at all elements of quality of life, including elements of public spaces, traffic flow, transit, public safety, housing, and more. While the chosen case study city has neighborhood conservation overlay zones, there is room to prioritize and enforce code violations and establish triggers with firm time frames that provide proper notification and staff assistance when necessary. Perhaps in partnership with the Chamber of Commerce or another organization, small-scale rehab loan funds could be made available for those homeowners with difficulty raising or qualifying for money to make improvements. This prevents derelict and neglected property by providing the resident with affordable options. The offering of incentives at one time seemed to work well. Supporting efforts to individually



list properties in a neighborhood can show the interest and care the city has in its historic structures. On the targeted community of this study, there have been several nominations and markers, including the most recent in March 2018 when owners of one of the properties there submitted a Preliminary Information Form to the State Historic Preservation Office.

### **Limitations of the Study**

Earlier study limitations addressed the sample size as a possible limitation to this work. While only 11 individuals' interviews ensued, Malterud et al (2016) suggest that the concept of information power enables effective data collection and analysis in this case. Regardless of intent, what people share choose to share can be intentionally or unintentionally biased, including telescoping, attribution, or exaggeration. Given the size and unique characteristics of the chosen historic urban neighborhood, it may not be feasible or appropriate to compare this case study to other sites. In this study, the circumstances of this urban area cannot be explained through one lens. Multiple elements assist to explain policy decisions, neighborhood change, and success of historic preservation efforts. Finally, the measures and prior research on this subject are in their nascent stages. The professionals in historic preservation cannot agree on the proper and appropriate standards and analysis.

## Recommendations

“It has been said that, at its best, preservation engages the past in a conversation with the present over a mutual concern for the future.”

William Murtagh

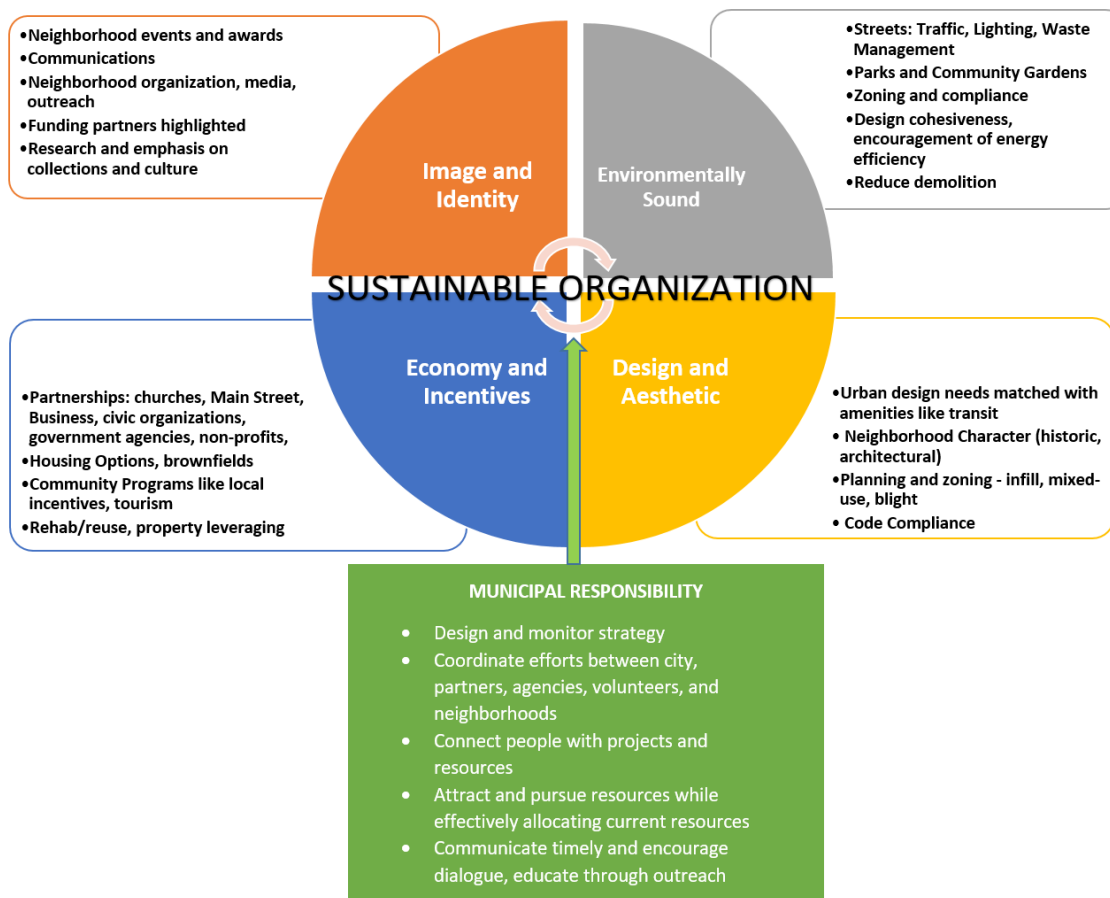
*Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*, 1988.

Neighborhood revitalization is the center of defined success in historic preservation. Justifiable reasons include positive impacts on the environment, increasing property values in previously distressed areas, and maintaining a sense of place (French, 2015). As Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan (2017) discuss, integrating well-known programs such as Community Development Block Grants into small neighborhood programs and leveraging non-profits to partner in implementing historic preservation policy goals equals success. The mid-Atlantic case study city, though perhaps guarded, has taken steps to build relationships with local groups offering to assist in historic project development, as evidenced through the MOU with the local historic preservation organization.

The historic preservation policy matrix, shown in Figure 9, serves as an illustration of the myriad of synergistic influences and patterns that make up urban neighborhood stabilization. Sustainable development is led by the central force of municipal responsibility, evidenced by strategic monitoring, coordinated efforts, connections to and allocations of resources, and communication. All of these infuse the image and identity of an area, while also producing activities that influence design and aesthetics of the historic place, its economic advancement and environmentally sound practices. Outcroppings of areas affected by these ongoing areas of change include

everything from the systems involved, i.e. public works, to smaller components such as neighborhood awards (plaques) when work has been completed.

## Historic Preservation Policy Matrix



*Figure 9.* This model shows the main components of a synergistic sustainable organization with examples of each category shown in corresponding colors. Connecting all of these is municipal responsibility, the key to positive and negative change.

One of the principal advantages of the mid-Atlantic city is the historic fabric of its communities and its intact downtown area, according to the 2008 independent economic

development firm report. A way to address its deficits is through continued and expanded collaboration. The population served requires more than the resources at hand. Reinvestment in physical infrastructure is warranted as well, from its buildings to water and sewer lines, and also roads. Achieving these necessary adjustments will require allowing others to fill in the areas that are not considered priorities. The museums, visitor centers, recreational opportunities, and at-risk programs are parts of the budget that bear heavy costs. Collaboration with federal and state agencies can ensure that historic preservation values are incorporated in their programs and in new or updated urban policies (ACHP, n.d.a; Kingsley & Pettit, 2017). Grant programs through the planning district commission and other entities can also fuel the necessary changes. Making the public aware of activity prevents misunderstandings and allows many to feel a part of the larger picture. The city should communicate noteworthy historic preservation outcomes with diverse stakeholders via social media, websites, newsletters, and other multi-media products. Keeping in unique audience in mind, it may take creative methods, such as meeting with church administrators and congregations, business organizations, and other associations face-to-face. If preservationists are aware of current developments in rightsizing, the result is the generation of buy-in and committed support, both financially and otherwise.

The promotion of historic preservation through programs such as Preserve America, Main Street, and others can reach out to local communities and neighborhoods to assist with developing business or forming programs for youth and tourists. Reviewing various comprehensive plans has provided a comparative basis for understanding how

localities tackle building community character. Many of the items suggested already exist in the urban case study area, such as creating a design handbook, holding demonstrations, making presentations, and offering educational programs or planning assistance. Partners can assist in to build on this consist through media posts and publicity, forming creative methods to reduce costs for minor rehabilitation, serving as a resource to assist residents who do not understand what to do or how to complete tasks, and taking on projects like regular park clean-ups. Allison (2005) suggests that historic preservation requires proactive and interactive steps with public and private partners, which these actions exemplify.

For some, the legal, accounting, and service costs limit what a resident can do with their smaller-scale project. Credits often do not apply when a home is owner-occupied, leading to work on select buildings within an otherwise deteriorating neighborhood of single-family homes (Gorska, 2015; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2017). The mid-Atlantic case study area can play an important role in the success of stabilization. By supporting adaptive reuse and adhering to regulation with proactive support, there can be an elimination or decrease in frustration or appeals. As with the case of the historic structure project, the city took a step toward long-term change by understanding the risks and taking steps to mothball the structure and plan for future rehabilitation as market and financial conditions improve.

Accordino and Fasulo (2013) mention that the chosen mid-Atlantic urban area has one of the highest poverty rates in the nation and the eighth lowest life expectancy rate in the nation. Their hypothesis on the difficulty of attaining success in historic preservation

rests on the lack of viable planning function with no competent housing and redevelopment authority and little trust between their own departments, much less partners. This is a harsh judgment given the lack of resources the city has at its disposal. Rather, the researcher feels that it is simply the lack of staff in the planning department and the necessity of adding to the available people working on these issues. It is essential to have human resources to pursue funding, enforce compliance and maintenance, provide resources, conduct outreach, and all other necessary functions for the city with so many historic assets. Less than 25% of all eligible properties in the mid-Atlantic state studied have been rehabbed, mainly due to the lack of flexibility, lack of speed in the process, lack of expansion in underserved areas, and failure to recast programs to explicitly address economic development in the planning process (Accordino & Fasulo, 2014).

### **Implications**

Local neighborhoods exemplify higher levels of historic character retention than others, mainly thanks to local control which provides for a dialogue of acceptable levels of change in the historic built environment (French, 2015; American Planning Association, 2014). This can be attributed to the zoning overlays, architectural review board authority, or a grassroots movement by neighborhoods to protect and fight for their homes and their special place within the city. Social capital functions to adjust to the weaknesses and strengths of an area. Those actions can be tangible, such as job creation, volunteering, or maintaining public spaces. For example, the targeted community residents served to foster social cohesion and aid in the recovery of the fire in the

neighborhood by offering social services and other solutions that provided goods to those in need. Behind the scenes, some serve to facilitate structures, improve workplaces, promote environmental systems, and offer personal enrichment (Kim & Lim, 2017; Price, 2005). These are important reinforcements to community cooperation, trust, and common values.

Globalizing economics in recent decades changed the governance and policy to produce a destatization and sector hybridization in localities which may deconstruct the historic preservation process in terms of planning and enforcement (Avrami, 2016). The federal government's lead in nationwide projects in the mid-century have been substituted by regionalized and local public-private partnerships. From an economic development standpoint, it can produce much needed restoration to empty buildings and stagnate activity through tax credits, abatements, and other municipal incentives. For a homeowner, however, those focused endeavors leave small-scale undertakings without critical resources to restore their homes, thus impacting the neighborhood's overall health.

The experience of the examined urban area mirrors what happens to specialized cities during economic downturns (Burnett, Owens, & Pinto, 2017). By relying on large-scale, narrow products, little emerged to prevent fluctuations from seemingly small shifts. Bosacker (2017) advocates that planning is fundamental to enduring any type of predicament; this is accomplished by devising approaches that are consumer and data driven and periodically evaluated to bolster quality over quantity. More or less, it comes down to a balancing act of agents of change in capacity that requires dynamic and

flexible operations. Each unit has important purposes that serve to counter or aid in realization of historic preservation programs and projects. Personnel, for instance, includes partnerships and the municipal staff of multiple departments that must cooperate and combine their respective assets. Outreach includes education and engagement. In this area, it is not enough to sit back and place the responsibility solely on the shoulders of the homeowner. For historic preservation to be achieved, it often requires more energetic methods of communication. This is not so much about mandating, but rather having a conversation that helps the resident understand the issue and helps owners feel that they have the options and resources to seek out assistance and make changes or modify designs.

Technical support is a critical, yet lacking component of historic preservation. Qualified employees who have considerable knowledge of the multitude of sources, both governmental and non-profit that can offer the type of time, effort, and attention that the official may not be able to give. Economic tools are often unavailable as well, or the process to gain them is laborious and complex. Since localities have the most responsibility and charge of historic preservation, it would make sense that they be given latitude in financial mechanisms that will give some degree of relief or choice to the homeowner. Providing resources in the form of historic preservation reference expertise or local artisans and craftsmen with specialized skills to complete the work are paramount to the follow-through. Zoning and compliance also plays a fundamental role. Dictating rules without accountability can generate disastrous results. The reputation of the local government is damaged and the gate opens for questions concerning equity and



fairness. Lastly, environmental mitigation and adaptation is key. At times, there are no sound answers or unique situations arise. This is when consultation with state officials can assist the locality with viable alternatives or actions.

### **Positive Social Change**

This study has widespread potential impacts in part because it affects individuals, families, organizations, government, and society in general. It is a conversation about what is important to us and how choices are made to define, protect, and modify a moment of time. Whether focusing on the past or the future, these homes and historic areas deserve a voice that communicates across multiple platforms and subject areas. The chosen case study neighborhood in this mid-Atlantic city has survived wars, economic downturns, turmoil in governance, and a host of other challenges. The message, however, is how the neighborhood has managed to survive and leverage power in an urban area where so many issues can distract and priorities shift. Historic preservation touches economic, social, and environmental issues and perhaps this is the reason that many governing bodies, regardless of level (local, state, and federal) have chosen to invest and sustain programs that address these needs and transcend popular differences.

Providing policies and programs that align the positive goals of historic preservation with the needs of neighborhoods generates positive results in the form of rising property values, restoration of derelict property, restoration of blight, and economic basis for consumerism in the city. The case study community in this mid-Atlantic urban area epitomizes an area on the brink of ruin that has experienced success due to its self-regulation, civic engagement, and social cohesiveness. Formal organization gives

credence and viability to their voice with the city administration. Meeting informally once a month for dinners or having neighborhood events provides social cohesion that strengthens their unity in purpose. Kim and Lim (2017) emphasize social enterprise values and their foundation in local and regional development. This provides economic, environmental, and political benefits that enhance a community and build on its strengths.

### **Conclusion**

Heritage sites are valuable, dwindling resources necessitating government regulation by virtue of their integration with the socio-economic and environmental systems of a community. While many perceive these measures as restrictive, practical guidelines do prevent destruction and ambivalence toward significant historic and architectural landmarks. Rationality of the institutional procedures does not imply acceptance, however. In order to embed full utility of preventative and perpetual efforts, there must be nuanced persuasive strategies (Wolf-Powers, 2014). Advocating sound practice necessitate the integration and transformation of a historic district neighborhood into a partner, and often driving force, in the process. A holistic planning approach connects sustainability and conservation as complimentary, rather than oppositional, operations with similar aims (Opoku, 2015). The chief purpose of local governance in this area ideally aims to achieve the wise use of resources, enduring supply, and minimal intervention of identity. The oversight of the municipality is intended to maintain the financial opportunities simultaneously with respecting and protecting the social and cultural make-up of historic neighborhoods.

While the examined urban area here may be seen in a negative light by some, the chosen historic urban neighborhood and its partners have presented many positive characteristics. Ego prevents growth at times, and yet the city has swallowed its pride in an effort to allow others to continue programming and support that would not otherwise be available. Strategically, this shows the importance of thinking of short-term solutions in order to reach long-term goals. The chosen neighborhood for this study has shown that it supports the city through buying additional property to rehabilitate within city limits, holding events designed to generate visitors, and generating businesses. In return, there is an advocacy component that works effectively partnership with the city to target certain elements that add to the quality of life in the community, i.e. streetscape, safety, and maintenance. Therefore, this should be seen as a model of what an urban area can do when its professionals and citizens are willing to collaborate and negotiate for the greater good. This is the answer to the question of historic preservation and its ability to stabilize a neighborhood. History has been the key to initiating success and maintaining it, regardless of circumstances.

As one homeowner noted in a journal entry from the 1970s,

We must continue to move ahead and support each other for the good of the city.

Not only does historic preservation provide a better “quality of life” for the citizens of [city], but gives us all a certain pride in our past. We must believe that what we are doing will be appreciated by the people of this nation, and for our future generations. We cannot forget that we have the serious responsibility of protecting our national treasures for all Americans. Someday, when [the city]

finally does again become a viable city, those of us who had a part in the process can look back and have the satisfaction of knowing we made a difference.

Without question, this poetically summarizes the reasons behind historic preservation, public service, and community – people. Preserving our resources for future generations is innate in our psyche, exhibiting the need to leave something behind that is representative of our capacity and acumen.

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## Appendix A: Interview Questions

### **For Architectural Review Board Members**

1. Tell me a little about the organization's history and your role in it.
2. What is the mission of the board? Are there any goals?
3. How long have you served on this board? Have you served in other organizations in the city? If so, which ones? Describe your role for them.
4. What do you see as the board's role in the city's historic preservation efforts?
5. What are the benefits of using preservation as a community development strategy? Have you encountered any drawbacks? Please explain those.
6. Has the board been successful in achieving the mission of the historic preservation plan for the city? Why or why not?
7. Are there any future plans for the board in terms of projects or changes for the chosen neighborhood of this study?
8. What changes have you noticed in the chosen neighborhood studied through your work with this board?
9. Would you like to share your insights about the historic preservation policy for the city and how it has developed?

### **For Elected Officials and City Employees**

1. How long have you represented or served in this city? What inspired you to serve as a public administrator?
  - a. How long have you lived in the city?
  - b. What attracted you to this community?

2. Describe the chosen neighborhood of this study. What do you perceive as this community's needs and challenges? What are the opportunities and assets?
3. What positive impact do you think the city's programs and ordinances have had on the chosen neighborhood studied? Are there any negative impacts from the same?
4. How the local government relationship with the neighborhood changed over time?
5. Do you see a role for historic preservation in the future development of this community?
6. Are there any planning efforts or pending projects that would affect the chosen neighborhood studied? Describe.
  - a. Do you anticipate any pushback from the community as a result?
7. Would you like to share about your understanding of the historic preservation policy for the city and how it has developed?

**For Residents of the Chosen Neighborhood**

1. How long have you resided on this street? What brought you to this neighborhood?
2. How do you feel that this neighborhood has changed since it was first designated as a part of this historic preservation district?
3. What do you see as things that this chosen neighborhood studied needs? Have there been challenges?
4. What are the benefits of living in this community? Drawbacks?
5. How has the city government impacted the chosen neighborhood studied?

- a. How have city officials addressed historic preservation policies and issues?
6. Do you feel that living in a historic district has added benefits? Drawbacks?
7. What would you like to see changed with the way historic preservation is implemented in historic districts, including the chosen neighborhood?
8. Would you like to share anything further about the historic preservation policy for the city and how it has developed?

## Appendix B: Interview Protocol

*The Effects of Historic Preservation Policy on Urban Neighborhood Stabilization*

Date:

Location:

Time and Length:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee:

Contact Information for Interviewee:

Introduction:

My name is Lisa Vaughan Jordan from Walden University's Public Administration and Policy doctoral program. The purpose of this dissertation work is focused on understanding the effects of historic preservation policy on local neighborhoods, such as the targeted community in this city of the mid-Atlantic United States. The data generated from this interview will be used to provide recommendations on historic policy improvements to those in decision-making positions. The work focuses on the particular historic neighborhood, but the ultimate goal is to apply this work to the larger context and discussion of historic preservation.

As a reminder, anything you tell me is confidential and will not be personally attributed to you in any reports resulting from this interview.

Are you willing to answer my questions? Do you have any questions before we begin?

Questions:

(Based upon category of participant. See Appendix A.)

Prior to the aforementioned questions, there will be general questions such as name, position/role, address, years in the current role or home, and career field or occupation (if resident).

Probative or follow-up questions will be based on responses given.

## Appendix C: Field Notes Protocol

*Effects of Historic Preservation Policy on Urban Neighborhood Stabilization*

\*Used for observations and interviews.

Date:

Location:

Participants:

Time and Length:

Description of the activity notes was recorded prior to and during the session. Once the data was collected and analyzed, the remaining sections of reflections, emerging questions, and future action was completed. The approach adheres to the three dimensions of fieldwork: descriptive, interpretive, and reflexive. This incorporates the perspective of the researcher, which inadvertently contains prior experience, knowledge, and perspectives. Example below.

## NOTES

<b>Description of Activity</b>	<b>Reflections</b>	<b>Emerging Questions/Analysis</b>	<b>Future Action</b>

## Appendix D: Document Analysis Protocol

*Effects of Historic Preservation Policy on Urban Neighborhood Stabilization*

Title of Document: \_\_\_\_\_

Source and Date of Document: \_\_\_\_\_

Author: \_\_\_\_\_

Date Reviewed: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>SUMMARY OF CONTENTS</b>	
<b>PURPOSE AND AUDIENCE</b>	
<b>ISSUES</b>	
<b>MESSAGE AND SIGNIFICANCE</b>	
<b>AUTHENTICATION</b>	
<b>ADDITIONAL COMMENTS</b>	

## Appendix E: Figure 1 Image Permission

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 **John Latham** 10:55 PM  
to me ▾

Lisa,

You have my permission to use the diagram.

Congrats on your progress toward your degree!

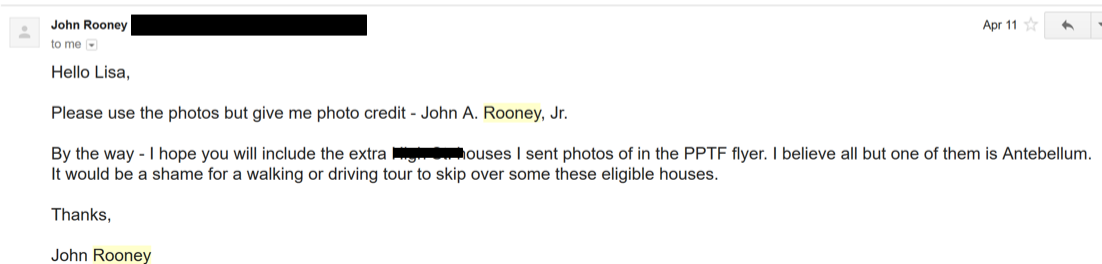
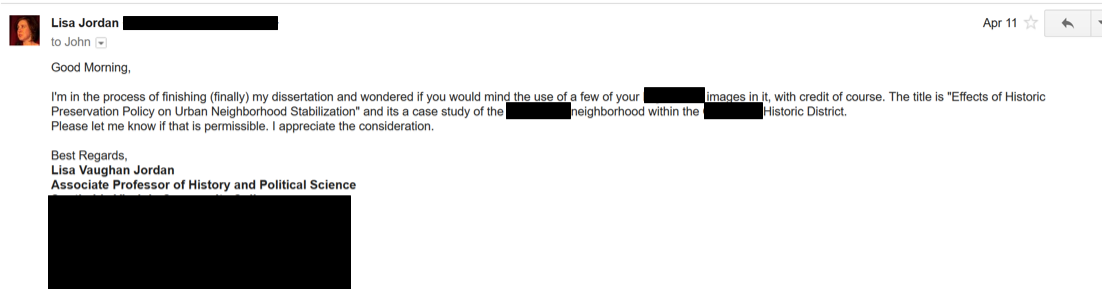
Regards,  
John

JOHNLATHAM PhD | Organization Architect + Founder | OrganizationDesignStudio [REDACTED]

---

**From:** Lisa Jordan [REDACTED]  
**Date:** Sunday, July 29, 2018 at 4:24 AM  
**To:** John Latham [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: Permission for use of diagram

## Appendix F: Figure 3 and Figure 7 Image Permission





## Appendix G: Figure 6 Image Permission

