AN ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

by

AILEEN ALEXIS DE LA TORRE

(Under the Direction of Wayde Brown)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines African American participation in historic preservation between 1990 and 2000. Creating an index of African American participation for U.S. states through a modification of the Location Quotient, called the Participation Quotient, this thesis finds that African American participation increased dramatically over this period with African American participation exceeding non-African American participation in the majority of states. Several determinants of why African American efforts in historic preservation are often unseen in the broader preservation movement are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: African American Preservation, Historic Preservation, Location Quotient, Minorities

AN ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

by

AILEEN ALEXIS DE LA TORRE

B.A., University of Colorado – Boulder, 1995

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2003

AN ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

by

AILEEN ALEXIS DE LA TORRE

Major Professor: Wayde Brown

Committee: Pratt Cassity
Jeanne Cyriaque
Karim Traore

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
December 2003

DEDICATION

to my silly rabbit

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank everyone who helped me, including my committee, who agreed to go through this with me. In particular I want to thank the members of the National Trust Online Forum, who always provided valuable avenues of discussion as I was trying to work things out, and Danny, who consistently kicked my ass.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the latter decades of the twentieth century, diversity became a major buzzword. Most occupational and academic fields were assessed in terms of minority[1] participation as well as historical contributions. Historic preservation was no exception. In the 1980s, a movement to diversify the practice of historic preservation began in earnest. Today diversity continues to be a catchphrase, and preservation leaders have sought to involve all people, regardless of ethnicity or economic situation, in the movement.

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the rate of African American participation in historic preservation. Their lack of participation appears evident when casually examining the issue, however, few, if any, conclusive studies have been done to prove or disprove this.

This thesis uses the Location Quotient, here renamed the Participation Quotient, to study participation rates among the African American population. This is a method of analysis common in urban planning literature, but which has heretofore not been widely used to study historic preservation. An explanation of the Participation Quotient will be found in the empirical chapter of this thesis. Further analysis of African American participation, using literature and additional studies, will be found in the subsequent chapters.

[1] In this case, minority is used in its most liberal sense, meaning all non-Anglos and women.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION

In the last two decades, the issue of diversity has been at the forefront of historic preservation in the United States, concentrating particularly on African Americans. The story of our country, people argue (Alanen and Melnick 2000; Barton 2001), has been one sided for far too long. So leaders within the preservation movement have lectured, written and generally focused on this fact in an effort to change the situation. However, the question remains does historic preservation represent the amalgam of human existence in the United States. Not surprisingly, the accepted answer is no.[2]

It can be argued that there is a dearth of African American historic sites, not only in comparison to the total number of sites on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), but also when compared to their contribution to society.[3] One possible reason is the primarily architectural nature of the NRHP, whereas much of African American history exists within a social or political sphere (Wyeneth 2001). Dolores Hayden (1995, 8) states that "architecture…has not seriously considered social and political issues, while social history has developed without much consideration of space and design."[4]

---

[2] This applies not only to African American history, but also to the history of all minorities in the United States (see previous footnote for the definition of minority in this context).

[3] Please see Table 3 in the Appendix for a comparison of the total number of resources listed to the number of African American resources listed. The data are split by year from 1966, the first year of the NRHP, to 2000. It is interesting to note that, with few anomalies, the percentage of African American listings rises each year. I would like to thank Edson Beall at the NRHP for running these queries.

[4] Hayden is specifically addressing the preservation of architectural landmarks and the apparent way in which the historic preservation and social history disciplines have developed independently. She refers to a 1975 series of

However, while the NRHP is the easiest and most direct way to analyze the impact of African Americans on historic preservation, it certainly does not give a complete picture. Individuals generate NRHP nominations.[5] The process of getting a historic resource listed in the NRHP requires a considerable amount of time and effort, and often money. For individuals and smaller organizations time, effort and money are luxuries not easily attained. Additionally, there may not be a desire to list a resource in the NRHP in some situations.

The lack of African American participation also appears evident when casually examining the issue. Preservationists have traditionally relied upon case studies to make general conclusions. Real-world examples are a valid exercise that recognizes the needs, problems and potential inherent in individual cases. A series of case studies can reveal patterns in historic preservation; however, there is little that can be proven in general with mere anecdotal evidence. A case study can only show how historic preservation succeeds or fails in one specific instance.

Nonetheless, case studies have been widely used to study demographics within a preservation context within the last two decades. Spurred by discussion during the 1991 National Preservation Conference in San Francisco, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) released *Cultural and Ethnic Diversity in Historic Preservation* through its Information Series. Using case studies and dialogue broached during the conference, the booklet makes a

---

articles in the *New York Times* arguing the meaning of the built environment. In this debate, Herbert J. Gans and Ada Louise Huxtable, leaders in their respective fields of urban sociology and architectural criticism, were "unable (or unwilling) to understand each other's language…He wanted more social history, she wanted more culture. He wanted taxpayers' money spent equitably in all neighborhoods. She believed aesthetic resources should be ranked in order to buy the best in terms of connoisseurship" (1995, 4).

[5] It should be mentioned that many State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO), including Georgia, have initiatives to organize African American preservation groups and help nominate noteworthy African American historic sites. Nonetheless, this brings up the notable observation that using listed resources to determine the rate of participation of a particular minority fails to take into account who is doing the nominating.

sweeping statement regarding the state of diversity in historic preservation when it affirms that "national organizations and agencies, and their state and local counterparts, have noted minimal, though increasing, participation from diverse cultural and racial groups" (1992, 1).

Such has been the concern over demographics that Richard Moe recommended, in the presidential address at the 1999 National Preservation Conference in Washington D.C., several steps for increasing cultural diversity:

> We must broaden our programs and membership to reflect more accurately the diversity of America…a simple look around at almost any [NTHP] gathering offers convincing proof that our membership doesn't sufficiently reflect America's diversity…we must do all we can to build a stronger, more cohesive preservation movement…[and] we must work harder to inculcate preservation as an ethic – a value – that is understood and embraced by all Americans.

The NTHP has also set up the Emerging Preservation Leaders Scholarship Program, which provides funds for people from culturally diverse backgrounds to attend the yearly conferences.

Since the 1991 conference, most literature focusing on diversity, particularly African Americans, has followed the same train of thought (Alanen and Melnick 2000; Hayden 1995; Lee 1992; Loewen 1999; Spennemann 1992; Zukin 1995). Dolores Hayden (1995, 7) states, "[c]enturies of neglect of ethnic history have generated a tide of protest – where are the Native American, African American, Latino and Asian American landmarks?" She later claims that "[t]he power of place – the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory – remains untapped for…most ethnic history…" (9).[6]

[6] Hayden is speaking within the context of the general historic preservation movement. While individual ethnic groups may have a highly developed sense of heritage, the question is whether their efforts to preserve that heritage are being recognized.

The argument appears clear, historic preservation remains the domain of the rich and Caucasian. Yet much of this literature is largely anecdotal in construct, leaving a lot of room for misinformation. Some authors have begun to doubt such accepted facts.

Preservationist Antoinette J. Lee (1992, 94) asked, "Is it just the numbers of participants and projects that should be increased? Should not the preservation field instead assess the special requirements of the nation's culturally diverse groups…?" These were the simple, yet overlooked, questions that provided the inspiration for this thesis. Other than case studies, does data exist regarding the types and numbers of people involved in historic preservation? Some, but it is spotty at best. Other than case studies, has there been an attempt to collect and analyze this kind of data? Not really. Is it possible that what we believe is different from what is? Should our efforts at encouraging diversity be focused elsewhere? This thesis explores these questions.

The next chapter is an empirical examination of the objective – to examine African Americans involvement in historic preservation. Collecting state data on historical organizations, this thesis demonstrates that African Americans are not only active in the preservation of their cultural heritage, but in the majority of states may actually exceed the participation rates of other groups. However, in the context of American society as a whole, African Americans make up a relatively small percentage of the total population.[7] When this is translated within the historic preservation movement, the result is often a lack of awareness of their efforts.

A further analysis of the apparent lack of African American participation in the larger context of the historic preservation movement continues in the Chapter Four. While much of the preservation literature continues to advance this belief, a majority of the books dedicated to the study of African American culture agree that African Americans are very involved in the

[7] According to the most recent statistics available from the U.S. Census (2000), African Americans make up approximately 12% of the total population of the United States.

preservation of their heritage.[8] A study by historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen (1998) that examines the role history plays in peoples lives also shows an active African American involvement in preservation activities. However, the argument that there is a lack of interest persists (Lee 1992, Moe 1999, National Trust for Historic Preservation 1992, Newsom 1971, Vlach 1993).[9] Several explanations exist for this perception, which come from both within and without the African American community.

This thesis first looks at the history of historic preservation, revealing similarities among all people, regardless of race, ethnicity or time period. Preservation has always been a highly personal journey for most people, a passionate endeavor that is characterized by citizen activism. From the beginning of the movement to today, most people have gotten involved in preservation activities in order to save a resource of personal significance. African Americans are involved in historic preservation in much the same way. The result has been little involvement in what is arguably considered "general" preservation activities, in contrast to more specific cultural preservation.

This thesis then focuses on the standardization of historic preservation. With the rise of academic and professional standards of preservation, the interpretation of what is significant narrowed, in part because "significance is based on eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP" (Evans *et al* 2001, 53). Although historic preservation has become more all-inclusive in recent years, enveloping "buildings and American antiquity to the cultural practices of living societies and other intangible expressions of culture" (Lee 2002), national policy, by necessity, continues

---

[8] As in most cultures, this heritage preservation takes many forms and is often done under the radar of the mainstream historic preservation movement. It can be as personal as a collection of family photographs to as far-reaching as the preservation of a nationally significant resource.

[9] Much of this argument comes from the relative lack of NRHP listed African American resources compared to the total number of listed resources, which is often translated into lack of participation.

to support more limited definitions.[10] Because of this, there is still an emphasis on large-scale battles most preservationists consider significant as opposed to the small skirmishes that make up the bulk of history.

Lastly, this thesis looks within the African American community. The issue of gentrification has been closely tied to historic preservation since it was first defined in the 1960s. Because of the role gentrification has played in displacing primarily minorities, often the loudest voices among African Americans argue that preservation is an elitist activity. The result has been a general hesitancy among African Americans to call themselves "preservationists."

Through its study of African Americans in historic preservation, this thesis will contribute a deeper understanding of cultural diversity within the movement. The final chapter includes a brief summary of the findings. The questions and hypotheses posed provide a basis for future study.

[10] This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 3

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter is an examination of the participation of African Americans in the preservation movement. Adapting an empirical technique used in urban planning literature, this thesis demonstrates that African Americans are not only active in preservation organizations but in some areas may be more active than the population as a whole. This chapter concludes by using the data to answer questions about the nature of African American participation in the wider preservation movement.

Method

As mentioned in the last chapter, researchers in historic preservation rely primarily upon case studies. While these studies are valuable as a means to recognize the needs, problems and potential of individual situations, they are a flawed way to draw *general* conclusions about the preservation movement. However, case studies have been the major focus largely due to a lack of data. Because the historic preservation profession is still a new outgrowth of the relatively mature planning and architecture professions, very little data have been collected for tracking or performance measurement. Despite the paucity of available data on preservation, U.S. state data on historical organizations and their racial distribution do exist. Using this in conjunction with population data, this thesis constructs an index that allows direct comparison of African American participation in preservation to the population as a whole.

This thesis constructs an African American *Participation Quotient*[11] (PQ) for each state to examine their participation within the preservation movement. The PQ is defined as follows:

Equation 1:

$$PQ = \frac{\%\, of\ \ African\ American\ organizations}{\%\, of\ \ African\ American\ population}$$

with the percentages calculated explicitly as

Equation 2:

$$PQ = \frac{Number\ of\ \ African\ American\ organziations \Big/ Total\ number\ of\ organizations}{African\ American\ population \Big/ Total\ population}.$$

The PQ ratio is an index that directly gauges the level of African American participation in historic organizations in each state relative to the population as a whole. Once calculated for a state, the PQ can be interpreted according to Table 1 below.

Table 1: Interpretation of African American PQ

African American PQ	African American Participation is
PQ < 1	less than non-African Americans in the state.
PQ = 1	equal to non-African Americans in the state.
PQ > 1	greater than non-African Americans in the state.

[11] This is an adaptation of the Location Quotient used by urban planners to analyze industry mix and specializations in different areas. A brief history, description and traditional use of this technique can be found in Klosterman (1990).

Data

U.S. state data on the total number of historical organizations and the number of African American historical organizations were obtained for 1990 and 2000, respectively, from the 14th and 15th editions of the American Association for State and Local History's (AASLH) *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada* (Wheeler 1990 and 2000). For each edition, the AASLH developed a questionnaire "designed to elicit large amounts of valuable information" (2000, 6). A mailing list was then compiled from contacts through phone research, state, provincial, regional and national historical agencies and associations, museums, SHPOs, AASLH membership lists and AltaMira Press[12] customer lists. Also consulted for possible contacts were previous editions of the directory and the National Council on Public History, which compiles a list of public history programs. Extensive Internet research, not available at the time of the 14th edition, was also utilized for the 15th edition of the directory.[13]

Once the questionnaires were collected, selection criteria for inclusion in the directories were determined by the AASLH. The AASLH included "historical societies, historic houses, historical agencies, history museums of any sort, historic sites, historical gardens, archives, genealogical societies, tribal museums, corporate history museums [and] general museums that [maintain and interpret] a historical collection" (2000, 7). Most organizations are non-profit; however, for-profit organizations were also included. The AASLH excluded "museums…in which historical objects were not collected or for which historical interpretations were not

[12] AltaMira Press publishes the directory.

[13] Over 20,000 questionnaires were mailed to potential respondents for the 15th edition of the directory, of which approximately 13,000 were returned for listing. The 14th edition does not specifically state how many questionnaires were sent to potential respondents; however, it also lists approximately 13,000 historical organizations. While this data set is certainly not comprehensive or exhaustive, it does provide a very large representative sample of the organizations in question.

attempted [and] for-profit organizations that claimed to be 'historical' but whose primary mission was commercial" (2000, 7). The 14th edition also included university and college history departments. These departments were removed from the data employed in this thesis.

Involvement in historical organizations represents the degree to which the nation is interested and active in heritage preservation, or that which is inherited from the past. To the degree that support for historic preservation can be represented by participation and interest in broader notions of heritage and cultural preservation, this data set will serve as a reasonable proxy for support of – if not direct participation in – the movement. However, it is likely that this connection between participation in historical organizations and participation in historic preservation is particularly strong for minorities such as African Americans, where preservation efforts are largely driven by social and cultural events rather than architectural significance.[14]

Since historic preservation is, in fact, a subset of broader preservation efforts, this data set would at worst overestimate the degree to which African Americans and non-African Americans participate in historic preservation. However, this does not bias the results of the analysis if the relationship between each group's participation rates is similar for historic preservation and other historical activities. For example, if African American participation rates in historic preservation and historical organizations are 10% lower than non-African American participation rates, the PQ will accurately portray the relationship between African American and non-African American participation in historic preservation even if only data on historical organizations are used.

The 15th edition explicitly categorizes organizations by specific ethnic group; the 14th edition does not, grouping all ethnic organizations into a single category. Therefore, this thesis

[14] This will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter.

performed the categorization of African American organizations for the 14th edition through an analysis of overlapping entries between the two editions, Internet research, and direct contact with organizations. Also excluded were historical organizations based in Canada. By using both editions of the *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada*, this thesis was able to track changes in participation rates over 1990-2000.

Total and African American population were obtained for each state from the U.S. Census Bureau. The District of Columbia was analyzed along with the fifty states; however, for the purpose of this thesis they are all referred to as "state."

Results

The calculated PQ for each state is listed in Table 5 in the Appendix. The distribution of African American PQ scores in 1990 and 2000 are found in Table 2. While African American participation rates in 1990 were lower on average than those of non-African Americans, their participation rates still exceeded those of non-African Americans in 18 states.

Table 2: Distribution of African American PQ in 1990 and 2000

	Number of States	
African American PQ	1990	2000
PQ < 1	33	18
PQ = 1	0	1
PQ > 1	18	32

By 2000, however, African Americans were more active in preservation efforts in the majority of states, clearly demonstrating that African Americans are very active within historic organizations and, by extension, in the preservation movement despite the general perception that they are not adequately represented. Figure 1 shows African American PQ by state in 1990.

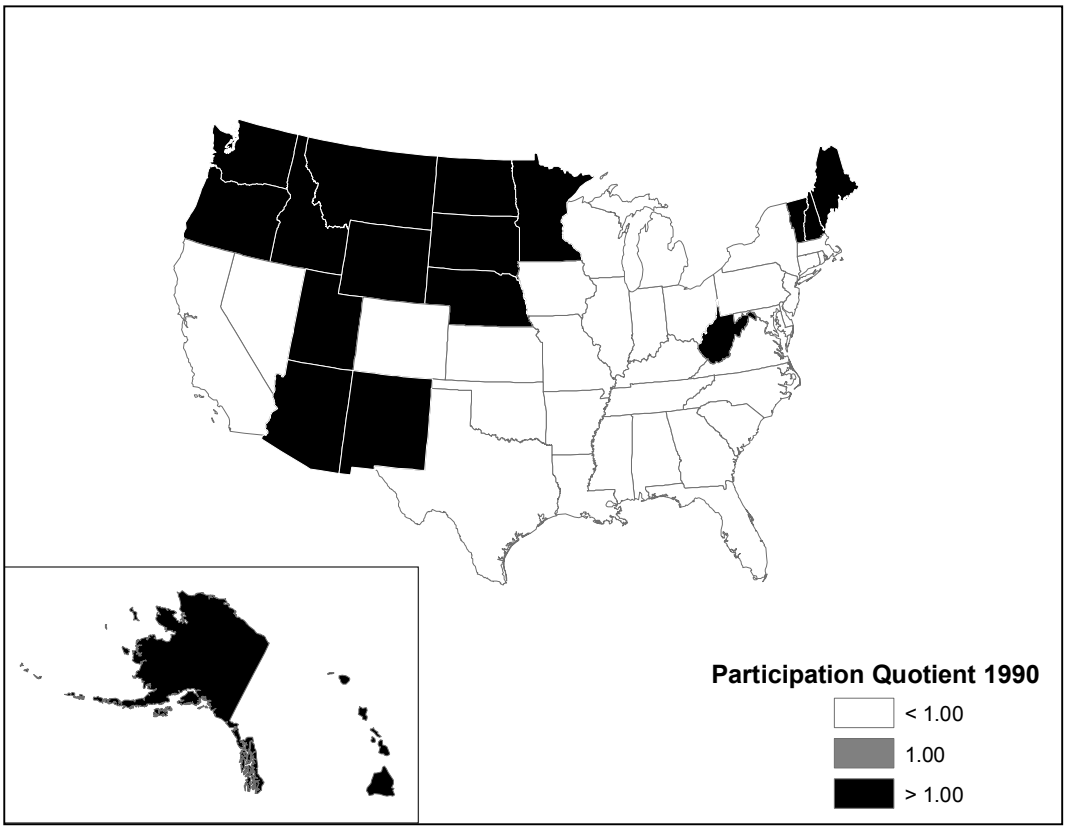

Figure 1: African American PQ in 1990

States with PQs greater than 1 indicate that African Americans are more active in preservation efforts than non-African Americans in those states. One interesting observation is that African American participation rates appear to be high in areas where they traditionally make up a small percentage of the population. Looking at the nation as a whole, however, the results indicate that in the early 1990s, when preservationists were first focusing on diversification, there was indeed a lack of African American involvement in the general preservation movement. This is consistent with accepted studies and articles that focus on diversity issues in historic preservation (Hayden 1995; Loewen 1999; Moe 1999; National Trust for Historic Preservation 1992; Zukin 1995).

Examining the geographic distribution of African American PQ in 2000 (Figure 2), it is apparent that tremendous strides in African American participation have taken place since 1990.

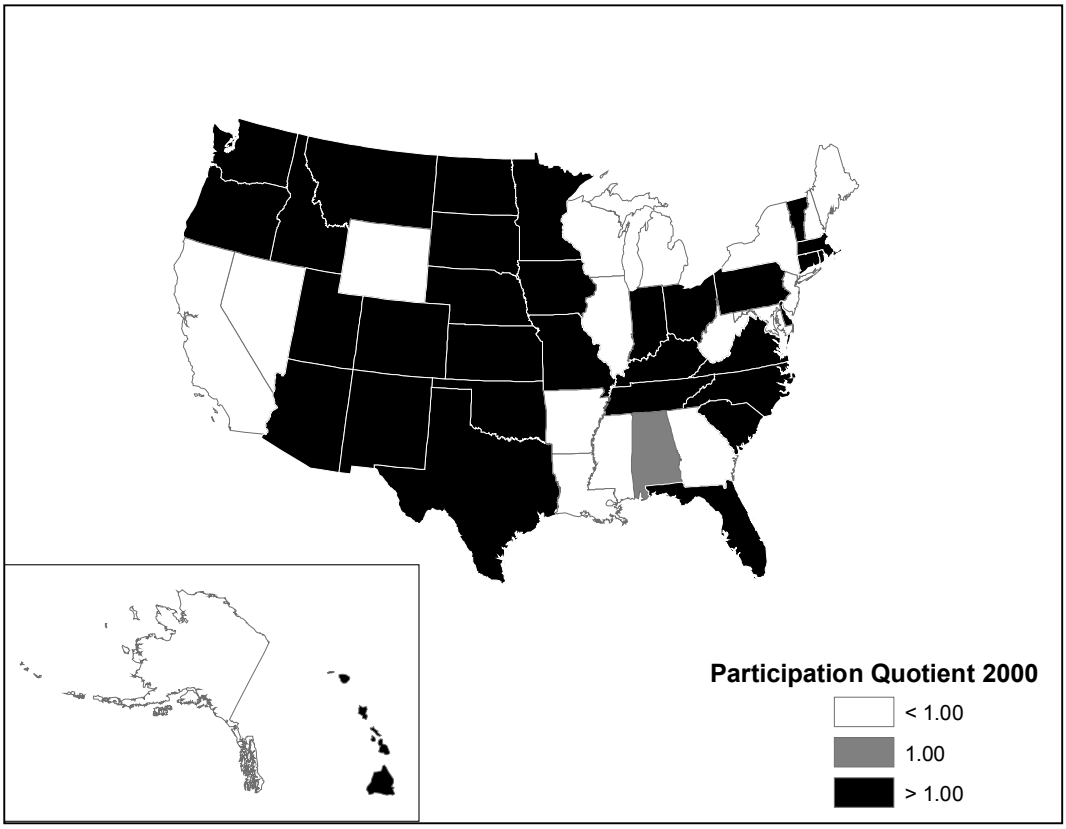

Figure 2: African American PQ in 2000

Nonetheless, the *recent* calls to address African American participation are likely misguided. While the preservation establishment may not "see" the efforts of African Americans when such efforts are characterized as membership in large, national preservation organizations, these efforts are taking place at a broader, grassroots level.

As shown in Table 2 and Figure 2, most states either increased their PQ category from 1990 or remained in the same category because they were already exceeding non-African American participation, as in the northwest. These findings agree with studies of African

American cultural appreciation and preservation. As Zukin states, "since the 1980s… community groups from historically black neighborhoods…have publicly pressed for designation of more historic sites…" (1995, 126; also see Barton 2001; Blackwell 1991; Gates 1993, 1998; Mullings 1996; Thompson 1984; Zukin 1995). Thus, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, perhaps the real challenge for the preservation movement is not to increase the rate of African American participation but to assess and implement the special requirements of African Americans for the preservation of their cultural heritage in the built environment. Using a brief review of relevant literature, African American participation in historic preservation is further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE INVISIBLE PRESERVATIONISTS

The analysis presented in Chapter Three shows the general perception of the lack of African Americans in preservation has been overstated. When focusing on numbers as opposed to anecdotal evidence, one can see that in the majority of states African Americans are involved in historical fields at a rate at least equal to their population.[15] (See Table 5 in Appendix.)

Contrary to much of the popular preservation literature focusing on this subject,[16] studies of African American culture correspond positively to the findings in the previous chapter. Anthropology professor Leith Mullings (1996, 189) writes:

> In the last decade, African Americans have once again become increasingly committed to reclaiming their culture and history. This has taken a variety of forms and is evident in phenomena as diverse as the iconization of Malcolm X, the struggle around the African burial ground in New York City, renewed interest in African hairstyles, jewelry and clothing, mass participation in the movement for a free South Africa, and the rise of Afro-centric philosophy.

---

[15] Interestingly, data in Chapter Three show that states with a smaller African American population have a larger percentage of involvement. Generally, smaller groups are more close-knit than larger ones because they satisfy a need for connection (Glaab & Brown 1976; Medoff & Sklar 1994; Moe & Wilkie 1997; Mumford 1938; Upton 1986; Wrobel & Steiner 1997; Zukin 1995). For minority groups, the scale is possibly more significant. Zukin states that within larger cities, the small "neighborhood...streets, especially when they are connected with ethnicity, social class and gender, are sites where identities are formed" (1995, 190). Human scale allows a greater identification with the history and resources of a community, thus a likelier chance for a person to find links to his or her own history. As Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998, 93) suggest: "The meaning of the large [lies] in the stories of the small." Additionally, smaller communities have fewer resources. The scarcer the resource, the greater the urgency to preserve it for future generations (Moe & Wilkie 1997). Larger communities simply have more resources, trivializing the need to save the built environment.

[16] Popular preservation literature is multi-disciplinary, with concentrations in fields including architecture, architectural history, law, planning, fund-raising, history and non-profit organizational management. Because of this, much of the literature focuses upon the practical application of preservation theory.

Educators such as Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Robert Farris Thompson, among others, echo this sentiment. A recent article in *Black Issues in Higher Education* focused on the effort being made by African American educators to restore buildings on the historically black college campuses whose "[histories parallel] that of African American higher education" (Conciatore 2000, 20).[17] Citing the need to preserve these significant bits of history, many of them built by students and faculty, the Congressional Black Caucus secured funding from the federal government's General Accounting Office.[18]

The celebration of culture is evident in college campuses, from major universities to community colleges, throughout the United States. In the last few decades African Americans have fought for and won the realization of departments in African American studies. In each case, there is active involvement in the preservation of the past.

Evidence of this participation is further strengthened in a 1994 study conducted by historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen that examines the relationship between people and history.[19] According to this study, history courses in school evoke responses of "irrelevant" and

---

[17] For a more comprehensive look at African American culture, please see Blackwell 1991; Blackwell and Hart 1982; Gates 1993 and 1998; Dodson *et al* 2002; Henson 2000; Keegan 2000; Martin and Mitchell 1978; Mullings 1996; Obudho and Scott 1985; Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998; Scott 1985; Smith 1994; Thompson 1984 and Upton 1986.

[18] Although the Congressional Black Caucus received only a fraction of the funding they needed, the request highlighted the issue of preserving significant buildings on historically black campuses. Many now have matching grant programs to make up some of the difference. Alumni also earmark donations for the purpose of restoring campus buildings (Conciatore 2000).

[19] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, in conjunction with students and fellow historians, developed a set of questions and called 1453 individuals. Of these, 808 were randomly selected from the general population and an additional 645 were randomly selected from individuals with African American, Native American and Mexican American backgrounds.

"boring." However, the majority of individuals interviewed are active in historical activities.[20] Rosenzweig and Thelen are impressed by "the presence of the past – its ubiquity and its connection to current-day concerns – rather than its frequently bemoaned absence" (1998, 18).

The study finds that the greatest need to participate in historical activities outside the classroom belongs to African Americans. The predominantly Euro-centric history taught in school has led many to pursuits more relevant to their own cultural background:

> [Minority] respondents said they fear being manipulated by people who distort the past to meet their own needs – whether commercial greed, political ambition or cultural prejudice. In their desire to strip away layers of mediation, respondents trust eyewitnesses more than television or movies. They feel connected to the past in museums because authentic artifacts seem to transport them straight back to the times when history was being made (1998, 12).

In spite of the evidence presented, African Americans remain invisible among preservationists. Why is this so? There are explanations for this perceived indifference.

In My Back Yard[21]

Preservation has historically been a personal and reactive popular movement:

> [P]reservation efforts are highly personal journeys through the past where individual and family landmarks and memory are paramount. Some individuals seek out historic residences as a matter of personal choice and psychic comfort. Other endeavors are community-oriented, where individuals and groups organize to maintain or enhance the livability of neighborhoods and enclaves. Still other tasks are aimed at national icons and rituals that bind us together in nationhood (Lee 2002).

---

[20] Individuals were asked about ten specific activities, which included broadly defined historical pursuits ranging from taking photographs to participating in a preservation organization.

[21] The In My Back Yard, or IMBY, phenomenon is an adaptation of NIMBYism (Not In My Back Yard), which refers to the opposition of necessary development projects (e.g. landfills) that are deemed dangerous or unsightly. A community typically recognizes the need for the project, it just wants the development sited elsewhere. IMBYism is applied to citizen-activist movements such as historic preservation. Communities theoretically support the protection of historic resources, however, action does not occur until one of their own is threatened.

The very nature of the relationship between people and the past is personal, regardless of class or ethnicity. As Stille (2002, 236) notes of the bond between people and history:

> …history holds an extraordinary power to stir up emotions. Native Americans and white supremacists fight over the bones of a frozen corpse from ten thousand years ago, each believing it to be their rightful ancestor. The construction of a Wall Street skyscraper is abandoned when workers uncover a graveyard of Colonial-era African slaves. American school boards come to blows over the depiction of the nation's Founding Fathers, women and minorities in history textbooks. Rarely do debates evoke so much passion as those over, say, the nature of the Vichy government in France or the wartime conduct of former Austrian leader Kurt Waldheim.

With all other factors being equal, African Americans follow the same rules of participation as everyone else.[22] That is to say that for a majority of preservationists this is an individual issue that turns into activism only when something affects them personally.[23] Therefore, what is perceived as a lack of African American participation is in actuality the same IMBY attitude that is found in all segments of society. To illustrate this point, a brief history of the general preservation movement follows.

The story of historic preservation in the United States generally begins with Ann Pamela Cunningham, who established the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1858 to save the home of George Washington (Hosmer 1965; Moe & Wilkie 1997; Murtagh 1997). Witnessing the success of the MVLA, other individuals and groups soon followed. The collection of grassroots organizations soon became "a nationwide effort to restore and refurbish historic houses where

---

[22] It is interesting to note that many preservationists are drawn into historic preservation for personal reasons, and they generally work within the context of those interests (Hosmer 1965). However, it is often only minorities who are taken to task for not being involved in the general preservation movement.

[23] In *America's Historic Landscapes*, Ary J. Lamme states, "any kind of a physiological connection between people and environment is bound to be controversial and hard to test" (1989, 20). However, there is no dearth of studies showing the power and hold the built and natural environments have over people (Alanen & Melnick 2000; Appleton 1975; Blackwell & Hart 1982; Colomina 1992; Ellin 1998; Hayden 1995; Lamme 1989; Penning-Roswell & Lowenthal 1986; Zukin 1995).

Americans could pay homage to their past" (Moe & Wilkie 1997, 239). The movement's birth coincided with the first great wave of immigration, a period of great social upheaval in the United States.[24] Soon historic preservation came to be primarily composed of "old stock" groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, who sought to use historic buildings as "a unifying focus for national pride and patriotism in a nation of immigrants" (Hayden 1995, 53; also see Brand 1994; Glaab & Brown 1976; Hosmer 1965; Zelinsky 2001; Zukin 1995). As a group that generally did not immigrate to the United States voluntarily, this past may not resonate with many African Americans.

By the early 1900s, preservation had shifted from patriotism to concentrate on the architectural and economic value of historic resources (Hosmer 1965; Murtagh 1997). Although the focus had changed, the personal motivation remained the same. Individuals formed preservation organizations to beautify their own cities, though often only when there was a threat involved. In Charleston, for example, Susan Pringle Frost, considered a leader of the general preservation movement at the time, was impelled to form the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings – now the Preservation Society of Charleston – only after the Joseph Manigault House was threatened with demolition (Marshall 2000, 12).

Hosmer's (1965) detailed account of early twentieth century efforts in historic preservation illustrates the same trend. He relates the story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, which in 1913 tried to purchase for display the colonial interiors of old New England homes. New York preservation interests were not adverse to the purchase, feeling that

[24] The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a period of immigration that changed the makeup of this country. The amount of new inhabitants entering the United States was staggering. According to data taken from the U.S. Census Bureau, an average of 3355 people – primarily Eastern and Southern Europeans and Near Eastern Asians – came in daily between 1870 and 1930. Notably, this era marked the first time such a large number of voluntary immigrants were non-Anglos, Anglos being the dominant ethnic group of the time (Cordasco 1990).

"New England period rooms in New York would benefit the public in general because more people could appreciate them there" (221). However, New England preservationists felt that "things made in New England should remain there" (221). Throughout his book, Hosmer shows that the preservation focus of local organizations such as the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts and national organizations such as the American Institute of Architects tend to reflect the views of their acting presidents.

In the twentieth century, the general preservation movement continued to develop as a profession (Marshall 2000). In 1966, the federal government codified historic preservation by passing the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) "to ensure that federal agencies recognize their stewardship responsibilities to the historic places that collectively represent the story of the American people" (Evans *et al* 2001, 55).

Regardless of who has assumed stewardship the emphasis remains personal. Government involvement is multi-level; legislation is stronger and more significant at the local level. In the bureaucratic world of politics, "landscapes…are usually identified, documented and managed in response to some kind of land management action or need" (55). And despite efforts toward a national movement focusing on nationally significant issues, preservation is still primarily a collection of grassroots-style organizations filled with passionate individuals using historic preservation "to deepen relationships with people who [matter] in their lives" (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998, 107). Thus African Americans may be quite active, yet remain unseen within a movement that focuses on a big picture that does not necessarily address their needs.

The Tyranny of the Majority?

Lawyer and law professor Lani Guinier (1994, 4) argues that without a system of checks and balances the democratic process of majority rules becomes a zero-sum game. She calls this game, in which there are a fixed number of units and for anyone to gain an additional unit it must be taken from someone else, a "tyranny of the majority":

> The problem of a majority tyranny arises…when the self-interested majority does not *need* to worry about defectors. When the majority is fixed and permanent, there are no checks on its ability to be overbearing. A majority that does not worry about defectors is a majority with total power (emphasis added).

In the United States, those who organized our government system understood this. The federal government has three branches to check one another. The system is also multi-tiered, with state governments having as much power as the federal government on certain issues.

It can be argued that a tyranny is present in the preservation movement, although in this case it is necessary to differentiate among lay and professional preservationists.[25] Similarities exist between the two groups; however, they are bound by different constraints. The end result in either situation is the inadvertent delegation of "certain people and resources [into] invisible players" (Crespi 2001, 6). As mentioned, the majority of African American resources are likely to be found in the social or political sphere (Hayden 1995; Zukin 1995). And historic resources can be significant based on associations with events, people, architecture or potential to yield important information. Nonetheless, the emphasis has been on aesthetic and architectural criteria. Richard Moe (1997, 239) states:

> Saving, interpreting and promoting an appreciation of historic and architecturally significant *landmarks* will always be at the core of the preservation movement's mission (emphasis added).

[25] In this case, lay preservationists include those who either volunteer or are paid for their involvement yet have not been formally trained or educated.

Moe's statement is underscored in a study done by J.F. Coeterier (2002), which found that among lay people the historic value of a resource principally lies in its form. Moreover, resistance to preservation grows as more stress is placed on what they see as "official arbitrariness" (111), or the de-emphasis of architecture. That is, while professionals may place more value on a resource's potential to yield information, many lay preservationists believe that "preservation efforts should be directed at 'pretty buildings,' which only they can define" (Lee 2002). Frequently this translates into an emphasis on the big picture, or the large-scale battles. Yet often the true turning points of history are the small ones. Writing about day-to-day slave resistance that has been all but forgotten in popular history texts, James C. Scott (1985, 34) states, "these practices…achieved far more in their unannounced, limited and truculent way than the few heroic and brief armed uprisings about which so much has been written."

The Civil Rights movement provides another compelling illustration. A 1994 study conducted by historian Robert R. Wyeneth (2001) of the University of South Carolina found that "at present we are remembering only parts of the Civil Rights story." While popular historians and lay preservationists focus on the events or people that captured national attention, the "churches, schools and the homes of local leaders, as well as modern utilitarian buildings that would not normally attract the attention of historic preservationists" (2001) are being forgotten. Long before his "I Have a Dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. planned his strategies in the ordinary homes of local supporters. By highlighting a few notable incidents and people, what is lost is the heart of Civil Rights:

> The homes of local activists, many of whom were women, were 'action central.' They functioned as offices and meeting places, provided guest accommodations for visiting national leaders and sometimes became targets for racist violence. The Civil Rights movement has left a rich material legacy [however] the vernacular architecture…is vulnerable (Wyeneth 2001).

Among professionals, the question of what should be preserved becomes more complicated. By virtue of extensive training and/or formal education, it can be argued that they are more aware than lay preservationists of the subtleties of history locked within the built environment. The Coeterier study indicates that the "main criterion for experts is knowledge, or information value" (2002, 111). Regardless, "[h]istoric preservation favors, by necessity, one example of a specific resource, deemed more 'important', over another" (Spennemann 1992).[26]

Although the guidelines set forth in the NHPA and subsequent publications[27] are broad based, their interpretation has been limited. For example, in order to consider a historic resource significant it must be evaluated under the seven criteria of integrity, defined in *National Register Bulletin 39: Researching a Historic Property* (1992) as "the authenticity of physical characteristics from which properties obtain their significance." As defined by the bulletin, even if significance comes from something other than the physical structure, the physical structure is still the primary element.

The interpretation of integrity favors buildings, especially those that have had the good fortune of being kept intact. Nonetheless, much of what is significant to different cultural groups "may be primarily located in archaeological sites or natural features, in the intangible traditions passed on from one generation to the next, or in objects and remains which may now be exhibited in museums far away from their historic place" (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1992, 3). African American resources are likelier to be found in social or political spheres, or in intangible traditions (Crespi 2001, Hayden 1995, Vlach 1993, Zukin 1995). Discussing the issue of integrity within the context of cultural landscapes, University of Georgia

[26] To clarify this point, preservationists cannot save everything, though they may want to. Everything from the spatial needs of a community to the individual preferences of preservationists are involved in the decision process.

[27] For example, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards publications.

professor emeritus Catherine Howett (from Alanen and Melnick 2000, 207) views this interpretation as a hindrance to the general preservation movement:

> A disciplining set of "do nots" will in the end produce an orthodoxy with respect to the treatment of historic [resources] that inhibits the development of new and better ways of recovering the past as a visible and meaningful presence in the lives of people today.

Evans *et al* argue that "because evaluation for the NRHP is an official model for determining significance of resources and thus implementing protection strategies" (2001, 54) many culturally significant resources are inadvertently excluded:

> The orientation to culturally significant land and resources as "things" is largely a result of the NHPA being the primary vehicle through which such resources are identified. The NHPA requires identification of culturally significant places as a category of potentially NRHP-eligible properties, along with other conventional kinds of properties such as buildings, archaeological sites and historic districts. Additionally, because the potential NRHP eligibility of historic properties is generally evaluated by…preservation professionals, traditional cultural properties are often identified in terms of easily identifiable, bounded places that land managers can recognize as a kind of historic property. [Many cultural landscapes are not] amenable to documentation and management within the NRHP framework (54).

The standardization of historic preservation makes sense when taken in the context of the current popular movement. Today many communities use historic preservation as a tool for economic revitalization, turning dilapidated downtown areas into "Main Street." Stewart Brand (1994, 95) writes:

> The only effective game in town is real estate. At first reluctantly, then with relish, preservationists learned to think and act like developers and property owners in order to recast economic incentives in favor of preservation…'old buildings save you money,' preservationists tell the investors, developers and city councils.

Economic revitalization necessitates a certain standard (Hayden 1995; Moe & Wilkie 1997; Zukin 1995). The federal, state and municipal tax credits, tax abatements and other economic incentives to restore historic buildings all require relatively strict adherence to the

criteria of integrity. Also, in order to attract the middle classes that are the heart of urban renewal, preservation is governed by their nostalgia and desire for "safe, socially homogenous space…within acceptable limits of aesthetic diversity" (Zukin 1995, 63).

As shown in the previous chapter, the trend toward diversification of historic preservation has had positive results. However, lay and professional preservationists alike are still bound by constraints that have inadvertently made segments of the population invisible.

Gentrification

The fight against gentrification is probably the greatest challenge to historic preservation from the African American community. While this much-debated issue is too complicated to discuss in specific terms here, it is essential to mention when one writes about minority preservation in general.[28] Gentrification differs from the previous explanations for the apparent lack of interest among African Americans. The matter here is not the perceived actions of people from outside the African American community, but rather sentiment from within the African American community. In this case it is the negative connotation of gentrification that compels many African Americans to shun the label of preservationist.

---

[28] Gentrification, an international trend, is an economic, class-based issue. A neighborhood that is ripe for gentrification has many rental properties, absentee landlords and a large lower-income, often elderly, population. The rehabilitation of a neighborhood, along with its rising property values and increased development pressures, forces out long time residents who have few other housing options. As affordable-housing advocate Tom Wetzel (2001) states, "…displacement of the working class residents is part of the process. This is an act of force, whether in the form of eminent domain and the bulldozer or evictions of tenants by property owners who are upgrading for a more upscale clientele." Although gentrification is not race based, it is almost exclusively an urban trend, where the majority of lower-income residents are minorities. Therefore, it is often mistakenly connected with redlining and other race-based housing discrimination policies (Griffith 1996).

What ties preservation to gentrification is that fact that most neighborhoods ripe for rehabilitation are located closer in to original city centers, which usually includes the older housing stock. Indeed, what attracts a lot of gentrifiers to these areas are the same things that attract preservationists – traditional plans that emphasize pedestrian traffic, mixed use development and architecture that is visually stimulating.

Because historic designation and preservation of declining neighborhoods are regularly followed by gentrification, the result is often the loss of homes by long time residents, usually the poor minorities and elderly. This pattern, consistent since the 1960s when gentrification was first defined, has left countless minorities wary of any type of preservation activity. Michael DeHaven Newsom (1971, 423), a professor at Howard University School of Law, wrote:

> Why should black people be so concerned about historic preservation? Consider, by way of example, Georgetown, a predominantly white enclave populated by the white aristocracy. Its reputation as a chic, expensive place to live is well known. The trouble is that we used to live there too – until the historical preservationists, in league with the real estate developers, decided that Georgetown's historic value was ripe for takeover.

Although these words were written over thirty years ago, the issues remain the same. A recent article discussing the gentrification of Harlem in New York City (Keegan 2000) laments:

> In many ways it's a familiar story: a historic district tries to balance development with preservation of its unique character…the epicenter of African American culture for most of the past century could finally be crushed, ironically, by [its renaissance].

Newsom gives the impression that historic preservation is merely a tool for Caucasians to push African Americans out of a neighborhood through gentrification. Keegan, though presenting a more balanced voice in his article, gives the same impression. In both cases the issue is presented as a zero-sum game – rich and white versus poor and black. According to strong voices such as these, African Americans who are involved in historic preservation are

doing more to destroy their culture than to preserve it, thus the hesitation to call themselves preservationists.

As shown in both this and the previous chapters, there are many reasons why African Americans remain invisible among preservationists. These are but a few suggestions. Whatever the explanations, however, it is apparent that they are an active force within the general preservation movement. The following chapter will pose some of the questions raised within this chapter for future study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As illustrated in this thesis, African Americans have a larger interest in historic preservation than is commonly accepted. Although their numbers are small within the context of the entire preservation movement, they are involved at rates at least equal to their population percentage in most states. By adapting an empirical technique used in urban planning literature, it has been demonstrated that African Americans are not only active in preservation organizations but, in many areas, may be more active than the population as a whole.

When the challenge to diversify historic preservation was put forth in the early 1990s, it was discovered that "many cultural groups [had] been preserving their cultural heritage for a long time – centuries sometimes – but their efforts had not been folded into the national effort" (Lee 2002). Yet African American preservationists continue to be invisible. Among the explanations, more questions arise.

Being an individual journey for most preservationists, involvement has always been characterized by a passion to save resources of personal significance. African American involvement in historic preservation is characterized in much the same way. As aforementioned, though ethnic groups have been involved in preservation for years, they have not been noticed. Is it enough that African Americans are involved or should "their efforts be folded into the national effort?" Furthermore, preservationists may want to ask whether it is more important to have minorities participate in mainstream preservation or to preserve minority resources.

The current emphasis of historic preservation as a tool for economic revitalization narrows the interpretation of what should be preserved. Although preservation professionals have broadened their concept of what is significant, policy and practice continue to support more limited classifications. However, standardization is an important and necessary element to historic preservation. It has allowed the movement to withstand lawsuits and attacks from developers and property-rights activists. By having a defined and refined set of rules and practices, there can be no accusation of arbitrary application of the law. Integrity, which is at the center of this standardization, is necessary to maintain consistency. How far should the definition of integrity be expanded or its application be relaxed, and what would be the implications?

For lay preservationists, architectural significance is the guiding factor. Additionally, there is often an emphasis on large-scale battles – the big picture – rather than small skirmishes.[29] It can be argued that much of African American history falls under the latter category.

From within the African American community comes gentrification, a significant issue that raises the question of needs within historic preservation and has resulted in a general hesitancy among African Americans to call themselves preservationists. Its role in displacing minorities (Newsom 1971) and sanitizing cultural landscapes (Keegan 2000) has been viewed negatively by many African Americans. Rates of low-income and poverty are higher among the non-traditional households in which, according to recent statistics gleaned from the U.S. Census Bureau, African Americans are more likely to live.[30]

---

[29] This applies in many different levels, including local versus national significance, vernacular versus high-style buildings or architectural versus social/political, among others.

[30] 44% of African Americans live in a non-traditional household compared to 8.2% of whites.

This takes the form of two distinct family types: households headed by a single parent and those that are extended (i.e. grandparents, etc):

> [T]he simple nuclear family – father, mother and *their children* under one roof – is the universally accepted model to which Americans of all races are expected to aspire. Within the American population as a whole, this type of family structure represents less than half of all black families in the United States. Although this structure may be regarded as an ideal type, it has not been achieved by a majority of the black families. One explanation…is simply that a significant number of black family units are either extended, subfamilies, or of [another] family type... Other factors…are the mounting rates of marital dissolution and enormously high rates of single parent families from within the black community (Blackwell 1991, 121).

Blackwell suggests that there is a different sense of community among African Americans. Is there a difference between a white sense of community and a black one? Furthermore, Antoinette J. Lee suggests that African Americans may have different needs that should be assessed (1992). If this is true, preservationists should seek to address their special needs rather than be concerned with participation in mainstream efforts.

As presented in this thesis, African Americans are a large part of historic preservation. Although they remain primarily in the background, their numbers imply active involvement that will likely only grow stronger as the movement matures. Although this thesis presents a small aspect of the African American preservation experience, it should contribute a greater understanding of African American preservationists.

REFERENCES

Adams, Michael. "A Legacy of Shadows." *Progressive Architecture*, February 1991:85-87.

Alanen, Arnold R. and Robert Z. Melnick, editors. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Appleton, Jay. *The Experience of Landscape*. London: Wiley, 1975.

Barton, Craig Evan, editor. *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001.

Blackwell, James E. *The Black Community: Diversity and Unity, 3rd Edition*. New York City: Harper Collins, 1991.

Blackwell, James E. and Philip Hart. *Cities, Suburbs and Blacks: A Study of Concerns, Distrust and Alienation*. Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc., 1982.

Booth, William. "A Lonely Patch of History." *Washington Post*, 15 April 1997:D01.

Booth, William. "One Nation, Indivisible: Is It History?" *Washington Post*, 22 February 1998:A01.

Boyd, Alex, editor. *Guide to Multicultural Resources 1995/1996*. Ft. Atkinson, Wisconsin: Highsmith Press, 1995.

Brand, Stewart. *How Buildings Learn*. New York City: Penguin, 1994.

Bullard, Robert D., Glenn S. Johnson and Angel O. Torres, editors. *Sprawl City: Race, Politics and Planning in Atlanta*. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2000.

Cassity, Pratt. Conversation, November 2001.

Chang, Amos Ih Tiao. *The Tao of Architecture*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956.

Coeterier, J.F. "Lay People's Evaluation of Historic Sites." *Landscape and Urban Planning 59*, 2002:111-123.

Colomina, Beatriz, editor. *Sexuality and Space*. New York City: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992.

Conciatore, Jacqueline. "Fighting to Preserve Black History." *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 20 July 2000:18-22.

Cordasco, Francesco, editor. *Dictionary of American Immigration History*. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1990.

Crespi, Muriel. "Raising Muted Voices and Identifying Invisible Resources." *CRM Number 5*, 2001:4-6.

Delahanty, Randolph and E. Andrew McKinney. *Preserving the West: California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Oregon, Washington*. New York City: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Dodson, Howard, Amiri Baraka, Gail Buckley, John Hope Franklin, Henry Louis Gates Jr., Annette Gordon-Reed and Gayrand S. Wilmore. *Jubilee: The Emergence of African American Culture*. Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 2002.

Edmondson, Brad. "Immigration Nation." *Preservation*, January/February 2000:30-33.

Ellin, Nan, editor. *Architecture of Fear*. New York City: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

Evans, Michael J., Alexa Roberts and Peggy Nelson. "Ethnographic Landscapes." *CRM Number 5*, 2001:53-56.

Evelyn, Jamilah. "Putting Davis House in Order." *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 20 July 2000:23.

Gates, Henry Louis Jr. *Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Gates, Henry Louis Jr. *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man*. New York City: Vintage Books, 1998.

Glaab, Charles N. and A. Theodore Brown. *A History of Urban America, 2nd Edition*. New York City: Macmillan, 1976.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1963.

Gloster, Jesse E. *Minority Economic, Political and Social Development*. Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978.

Goodheart, Adam. "The Bonds of History." *Preservation*, September/October 2001:36-43, 94.

Griffith, Jean M. "Gentrification: Perspectives on the Return to the Central City." *Journal of Planning Literature*, November 1996:241-255.

Guinier, Lani. *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*. New York City: The Free Press, 1994.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.

Henson, Rich. "Growth by Beautification." *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 20 July 2000:25-27.

Hosmer, Charles B. *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg*. New York City: G.P. Putnam's Son's, 1965.

Hudson, Karen E. *Paul R. Williams, Architect: A Legacy of Style*. New York City: Rizzoli International Publications, 1993.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York City: Vintage Books Edition, 1992.

Karaim, Reed. "What Lies Beneath?" *Preservation*, September/October 2001:44-51.

Keegan, Paul. "Who Owns Harlem?" *Inc*., August 2000:56-69.

Kennedy, Maureen and Paul Leonard. Web page: *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*. Accessed on 10 October 2001 from www.brook.edu/es/urban/gentrification/gentrification.pdf.

Klosterman, Richard E. *Community Analysis and Planning Techniques*. Savage, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1990.

Lamme, Ary J. *America's Historic Landscapes*. Knoxville: UT Press, 1989.

Leach, Neil, editor. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Lee, Antoinette J. "Diversifying the Cultural Resources Profession." *CRM Number 8*, 1999:47-48.

Lee, Antoinette J. "I Am a Preservationist." Published 2002 on web page: *The Friends of 1800 Viewpoint*. Accessed on 19 September 2002 from http://www.friendsof1800.org/VIEWPOINT/lee.html.

Lee, Antoinette J., editor. *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments*. Washington D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1992.

Lin, Maya. *Boundaries*. New York City: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

Loewen, James W. *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (Uncorrected Proof). New York City: The New Press, 1999.

Lynch, Kevin. *What Time Is This Place?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1972.

Marshall, Susan. *The Role of American Women in Historic Preservation and Their Influence on the Profession: A Georgia Perspective*. Master of Historic Preservation Thesis. University of Georgia, 2000.

Martin, Elmer P. and Joanne Mitchell. *The Black Extended Family*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

McConkey, James, editor. *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Medoff, Peter and Holly Sklar. *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*. Boston: South End Press, 1994.

Miller, Page Putnam, editor. *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Moe, Richard. "President's Report 1999." Paper read at 50th National Preservation Conference, NTHP October 21, 1999 in Washington D.C.

Moe, Richard and Carter Wilkie. *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl*. New York City: Henry Holt & Company, 1997.

Mullings, Leith. *On Our Own Terms: Race, Class, and Gender in the Lives of African American Women*. New York City: Routledge, 1996.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities*. New York City: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1938.

Mura, David. *Where the Body Meets Memory*. New York City: Doubleday, 1996.

Murtagh, William J. *Keeping Time.* New York City: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997.

Nabokov, Peter and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1989.

National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 39: Researching a Historic Property*, 1992.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. *Information Series 65: Cultural and Ethnic Diversity in Historic Preservation*, 1992.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. *Saving America's Treasures*. Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2001.

Naylor, Larry L., editor. *Problems and Issues of Diversity in the U.S.* Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1999.

Newsom, Michael DeHaven. "Blacks and Historic Preservation." *Law and Contemporary Problems 36*, Summer 1971:423-426.

Novick, Michael. *White Lies, White Power*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage, 1995.

Obudho, R.A. and Jeannine B. Scott, compilers. *Afro-American Demography and Urban Issues: A Bibliography*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Palmer, Charles F. *Adventures of a Slum Fighter*. New York City: Van Rees Press, 1955.

Penning-Roswell, Edmund and David Lowenthal, editors. *Landscape: Meanings and Values*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1986.

Policylink Organization. Web page: *Policylink: Beyond Gentrification Toolkit*. Accessed on 12 October 2001 from www.policylink.org/gentrification/.

Rawick, George P., editor. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Rawick, George P., editor. Web page: *American Slave Narratives: An Online Anthology*. Accessed on 10 October 2001 from xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/wpa/wpahome.html.

Regan, Margaret. "There Goes the Neighborhood: The Downfall of Downtown." *Tucson Weekly*, 6 March 1997.

Reichler, Patricia and Polly B. Dredge, editors. *Governing Diverse Communities: A Focus on Race and Ethnic Relations*. Washington D.C.: National League of Cities, 1997.

Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen. *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Roth, Leland M. *A Concise History of American Architecture*. New York City: Harper & Row, 1979.

Rykwert, Joseph. *The Seduction of Place: The City in the Twenty-First Century*. New York City: Pantheon Books, 2000.

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985

Smith, Sande, editor. *Who's Who in African American History*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Brompton Books, 1994.

Spennemann, Dirk H.R. "Preserving the heritage of all people, by all people and for all people." Paper read at 46th National Preservation Conference, NTHP October 7-11, 1992 in Miami, Florida.

Stille, Alexander. *The Future of the Past*. New York City: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2002.

Taylor, Quintard. "They Went West." *American Legacy*, Fall 2001:41-54.

Thompson, Robert Farris. *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York City: Random House, 1984.

Upton, Dell, editor. *American Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America*. Washington D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1986.

Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Wetzel, Tom. Web page: *What is Gentrification?* Accessed on 10 October 2001 from www.uncanny.net/~wetzel/gentry.htm#displacement.

Wheeler, Mary Bray, editor. *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada, 14th Edition*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History Press, 1990.

Wheeler, Mary Bray, editor. *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada, 15th Edition*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History Press, 2001.

Williams, Norman, Edmund H. Kellogg and Frank B. Gilbert, editors. *Readings in Historic Preservation: Why? What? How?* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1983.

Wrobel, David M. and Michael C. Steiner, editors. *Many Wests: Place, Culture and Regional Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Wyeneth, Robert R. Web page: *Historic Preservation and the Civil Rights Movement*. Accessed on 10 September 2001 from http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/19-2/19-2-12.pdf.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *The Enigma of Ethnicity: Another American Dilemma*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001.

Zukin, Sharon. *The Cultures of Cities*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1995.

APPENDIX

Table 3: NRHP Statistics Listed by Calendar Year

Year	Total Contributing	Total Listed	African American Listed	Percentage[31]
1966	15888	862	3	0.3
1967	116	29	0	0.0
1968	560	56	0	0.0
1969	3426	360	2	0.6
1970	8378	887	1	0.1
1971	6268	1041	3	0.3
1972	11451	1513	6	0.4
1973	18846	2187	10	0.5
1974	24069	2191	29	1.3
1975	19490	1975	29	1.5
1976	36927	2105	57	2.7
1977	11156	1485	14	0.9
1978	38694	3204	25	0.8
1979	46145	3626	39	1.1
1980	65627	4396	43	1.0
1981	1860	624	3	0.5
1982	59587	4816	43	0.9
1983	78358	4442	45	1.0
1984	63531	3812	40	1.0
1985	73118	3454	34	1.0
1986	49568	3213	40	1.2
1987	45306	2301	24	1.0
1988	39810	3014	34	1.1
1989	45740	2569	22	0.9
1990	37724	2246	26	1.2
1991	38892	2020	39	1.9
1992	28236	1901	36	1.9
1993	26162	1583	30	1.9
1994	35869	1614	49	3.0
1995	31069	1546	48	3.1
1996	45136	1554	54	3.5
1997	30975	1589	45	2.8
1998	37949	1592	60	3.8
1999	41831	1523	60	3.9
2000	36057	1691	58	3.4

[31] The percentage has been calculated by comparing African American listed sites to total listed sites.

Table 4: Historic Organization and Population Data

State	1990				2000			
	Total Grps	AA Grps	Total Pop	AA Pop	Total Grps	AA Grps	Total Pop	AA Pop
Alabama	146	3	4,040,587	1,020,705	131	34	4,447,100	1,156,246
Alaska	47	3	550,043	22,451	71	1	626,932	21,942
Arizona	94	5	3,665,228	110,524	92	3	5,130,632	159,049
Arkansas	107	4	2,350,725	373,912	133	17	2,673,400	419,723
California	427	16	29,760,021	2,208,801	546	33	33,871,648	2,269,400
Colorado	163	3	3,294,394	133,146	157	13	4,310,261	163,789
Connecticut	221	5	3,287,116	274,269	157	16	3,405,565	309,906
District of Columbia	92	10	606,900	399,604	27	3	572,059	343,235
Delaware	28	1	666,168	112,460	55	17	783,600	150,451
Florida	205	6	12,937,926	1,759,534	201	38	15,982,378	2,333,427
Georgia	462	5	6,478,216	1,746,565	260	56	8,186,453	2,349,512
Hawaii	34	3	1,108,229	27,195	52	1	1,211,537	21,807
Idaho	44	1	1,006,749	3,370	78	2	1,293,953	5,175
Illinois	412	15	11,430,602	1,694,273	501	37	12,419,293	1,875,313
Indiana	189	10	5,544,159	432,092	178	29	6,080,485	510,760
Iowa	205	3	2,776,755	48,090	218	14	2,926,324	61,452
Kansas	194	10	2,477,574	143,076	212	23	2,688,418	153,239
Kentucky	193	4	3,685,296	262,907	169	35	4,041,769	295,049
Louisiana	102	9	4,219,973	1,299,281	141	37	4,468,976	1,452,417
Maine	144	2	1,227,928	5,138	146	0	1,274,923	6,374
Maryland	208	6	4,781,468	1,189,899	198	52	5,296,486	1,477,719
Massachusetts	405	15	6,016,425	300,130	303	27	6,349,097	342,851
Michigan	237	10	9,295,297	1,291,706	213	18	9,938,444	1,411,259
Minnesota	250	15	4,375,099	94,944	265	12	4,919,479	172,181
Mississippi	68	3	2,573,216	915,057	99	19	2,844,658	1,032,610
Missouri	253	13	5,117,073	548,208	343	41	5,595,211	626,663
Montana	70	1	799,065	2,381	98	3	902,195	2,706
Nebraska	124	6	1,578,385	57,404	154	9	1,711,263	68,450
Nevada	27	0	1,201,833	78,771	37	1	1,998,257	135,881
New Hampshire	134	1	1,109,252	7,198	172	1	1,235,786	8,650
New Jersey	326	5	7,730,188	1,036,825	244	28	8,414,350	1,144,351
New Mexico	104	5	1,515,069	30,210	100	2	1,819,046	34,561
New York	745	22	17,990,455	2,859,055	416	53	18,976,457	3,017,256
North Carolina	250	13	6,628,637	1,456,323	291	70	8,049,313	1,738,651
North Dakota	58	2	638,800	3,524	63	1	642,200	3,853
Ohio	343	7	10,847,115	1,154,826	271	32	11,353,140	1,305,611
Oklahoma	134	4	3,145,585	233,801	158	14	3,450,654	262,249
Oregon	98	2	2,842,321	46,178	116	5	3,421,399	54,742
Pennsylvania	402	13	11,881,643	1,089,795	414	43	12,281,054	1,228,105
Rhode Island	75	2	1,003,464	38,861	68	4	1,048,319	47,174
South Carolina	180	6	3,486,703	1,039,884	158	56	4,012,012	1,183,543
South Dakota	118	3	696,004	3,258	108	3	754,844	4,529
Tennessee	178	5	4,877,185	778,035	140	28	5,689,283	933,042
Texas	476	17	16,986,510	2,021,632	283	46	20,851,820	2,397,959
Utah	53	4	1,722,850	11,576	65	2	2,233,169	17,865
Vermont	113	2	562,758	1,951	116	4	608,827	3,044
Virginia	261	6	6,187,358	1,162,994	320	109	7,078,515	1,387,388
Washington	162	7	4,866,692	149,801	204	7	5,894,121	188,611
West Virginia	81	3	1,793,477	56,295	68	1	1,808,344	57,867
Wisconsin	224	10	4,891,769	244,539	219	9	5,363,675	305,729
Wyoming	49	1	453,588	3,606	70	0	493,782	3,950

Table 5: African American PQs by State

State	1990 PQ	2000 PQ
Alabama	0.081	0.998
Alaska	1.564	0.402
Arizona	1.764	1.052
Arkansas	0.235	0.814
California	0.505	0.902
Colorado	0.455	2.179
Connecticut	0.271	1.120
District of Columbia	0.165	0.185
Delaware	0.212	1.610
Florida	0.215	1.295
Georgia	0.040	0.750
Hawaii	3.596	1.068
Idaho	6.790	6.411
Illinois	0.246	0.489
Indiana	0.679	1.940
Iowa	0.845	3.058
Kansas	0.893	1.903
Kentucky	0.291	2.837
Louisiana	0.287	0.807
Maine	3.319	0.000
Maryland	0.116	0.941
Massachusetts	0.742	1.650
Michigan	0.304	0.595
Minnesota	2.765	1.294
Mississippi	0.124	0.529
Missouri	0.480	1.067

State	1990 PQ	2000 PQ
Montana	4.794	10.206
Nebraska	1.330	1.461
Nevada	0.000	0.397
New Hampshire	1.150	0.831
New Jersey	0.114	0.844
New Mexico	2.411	1.053
New York	0.186	0.801
North Carolina	0.237	1.114
North Dakota	6.251	2.646
Ohio	0.192	1.027
Oklahoma	0.402	1.166
Oregon	1.256	2.694
Pennsylvania	0.353	1.039
Rhode Island	0.689	1.307
South Carolina	0.112	1.201
South Dakota	5.431	4.630
Tennessee	0.176	1.220
Texas	0.300	1.413
Utah	11.232	3.846
Vermont	5.105	6.897
Virginia	0.122	1.738
Washington	1.404	1.072
West Virginia	1.180	0.460
Wisconsin	0.893	0.721
Wyoming	2.567	0.000