

PRESERVATION AND THE POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY: PRESERVATION AS AN
ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION AND POLICY TOOL IN PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT

by

SARA FARR

(Under the Direction of Mark Reinberger)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of historic preservation, specifically neighborhood preservation, in the economies of postindustrial cities. The research focuses on Pittsburgh and Detroit as case studies in order to show how preservation can help improve suffering economies in postindustrial cities. Within each of these cities, several historic neighborhoods serve as case studies to further support preservation as an economic revitalization tool. This research shows many methods for protecting historic assets within postindustrial cities and the benefits this protection provides. This thesis concludes with recommendations for how Pittsburgh and Detroit, as well as other postindustrial cities, can improve their neighborhood preservation efforts.

INDEX WORDS: Historic Preservation, Postindustrial

PRESERVATION AND THE POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY: PRESERVATION AS AN
ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION AND POLICY TOOL IN PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT

by

SARA FARR

BA, Vassar College, 2009

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

2011

© 2011

Sara Farr

All Rights Reserved

PRESERVATION AND THE POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY: PRESERVATION AS AN
ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION AND POLICY TOOL IN PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT

by

SARA FARR

Major Professor: Mark Reinberger

Committee: James Reap
Amber Eskew
Stephen Ramos

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
December 2011

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents for supporting me through graduate school as well as my friend Caitlin for helping me survive the thesis process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my major professor, Mark Reinberger, for his advice and help throughout the thesis process. I also want to acknowledge Donna Gabriel in the College of Environment and Design for keeping me on track and making the process go as smoothly as possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Challenges.....	3
Organization and Methodology	6
2 PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.....	8
Pittsburgh	9
Detroit	11
Fall of Industry.....	14
Similarities of Pittsburgh and Detroit	17
Difference of Pittsburgh and Detroit.....	19
Pittsburgh Today	20
Detroit Today	22
3 THE ECONOMICS OF PRESERVATION IN POSTINDUSTRIAL DETROIT AND PITTSBURGH.....	26
Benefits of Reuse over New Construction.....	28
Attracting Residents and Tourists	29
Attracting Business	31

Large Building Preservation	33
Economic and Social Impact of Neighborhood Preservation	35
Demolition and Other Threats	41
Detroit	42
Pittsburgh	45
4 NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION IN ACTION	47
Pittsburgh	48
Detroit	50
Case Studies	52
Options for Neighborhood Protection.....	82
Funding	84
5 PRESERVATION, PLANNING AND THE GOVERNMENT	88
Preservation Advocacy Groups.....	88
Government.....	95
Affordable Housing and Gentrification	99
6 CONCLUSION.....	104
Recommendations.....	105
Conclusion	109
REFERENCES	111

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Barges and Towboats at Jones and Laughlin	10
Figure 2: Corner of Michigan and Griswold.....	12
Figure 3: Slows Bar B Q.....	39
Figure 4: Demolition Map	44
Figure 5: Neglected House.....	45
Figure 6: Lower Northside.....	53
Figure 7: Manchester District	54
Figure 8: Manchester	55
Figure 9: Manchester	55
Figure 10: Central Northside District	62
Figure 11: Mexican War Streets National Register Historic District	63
Figure 12: Mexican War Streets	64
Figure 13: Mexican War Streets	65
Figure 14: Mexican War Streets	66
Figure 15: Detroit Neighborhoods.....	68
Figure 16: Boston-Edison District	71
Figure 17: Boston-Edison	72
Figure 18: Boston-Edison	72
Figure 19: Boston-Edison Mansion	73

Figure 20: Abandoned Boston-Edison House.....	73
Figure 21: Indian Village District	75
Figure 22: Indian Village	76
Figure 23: Indian Village	77
Figure 24: Corktown District	80
Figure 25: Leverette Street Rowhouses	80
Figure 26: Corktown	81
Figure 27: Michigan Central Depot	82

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of industrialization is closely connected with the history of America. Industry's rise and fall reverberated throughout America's communities and cities, large and small. At its beginning, industry provided great promise and opportunity for the citizens of America. Industrialization brought people into cities, leading to their growth and existence as the metropolises people know today. Industry had a darker, grittier side, however; a darkness reflected not only in the literal, physical grime that built up on structures or hung as smog in the air; but seen also in the cramped living quarters of workers and their ill health from long hours and minimal labor protection.

The communities that built up and flourished in industrial cities created their own cultures, which are reflected in what is left behind today. The most visible example of the industrial age is the built environment of these cities. These structures, ranging from large factory and office buildings to smaller, vernacular workers' housing and community buildings, tell the story of these cities and America as a whole from every viewpoint.

While many industrial cities still rely on manufacturing to a limited extent, their time as industrial powerhouses has faded into the past. As manufacturing has moved on, largely to other countries where labor is cheaper and less demanding, these cities are left with empty buildings that reflect their uncertainty in the future. Many of these cities did not plan for a future without industry, so when industry fled they were at a loss. Some have been able to recover, while others are still trying to find their way.

In order to move on, these cities need to look not only into the future, but also into their industrial pasts. While the empty buildings that surround them may appear to be useless industrial relics, the opposite is true. These buildings, large and small, can once again be economic assets to these cities. An initial infrastructure investment has already been made in these structures and the communities they stand in. Tearing them down or allowing them to disintegrate through demolition by neglect would throw this money away. Reusing these buildings takes advantage of the existing development and is also an economically and environmentally sustainable choice.¹

Haphazardly saving and reusing these buildings one at time is at best only a partial solution, though. These piecemeal efforts can be a catalyst for change in a neighborhood by encouraging other members of the community to work on their own homes and businesses, but these efforts are not a comprehensive solution. Cities must be willing to put in place an effective preservation plan in order to be truly successful in their preservation and reuse efforts. Postindustrial cities can use preservation plans to help revitalize their economies, but they must work within larger comprehensive plans. Preservation alone will not solve the economic problems these struggling cities face, nor will any one approach to economic recovery. A variety of strategies, including preservation, need to be undertaken together as parts of a comprehensive recovery plan. Without preservation's inclusion, many existing resources and past investment will go to waste.

Although the large business and factory buildings are the most ostentatious structures in postindustrial cities, neighborhood preservation is a critical component to any preservation plan's success. Often, people do not consider the smaller vernacular structures that comprise these

¹ Georgia. Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation. *Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation Final Report*. December 1998.

neighborhoods and communities within these cities as valuable assets. Sometimes they are not even considered worth preserving at all.

Rallying people behind the protection and preservation of landmark buildings is much easier than drawing attention and support to historic neighborhoods. However, these neighborhoods are just as much a part of the history and culture of post-industrial cities as a factory or downtown skyscraper. Their redevelopment can also be less overwhelming and costly than that of a larger landmark.

These neighborhoods can and should be a starting point for the preservation of a city, because they are small enough for a grassroots effort to have a noticeable impact.² Finding funding and resources for a large building requires considerable effort and connections, but neighborhood residents can start on a much smaller scale. They can do something as simple as cleaning up a park or help repaint a neighbor's house. When residents take part in this type of small scale preservation, they feel connected to their neighborhoods, and community ties are strengthened. These efforts may even start a bigger preservation movement.

Challenges

While preservation provides many positive benefits for a city and its neighborhoods, challenges must be overcome in order for it to be successfully used for economic development. First is a misunderstanding of what preservation truly means. Many people in postindustrial cities with little money see preservation as a luxury. Especially in the current economic downturn, both private citizens and members of the government do not see the necessity for preservation. They believe that preservation efforts should be put off until a later date when the economy is more stable and prosperous. The buildings, however, will not wait. If left

² Eric Allison and Lauren Peters, *Preservation and the Livable City* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011), 7-8.

abandoned and unused they will fall apart, wasting all the previous resources allotted to their infrastructure.

Contrary to this perception, preservation can actually help during this downturn. It is more than a strategy to make a building attractive again. It can serve as a catalyst for investment by revitalizing neighborhoods and strengthening a community. Hard economic times call for neighborhood preservation more than ever.

Another challenge is people's fear of government control. While people may be interested in preservation, they shy away due to perceptions of what preservation means. There is a common misconception that preservation means taking away the owner's rights over what can and cannot be done to his or her property. This is not the case. Preservation can mean putting strict controls on a structure that is protected, but this is only one option for protection of historic assets. There are many other choices for protection available, and a neighborhood can decide on the best option for themselves. Neighborhoods can even choose not to be officially designated. Ultimately, the amount of control exerted over historic assets is up to the community and individual owners; preservation is not and should not be a one size fits all solution.

One of the biggest challenges preservationists face in declining cities is the bias favoring new construction. Many people see old buildings being demolished and replaced by new ones as a sign of economic progress and growth.³ Convincing people that historic buildings and neighborhoods are viable and important pieces of a whole can be extremely difficult. Americans' belief that "new is better" is hard to overcome.⁴ Ultimately, preservationists have to demonstrate the fact that old is just as good, if not better, than new.

³ Ibid., 12-13.

⁴ Louise Sturges, e-mail correspondence and interview with author, Pittsburgh, PA, June 10, 2011.

Concerns about how to preserve a neighborhood or district are moot, though, if the residents do not see the need for this protection. Convincing people of the need to protect a grand landmark building filled with embellishments and ornate details is a relatively easy sell. The same is not true for the mostly vernacular architecture of postindustrial urban neighborhoods. While these neighborhoods may not appear to be significant, they are an important element for maintaining the history and character of postindustrial cities. As Eric Allison and Lauren Peters point out:

The motivation for designating historic districts fall somewhere between protecting architectural aesthetics and preserving a feeling of historical roots. In most cases, the architecture of the individual buildings in an historic district does not rise to the level required for an individual landmark. The rowhouses of Beacon Hill in Boston or Park Slope in Brooklyn, the workers' homes of East Nashville, the 1920's suburban houses of Willo, now nestled in the middle of urban Phoenix, represent variants in style and decoration over the years. What is special is that *as a whole* they represent a period in our architectural and aesthetic history and have what is called 'a sense of place.' They can take residents and visitors back to a different era even though they are still being productively used as homes and offices.⁵

The 'sense of place' mentioned is what makes these neighborhoods such an integral part of the landscape and culture of these postindustrial cities. If they are destroyed, the character of the city will be gone. This type of destruction cannot be fixed, because the visual record of the city's growth and development has been destroyed in the process.

⁵ Ibid., 47-49.

Organization and Methodology

This thesis sets out to prove that neighborhood preservation is an essential element in the successful economy of postindustrial cities. This argument will focus on two cities as case studies: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Detroit, Michigan. Both of these cities are examples of postindustrial cities that suffered following the loss of their primary industries: steel and automobiles, respectively.

These two cities are currently in different stages of recovery, which makes for good comparisons. Pittsburgh has made significant progress since the loss of the steel industry and could be considered significantly recovered from its economic downturn. Detroit, on the other hand, still struggles with the more recent decline of the automobile industry that once powered its economy. Two cities cannot completely cover the range of experience in postindustrial cities throughout America, but Pittsburgh and Detroit have histories and experiences similar to those of other postindustrial cities. Like many of these cities, they were built by immigrant workers into successful industrial centers that then faced the deindustrialization of America. These comparable story lines make much of Pittsburgh's and Detroit's experiences relatable to the wider category of postindustrial cities. Their different stages of economic recovery also provide a range of experiences and lessons. Though Detroit is suffering, postindustrial cities that have managed to survive and do well, such as Pittsburgh, show that there is still hope. There are also signs that Detroit is making steps towards recovery.

This thesis uses a case study methodology to examine various historic neighborhoods in Pittsburgh and Detroit. This is an effective methodology, because it gives concrete examples to points that are often anecdotal or generalized.⁶ These case studies provide support for assertions and theories supporting preservation as an economic strategy. They are essential for

⁶ Mark Francis, "A Case Study Methodology for Landscape Architecture," *Landscape Journal*, 15.

demonstrating how theory and policy can be successfully translated into real world situations.⁷ In this thesis, they show how historic assets can be and have been used to help a city's economy. These case studies can provide ideas and examples for other postindustrial cities to use by showing which strategies work.

This thesis will begin with an overview of postindustrial American cities, with an emphasis on the case studies of Pittsburgh and Detroit. This background provides a basis for understanding the current issues these cities face. This will lead into a discussion of the economics that support preservation. While covering preservation more generally, the economics discussion will focus on small-scale, neighborhood district preservation. Following the economics discussion, specific neighborhood case studies within Pittsburgh and Detroit will be covered. They serve as examples of preservation strategies in these cities as well as the impact it has on these neighborhoods. This will lead into an overview of how the governments of each city, particularly the planning departments, are helping or hurting preservation. The possibility of gentrification and affordability that often arise alongside preservation will also be addressed, but this is not a major concern in either Pittsburgh or Detroit.

After setting out the current situation and strategies that are being or could be used in each city, the thesis will conclude with recommendations for how the cities should proceed in the future. While the focus will be on Pittsburgh and Detroit, these recommendations are applicable to many postindustrial cities' neighborhood preservation efforts. They will illustrate the point that preservation should be an integral element of any plan for economic recovery in postindustrial cities.

⁷ Ibid., 17.

CHAPTER 2

PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

The nineteenth-century industrial revolution in America was a time of change and excitement. This new way of business created ramifications that were felt throughout not only America, but the world. Industrialization began in England in the eighteenth century, but eventually spread around the globe. It came to America at the end of the eighteenth century.⁸ Industry mostly grew in the northern part of the country, starting in New England and spreading westward.⁹ The grip of industry on the once agrarian American society was profound.

Many people in America's expanding population moved into the cities as the industrial revolution gained momentum. The urban population's rise was significant: it grew three times more than that of the American general population each decade from 1820 to 1860.¹⁰ As the national population rose significantly much of it flooded the cities as factories grew and the demand for workers increased. The promise of work also drew a significant number of immigrants into the cities. This time of sweeping change for America played a significant role in creating American cities as they are today. Cities became the center of American society as their role and landscape were irrevocably altered.

While many people were excited and awed by the changes the industrial revolution was bringing to America, particularly its cities, others were less impressed. Cities became more crowded as people flocked to them for jobs and to make their fortunes. Poor workers who came

⁸ Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 1999), 128.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Emily Talen, *New Urbanism & American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 11.

to the city had to live in slums. These were unsanitary and cramped; hardly the life people had come to the city hoping to find.¹¹ Charles Eliot Norton even described the city as “degenerate and unlovely.”¹² Industrial cities fell far from the dream for many, but this did not stop people from moving to them as the industrial revolution continued its growth throughout America. This growth was a force that could not be stopped.

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh was a part of the industrial revolution from its beginning. The city opened its first iron rolling mill in 1811, a sign of things to come for Pittsburgh, which would eventually be defined by its industry.¹³ Pittsburgh’s location near rivers aided its first forays into industry. These waterways attracted industry money into the city, but the coal from Pittsburgh’s infamous hills truly turned it into an industrial powerhouse. This supply of coal powered the furnaces of its successful factories and earned the city the nickname ‘Forge of the Universe.’ Pittsburgh also produced glass, iron and steel after the Civil War. Thomas Mellon spearheaded the steel industry; his name is well-known name in Pittsburgh to this day. Pittsburgh’s industries became so prolific, that in 1868 the city was described as ‘Hell with the Lid Taken Off.’¹⁴

Pittsburgh became synonymous with its factories and their resulting pollution, for better or for worse (See Image 1). It was commonly described by people as an ugly, black town.¹⁵ By 1900 industry dominated its landscape, making it the common butt of jokes in the press and on the streets. The smog was so intense that it often blocked the sunlight.¹⁶ This environment

¹¹ Ibid., 221.

¹² Ibid., 10-11.

¹³ Mark Gelernter, 128.

¹⁴ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, Inc., 1997), reprinted by Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2010, 1-2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Roy Lubove, “City Beautiful, City Banal: Design Advocacy and Historic Preservation in Pittsburgh,” in *Pittsburgh History* (Pittsburgh: The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 1996) 1-3.

hardly made for a welcoming city. Pittsburgh's environs reflected the dirty, grimy factories that brought money and people into the city. The very industry that made Pittsburgh a rich and powerful metropolis negatively impacted its environment.



Image 1.¹⁷

Despite this grime, though, a significant amount of monumental architecture appeared throughout the city. Industrial giants such as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phipps and Thomas Mellon funded parks, public libraries and concert halls. Pittsburgh was defined by more than these landmarks, though. The largely immigrant workers, while they did not occupy comparable structures, expressed their culture in their own neighborhoods. They built their own communities in the streets, parishes and neighborhoods of Pittsburgh. These laborers came from all over Europe, including Germany, Ireland, Ukraine, Poland, Croatia and Russia among other

¹⁷ *Barges and Towboats at Jones and Laughlin*, Historic Pittsburgh, <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/pittsburgh>.

countries. African-American workers also built a number of neighborhoods in the city.¹⁸ While these communities may not have been as visible or monumentally impressive, their vernacular architecture shaped Pittsburgh and continues to define the city. Their culture and communities tell the story of the less noticed but no less important, workers that fueled Pittsburgh's industrial machine.

Detroit

While Detroit is connected to the automobile industry, it was part of the industrial revolution long before the invention of the car. Like Pittsburgh, Detroit has a good location for industry; it is on a waterway connecting Lakes Erie and Huron, making it an excellent place for transportation and commerce, and thus for industry. It transformed into an industrial city in the 19th century through shipping and shipbuilding, as well as other manufacturing pursuits. It was also known for its large in carriage-building industry, which is what prepared Detroit to become an industrial giant when the internal combustion engine was invented. This engine, along with Henry Ford's work, led to Detroit making the first automobiles.¹⁹ All the elements converged in a combination of location, luck and timing to make Detroit the leader of car manufacturing.

Detroit continues to be defined by its history as an automobile manufacturer, and is widely known as the birthplace of the auto assembly line.²⁰ People came to Detroit in droves, largely from the South, to work in the auto assembly plants. Every step of auto assembly took place in the city of Detroit, from the milling of the steel to the engine construction to the final assembly of the car. In addition to providing steady work, the city was also favorable to labor. The United Auto Workers Union made working in the city profitable for factory workers.

¹⁸ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 3.

¹⁹ Joe Flanagan, "Running on Empty: the Plight of Detroit and the Postindustrial City," *Common Ground*, Fall 2010, 34.

²⁰ Margaret Eby, "The Ruins of Detroit," *Next American City*, Issue 28, 14.

Workers in Detroit were able to live middle class, comfortable lifestyles due to their high pay.²¹ These benefits clearly helped the workers, but they also created the higher labor costs that contributed to manufacturing moving overseas. Few people saw an end to this prosperity.

The car boom in Detroit led to quick growth as workers moved to the city. This growth was seen in neighborhoods like Highland Park, which grew from four hundred to forty thousand residents from 1900 to 1920.²² During the first half of the twentieth century, Detroit was at its highest point.²³ By the 1920s, Detroit had grown to 139 square miles, the size it remains today (see Image 2).²⁴ It was a large city that offered excitement and the promise of success.



Image 2²⁵

²¹ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, "Farewell to the Assembly Line," *Next American City*, December 2010, 58.

²² John Gallagher, *Reimagining Detroit: Opportunities for Redefining an American City* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010) 24.

²³ Robert Sharoff, Pictures by William Zbaren, *American City: Detroit Architecture, 1815-2005* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005) xiii.

²⁴ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 8.

²⁵ *Corner of Michigan and Griswold*, circa 1920, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Detroit.

Detroit's success continued unabated for many years. Detroit provided various necessities to the troops during both World Wars, making it an important contributor to the war effort and demonstrating its importance as a city.²⁶ Detroit was an inspirational success story, even among other very prosperous northern industrial cities. Here, industry seemed to be living up to its promise of a happy and comfortable life for all. This prosperity, however, could not last forever. As John Gallagher explains:

No boomtown ever boomed so long or so hugely as Detroit, and the city never got over it. The ride began...in 1914 when Henry Ford announced his five-dollars-a-day wage for factory workers; it didn't end, finally and decisively, until 2009 with the bankruptcy filing of General Motors and Chrysler.²⁷

The possibilities embodied in the Industrial Revolution and its new technologies were on display in Detroit, but Detroit's industrial economy was not built to last. This lack of foresight would take its toll on the once great American city.

Fall of Industry

On its surface, the industrial revolution provided jobs and the means to create magnificent cities filled with grand architecture, but all was not how it appeared. The people at the top of this new industrial society, including the factory owners and financiers, reaped most of the benefits from the industrial revolution. The laborers, however, did not fare as well. Workers' living conditions were often worse than those they had left behind to come to the city. Industrial cities were overcrowded, expensive and dirty. The workers and their families were forced to live in tenements with little room or fresh air.²⁸ These unpleasant and inhospitable conditions were only exacerbated as the cities grew and more people moved into them. Such

²⁶ Joe Flanagan, 34.

²⁷ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 36-37.

²⁸ Mark Gelernter, 140-141.

conditions could not be sustained forever. The soot covered industrial cities of America that once represented progress and the promise of a better life now represented the dirty and discontented lives of the factory workers. They were a symbol of the failings of industrial society.²⁹

While this discontent impacted industry, the global economy ultimately led to the downfall of America's industrial dominance. After World War II, workers unionized to improve their standard of living through better wages, protection and benefits. Unionization benefited the workers, but it made them much more costly. More costly workers and an overall decline beginning in the 1970s destroyed manufacturing industries throughout the country. Corporations chose to move to other cities as countries due to the high cost of labor and the powerful unions.³⁰ As a result, industrial powerhouses including Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland and Baltimore faced large numbers of closings and layoffs. Having invested in new technology, foreign companies were more efficient and profitable for manufacturing.³¹ These actions had a direct impact on America's economic growth. In the 1960s the United States' economy growth approximately 4.1 percent a year, but in the 1970s this fell to approximately 2.9 percent a year.³² In addition, more than 38 million jobs were lost in the 1970s as American businesses increased their foreign investments from \$12 billion to \$192 billion from 1950 to 1980.³³ American factory workers could not compete in the global marketplace.

²⁹ Ibid., 141.

³⁰ Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1982) 17.

³¹ Joe Flanagan, 37.

³² Barry Bluestone, 4.

³³ Ibid., 35, 42.

The ramifications of deindustrialization and plant closings affected entire communities.³⁴ As workers lost their jobs, they could no longer support neighborhood businesses, resulting in the collapse of these communities. The cities that industry had built were crushed by its collapse.

Pittsburgh

The loss of Pittsburgh's industry had a considerable impact on the city. The population loss due to industrial failure totaled approximately half of the population.³⁵ This extreme loss of population was not unheard of; Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and other industrial cities lost comparable amounts of people when their respective industries collapsed.³⁶ Such a large exodus obviously impacted Pittsburgh. It lost its status as a powerful, thriving city along with its primary means of income.

As the economy of Pittsburgh changed, so did people's ideas about the city. What had once been viewed as grand architecture and evidence of its industrial success was now seen as clutter. These buildings represented the failure of Pittsburgh's industry; people wanted it destroyed so they could forget the industrial history of the city.³⁷ People did not want to be reminded of Pittsburgh's failures; they believed that more modern buildings should be built where these industrial age structures once stood. Many citizens believed this would lead to a rebirth that would define a new, once again prosperous, Pittsburgh.

Detroit

Detroit faced similar problems to other industrial cities as its main industry, manufacturing automobiles, left it behind. The shrinking of the population began after World War II, when Detroit experienced white flight, when the majority of the white population left the

³⁴ Ibid., 11.

³⁵ Louise Sturgess, interview and personal correspondence with author, Pittsburgh, PA, June 10, 2011.

³⁶ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 21.

³⁷ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 5.

city for the suburbs, for a number of reasons.³⁸ This flight was precipitated by the growth and popularity of the suburbs as safe, clean places to live and raise a family, as well as the highway system in Detroit. The value of property in the city fell sharply, which further fueled this exodus and ultimately led to a population loss of about a million people from 1950 to 1980.³⁹ Detroit went from a booming city to a city in obvious decline.

At the heart of all of Detroit's problems, including its population loss, was the loss of the automobile industry and all the related businesses. In 1955, at the height of its success, almost two million people lived and worked in Detroit.⁴⁰ Once white flight began, Detroit was unable to stop a steady stream of people from leaving. People left so quickly in the 1970s and 1980s that some buildings were simply left abandoned.⁴¹ The situation continued to decline as problems compounded upon each other.

Detroit's workers felt the loss of industry and its jobs strongly, particularly the African-American population. This was clear when seven plants closed from 1953 to 1960 on the east side, a black area of town. These closings resulted in the loss of 71,137 jobs, which led to the businesses that served these workers closing and the destruction of the communities that had formed around them.⁴² This type of devastation created unrest and tension within Detroit, culminating in a six day riot in July 1967. The riot led to fires throughout the city, looting and the death of 43 people. This riot made white flight and disinvestment in the city even worse and made Detroit one of the most segregated cities in the country.⁴³ In addition to enflaming racial tensions in the city, the riots further depressed the housing market, a depression that has

³⁸ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 5.

³⁹ Joe Flanagan, 37.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴¹ Robert Sharoff, xxi.

⁴² Cindy Rodriguez, "Riot or Rebellion? Detroiters Don't Agree," *The Detroit News*, July 19, 2007, <http://detnews.com/article/20070719/METRO/707190418> (accessed June 30, 2011).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

remained a damper on housing prices in Detroit ever since.⁴⁴ The ramifications of this six day event continue to affect both social and economic aspects of Detroit.

Detroit's population continues to drop, as well. In 1950, it was approximately 1,850,000, but as of 2009 it had dropped to approximately 910,920.⁴⁵ In addition to population loss, Detroit continues to suffer segregation from the riots and white flight to the suburbs. Currently, the population is 10 percent white and 83 percent black.⁴⁶ As of June 2010, Detroit also had an unemployment rate of 14.3 percent. The vacant housing rate of 19.7 percent, compared to the national average of 12 percent.⁴⁷ The fall of its main industry had a profound and lasting impact on Detroit. Not only its economy, but also its society, have felt the consequences of its failure.

Similarities of Pittsburgh and Detroit

Pittsburgh and Detroit share many characteristics.⁴⁸ Most obvious is the devastation both felt with the loss of their respective industries. Detroit's experience was magnified due to its larger size and population, but Pittsburgh's was comparable.⁴⁹ Though each city relied on a different industry both made the mistake of focusing too much on one economic activity, leaving nothing to support the city when that industry failed. This shared history of industrial failure makes these cities' economic paths comparable.

Both Pittsburgh and Detroit contain a wealth of architecture from the height of their industrial success. Pittsburgh, in particular, has a significant number of landmarks. In addition to these remarkable works of art, Pittsburgh also has much vernacular architecture constructed by

⁴⁴ Susan McBride, interview with author, May 11, 2011.

⁴⁵ Christian Madera, "The Data Dividend," *Next American City*, December 2010, 31.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Karen Nagher, Interview by author, Detroit, MI, May 10, 2011.

⁴⁹ Joe Flanagan, 37.

the immigrants who lived there and worked in the factories.⁵⁰ Detroit also has many impressive buildings throughout the city, including mansions built by executives and factory owners. Detroit was even known as “the Paris of the West” due to its impressive architecture. Like Pittsburgh, though, it also includes a large stock of workers’ housing in its neighborhoods. While vernacular, these buildings are no less important to the history of either city than the landmark architecture that is most visible.⁵¹

The vernacular architecture of the workers in both Pittsburgh and Detroit is critical to both cities’ character and sense of place. They are characterized by these neighborhoods. Within their boundaries there are a wide variety of neighborhoods with diverse income levels and unique character. Pittsburgh is comprised and largely defined by its neighborhoods, whose residents are fiercely loyal. It contains approximately 90 neighborhoods, each with its own distinct identity and defining features.⁵² Detroit, too, contains many neighborhoods. Within Detroit there are 104 local districts, many of which are neighborhoods. Preservationists in Detroit focus on preserving these neighborhoods while maintaining their individual character.⁵³ This emphasis on neighborhoods and their preservation is a defining feature of both Pittsburgh and Detroit that is wrapped up in their growth as industrial cities.

Like many older postindustrial cities, Pittsburgh’s and Detroit’s building stock face threats. Both cities face the problem of vacant buildings, although Detroit’s problem is much more significant.⁵⁴ When a large percentage of these cities’ populations left, particularly in Detroit, buildings were simply left empty. This left them exposed the elements and neglected, which led to their deterioration and destruction. Another problem both cities encounter is

⁵⁰ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 3.

⁵¹ Joe Flanagan, 34.

⁵² Louise Sturgess.

⁵³ Susan McBride.

⁵⁴ Louise Sturgess.

demolition, seen as a solution to the problems of vacant and decaying buildings. People want to tear down older buildings and replace them with new ones.⁵⁵ They believe this will solve their problems, because in their eyes new construction is better and will draw new people and business. Often people do not see the value and history embodied in these historic structures. This is obvious from experiences such as the demolition of Lower Hill in Pittsburgh. Around 1300 buildings were demolished in the area in 1955 in order to redevelop the site, resulting in the displacement of approximately 8,000 people.⁵⁶ The threat of demolition continues to lurk in Pittsburgh, despite the passage of time and the growing understanding of preservation.

Currently, Detroit is instituting its own demolition campaign. The mayor, Dave Bing, is using \$20 million in federal funds to demolish a planned 10,000 structures.⁵⁷ While demolition is appropriate in some areas of these cities, there are significant structures and neighborhoods threatened by its overuse. Both cities have to fight to save their industrial architectural legacy, as well the communities connected to these buildings. Pittsburgh's and Detroit's comparable pasts and current struggles to survive make them ideal candidates for comparison.

Differences Between Pittsburgh and Detroit

While Pittsburgh and Detroit share many similarities, there are also significant differences between them. One of the biggest differences is their stages of recovery. Pittsburgh has largely recovered from its loss of the steel industry, while Detroit is still in a much earlier stage of recovery. With the steel industry all but gone, Pittsburgh has diversified its economy and centered it on health care and education.⁵⁸ This diversity created a more stable and

⁵⁵ Louise Sturgess and Diane Van Buren.

⁵⁶ Richard Moe and Carter Wikie, 4. Melissa McSwigan, interview with the author, July 21, 2011.

⁵⁷ Joe Flanagan, 34.

⁵⁸ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 32.

economically viable Pittsburgh. Detroit, on the other hand, is still trying to figure out the best path to its economic recovery.

One of the main reasons Pittsburgh has mostly recovered from its industrial losses is that it has had more time. Pittsburgh hit its economic low point before Detroit, so it has had more time to recover.⁵⁹ In fact, Pittsburgh created the first urban redevelopment authority in America as early as 1946, indicating it was already looking for a way to begin recovery, even though those early attempts may have been misguided.⁶⁰ Pittsburgh truly started to see a turn around, in terms of preservation, in 1964 with the founding of the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation.⁶¹ Detroit did not begin to embrace preservation as a comprehensive development strategy as quickly, and is still struggling to create a cohesive preservation movement, though significant progress has been made.

An important element of Detroit's struggle is its overwhelming size compared to Pittsburgh. Detroit's problems are simply bigger in scale. It is a geographically larger city and has lost more people than Pittsburgh.⁶² At 139 square miles, Detroit presents a major challenge to preservationists.⁶³ Although Pittsburgh's and Detroit's problems may be similar, size has a big impact on how they can be approached and solved, as well as the necessary resources to implement plans. While Detroit can learn some lessons from Pittsburgh, their differences mean that Detroit will also have to create many of its own, unique solutions.

Pittsburgh Today

Pittsburgh and Detroit are currently in different places. Pittsburgh's economy has stabilized due to its diversification, stabilization reflected in the steady price of its houses, many

⁵⁹ Diane Van Buren.

⁶⁰ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 4.

⁶¹ Ibid., 5.

⁶² Louise Sturgess.

⁶³ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 8.

of which are historic.⁶⁴ While not exorbitantly high, they have remained steady despite the current economic downturn and instability of the real estate market throughout the country.⁶⁵

Pittsburgh has moved on from its industrially based economy into a new future that will sustain the city, and preservation has played an important role in the city's recovery and current stability.

The most well known group in the Pittsburgh preservation movement is the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation (PHLF), founded by Arthur Ziegler and James Van Trump in 1964. It is a well respected and widely admired organization throughout the country that continues its successful work today.⁶⁶ The PHLF has played a significant role in the preservation of neighborhoods throughout Pittsburgh. These include well known projects such as Manchester, the Mexican War Streets and the North Side.⁶⁷ The preservation of these neighborhoods has brought vibrancy to Pittsburgh while maintaining its history and sense of place.

In addition to neighborhood preservation, Pittsburgh has also embraced adaptive reuse, an important strategy with large factory and office buildings that are often no longer needed. An example is the former H.J. Heinz plant, turned into loft apartments, a popular form of adaptive reuse.⁶⁸ The five building German Romanesque style plant was converted in 267 apartments, 53 of which are affordable units. It was completed in 2005 at a totally cost of \$67.8 million by the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust. The project greatly benefited Pittsburgh by generating approximately 477 union jobs and was partially funded by a City of Pittsburgh loan, historic

⁶⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁵ Louise Sturgess.

⁶⁶ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 5-6.

⁶⁷ Walter C. Kidney, *Life's Riches: Excerpts on the Pittsburgh Region and Historic Preservation from the Writings of Walter C. Kidney*, edited by Louise King Sturgess and Albert M. Tannler (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2006) 6.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

preservation and conservation tax credits and a Pittsburgh Redevelopment Authority loan.⁶⁹ This project is an example of the economic benefits of preservation. Pittsburgh today is more stable and embraces a history it once rejected for practical uses that also benefit the aesthetics of the city.

Detroit Today

Unlike Pittsburgh, Detroit is not yet stable following the failure of the auto industry. Auto assembly has mostly moved overseas, which resulted in the middle class leaving an increasingly vacant city over the last two decades.⁷⁰ This emptiness has been a strain on an already faltering economy. Despite its emptiness, Detroit still has a vast infrastructure that must be maintained. This is becoming more and more of a hardship as population leaves the city, resulting in less money for its upkeep.⁷¹ Detroit's already struggling economy suffered another blow in the recent economic and real estate downturn, which led to more people leaving the city.⁷² Detroit's economic problems are far from over, as the city struggles to maintain itself in the face of decreasing tax revenues and foreclosures. Despite its significant population loss, though, Detroit is still crowded when compared to similar cities, with approximately 6,500 people per square mile.⁷³ All of these people require infrastructure maintenance and government services that are becoming harder to provide in Detroit's current economic state.

Despite appearances, there are some advantages to Detroit's economic decline from a preservation standpoint. "(O)ne reason Detroit boasts one of the nation's largest entertainment districts is because there was little economic pressure to replace downtown's 1910s and 1920s

⁶⁹ AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trusts, "H.J. Heinz Loft Apartments," http://www.aflcio-hit.com/user-assets/Documents/project_profiles/heinz_lofts.pdf (accessed November 23, 2011).

⁷⁰ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 61.

⁷¹ Joe Flanagan, 34.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 38.

⁷³ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 29.

theaters with office buildings after World War II.”⁷⁴ This same lack of economic pressure has allowed Detroit to retain much of its urban fabric, including vernacular architecture in its neighborhoods.⁷⁵ The wholesale abandonment of Detroit left many buildings intact.⁷⁶ While these buildings, some abandoned, were left intact for future generations, they are often unsafe because lack of upkeep has left them in disrepair. These buildings must be stabilized if they are to be used for future development.

Unfortunately, many people see preservation in Detroit as too much of a luxury, when providing basic services is enough of a challenge.⁷⁷ Even convincing developers and property owners to mothball buildings is difficult when they do not see a future payoff.⁷⁸ Those who could develop an historic building may not be willing to, due to factors such as low rental rates. Rehabbed buildings that have been turned into apartments and offices in Detroit simply cannot charge the same rents as cities like Chicago or New York, making the investment less profitable and therefore less appealing.⁷⁹ If no one is willing to invest in Detroit, however, the rents will never increase, a circle from which it is difficult to break free. Many historic structures, large and small, are threatened in Detroit. Once lost, the history and sense of place they provide can never be replicated.⁸⁰ People need to see preservation as a solution and not a problem.

There are many other challenges and setbacks besides resistance to preservation in Detroit. At this point, approximately a third of the buildings in Detroit have been abandoned.⁸¹ According to Dan Kildee, “This is probably the most significant vacant property problem in the

⁷⁴ Francis Grunow, “The Future of Detroit’s Past,” *Next American City*, Issue 28, 12.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Robert Sheroff, xxi.

⁷⁷ Joe Flanagan, 34.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁹ Diane Van Buren.

⁸⁰ Joe Flanagan, 34.

⁸¹ Ibid.

country.”⁸² Buildings are simply left to rot and fall down. In addition to a vacancy problem, Detroit is facing ramifications for its past planning decisions. After World War II, Detroit got rid of its light-rail streetcar lines in order to transform many of its main streets, such as Jefferson, Gratiot and Woodward, into large highways to the suburbs. Now that the population has dropped so drastically, these streets are far too large. Detroit has to address the problems it created by putting major roads through neighborhoods and is now planning to put in a new light-rail line in the future.⁸³ Currently, people are forced to drive nearly everywhere they need to go as a result of past mistakes.⁸⁴ Compound this with the corrupt government Detroit has faced in its past, and the complications quickly pile up.⁸⁵

Despite these setbacks, there is progress being made in Detroit. There is a possibility that the workers who have stayed behind, along with the remaining industrial equipment, may be useful for different and new products. Entrepreneurs are coming to Detroit with fresh ideas. They are willing to use abandoned buildings, factories and empty lots as starting places for ideas and companies.⁸⁶ The reuse of historic buildings could provide affordable start up space for these small businesses. This influx of entrepreneurs brings with it an influx of energy and ideas not only for starting businesses, but also for solving the current problems of Detroit through creative ideas such as urban agriculture.⁸⁷ This interest in Detroit is promising and provides hope that Detroit will rise again, perhaps not as it was but just as relevant and perhaps more sustainable.

⁸² Quoted in John Gallagher, 22.

⁸³ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 74-75.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸⁷ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 41.

The problems facing Detroit seem never-ending and overwhelming. With so much to overcome, convincing people that Detroit has a future of any kind can be difficult. In order for this future to materialize, though, people must be convinced that while Detroit does have a future, it is different and smaller than its past.⁸⁸ People must have a different vision for a new Detroit. One of the hardest challenges will be bringing people back into downtown not only for entertainment but also for living, all without changing the unique character of Detroit.⁸⁹ These are all obstacles that must be faced to create a successful and vibrant city.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 1-2.

⁸⁹ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 63.

CHAPTER 3

THE ECONOMICS OF PRESERVATION IN POSTINDUSTRIAL DETROIT AND PITTSBURGH

Economics and preservation are two fields not always seen as compatible. People often do not see preservation as a facet of a strong economy, when in fact preservation can be an important element of economic development.⁹⁰ Many people imagine preservationists as a stodgy group of people only interested in pretty buildings that have little interest or knowledge of the economy and real world, but this is not the case. Preservation is more than house museums and living history parks. Preservation can provide help and be a practical solution to economic problems.⁹¹

To help preservation fulfill its full potential as a tool of economic development, citizens and those in power need to become more aware of preservation's role and its many possibilities. This can only be accomplished through educating them and showing them through real world application what preservation can do for them.⁹² Walter C. Kidney eloquently sums up this point:

Preservation, properly understood, understands that there *will* be a future and seeks to integrate with this future those things from the past that have been especially good and familiar and beautiful: specific buildings and other places in some instances; in other instances ways of building, of using the land, general

⁹⁰ Diane Van Buren. and Georgia. Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation.

⁹¹ Adele Chatfield-Taylor, "Proposal for Paterson," *Architectural Forum*, January-February, 1970, 75-76.

⁹² Georgia. Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation.

characteristics of the physical environment that are the preservationists' special domain.⁹³

Kidney clearly articulates that preservation is about the overall environment and character of a place, not simply the buildings. He also clarifies the fact that preservation is about the future as much as it is about the past.

Although preservation is about much more than simply the aesthetics of historic structures, this value should not be discounted. Beauty has an economic role to play. People want to live in beautiful places, so creating an aesthetic environment can draw people.⁹⁴ Historic preservation usually lends itself to the creation of aesthetically pleasing communities. Detroit and Pittsburgh have accumulated interesting industrial architecture and an eclectic mix of neighborhoods and homes that are attractive to potential residents and investors.⁹⁵ New construction cannot offer the same aesthetic benefits that historic homes and neighborhood can.

While the potential for historic preservation to play a role in postindustrial cities' economies, it will not happen quickly. One particularly relevant issue to Pittsburgh and Detroit is abandoned housing. In many ways, governments have failed these cities by not investing the necessary funds to maintain these houses and their neighborhoods, because they did not see them as worthwhile. Unfortunately, this decision has harmed these cities.⁹⁶ An interest in preservation would have prevented, or at least mitigated, what has, in Detroit particularly, become an overwhelming problem. Despite the obvious issues created by the lack of interest in maintaining historic structures and neighborhoods, leaders in Detroit still do not fully

⁹³ Walter C. Kidney, 58.

⁹⁴ Richard Florida, *Who's Your City: How the Creative Economy is Making Where to Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2008) 166.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁹⁶ Donovan D. Rypkema, *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994) 31.

comprehend how preservation can help the city. Unlike the industry jobs that once powered the city, preservation and the jobs it creates cannot be outsourced. These jobs will bring desperately needed revenue and keep it there.⁹⁷ Preservation alone cannot turn the city around, but it should be an element of the economic plan.⁹⁸

Pittsburgh, on the other hand, has taken advantage of its historic core. It has diversified its postindustrial economy and chose to include preservation in this successful plan.⁹⁹ From 2004 to 2009, preservation related projects contributed \$475 million in overall investment in southwestern Pennsylvania, including Pittsburgh.¹⁰⁰ Detroit and other postindustrial cities that are struggling with economic recovery can look to Pittsburgh as an example of how preservation can be incorporated into a successful economic recovery plan.

Benefits of Reuse Over New Construction

A city reaps a number of benefits by choosing to reuse its existing historic structures instead of building new. Historic structures are not something that should be used and thrown away like a piece of garbage, especially in a city like Detroit with limited resources. These structures are a sustainable and renewable resource that can be renovated for a variety of purposes, depending on the needs of the city.¹⁰¹ Postindustrial cities can make their history a part of their future by embracing preservation as an opportunity and not an obstacle.¹⁰² This is what Pittsburgh chose to do, and the city has found success following this path. Detroit also

⁹⁷ Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania Works!, *The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Southwestern Pennsylvania: Jobs that cannot be Outsourced* (May 2010) http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/rehabilitation-tax-credits/additional-resources/Study_201005_HistPresSouthWest.pdf, 3 (accessed September 5, 2011)

⁹⁸ Flanagan, 38.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania Works!, 6.

¹⁰¹ Flanagan, 38.

¹⁰² Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 76.

needs to evaluate its resources and see how valuable its historic assets are and what they can contribute.

Reusing historic structures is a fiscally responsible choice. In many cases, rehabilitation costs less than building a new structure.¹⁰³ A large part of this is due to the infrastructure that already exists for historic buildings.¹⁰⁴ Historic neighborhoods are already built up around existing infrastructure such as streets, schools, sewers and other necessary functions. Unlike new construction, these necessary elements do not need to be built when preserving a neighborhood. Since the money has been invested in this infrastructure, reusing it can keep the cost lower.¹⁰⁵ Detroit's citizens are starting to realize the value of this resource. They are asking the city to reuse these resources more often to help sustain the existing communities of the city.¹⁰⁶ The advantages of keeping and reusing historic structures go far beyond preserving the history and visual identity of postindustrial cities. They go right to the core of the economic problems that plague them.

Attracting Residents and Tourists

Image is increasingly important for cities that want to attract residents and tourists. When looking for a place to live, people expect a pleasing environment.¹⁰⁷ Preserving neighborhoods creates this aesthetically pleasing environment. History is important for reinforcing the importance of preservation, but people's aesthetic desires also play an important role in supporting preservation.¹⁰⁸ The buildings and landscapes that make up historic neighborhoods provide a unique asset for each community, an asset that translates into an

¹⁰³ Georgia.

¹⁰⁴ Rypkema, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Georgia.

¹⁰⁶ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 62.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Florida, 183.

¹⁰⁸ Karen Nagher.

indefinable sense of place that cannot be replicated anywhere else.¹⁰⁹ This sort of appeal translates into revenue for the city as residents and visitors are drawn to these unique and beautiful neighborhoods. This is certainly the case in Pittsburgh, where through preservation, residents have resisted the homogenization of the city.¹¹⁰ Neighborhood preservation simply makes economic and social sense, because it provides a comfortable and pleasing environment that draws more people to live and work in the city.

In addition to being visually pleasing, well-maintained historic neighborhoods and communities also make people feel safe. The ability of preservation to create a comfortable and safe atmosphere is evident in Pittsburgh's downtown, where conversion of buildings such as adult movie theaters into independent and foreign film theaters has led to a resurgence in people going downtown at night.¹¹¹ These preservation efforts have made a safer environment that attracts more people to the downtown.¹¹² Creating this image and safe feeling is crucial to Detroit's future and Pittsburgh's current success.

These highly desirable characteristics can be found in historic neighborhoods. When people do come back to live in the city, they usually come back to historic neighborhoods instead of newly constructed neighborhoods.¹¹³ People are drawn to the environment and feeling of stability these neighborhoods provide. Their identities are unique and cannot be replicated by newer neighborhoods. This individuality is inherent in most historic neighborhoods and is

¹⁰⁹ Donovan D. Rypkema, 25. and Eric Allison, 120.

¹¹⁰ Melissa McSwigan.

¹¹¹ Melissa McSwigan.

¹¹² State Historic Preservation Office, *Preservation Shore to Shore: Making Michigan Competitive Through Historic Preservation; Michigan's State Historic Preservation Plan: 2007-2012*, by Amy L. Arnold (Lansing, MI, 2006) 16.

¹¹³ Donovan D. Rypkema, 45.

largely what defines a city and separates it from other cities and places people could choose to live.¹¹⁴

In addition to beauty, historic neighborhoods offer stability. The homes tend to hold their value better than more recently constructed homes, as has been the case in Pittsburgh, and many have associations that keep up the appearance of the neighborhood.¹¹⁵ In fact, when a neighborhood is designated as a historic district, housing prices often increase to a higher level than similar neighborhoods that do not have the benefits of designation. At the worst, their values remain comparable to that of similar undesignated neighborhoods.¹¹⁶ A designation can do more than increase and stabilize the housing market of a neighborhood, though. It can also attract tourists, which further fuels the economic success of the city and neighborhood.¹¹⁷ This effect can be seen in several of Detroit's neighborhoods, including Greektown, Corktown, Midtown and Harmonie Park. These areas include restored properties and older housing and are currently some of the most popular neighborhoods to live in.¹¹⁸ Historic neighborhoods provide a plethora of benefits not only to their residents, but to the city as a whole by attracting people and thus money to them.

Attracting Business

Attracting business is also crucial to the success of postindustrial cities. Detroit, in particular, is struggling with this. Despite the city's current struggles, though, it has had some success, largely with the aid of preservation. Through rehabilitation projects that make use of its

¹¹⁴ Eric Allison, 89.

¹¹⁵ Louise Sturges and Susan McBride.

¹¹⁶ Donovan D. Rypkema, 3.

¹¹⁷ Eric Allison, 154.

¹¹⁸ John Gallagher, "Super Bowl Spurs Demolition in Detroit," *Architectural Record*, Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, <http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/ehost/detail?vid=3&hid=110&sid=2b666484-e82c-46dd-9016-539b142a0781%40sessionmgr110&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=bvh&AN=583493> (accessed April 9, 2011).

historic and existing structures, Detroit attracted billions of dollars of investment in its downtown core.¹¹⁹ Preservationists in Detroit are working on tying the idea of preservation into the idea of bringing in investment and jobs to the city and are seeing some results.¹²⁰ The lure of jobs may be enough to convince people of the value of preservation.

Nonprofit preservation organizations are also leading by example. By taking on their own projects, they can show potential investors that postindustrial cities are worth their consideration. In the process, they are able to improve their city and attract the types of residents that will continue these improvements into the future.¹²¹ This type of development is particularly advantageous to Detroit for a number of reasons. Renovating and rehabilitating these structures provides an opportunity for people to learn trade skills and get jobs, a boon in a city with high unemployment.¹²² Detroit is also trying to attract entrepreneurs to work and live in the city.¹²³ Many see them as the future of Detroit's economy. Those entrepreneurs that have come to the city are making use of abandoned buildings, because the rent is cheap.¹²⁴ They provide the space these entrepreneurs and small business need at an affordable price. When these entrepreneurs are successful, their businesses bring more local jobs. If Detroit continues on this path, taking advantage of its historic resources however insignificant they seem, it may find its way to recovery. These entrepreneurs are providing the building blocks of Detroit's vision of affordable and walkable neighborhoods that will attract more young people to the area, but the path must include neighborhood preservation as a significant component to be successful.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ State Historic Preservation Office, 15.

¹²⁰ Flanagan, 38.

¹²¹ Margaret Dewar, "What Helps or Hinders Nonprofit Developers in Reusing Vacant, Abandoned, and Contaminated Property? Findings from Detroit and Cleveland," *CLOSUP Working Paper Series, Number 4*, February 2009, <http://closup.umich.edu> (accessed April 10, 2011) 2.

¹²² Karen Nagher.

¹²³ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 123.

¹²⁴ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 60.

¹²⁵ Nate Berg, "Right Size Fits All," *Next American City*, December 2010, 55.

Cities such as Pittsburgh have paved the way for neighborhood preservation by showing how and why it is successful. Detroit should look to Pittsburgh as an inspiration for its future.

Large Building Preservation

Preservation is no stranger to postindustrial cities' downtowns, the place where one expects preservation to be involved; here stand the grand buildings that so many people align with preservation. Preservation plays a pivotal role in most downtown revitalizations, with Detroit and Pittsburgh no exceptions.¹²⁶ Both of these cities' downtowns have benefited from the effects of successful preservation efforts.

Adaptive reuse is probably the most common tool wielded by preservationists in downtowns. A significant example is Pittsburgh's Station Square, a project undertaken by the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation in the early 1970s. When it was purchased by PHLF, the site was little more than a dilapidated railway complex with six buildings and no current use.¹²⁷ After the PHLF restored some of the historic structures and built new construction, it became a very popular mixed-use tourist destination.¹²⁸ Today, three million people visit Station Square each year.¹²⁹ PHLF still has their office in the old train depot, which also contains a popular restaurant and other offices. Station Square exemplifies how preservation of large structures can revitalize the economy of the city.

Detroit has also taken advantage of monumental architecture in its downtown to make an impact through preservation. A recent example is the Book Cadillac Hotel. This historic hotel was restored in 2008 with \$8 million from a single developer and nearly two dozen other sources

¹²⁶ Donovan D. Rypkema, 53.

¹²⁷ Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., *Contributing to Pittsburgh Livability: Neighborhood Preservation and Station Square* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 1997) 5.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹²⁹ Louise Sturgess.

of funding.¹³⁰ The project's total renovation cost was \$200 million.¹³¹ It now offers a variety of amenities, including condominiums, a hotel, restaurants and a spa.¹³² This project was a major success for downtown Detroit and proved that there is hope for the city. It brought income into the city and may encourage nearby buildings to renovate.¹³³ Such a large project can lead to more investment in the city. The housing downturn did affect the sales of the condominiums. During presale all but four of the sixty-three units were sold, but with the downturn only five deals were completed. As of 2010, half of the units are occupied by a mix of owners and renters.¹³⁴ While the condominiums are not selling as well as hoped, the presale interest shows that as the market recovers people will be eager to purchase them, due in large part to their location and historic character. Another notable recent project is 71 Garfield, located in Midtown Detroit. This building was constructed in 1922 and has been renovated to provide 21 live/work artist studios.¹³⁵ The project incorporates many green energy sources, including geothermal and solar, to reduce its environmental impact. It is an excellent example of how a historic green building can also work financially.¹³⁶ All of these projects prove the power of preservation to those skeptical of its benefits.

Such large scale and financially significant projects are exciting for preservationists and the city. They show off what the city has to offer and how preservation can help. Projects such as the renovation of Carnegie Library and train depot conversions, both located in Pittsburgh, are flashy and impressive to the public. While these projects are important, and preservationists

¹³⁰ Joe Flanagan, 38.

¹³¹ "The Westin Book Cadillac Detroit," <http://www.bookcadillacwestin.com/> (accessed November 23, 2011).

¹³² Joe Flanagan, 38.

¹³³ Dan Shine, 46.

¹³⁴ Daniel Duggan, "Renters help Book Cadillac get to half full: Condo sales expected to pick up with economy," *Crain's Detroit Business*, May 9, 2010, <http://www.craindetroit.com/article/20100509/SUB01/305099974/renters-help-book-cadillac-get-to-half-full-condo-sales-expected-to-pick-up-with-economy> (accessed November 23, 2011).

¹³⁵ *71 Garfield: Sugar Hill*, <http://www.sugarhilldetroit.com/index.html> (accessed September 29, 2011).

¹³⁶ Diane Van Buren.

should be proud of their accomplishments, people often forget the power of smaller preservation projects. Minor work on historic buildings can also have a considerable economic impact on a city.¹³⁷ The excitement that large projects generate cannot overshadow what a city truly needs. Sometimes a city needs neighborhood revitalization more than another flashy building, new or historic.¹³⁸

Economic and Social Impact of Neighborhood Preservation

Neighborhoods, with their more vernacular architecture, are just as much a part of a city's heritage as the more monumental downtown.¹³⁹ Preserving a neighborhood, however, is a nebulous and often difficult task. Besides the houses themselves, it can include preserving the use of various spaces, the walkability of the neighborhood and the composition of the neighborhood's population.¹⁴⁰ Neighborhood preservation is a balancing act between honoring and preserving the past while creating a neighborhood that works for the present and future. Pittsburgh and Detroit value their extensive neighborhoods. In Detroit, 91 local historic districts have been protected. Many of these protected districts are residential neighborhoods, showing the city's attachment and commitment to them.¹⁴¹ Pittsburgh also maintains a strong loyalty to its neighborhoods. It retains a considerable number, many of which continue to be viable communities.¹⁴² Detroit and Pittsburgh recognize the importance of preserving these defining districts and the benefits this preservation entails.

There are many benefits, both social and economic, that come with neighborhood preservation. One of these is sustainability. Preservation is ultimately a way to save limited

¹³⁷ Donovan D. Rypkema, 97.

¹³⁸ Eric Allison, 132.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁴⁰ Eric Allison, 141.

¹⁴¹ State Historic Preservation Office, 16.

¹⁴² Eric Allison, 69.

resources.¹⁴³ By preserving a historic house, a city is recycling it.¹⁴⁴ There is a considerable amount of materials and energy saved when a neighborhood chooses to preserve instead of starting new. The amount of energy saved by preserving over building new is so large that "...it would take a new building 26 years to save more energy than the continued use of an existing building."¹⁴⁵ In addition to saving energy on a structure by structure basis, the density of preserved urban neighborhoods aligns them with the sustainability movement by reducing how much people need to travel by car.¹⁴⁶ This density and reuse of materials makes a strong case for the environmental advantage of neighborhood preservation.

In addition to being environmentally sustainable, neighborhood preservation is also economically sustainable. While reusing a structure cuts down on waste and energy, it also cuts down on cost. This is especially true in the case of new green buildings, whose environmentally friendly materials can be expensive. Rehabilitations also create a larger number of local jobs and therefore put more money into the local economy than new construction.¹⁴⁷ Thus neighborhood preservation benefits both the economy and the environment.

Neighborhoods are more than a collection of structures, though, efficient or otherwise. At the beginning of the urban renewal period in Pittsburgh, progressives did not understand this concept. Their alteration and demolition of neighborhoods led to major disruptions not only in the landscape, but also in residents' lives. Forcing people to move to new neighborhoods tore apart old friendships and living patterns that defined these people and the older neighborhoods.¹⁴⁸ Eventually, Pittsburgh came around to a more preservation centered ethos that

¹⁴³ Donovan D. Rypkema, 7.

¹⁴⁴ Georgia.

¹⁴⁵ Eric Allison, 168.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 166.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 165.

¹⁴⁸ Walter C. Kidney, 7.

appreciated what history and historic neighborhoods had to offer the city, though significant and irreparable damage to buildings and historic living patterns had already been done.

Neighborhood preservation is a critical component to maintaining the historical record of any city. People are able to walk the same streets and see the same houses that defined the city in the past. This creates a tangible connection with history that cannot be replicated. By living in historic neighborhoods, or even just visiting them, people can understand the past and its importance more easily.¹⁴⁹ This type of character defines a city even if it is difficult to place a numerical value on it.

Another characteristic historic neighborhoods maintain is diversity. Since many of these neighborhoods were built over time, they contain a variety of sizes and styles of housing. This leads to a variety of residents living in the neighborhood, ranging from low to high income, all near one another.¹⁵⁰ This eclectic mix of people and homes is cherished by many who live in these cities. Detroit, for instance, strives to improve its city and bring in more residents, but it does not want to be inundated by commercial chains and become homogenized.¹⁵¹ The people of Detroit want to maintain diversity, because they realize that it helps define the city. If this diversity disappears, Detroit will not reflect its past.

When preservationists look at historic neighborhoods, they see opportunities. Investors should, too. In many cities, including Pittsburgh and Detroit, people have an excellent opportunity to invest. Since the price of property is so low, they can purchase it while it is cheap. If the city recovers, then the prices will rise and investors will make a significant profit. One does not need to be a preservationist or even interested in preservation to want to take

¹⁴⁹ Eric Allison, 148.

¹⁵⁰ Donovan D. Rypkema, 63.

¹⁵¹ Sierra Crane-Murdoch, 63.

advantage of such an opportunity.¹⁵² For this reason, designating a historic district can stimulate investment.¹⁵³ People see a chance to invest in what will likely be a profitable venture and help preserve a city's history at the same time. This is a win for both neighborhood preservationists and investors.

There are many ways to invest in historic neighborhoods besides purchasing real estate, though. One of the most influential is to start a neighborhood business. Many neighborhood businesses are owned by people who live in the neighborhoods, so they create a strong community among residents.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation identified the formation of new businesses as one of the benefits of preservation.¹⁵⁵ All of these opportunities benefit the neighborhoods and the city as a whole monetarily as well as socially. People are able to connect with their neighbors through these businesses and form a community, while the businesses also bring income into the neighborhood.

Detroit and Pittsburgh residents have taken advantage of such business opportunities. A well known example in Detroit is Philip Cooley, one of the owners of Slows Bar B Q, a popular restaurant located in historic Corktown (Image 3). This restaurant serves not only the locals, but also draws people from outside the city. In addition to owning a business in Corktown, Mr. Cooley lives in an apartment above the restaurant. He is active in Detroit and has inspired other people to follow his lead of living and working in a Detroit neighborhood.¹⁵⁶ The ability to live and work in a community is encouraged by historic neighborhoods, which were designed for

¹⁵² Eric Allison, 80.

¹⁵³ Donovan D. Rypkema, 41.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 74.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 13.

¹⁵⁶ Melissa Ryzik, "Detroit's Renewal, Slow-Cooked," *The New York Times*, October 19, 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/20/dining/20Detroit.html?ref=melenaryzik> (accessed October 24, 2010).

mixed use. By taking advantage of the many opportunities offered, business owners and Detroit residents are forming a strong community fueled by their interest in the city.



Image 3. Slows Bar B Q.¹⁵⁷

Pittsburgh's historic neighborhoods have also fostered neighborhood businesses and organizations. The Mattress Factory is one of these. While not a business in the traditional sense, the Mattress Factory is a contemporary art museum. It is housed in two reused buildings,

¹⁵⁷ Picture taken by the author.

both of which are located on Pittsburgh's historic North Side, and has been in existence in the historic Mexican War Streets since 1977. The installations in the museum are created by in-residence artists from around the world.¹⁵⁸ These artists reside in the Mexican War Streets and become a part of the community. Sometimes they even paint murals on the houses, contributing to the rich culture and history of the area for future generations.¹⁵⁹ While this organization is different from a traditional neighborhood business, it adds to the character and community of the district, and draws potential residents and tourists to the area.

Community is truly the key component of any successful neighborhood. Simply preserving a historic neighborhood is not enough. The goal should be to create a healthy community that will continue to support the neighborhood.¹⁶⁰ Neighborhood preservation is usually a good starting point to forming this community if it does not already exist. Public participation and community interaction are necessary in order to be successful both in preservation and as an active community.¹⁶¹ Residents of neighborhoods often already have some form of community in place, because neighborhood preservation efforts are largely driven by grassroots efforts. This is true of both Pittsburgh and Detroit. Many of these local communities have banded together in both cities to successfully preserve their neighborhoods and form neighborhood associations.¹⁶² Historic neighborhoods foster strong communities that can make their neighborhoods successful socially and economically.

¹⁵⁸ "Mattress Factory," Mattress Factory, www.mattress.org (accessed July 2, 2011).

¹⁵⁹ Louise Sturges.

¹⁶⁰ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 9.

¹⁶¹ Donovan D. Rypkema, 68.

¹⁶² Louise Sturges and Karen Nagher.

Demolition and Other Threats

The misplaced belief that the means to economic development is to get rid of old structures and replace them with new ones has been proven wrong but remains prevalent.¹⁶³ This may be due to cities' desire to grow and change at a rapid pace. Preservation, on the other hand, is a more incremental way to grow. While 'quick fixes' may be attractive at first, they rarely solve the underlying problems of the city.¹⁶⁴ This type of mentality is seen in both Pittsburgh and Detroit.

Demolition does not only happen overnight. It is often a more nuanced process. Many structures and houses, particularly in Detroit, are simply abandoned. These empty buildings succumb to rot, infestation and many other natural processes that result in their destruction. This demolition by neglect is seen throughout Detroit and to a lesser extent, in Pittsburgh. Sometimes these structures fall down on their own, but often they become unsafe and must be demolished by the government, costing the city money. Salvageable structures also face demolition, though. The government can decide to demolish a structure or area for a number of reasons including new development.

To compound their preservation problems, neither city has had a historic resources survey in approximately thirty years, making even identifying what needs protected difficult.¹⁶⁵ This lack of information is a major impediment for preservation efforts. Without knowledge of what exists, the government and other organizations have difficulty knowing what is in need of protection or viable for revitalization efforts. Before anything is demolished or irrevocably altered, comprehensive surveys need to be completed so that people can identify what resources

¹⁶³ Eric Allison, 12-13.

¹⁶⁴ Donovan D. Rypkema, 19.

¹⁶⁵ Louise Sturges and Susan McBride.

exist and the condition they are in. This inventory will make preservation efforts much more efficient and effective.

Detroit

One of the biggest events in Detroit's recent history was Super Bowl XL in February 2006. This event brought many people to the city, and even more saw it on their televisions. Detroit wanted to appear an attractive, recovering city, so it turned to demolition. The city used state money to demolish the Italian Renaissance Statler Hotel, which was a 1907 landmark building. The Madison Lenox Hotel and the Motown Building were also destroyed.¹⁶⁶ Many smaller structures were also demolished.¹⁶⁷ There was little Detroit's preservationists and residents could do to stop the destruction. Their frustration reflected the ongoing struggle between people who wanted fast development and people who believed in preservation as the way to revitalize Detroit.¹⁶⁸ This struggle is not confined to the Super Bowl demolitions in Detroit; it is a struggle that can be seen in postindustrial cities throughout America as they try to find a way to reinvent themselves.

Detroit is currently facing a demolition plan, commonly known as right-sizing, spearheaded by Mayor Dave Bing. The plan is supported by a belief that developers will rush to develop the resulting empty lots and tearing down abandoned buildings will help solve complicated issues like homelessness, poverty and drug use.¹⁶⁹ One beneficial regulation is that historic districts tend to have less demolition, because all demolition requests must go before a commission.¹⁷⁰ This offers some protection to these important areas, but it is not enough to save many valuable resources.

¹⁶⁶ State Historic Preservation Office, 16.

¹⁶⁷ John Gallagher, "Super Bowl".

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ State Historic Preservation Office, 16.

¹⁷⁰ Susan McBride.

There is no question that some demolition is necessary in Detroit. While there are many significant historic homes, some are beyond repair and not worth saving.¹⁷¹ There are simply not enough people to support all of the remaining structures in Detroit. The scope of the mayor's plan, however, is massive. The map shown in Image 4 details the specific properties planned for demolition in a map developed by the City of Detroit government. The clusters indicate that some neighborhoods are likely to lose many structures, leaving little but vacant lots behind. Such demolitions will further weaken struggling communities. The mayor planned for 3,000 demolitions in 2010. These demolitions were meant to target buildings characterized as dangerous and abandoned. An example of the type of building that may be considered for demolition is seen in Image 5. The ultimate goal of the plan is to demolish 10,000 buildings by the year 2013.¹⁷² Without a recent historic resources survey to back up these planned demolitions, the program appears questionable at best. There is a push to spend the money the government has been given without doing the appropriate work beforehand, including a new survey and a proper evaluation of the existing resources.¹⁷³ Demolition will not solve Detroit's problems, especially if it is not well planned, and destroys the neighborhoods it claims to be saving.

¹⁷¹ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 24-25.

¹⁷² City of Detroit: The Official Website of Detroit, "Residential Demolition Program," Mayor's Office, <http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/DepartmentsandAgencies/MayorsOffice/ResidentialDemolitionProgram/tabid/2992/Default.aspx> (accessed May 30, 2011)

¹⁷³ Susan McBride.

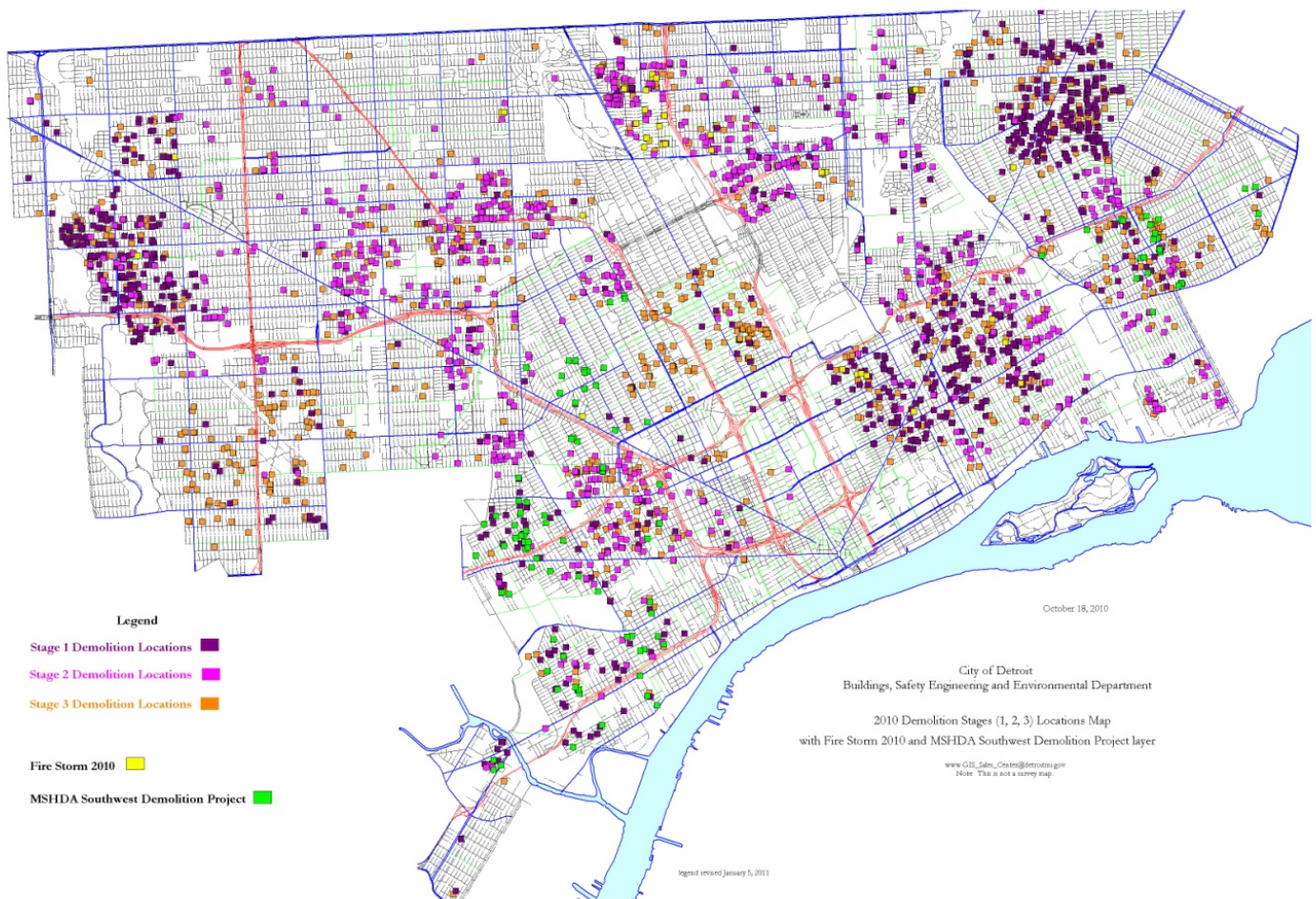


Image 4. Demolition Map.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ *Demolition Map*, City of Detroit: The Official Website of Detroit, “Residential Demolition Program,” <http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/DepartmentsandAgencies/MayorsOffice/ResidentialDemolitionProgram/tabid/2992/Default.aspx>.



Image 5. Neglected House.¹⁷⁵

While demolition is certainly a threat to the historic fabric of Detroit, there are other concerns. One is neglect, which is a problem throughout the city. This is evident in buildings like the Lafayette. The Lafayette was not cared for or mothballed, so a water tank on the roof rusted through, resulting in water draining into the building. This did not completely destroy it, but it gave Detroit the push needed to demolish it in 2009 at a cost of \$1.4 million.¹⁷⁶ Unsecured buildings are suffering from more than just neglect, though. So-called ‘urban explorers’ also break into them. They not only take pictures, they also steal things and cause damage.¹⁷⁷ Instead of using money to demolish historic structures, Detroit should spend money mothballing these buildings so that they are available for use at a later date.

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh faced a rash of demolitions following the collapse of its industry, as well. These demolitions, which began in the 1960s, were fueled by Pittsburgh’s desire to separate

¹⁷⁵ Photograph taken by author.

¹⁷⁶ Joe Flanagan, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

itself completely from its industrial past.¹⁷⁸ For Pittsburgh, this architecture represented a dirty city and a failed industry that it wanted to distance itself from as much as possible. Demolition was an easy but destructive way to accomplish this.

One of the most significant demolitions in Pittsburgh occurred to construct the Civic Arena. The URA demolished the existing neighborhood there in 1956. The demolition area, known as the Lower Hill District, displaced approximately 1,500 families along with 400 businesses. Many of these families, around 80 percent, were black.¹⁷⁹ Ironically, the Civic Arena is now facing demolition itself. Following a long struggle to have the Arena designated as historic, the city council has voted to reject the designation, despite its clear eligibility.¹⁸⁰ The demolition of the interior has already begun, with plans to demolish the entire arena by May.¹⁸¹ The Arena is planned to be replaced by 1200 housing units as part of a mixed-use development. There will also be retail and offices on the site.¹⁸² While Pittsburgh is in a much more stable and economically successful position than Detroit, it obviously still faces the threat of demolition.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 5. and Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 1.

¹⁷⁹ Salena Zito, "Hill District divided by legacy of Mellon Arena," *Tribune-Review* http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/dailycourier/news/dunbar/s_493962.html (accessed September 26, 2011).

¹⁸⁰ Melissa McSwigan.

¹⁸¹ Mark Belko, "Civic Arena's Lower Interior Already Guttled," *Post-Gazette.com* <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/11272/1178551-100.stm> (accessed October 1, 2011).

¹⁸² Associated Press, "City Council Vote all but dooms Pittsburgh arena," *Forbes.com* <http://www.forbes.com> (accessed July 2, 2011).

CHAPTER 4

NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION IN ACTION

Preservation is a key component of any economic revitalization strategy in a historic area. Neighborhood preservation, in particular, is an important component of recovery. Strong neighborhoods are indicators of a strong and vibrant city.¹⁸³ When a city is able to preserve and restore its historic neighborhoods, they provide visual evidence of a city's revitalization, making a city hospitable again.¹⁸⁴ Preservation keeps homes within these neighborhoods maintained and draws business to the area, as well.¹⁸⁵ In addition to providing the necessary physical maintenance in a city, neighborhood preservation also creates and strengthens community bonds.¹⁸⁶ These bonds, even more than maintenance or upkeep, are what truly revitalizes a city. They make people take an interest once again in their surroundings and the culture of their city. Preservation is a way to create and organize a community.¹⁸⁷

While preservation plays a vital role in saving neighborhoods and helping their economies, it should not provide false hope. Preservation will not make Pittsburgh and Detroit return to their industrial era population. Population is viewed as the most important indicator of economic prosperity, but this view can be misguided. Cities change over times and must adapt. Preservation helps maintain stability through these times of change. Population should not be the only indicator of a healthy city or of successful neighborhood preservation.

¹⁸³ State Historic Preservation Office, 13.

¹⁸⁴ Eric Allision, 155.

¹⁸⁵ Howard B. Slaughter, Jr., "Integrating Economic Development and Historic Preservation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania," *Preservation Forum*, Spring 1997, 45.

¹⁸⁶ Donovan D. Rypkema, 52.

¹⁸⁷ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 10.

Pittsburgh

While Pittsburgh today may be known for its successful neighborhood preservation efforts, this was not always the case. Far from a success story following its economic fall, Pittsburgh looked as if it might be razed to the ground and built anew. Urban renewal strategies, which meant demolition of historic structures and communities, were the method for revitalization efforts. Fortunately, there were dissenting voices: the neighborhoods spoke out against large scale demolitions that were destroying the social and physical history of the city and they saved enough of Pittsburgh to make it successful today.¹⁸⁸ Without these early preservation efforts, Pittsburgh would not have retained its history.

Pittsburgh contains a large number of resources and districts designated on a national, state and local level. The power over the local designations, which are usually the most powerful in terms of regulations, lies mostly with the citizens of the city.¹⁸⁹ They can choose to nominate a neighborhood or building as a city historic district or structure, although a district nomination requires a petition with the signatures of the owners of record of at least 25% of the properties in the district.¹⁹⁰ This nomination must then be approved by the city council. Once this designation is in place, the district or structure is afforded certain protections. These include the city's Historic Review Commission's approval for any exterior changes.¹⁹¹ While the process can be an effective one, it can also be influenced by politics.¹⁹² In addition, these designations and the protections they offer can be repealed at a later date when a new administration comes into

¹⁸⁸ Eric Allison, 163.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁹⁰ City of Pittsburgh, *Title Eleven: Historic Structures, Districts, Sites and Objects*, (Pittsburgh) <http://library.municode.com/index.aspx?clientId=13525&stateID=38&statename=Pennsylvania>.

¹⁹¹ Louise Sturgess.

¹⁹² Melissa McSwigan.

power.¹⁹³ Overall, though, Pittsburgh's local designations protect the designated districts from sweeping changes or destruction that could occur if they are not designated.

Neighborhood associations are another common method used to protect historic neighborhoods. The Mexican War Streets District, for example, has a Mexican War Streets Society to help protect its neighborhood.¹⁹⁴ Pittsburgh, however, favors Community Development Corporations, which many of its historic districts create as a means of involving citizens, strengthening community ties, and keeping up with maintenance.¹⁹⁵ The first Community Development Corporation (CDC) formed in a historic district was the Manchester Citizens' Corporation (MCC) in the historic neighborhood of that name. The MCC was organized by Manchester's residents as a nonprofit community housing developer.¹⁹⁶ This original CDC showed how successful such groups could be by allowing organizations like PHLF to help revitalize a neighborhood, then leaving its residents to continued maintenance. This first attempt was so successful that it has served as a model for neighborhood revitalizations throughout Pittsburgh.¹⁹⁷ These groups are dedicated to their neighborhoods and work hard to restore and reuse the historic fabric of the communities they love.¹⁹⁸ They provide a way for residents to help themselves and to make use of the valuable assets of historic neighborhoods. Giving them control over their neighborhood provides a sense of ownership and a strong community.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Roy Lubove, *Post-Steel Era*, 16.

¹⁹⁵ Louise Sturgess.

¹⁹⁶ Eric Allison, 160.

¹⁹⁷ Eric Allison, 161.

¹⁹⁸ Lousie Sturgess.

Detroit

Like Pittsburgh, Detroit is a city comprised of neighborhoods, each contributing its unique character to the whole.¹⁹⁹ A quick drive around Detroit's sometimes complicated streets makes this abundantly clear. These neighborhoods define both cities just as much as their stories of industrial collapse. While the bigger restoration projects like the Book Cadillac Hotel might grab media attention, there is more going on quietly within these communities.²⁰⁰ Through quieter efforts, Detroit is slowly being remade into a vibrant city.

Detroit also has a significant number of state and nationally designated districts and buildings. These designations, while important, are only honorary.²⁰¹ They recognize a district's history and importance, but they do nothing to actually protect it outside of making certain types of funding available and requiring Section 106 reviews. Local designation is the most protective; Detroit has 104 local districts, many are well known residential neighborhoods, including Boston-Edison, Indian Village, Hubbard Farms, Corktown, Russell Woods-Sullivan and Sherwood Forest.²⁰²

In Detroit, local designation is by ordinance, so it is regulatory and enforceable.²⁰³ This provides a high level of protection for these neighborhoods. Despite what many people may assume, Detroit's local designation ordinance is very strict. After a neighborhood has gone through the process of having the designation board survey and officially designate the district, the city's government will enforce the regulations. The regulations cover all four sides of the

¹⁹⁹ State Preservation Office, 16.

²⁰⁰ Dan Shine, pictures by Kevin J. Miyazaki, "Block by Block," *Preservation*, May/June 2009, 48.

²⁰¹ Susan McBride.

²⁰² Susan McBride. and State Preservation Office, 16.

²⁰³ Susan McBride.

houses as well as outbuildings and paint color. The interior, however, is rarely protected.²⁰⁴

While stringent, applications are only needed for changes made to the structures.²⁰⁵ Such strict regulations can be off putting to people, but many of the residents of Detroit's historic neighborhoods welcome them, as indicated by the high number of locally designated districts.

The ordinance also protects historic districts from incompatible construction and neglect. The Historic District Commission, which is established by the ordinance, must approve plans and modifications within the historic district. The Commission is able to deny inappropriate additions in these districts. The Commission also has the power to address neglected homes; the owner of homes that fall into the category of demolition by neglect must address the problems once notified. If he or she does not, the home can be fixed and the owner charged for the repairs.²⁰⁶ Detroit's Ordinance provides many protections for the city's historic districts and maintains their character.

In addition to the protections of local designation, many of Detroit's historic neighborhoods also create neighborhood associations. These groups are a key element of the growing neighborhood preservation movement in Detroit, and they are indicative of the interest residents have in their own communities. Even non-designated historic neighborhoods commonly form neighborhood associations to protect the community's resources.²⁰⁷ The organizations perform many services, including upkeep. They provide maintenance including snow plowing and maintaining the exteriors of abandoned neighborhood homes.²⁰⁸ While they

²⁰⁴ Detroit Historic District Commission, *Ordinance*, <http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/ordinance.htm> (accessed October 20, 2011).

²⁰⁵ Susan McBride.

²⁰⁶ *Ordinance*.

²⁰⁷ Karen Nagher.

²⁰⁸ Susan McBride.

take a different form than Pittsburgh's CDCs, these groups also perform a vital function for their communities and strengthening ties to neighborhoods and the city.

There are examples of these associations throughout Detroit. One is the University Cultural Center Association. This is not precisely a neighborhood association, but it works to improve and maintain the Midtown area of Detroit.²⁰⁹ Boston-Edison and Indian Village both have active neighborhood associations, as well.²¹⁰ Detroit neighborhoods have benefited greatly from the influence and activities of these associations. Neighborhood associations can and should be about much more than simply keeping up appearances. At their best, they are about building a community and improving an entire city neighborhood by neighborhood.

Case Studies

The following case studies illustrate how effective and empowering neighborhood preservation can be for the citizens of a city. While each neighborhood is unique, there are approaches that can be effective in many cities. Pittsburgh's work in Manchester and the Mexican War Streets districts, for example, contain lessons about the importance of grass roots efforts and local support.²¹¹ This local surge of support is evident in Detroit, as well. The preservation movement is clearly gaining momentum and credibility as a strategy to help save cities.

Pittsburgh

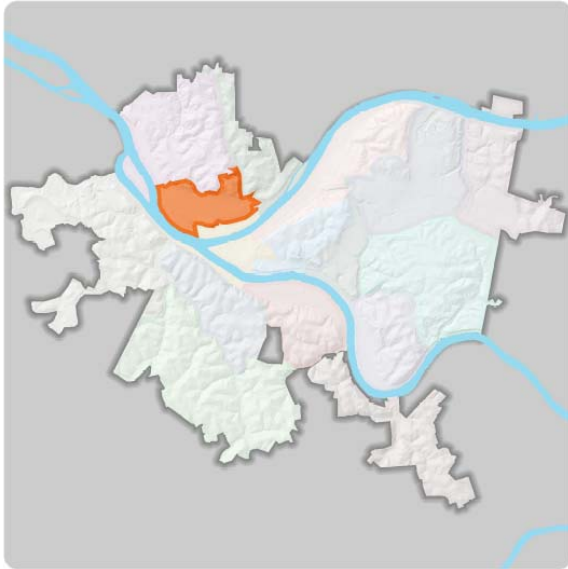
The neighborhood case studies for Pittsburgh, Manchester and the Mexican War Streets, are both located in the Lower Northside, which used to be the City of Allegheny (Image 6). This historic city was annexed by Pittsburgh in 1907 and is a densely populated area, reflecting the

²⁰⁹ Allen Freeman, 46.

²¹⁰ Historic Boston-Edison Association, Historic Boston-Edison, <http://www.historicbostonedison.org> (accessed July 3, 2011) and Historic Indian Village, <http://www.historicindianvillage.org> (accessed July 3, 2011).

²¹¹ Howard B. Slaughter, Jr., 42.

historic growth of Allegheny. This area includes historic architecture, as well as many cultural attractions and business districts.²¹²



Lower Northside. Image 6.²¹³

Manchester

Manchester is one of Pittsburgh's best known neighborhood preservation projects and one of its earliest (Image 7). Like much of Pittsburgh, Manchester was part of a former industrial area. The area is situated on flat land, so it was laid out in a grid pattern. In the late 1800s it was a busy commercial area with active docks. Many workers as well factory owners lived in the neighborhood, resulting in a variety of houses being built.²¹⁴ It is historically an African-American neighborhood, whose residents range from low to middle class.²¹⁵ Many of the neighborhood's residents, around 800 families, were relocated there from the Lower Hill

²¹² City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside, http://www.pittsburghpa.gov/dcp/snap/download_snap/ (accessed September 16, 2011).

²¹³ Image. *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Eric Allison, 148-150.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

District when the Civic Arena was built.²¹⁶ Currently, the neighborhood's residents are still 85.3% African American.²¹⁷

The neighborhood began in 1832, when it was laid out. The houses included free-standing structures, semi-detached houses and rowhouses. Along with this diversity of sizes and types of housing, reflecting the diverse population, there was also a variety of styles including late-Victorian and eclectic styles with dates of construction ranging from 1860 to 1900.²¹⁸ Manchester exemplifies the diversity and character so valued in historic neighborhoods (Images 8 and 9).



Image 7. Manchester District.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Ibid., 159.

²¹⁷ City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 156.

²¹⁹ City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.



Image 8. Manchester.²²⁰



Image 9. Manchester.²²¹

²²⁰ *Manchester*, photograph taken by the author.

Despite this rich architectural and cultural heritage, Manchester was under an immediate threat at the time of its preservation. Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority was planning to demolish the neighborhood to build new construction.²²² They had little regard for the current, largely African-American, population whose low to middle incomes would make finding new homes difficult.²²³ Such demolitions usually displace residents and by extension whole communities, destroying more than just homes.

Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation decided to fight the demolition. After a battle with the Urban Redevelopment Authority, or URA, the city and PHLF compromised by saving twenty-four blocks of Manchester. The URA also started a neighborhood renewal program for 1200 homes. They worked with Manchester residents to improve the historic facades of the neighborhood's homes, which the owners were obligated to keep up for twenty years.²²⁴

The PHLF began its work in the neighborhood in 1967 with the purchase of two houses on Liverpool Street and the organization of the United Manchester Redevelopment Corporation, which became the Manchester Citizens' Corporation in 1979, with the help of the residents.²²⁵ PHLF focused on restoring the exteriors, beginning with a house at 1329 Liverpool Street. The organization also provided information to owners on how to restore the interiors. Ultimately, many of the homes were divided up into apartments, a strategy that helps draw in new residents, because people are much more likely to take a risk on renting an apartment than buying a

²²¹ *Manchester*, photograph taken by the author.

²²² Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., 3.

²²³ Eric Allison, 156.

²²⁴ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 13.

²²⁵ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 9. and Roy Lubove, 12-13.

home.²²⁶ This also provides opportunities for affordable housing. At the same time, it maintains the architectural character that defines the neighborhood.

The PHLF was a critical resource for Manchester, but the organization was not the true driving force that saved the neighborhood. Without Manchester's residents taking an active interest in its preservation, little could have been done to save it.²²⁷ Preservation was not on their minds when they formed the Manchester Citizen Corporation, a nonprofit community housing developer; they simply wanted to find a way to save their community.²²⁸ PHLF showed them preservation was the best way to accomplish this goal and in the process showed all of Pittsburgh how preservation could fuel economic development.²²⁹ The MCC still operates today with the same focus on creating affordable and market rate housing so everyone can enjoy this historic district. They work on many projects, all of which promote historic homes and the Manchester neighborhood.²³⁰

Statistics reflect Manchester's emphasis on affordability. Currently, 43.5 percent of the neighborhood's housing is owner occupied while the majority, 56.5 percent, is renter occupied. Even with a large percentage of renter occupied housing, Manchester compares well with Pittsburgh economically. Manchester's median income in 2009 was \$31,272 compared to \$34,532 for Pittsburgh.²³¹ Manchester residents' educational levels are also comparable, sometimes even better, than those of Pittsburgh overall. For example, 52.5 percent of Manchester's residents have high school degrees compared with 48.8 percent overall in Pittsburgh. Also, 6.9 percent of Manchester's citizens have Associate's degrees and 11.4 percent

²²⁶ Eric Allison, 160.

²²⁷ City of Pittsburgh, *PGHSNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

²²⁸ Eric Allison, 151.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 160.

²³⁰ Manchester Citizens Corporation, *Mission and History* <http://www.manchestercitizens.org/home.htm> (accessed October 1, 2011).

²³¹ City of Pittsburgh, *PGHSNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

have bachelor's degrees, compared with 6.1 percent and 13.6 percent in Pittsburgh respectively.²³² These statistics reflect Manchester's ability to compete in hard economic times and to attract educated residents.

Manchester is also protected with a set of design guidelines. The Historic Review Commission of the City of Pittsburgh uses these guidelines for Certificates of Appropriateness. The guidelines include a general overview of the goal of maintaining the historic character of Manchester as well as specific regulations for roofing, siding, color, storefronts, new construction and other historic features. They also reference appropriate materials for changes or repairs.²³³ These guidelines protect the historic structures from drastic changes that would alter the character and thus the value of Manchester.

Manchester still faces problems including empty or poorly maintained structures with a vacancy rate of 19.6 percent as well as a poverty rate of 23.1 percent as of 2000, but it is still a strong neighborhood.²³⁴ Following the preservation efforts by PHLF and the MCC, it was one of the few Pittsburgh neighborhoods to actually grow in the 1980s and it continued to grow following the restoration work.²³⁵ It did, however, face a population loss from 2000 to 2008 of 14.6 percent, which was more than double the City of Pittsburgh's 6.2 percent loss.²³⁶ This loss is indicative of the neighborhood's continuing struggles, although population alone does not indicate a neighborhood's strength. The median value for a house in Manchester in 2008, 53.7 percent of which were built prior to 1939, was \$79,580 compared to a median value of \$66,562

²³² Ibid.

²³³ City of Pittsburgh, Historic Review Commission of Pittsburgh, *Design Guidelines: Manchester Historic District*, www.city.pittsburgh.pa.us/kp/.../guidelines105_Manchester_Guideliens.pdf (accessed September 18, 2011).

²³⁴ City of Pittsburgh, *PGHSNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

²³⁵ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 12.

²³⁶ City of Pittsburgh, *PGHSNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

in the City of Pittsburgh.²³⁷ Manchester also has a higher percentage of buildings in good or excellent condition compared to the City of Pittsburgh, 21.6 percent compared to 6.8 percent.²³⁸ Clearly people purchasing homes in Pittsburgh consider history to be important. These historic assets help raise the value of living in Manchester, even if it is smaller than in the industrial age. Manchester continues to be successful due to its strong community and their commitment to preservation as an integral element of the district's economic success.

Mexican War Streets

The Mexican War Streets is another example of a historic neighborhood falling into decline in Pittsburgh's postindustrial era (Image 10 and 11). PHLF began the restoration process of this neighborhood in 1966.²³⁹ By the time PHLF arrived, half of the houses were absentee-owned, which resulted in neglect by careless landlords.²⁴⁰ PHLF was able to secure a \$100,000 grant from the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation in order to begin its preservation and rehabilitation efforts.²⁴¹ This funding was obviously a great help in their efforts. The neighborhood was also designated federally and by the city, recognizing its historic importance.²⁴²

The neighborhood, like Manchester, has a rich history, as well as a favorable location near the Brighton Road and Federal Street business districts.²⁴³ This location makes it a good example of a mixed use neighborhood. It was laid out in 1848 with streets named after battles in the Mexican War, hence the district's name, and was home to a mostly middle-class population

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie., 6.

²⁴⁰ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 16.

²⁴¹ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 6.

²⁴² About the Mexican War Streets Society, General Information, www.mexicanwarstreets.org/about.html (accessed July 4, 2011).

²⁴³ City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside, http://www.pittsburghpa.gov/dcp/snap/download_snap/ (accessed September 16, 2011).

that included merchants and professionals. By the time PHLF arrived, however, the population was much poorer.²⁴⁴ The houses included Italianate and Victorian styles, but most were in disrepair. Pittsburgh's 1954 plan included the demolition of the entire neighborhood. The situation was so dire that banks refused to lend mortgages, so purchasing a home there was nearly impossible. PHLF stepped into this situation by offering only advice at first, but the organization saw that it was going to have to find a way to bring in new residents to make the Mexican War Streets economically viable. These residents would bring the new investments the area needed.²⁴⁵

Although PHLF realized the importance of bringing new people in, the organization did not want to displace residents and disrupt the already existing community.²⁴⁶ In order to prevent this, PHLF worked to involve residents of the neighborhood the restoration and to take an active interest in rebuilding the neighborhood.²⁴⁷ These priorities were reflected in PHLF's rehabilitation efforts. The organization bought many of the absentee-owned, dilapidated homes, which showed the residents that there was a true commitment to help them. These efforts helped gain the community's trust, especially as PHLF renovated homes to fit the resident's variable income levels. Some members of PHLF even bought or moved into homes in the district.²⁴⁸ The monetary and social investments reflect the commitment on both parties' parts:

By 1980, Landmarks had invested \$500,000 in the Mexican War streets and owned twenty-five houses, but residents had spent over \$3 million...Residents

²⁴⁴ Roy Lubove, 16.

²⁴⁵ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 6.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 7.

²⁴⁸ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 16.

followed the Landmarks' suggestion to form their own citizens' organization – the Mexican War Streets Society.²⁴⁹

The Mexican War Streets Society (MWSS), was created in 1969 and is still active. It maintains the character of the neighborhood and organizes community events. The MWSS is an important way to maintain the physical character neighborhood and the community.²⁵⁰

In addition to the MWSS, the Mexican War Streets are protected by design guidelines. Similar to those in Manchester, the guidelines are used by the Historic Review Commission of the City of Pittsburgh to make determinations for certificates of appropriateness. They also stipulate that the Historic Review Commission must review demolitions.²⁵¹ Along with general guidelines for the maintenance of historic buildings, the guidelines go into more detail for items including siding, exterior finishes, roofs (which are mostly slate), windows, storefronts and other architectural features. Each section contains recommendations for what is appropriate and what is not.²⁵² These guidelines protect the history and value of the neighborhoods, while minimizing the frustration of homeowners who want to make changes to their homes or businesses.

Preserving not only a neighborhood, but its community as well, pays off socially and fiscally for a city. This was clear from the beginning in the Mexican War Streets, when the first five years of PHLF's work resulted in an average property value rise of ten percent.²⁵³ This rise is reflected in the physical improvement of the neighborhood, as well as the strength of the community (Images 12, 13 and 14). While the Central Northside, which includes the Mexican War Streets, had a population loss of 6 percent from 2000 to 2008, this was slightly less than the

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ About the Mexican War Streets Society.

²⁵¹ Mexican War Streets Society, *Mexican War Streets Historic District: Design Guidelines for the Issuance of Certificates of Appropriateness*, 1-2, www.mexicanwarstreets.org/pdfs/mws_historic_guidelines.pdf (accessed September 17, 2011).

²⁵² Ibid., 1-13.

²⁵³ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 7.

City of Pittsburgh's loss of 6.2 percent.²⁵⁴ The city is still struggling, but this historic area shows signs of stability. In 2008, investments of \$3,770,650 for residential and \$7,229,935 for non-residential building permits were made in Central Northside, indicating that investors believe it is a good place to build.²⁵⁵ Walking around the Mexican War Streets district, one can easily observe how active and vibrant it is. There are young families walking around with their children and it feels safe. These intangible feelings translate into higher property values and help economically revitalize cities. Central Northside is largely rental based, with 37.7 percent of homes owner occupied and 62.3 percent occupied by renters, but median housing value in 2008 was \$82,880 with a median sale price of \$91,000 compared to the City of Pittsburgh's median housing value of \$66,562 and sale price of \$75,000.²⁵⁶ People are willing to pay for historic property and neighborhood character.



Image 10. Central Northside District.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside, http://www.pittsburghpa.gov/dcp/snap/download_snap/ (accessed September 16, 2011).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ City of Pittsburgh, *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

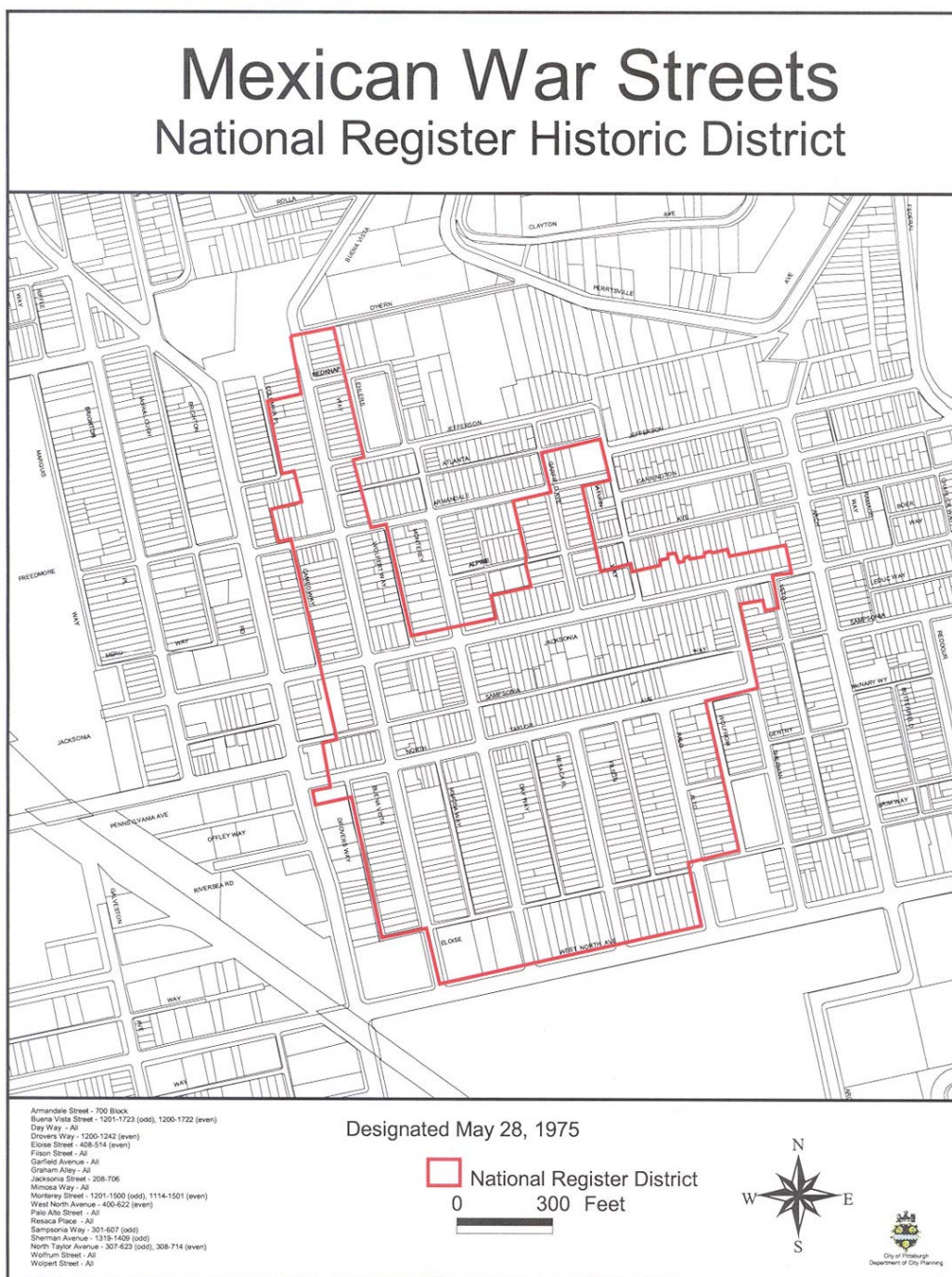


Image 11. Mexican War Streets National Register Historic District.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ *Mexican War Streets National Register Historic District*, <http://www.mexicanwarstreets.org/map-national-register-historic-district.html> (accessed November 23, 2011).



Image 12. Mexican War Streets.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ *Mexican War Streets*, photograph taken by author.



Image 13. Mexican War Streets.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ *Mexican War Streets*, photograph taken by author.



Image 14. Mexican War Streets.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ *Mexican War Streets*, photograph taken by author.

Detroit

Detroit, despite its reputation, contains vibrant historic neighborhoods (Image 15). History is important to the residents of Detroit. They take pride in their neighborhoods, just as the people of Pittsburgh do. Many neighborhoods in Detroit have preservation success stories and see preservation central to their economic revival. Historically designated neighborhoods in Detroit are protected by the Historic District Commission's Design Guidelines. These guidelines protect all sides of the homes. They also cover antenna and satellite dishes, economic hardship, fences and hedges, glass block, masonry cleaning, paint and color, security bars, lighting, style and color.²⁶²

The style and color guide is especially comprehensive. This guide was created in 1986 and consists of 23 architecturally based classifications and six color systems. This results in each building having a classification number and a color system. The other sections of the design guidelines are also detailed and comprehensive, detailing plants, fencing and cleaning practices that are acceptable as well as what requires commission approval and what does not.²⁶³ The following are examples of the types of neighborhoods that are designated and protected by Detroit's Historic Commission and are examples of the existing historic infrastructure of Detroit.

²⁶² Detroit Historic District Commission, *Historic District Commission Design Guidelines*, http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/dsn_guidelines.htm (accessed September 17, 2011).

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

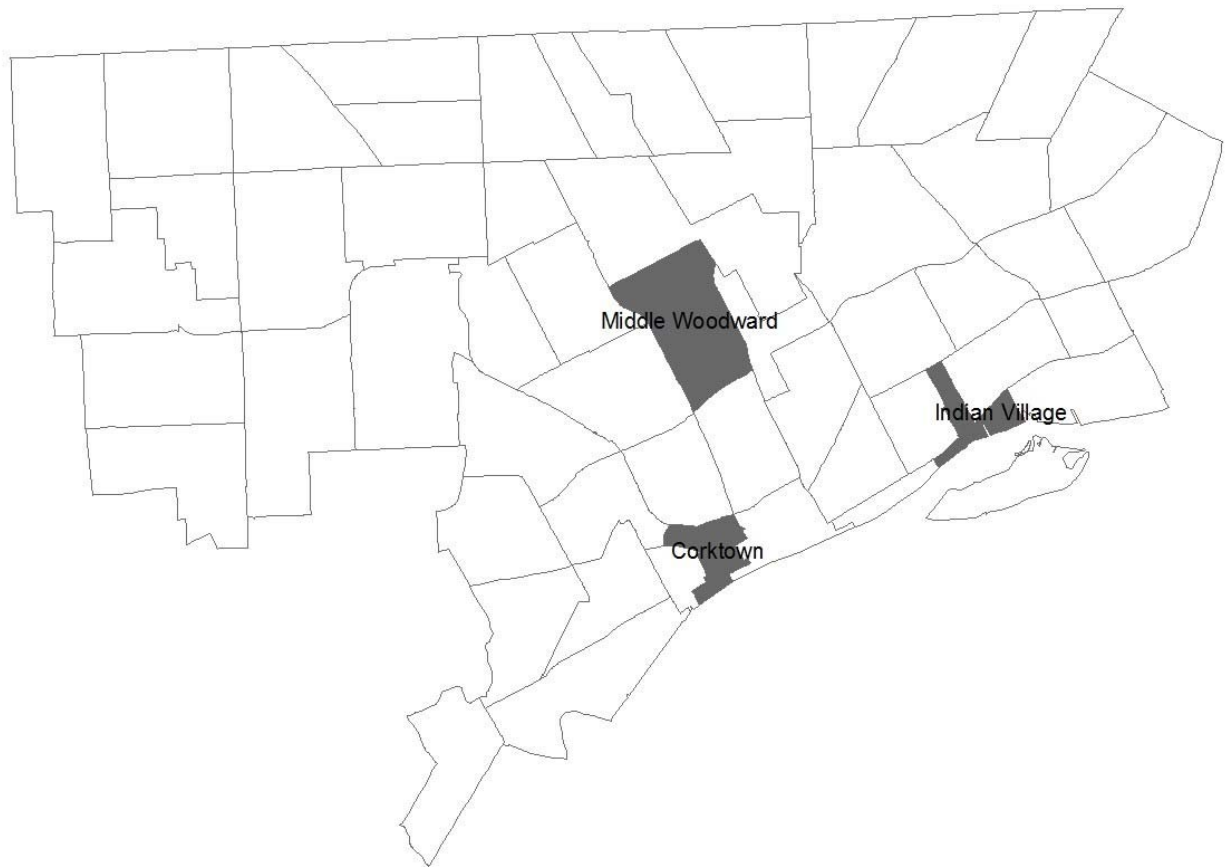


Image 15. Detroit Neighborhoods.²⁶⁴

Boston-Edison

The historic neighborhood of Boston-Edison, well known in Detroit, was designated nationally, by the state and the city in 1974 (Image 16). It is a large neighborhood, covering thirty-six blocks and containing over 900 houses. The majority of the homes in the neighborhood were built from 1905 to 1925, and consist of a variety of sizes and styles (Images 17 and 18).²⁶⁵ The neighborhood was once home to many prominent industrialists, indicated by the size and ornate style of some of the homes (Image 19). The neighborhood was also home to

²⁶⁴ Detroit Neighborhoods. Map created by author with City of Detroit GIS data, <http://www.detroitmi.gov/DepartmentsandAgencies/PlanningDevelopmentDepartment/Planning/InformationServiceandMapping/CommunityInformationandMapping/AdvancedMaps/DownloadGISFiles.aspx> (accessed November 10, 2011).

²⁶⁵ Historic Boston-Edison.

many physicians due to its proximity to the Henry Ford Hospital, built in 1915. While there are a variety of styles in the neighborhood, the homes are largely uniform in roofline and set back, which creates a suburban feel.²⁶⁶

Boston-Edison's preservation efforts are led by the Historic Boston-Edison Association. Founded in 1921, it is one of the oldest well-established neighborhood associations in Detroit. Its goal is to maintain the neighborhood and its history through projects and advocacy at both the city and state level. It is run by a board of directors elected from the neighborhood and remains active, even going to court to enforce the local historic district ordinance when necessary.²⁶⁷ Having a strong neighborhood association has maintained Boston-Edison and allowed it to continue to be an asset to Detroit.

While Boston-Edison is in better condition than many of Detroit's neighborhoods, largely due to its designation and related preservation efforts, there are abandoned and dilapidated houses, many owned by the Detroit Land Bank Authority (Image 20). The Detroit Land Bank Authority is a quasi-governmental organization that can buy and sell land. It sells land to developers and aims to help with community development and revitalization.²⁶⁸ The Middle Woodward neighborhood, which includes Boston-Edison, lost 29.1 percent of its population from 2000 to 2010.²⁶⁹ As of 2007, the Middle Woodward neighborhood also had a median income of \$28,324 compared to Detroit's overall median income of \$34,512.²⁷⁰ This is probably due to a combination of the economic downturn and housing problems in Detroit, with the

²⁶⁶ *Boston-Edison Historic District*, City of Detroit Planning and Development Department, www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/boston_edison.pdf.

²⁶⁷ Historic Boston-Edison.

²⁶⁸ Detroit Land Bank Authority, *Who We Are* <http://detroitlandbank.org/whoweare.htm> (accessed October 1, 2011).

²⁶⁹ Southeast Michigan Council of Governments, "Quickfacts: 2010 Census Data for City of Detroit Neighborhoods," April 5, 2011.

²⁷⁰ Social Compact Inc., "Detroit Neighborhood Market Drilldown: Catalyzing Business Investment in Inner-City Neighborhoods," October 2007, 13.

Middle Woodward area losing 20.9 percent of its total households and 3.7 percent of its total housing units from 2000 to 2010. Detroit, however, lost 6.9 percent of its total housing units, indicating that Boston-Edison is having some success in maintaining its housing. There was also, a 33 percent increase in vacant housing.²⁷¹ The problem is not being ignored, though. One example of a creative solution is Project 14. This project helps police officers buy houses in Boston-Edison and East English Village for only a \$1,000 down payment. In addition, Detroit plans to use Neighborhood Stabilization Program funds to renovate these homes. They see this as an opportunity to not only beautify Detroit but to make it safer, as well.²⁷² This type of creative solution helps stabilize historic neighborhoods and create a stronger community by taking advantage of existing resources. This program also shows promise due to its use of government funds for preservation over demolition. A neighborhood like Boston-Edison, if well maintained, can bring new residents into Detroit.

²⁷¹“Quickfacts,” 1.

²⁷² Margaret Foster, “Detroit Offers Historic Houses to Cops,” *Preservationnation.org*, February 23, 2011 <http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2011/story-of-the-day/Detroit-offers-historic.html> (accessed February 23, 2011)

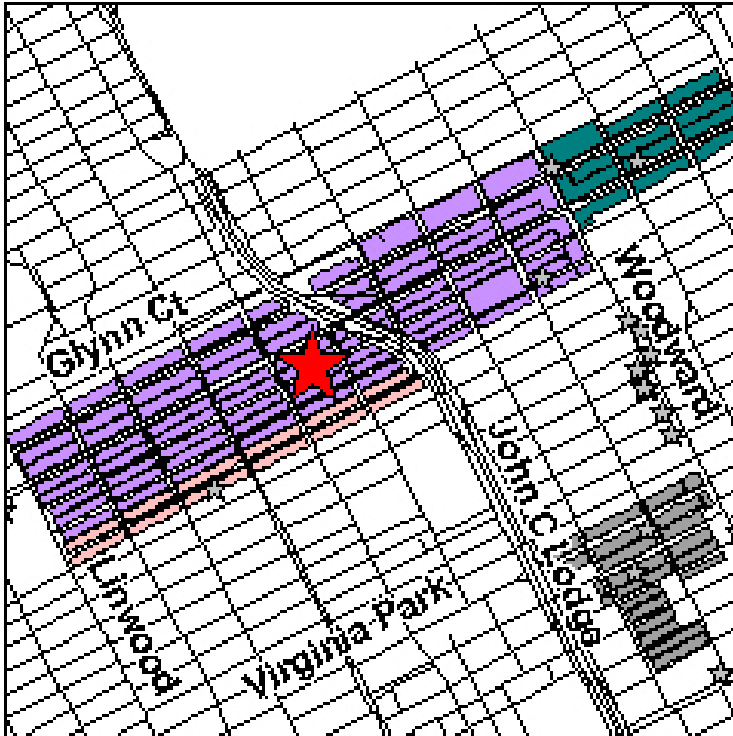


Image 16. Boston-Edison District.²⁷³

²⁷³ *Boston-Edison Historic District*, City of Detroit Planning and Development Department.



Image 17. Boston-Edison.²⁷⁴



Image 18. Boston-Edison.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ *Boston-Edison*, photograph taken by author.



Image 19. Boston-Edison Mansion.²⁷⁶



Image 20. Abandoned Boston-Edison House.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ *Boston-Edison*, photograph taken by author.

²⁷⁶ *Boston-Edison Mansion*, photograph taken by author.

²⁷⁷ *Abandoned Boston-Edison House*, photography taken by author.

Indian Village

Indian Village is another example of a vibrant historic neighborhood in Detroit (Images 21, 22 and 23). The neighborhood has been in existence since 1895 and is a nationally and locally designated district.²⁷⁸ The district protects 350 homes, mostly upper class and many styles. Indian Village was planned as an upper class, high quality neighborhood for rich residents. Albert Kahn, Louis Kamper and William Stratton built homes in this neighborhood for important Detroit residents like Edsel Fords and Wayland D. Stearns of Stearns Drug Company. The area was originally farmland and was subdivided around the 1900s. It was conceived of as an upper class, elite neighborhood, and remains well off today.²⁷⁹

The residents of Indian Village appreciate its historic value. Many of them move there specifically because of its history.²⁸⁰ It maintains its status as an upper class neighborhood to the present time, with a median income of \$66,106 in 2007. This is much higher than Detroit's overall median income of \$34,512.²⁸¹ The population in Indian Village dropped 16.1 percent from 2000 to 2010, but this less than Detroit's overall population loss of 25 percent. Its total housing unit loss of 7.3 percent is comparable to the city's overall loss of 6.9 percent.²⁸² This is not unexpected in a recovering historic neighborhood. With the current economic downturn, many neighborhoods are struggling. Indian Village has been able to keep pace with the overall city of Detroit, despite its aging infrastructure. These statistics indicate Indian Village is becoming a stable neighborhood capable of attracting and retaining residents.

²⁷⁸ Historic Indian Village., Detroit, Michigan, Mayor David Bing and Detroit City Council, *City of Detroit Master Plan of Policies*, May 2008, 110., and State Preservation Office, 16.

²⁷⁹ City of Detroit Planning and Development Department, *Indian Village Historic District* www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/indian_village.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

²⁸⁰ Diane Van Buren.

²⁸¹ Social Compact, Inc., 13.

²⁸² "Quickfacts"

In addition to designations, Indian Village also has a strong neighborhood association. The association is an active group that does activities and maintains any abandoned houses in the neighborhood to maintain its historic character and property values. The neighborhood residents tend to be better off financially than many other Detroit residents, so they are able to maintain these larger homes.²⁸³ In addition to maintenance activities, the association holds an annual home and garden tour and has a calendar of events.²⁸⁴ All of this demonstrates the interest the neighborhood's residents take in Indian Village. This is not unusual in a historic neighborhood; such a strong sense of community is common.



Image 21. Indian Village District.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Susan McBride.

²⁸⁴ Historic Indian Village.

²⁸⁵ *Indian Village Historic District*, City of Detroit Planning and Development Department, www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/indian_village.pdf.



Image 22. Indian Village.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ *Indian Village*, photograph taken by author.



Image 23. Indian Village.²⁸⁷

Corktown

Corktown is one of the most exciting historic neighborhoods in Detroit (Images 24 and 25). Corktown was a working class neighborhood first settled by Irish immigrants in the 1840s to early 1900s and built in a variety of architectural styles. The neighborhood consists of mixed land uses, making it walkable. These uses reflect the period it was built when development was commonly mixed residential and commercial and there was less economic segregation.²⁸⁸ It is protected by local designation and is attracting young people and new ideas, thus showing that preservation is for everyone.²⁸⁹ Attracting young people is a challenge for Detroit. In 2009, there were only 15,000 households comprised of people under 35 who attended college.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ *Indian Village*, photograph taken by author.

²⁸⁸ City of Detroit Planning and Development Department, *Corktown Historic District* www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/corktown.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

²⁸⁹ State Preservation Office, 16.

²⁹⁰ Dan Shine, 50.

Statistics like these make Corktown important for Detroit. Attracting young people is increasingly important as America shifts from a manufacturing base to more knowledge based businesses.²⁹¹ Young, educated people will be the future of Detroit socially and economically, because they will start and work for the small businesses that are growing there. Corktown should be an inspiration for other places in the city. The ability to attract young people allowed it to have a low percentage of vacant housing units compared to other neighborhoods in Detroit.²⁹²

Corktown was not always on the verge of growth and success, though. In the 1950s and 1960s parts of the neighborhood were destroyed by urban renewal and the John Lodge Expressway.²⁹³ In 1999 when the Tigers left Tiger Stadium, which is located in the neighborhood, most people predicted that Corktown would fade away.²⁹⁴ So far these predictions have proven incorrect. The population of Corktown fell by 8.1 percent, far below Detroit's overall loss of 25 percent. Total households and housing units actually increased 6.7 and 18.9 percent from 2000 to 2010 respectively.²⁹⁵ The median income for the neighborhood in 2007 was \$27,632, which was below Detroit's median of \$34,512.²⁹⁶ The difference, however is not drastic and likely reflects the fact that many people moving to Corktown are young and just beginning their careers. These statistics are impressive in a city like Detroit especially when considered in the light of the current economic and foreclosure problems the entire country is facing.

²⁹¹ Richard Florida, 227.

²⁹² *City of Detroit Master Plan*, 125.

²⁹³ City of Detroit Planning and Development Department, *Corktown Historic District* www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/corktown.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

²⁹⁴ Dan Shine, 46.

²⁹⁵ "Quickfacts."

²⁹⁶ Social Compact, Inc., 13.

One of the most recognized signs of progress in Corktown is the popular restaurant Slows Bar B Q (Image 3). One of the owners of the restaurant, Phillip Cooley, is involved not only in the Corktown neighborhood, but in the entire city. He also lives above Slows Bar B Q; he is an example of how living and working in a historic neighborhood deepens the sense of community. He is also fueling a food movement in Detroit, and was able to do so thanks to the real estate opportunities and affordable properties provided by this historic neighborhood.²⁹⁷ The median house sale value in Corktown in 2007 was \$85,100, which was below Detroit's median sale value of \$88,998.²⁹⁸ These opportunities are not available in cities such as New York that have high rents and little vacancy.

Corktown is improving but is not completely recovered. There are still abandoned and neglected houses in the neighborhood, but its history and affordability makes it a popular place for young people thinking about moving to Detroit (Image 26). The evidence of Corktown's status as a work in progress is clear in the stark contrast between Slows Bar B Q's rehabilitated building and the infamous Michigan Central Depot across the street (Image 27). While problems like preservation of the Depot can seem overwhelming, the small successes and rehabilitations of Corktown show that small efforts make a big difference and form a community that is stabilizing.

²⁹⁷ Melissa Ryzik.

²⁹⁸ Social Compact, Inc., 17.

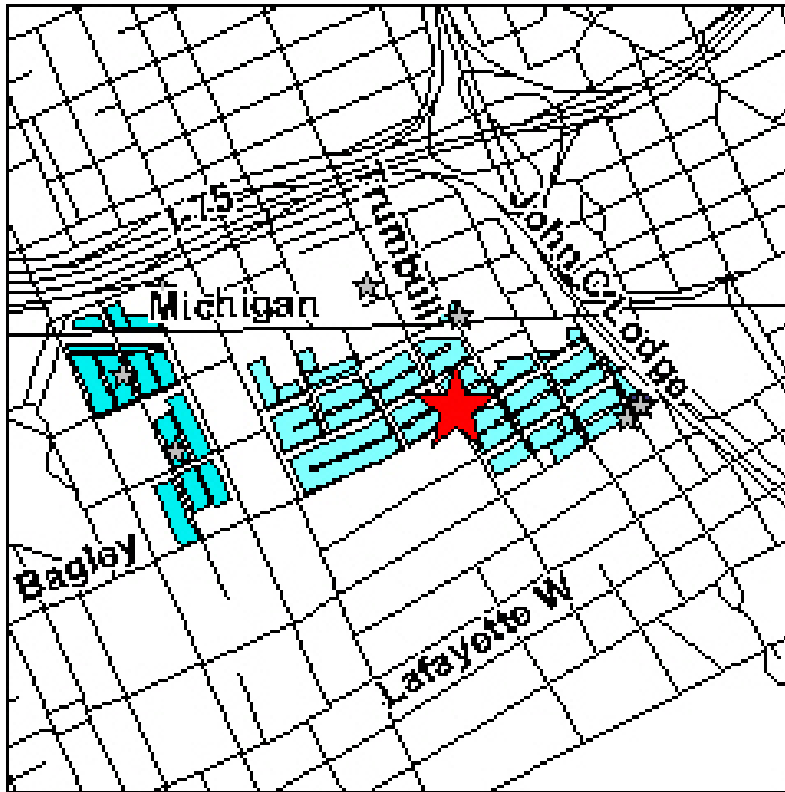


Image 24. Corktown District.²⁹⁹



Image 25. Leverette Street Rowhouses.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ *Corktown Historic District*, City of Detroit Planning and Development Department www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/districts/corktown.pdf.

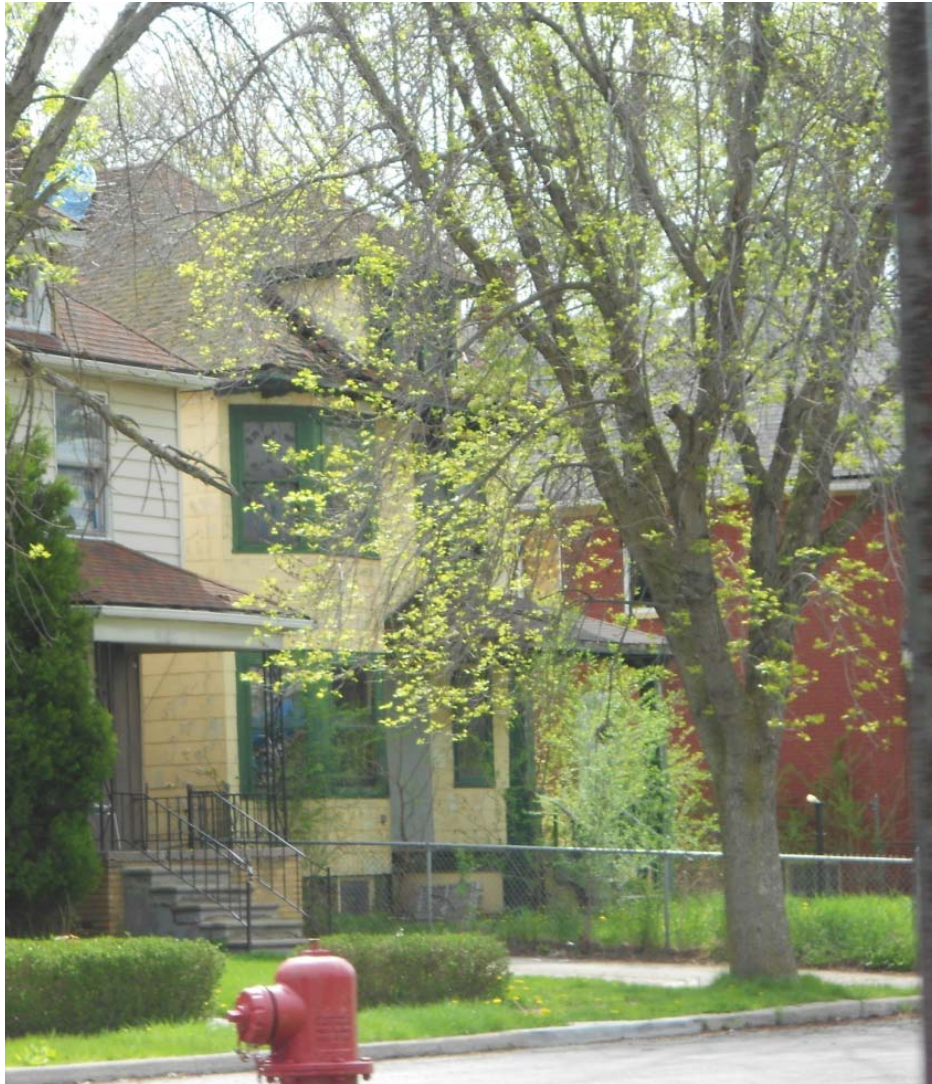


Image 26. Corktown.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ *Leverette Street Rowhouses*, City of Detroit Planning and Development Department www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/districts/corktown.pdf.

³⁰¹ *Corktown*, photograph taken by author.



Image 27. Michigan Central Depot.³⁰²

Options for Neighborhood Protection

Pittsburgh and Detroit use many strategies to protect their historic neighborhoods, including neighborhood associations, community development corporations, design guidelines and designations. While these methods are effective, there are a few additional steps gaining ground that could be useful to both cities.

One of these alternative methods for neighborhood protection is neighborhood conservation districts, or NCDs. These districts focus more on new construction in that they ensure compatibility with the existing architecture. They are less restrictive about changes to historic structures, including additions, than traditional preservation methods such as design guidelines. They work well for historic neighborhoods, because they are about an overall

³⁰² *Michigan Central Depot*, photograph taken by author.

aesthetic rather than an individual building.³⁰³ This method of protection is useful for neighborhoods that do not need or want the stricter rules that come with local designation and strong neighborhood associations. This level of protection allows these neighborhoods to maintain their character without as much control over changes.

Another option available to cities that want to protect their historic neighborhoods is zoning code changes. Many of the zoning codes now in place in urban neighborhoods were designed for the suburbs and their separation of uses. Detroit, for example, adopted its ordinance in 1920. The issues that the city needed to deal with then are not the same as those it faces now.³⁰⁴ Cities have several options if they wish to make their zoning codes more preservation-friendly.

One option is form-based codes. While most traditional zoning codes address land use, form-based codes are focused on form and scale. They seek to maintain the character of an area.³⁰⁵ This allows more freedom for historic neighborhoods, where uses are often mixed. In a form-based code, design is valued over use and the code is based on the area it regulates.³⁰⁶ This new approach to zoning could benefit neighborhood preservation by giving cities more control over what happens in their historic districts.

Two more types of zoning that can be useful for the protection of historic districts and neighborhoods are contextual and overlay zoning. Contextual zoning controls the design of buildings through features like height, setback and width. These controls keep a neighborhood's historic character intact.³⁰⁷ Overlay zoning adds extra protection to existing zoning ordinances,

³⁰³ Eric Allison, 90.

³⁰⁴ Michigan Association of Planning, "Form-based Codes – New Approach to Zoning," *Smart Growth Tactics*, December 2006, 1-2.

³⁰⁵ Eric Allison, 91-92.

³⁰⁶ Michigan Association of Planning, 1, 3-4.

³⁰⁷ Eric Allison, 93.

making them easier to implement than rewriting entire zoning codes. This zoning can relate to many things, including appearances, making it a good fit for protecting historic neighborhoods.³⁰⁸ While all of these options are good, they require much government effort. Additionally, while NCDs and zoning may have regulatory power, they cannot create a cohesive community the way local preservation actions can.

Funding

Money is usually an issue for preservation. Often neighborhoods in the most need of help have the smallest amount of money. While challenging, finding funding is not impossible. There are a number of ways to find funds for neighborhood preservation, as well as make it financially attractive to homeowners. The key to making funding work is to make sure both the investors and preservationists benefit.³⁰⁹ In order to be convincing, preservation must be monetarily attractive.

A common source of funding is bank programs and loans. The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation has often worked with local savings banks to fund projects.³¹⁰ For example, PHLF created a program called Working in Neighborhoods, or WIN, that involved 11 local banks. Through this program, Anflo Corporation, a business in Manchester historic district, was able to obtain a \$75,000 loan and stay in the district. This helped keep jobs and money in Manchester.³¹¹ PHLF itself will also give loans if they think a preservation project is economically feasible.³¹² These loans are for 501(c)(3) organizations, community development corporations or government entities and range from \$10,000 to \$1,000,000 for acquisition, rehabilitation, pre-development and construction costs related to historic property. PHLF gave 47

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 123.

³⁰⁹ Howard B. Slaughter, Jr., 42.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Howard B. Slaughter, Jr., 42.

³¹² Louise Sturgess.

loans from 1996 to 2006, totaling \$5 million.³¹³ Unfortunately, Detroit has not been as successful working with banks. There is not much bank lending available to struggling historic neighborhoods in Detroit, but the city should look at the work PHLF accomplished in Pittsburgh as a guide. Detroit must work with the banks and show them how preservation related programs can help their business and the community.³¹⁴

Finding the loan money to improve these districts is critical, because once money is loaned it can start a positive cycle within the district. When people are able to rehabilitate properties, banks and other lenders become more interested in loaning money in that district. This leads to competition among lenders and better deals for home and business owners. This increases property values which lead to more credit and the positive cycle continues.³¹⁵ Finding this initial funding is challenging, but once the process starts it becomes easier.

Grants are another source of funding for neighborhood preservation. Manchester again serves as a good example of effective grant funding for preservation. The Manchester Citizens' Corporation created a program for free exterior restoration for designated buildings in the district. These programs were made possible through MCC's work with the Urban Redevelopment Authority, who covered the cost of the work and materials while the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation decided the preservation standards.³¹⁶

The PHLF also offers matching grants throughout historic neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. These range from \$3,000 to \$10,000.³¹⁷ Detroit has some grants available, as well.³¹⁸ Neighborhoods in Pittsburgh and Detroit can take advantage of grants through the National

³¹³ Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, *Preservation Loan Fund* <http://www.phlf.org/programs-and-services/financing-sources/preservation-loan-fund/> (accessed October 1, 2011).

³¹⁴ Karen Nagher.

³¹⁵ Donovan D. Rypkema, 67.

³¹⁶ Eric Allison, 160-161.

³¹⁷ Louise Sturgess.

³¹⁸ Karen Nagher.

Trust, although the neighborhoods usually have to be either listed or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Detroit should look to Pittsburgh's many well organized grants as examples of future funding. There is probably less money available than in Pittsburgh, but Detroit could start with small projects and work its way up as its economy recovers.

Another option to encourage preservation is tax incentives, which can save home and business owners money and be very convincing arguments for preservation. Pittsburgh never had a state credit available and relies on federal tax credits to incentivize preservation.³¹⁹ Michigan's state tax credit includes residential buildings and can save homeowners or business owners up to 25 percent of rehabilitation expenses off their state income tax.³²⁰ It began in 2000 and generated much interest and support, but the governor of Michigan decided to cut all tax credits.³²¹ Many high profile projects used these credits, including the Westin Book-Cadillac and the Doubletree Guest Suites Fort Shelby.³²² According to the Michigan Historic Preservation Network, the personal income tax credit also stimulated \$20,062,000 in homeowner investment according to the Michigan Historic Preservation Network.³²³ The impact on preservation in Detroit remains to be seen, but federal multifamily and commercial federal tax credits will still be available.³²⁴ Like loans, tax credits are important not only for the savings they provide, but also for the "ripple effect" they create. If a neighborhood or business can use them to revitalize, economic activity usually spreads to nearby neighborhoods and businesses.³²⁵

³¹⁹ Louise Sturgess.

³²⁰ Michigan State Housing Development Authority, *State Only Tax Credits for Historic Properties* http://www.michigan.gov/mshda/0,4641,7-141-54317_18873-211483--,00.html (accessed October 1, 2011).

³²¹ Susan McBride.

³²² Nancy Kaffer and Daniel Duggan, "Proposal to end brownfield, historic preservation tax credits called 'devastating' for Detroit," *Crain's Detroit Business* <http://www.craindetroit.com/article/20110217/FREE/110219881/proposal-to-end-brownfield-historic-preservation-tax-credits-called-devastating-for-detroit#> (accessed October 1, 2011).

³²³ Michigan Historic Preservation Network, "Save the Michigan Homeowners' Historic Tax Credit!"

³²⁴ Susan McBride.

³²⁵ State Historic Preservation Office, 29.

Helping communities to preserve through incentives makes financial sense. While it costs tax revenues in the short run, ultimately it increases economic activity and brings in more revenue than abandoned or neglected buildings.

Another tactic for making preservation financially appealing is preservation easements. PHLF is active in this area. Easements protect a historic building's façade from changes while offering the opportunity to receive a federal income tax charitable deduction as long as the easement is given in perpetuity. PHLF also offers development rights and open space easements.³²⁶ Detroit does not promote easements to the same extent that Pittsburgh does, which is a missed opportunity. Many homeowners would be open to a façade easement program, because it would provide a financial incentive for preserving their home.

Preserving a historic neighborhood is never a simple task. It is often made more difficult by economic obstacles. Successful revitalization efforts are often backed by a large preservation organization. In Pittsburgh this group is usually PHLF. Detroit lacks a preservation group as powerful as PHLF, so it has relied on resident led neighborhood associations. Both these approaches are valid, but Pittsburgh's focus on economic viability has made it successful with both residents and investors. Detroit's neighborhoods need to take a similar approach. Its success can be seen in a neighborhood like Corktown, which is one of Detroit's most successful historic neighborhoods. Detroit must show that its neighborhoods can work socially and economically.

³²⁶ Pittsburgh History & Landmark Foundation, *Preservation Easements* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2007).

CHAPTER 5

PRESERVATION, PLANNING AND THE GOVERNMENT

Preservation is a movement that requires local efforts. Local citizens are the life-blood of preservation, and their success requires the aid of a cooperative government, including planners. Without government support, achieving larger goals is difficult, if not impossible.

The planning department is the area of government that preservationists need cooperation from most. Preservation planners can be an invaluable resource for information and make neighborhood preservation into a force for economic development and revitalization.³²⁷ While planners can be an important asset, they can also be a hindrance if they are not willing to work with preservationists. Despite years of evidence to the contrary, there is still an overwhelming belief within much of the planning field that new is better.³²⁸ This belief is not an insurmountable barrier, though. Preservationists must educate planners and other decision-makers within the government that preservation is worthwhile.³²⁹

Preservation Advocacy Groups

The state and local governments are obviously important to preservation's success as a driver of economic growth and development, but it is not the only one. Preservation advocacy groups are a vital part of this success. Without them, preservation would be less widespread and much less organized. Their scope ranges depending on the group's interests and size, from individual neighborhoods to entire cities, states, countries, or even the world in the case of organizations like the International Council on Monuments and Sites. The following selection of

³²⁷ Joint Study.

³²⁸ Eric Allison, 12-13.

³²⁹ Joint Study.

preservation organizations within Detroit and Pittsburgh exemplify of the types of work these organizations are doing and their impact on the preservation movements in their cities.

Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation

The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation is a nationally renowned preservation organization that has made major strides in the preservation not only of Pittsburgh's neighborhoods, but also the way neighborhoods are preserved throughout the country. As an organization, it has had a positive impact on establishing preservation as a respected and recognized profession.³³⁰ As previously mentioned, PHLF was founded in 1964 by Arthur Ziegler and James Van Trump in reaction to the impending demolition of the Manchester neighborhood by the URA.³³¹ The organization's formation was also a reaction to the city of Pittsburgh's overall master plan and its lack of regard for the historic resources of Pittsburgh.³³² When it began, PHLF filled an important void as the only major preservation organization, requiring it to fulfill all preservation needs from advocacy to physical rehabilitation.³³³

PHLF is known for its practical approach to preservation; it has never been a proponent of purist preservation and restoration ideals.³³⁴ This economically-based, practical viewpoint was radical in its time and is still an anomaly in many preservation circles.³³⁵ PHLF will only advocate for a building or district to be preserved if it meets criteria of architectural significance, community consensus and a feasible plan for its future use with a willing developer.³³⁶ While this approach appeals to many people, even those that may not initially be interested in preservation, there has been opposition from other preservationists due to PHLF's emphasis on

³³⁰ Eric Allison, 54.

³³¹ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 5-6.

³³² Eric Allison, 159.

³³³ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 3.

³³⁴ Nory Miller, "Big Business Preservation," *Architectural Record* (October, 1983), 97.

³³⁵ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 4.

³³⁶ Louise Sturgess.

economic viability over advocacy.³³⁷ In many ways, PHLF can be seen as a preservation based developer.³³⁸ PHLF's goal in terms of neighborhood preservation is to leave the neighborhood on its own. Once they have stabilized the neighborhood, PHLF steps back, letting the neighborhood manage itself, and only coming back if needed.³³⁹

One of PHLF's recent projects, Wilksburg, shows how far reaching PHLF has become. This project is located in the same county as Pittsburgh, but is adjacent to the city. The project involves the restoration of many properties including houses and the affordable Crescent Apartments. PHLF also started a housing resource center in the area. The project totals over \$10 million and attracting positive attention to preservation.³⁴⁰

While development of historic structures and neighborhoods is largely PHLF's focus this is not the full extent of their mission. They are also an advocacy organization. The organization runs many educational programs about local history and architecture. These programs include walking tours, school programs, publications, exhibits and lectures. PHLF reaches approximately 10,000 people a year through this programming.³⁴¹ PHLF's approach to preservation may be unusual, but it is effective. The organization has had a significant impact on Pittsburgh and is the name one runs across most often when reading about Pittsburgh's preservation efforts

Preservation Pittsburgh

Preservation Pittsburgh is an advocacy based nonprofit organization. Their mission involves policy advocacy and working with various groups and developers to plan projects that respect

³³⁷ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 19-20.

³³⁸ Sarah Quinn.

³³⁹ Louise Sturgess.

³⁴⁰ Development News, "\$10 million PHLF redevelopment projects restore three homes and create 27 apartments in Wilksburg," *Pop City*, <http://www.popcitymedia.com/devnews/phlfinwilksburg020211.aspx> (accessed October 2, 2011).

³⁴¹ Louise Sturgess.

historic resources.³⁴² The organization was founded when the Syria Mosque, a historic structure, was torn down in Pittsburgh and replaced with parking. The founders believed this was a sign Pittsburgh needed a grass roots advocacy group.³⁴³ Due to their different focus, Preservation Pittsburgh provides a viewpoint and service that PHLF does not. They are able to focus on saving resources that are in danger without focusing as much on economics.³⁴⁴ They are able to work on more controversial projects, since the organization is all volunteer and less beholden to anyone than other preservation organizations in the city.³⁴⁵

Because Preservation Pittsburgh focuses on advocacy does not mean the organization is not aware of the economics involved in preservation. Despite Pittsburgh's relatively stable economy, they know that historic resources are still in danger due to development pressures that come with greater prosperity. They also realize the economic advantage of restoring and protecting historic neighborhoods, since these neighborhoods are more likely to attract and retain residents.³⁴⁶ They see their advocacy work as integral to the success of these neighborhoods.

Preservation Pittsburgh and PHLF complement each other. Preservation Pittsburgh focuses on advocacy to creatively draw attention to the value of historic resources. PHLF focuses more on the economics of preservation and finding feasible development projects. Recently, Preservation Pittsburgh held a design contest to show alternative uses for the soon to be demolished Civic Arena.³⁴⁷ Ultimately, the Civic Arena will not be saved, but events such as the contest draw attention to the cause of preservation and alert people to the value of the historic

³⁴² Preservation Pittsburgh, "About Us," http://www.preservationpittsburgh.org/about_us/mission_history.htm (accessed July 5, 2011).

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Melissa McSwigan.

³⁴⁶ Preservation Pittsburgh.

³⁴⁷ Patricia Lowry, "Winners Announced in CIVIC Design Competition," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (September 27, 2010) <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/10270.1090771-100.stm?cmpid=latest.xml> (accessed October 4, 2010).

resources around them. Through their advocacy work, Preservation Pittsburgh strives to make more people see this value and save their history.

Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh

The Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh (YPA) encourages young people to get involved in preservation as well as showing them preservation can be used for economic development and revitalization. They also work on getting the African-American community involved in preservation efforts.³⁴⁸ They accomplish these goals through a variety of activities, including events, tours, research and training.³⁴⁹ A recent YPA program was the Preserve Pittsburgh Summit. The summit's goal was to educate young people about preservation through speakers and tours of rehabilitated buildings.³⁵⁰ Through hands-on activities, YPA gets young people excited about preservation and shows that it is about more than museums.³⁵¹

In addition to these activities, YPA, in collaboration with a number of other groups, created an economic study called *The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Southwest Pennsylvania*. The study found that preservation is economically important because it creates jobs, attracts investment, creates tax revenue and draws business.³⁵² YPA's work with young people is critical to the future of preservation and provides opportunities for youth in as the preservation field.

Preservation Wayne

Detroit has a number of organizations that support preservation efforts throughout the city. One of the most well known is Preservation Wayne. Founded in 1975 as an organization of

³⁴⁸ Melissa McSwigan.

³⁴⁹ Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh, "About Us," <http://www.youngpreservationists.org/about-2> (accessed July 7, 2011).

³⁵⁰ Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh, "News & Events," <http://www.youngpreservationists.org/about-2> (accessed October 2, 2011).

³⁵¹ *The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Southwest Pennsylvania*, 4.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 2, 4.

Wayne State University, Preservation Wayne became an independent corporation in 1988 and has since won an Honor Award from the National Trust for Historic Preservation.³⁵³

Preservation Wayne has worked with many different organizations to accomplish its goals, including the Historical Society of Michigan and the Detroit Historical Society, in addition to the local government.³⁵⁴ This ability to work with other groups is an important component to the organization's success.

In addition to its partnerships, Preservation Wayne runs several programs to educate and advocate about historic preservation. These include its Preservation Works! Workshops, which center on historic rehabilitation and adaptive use. They work with banks, development firms, planning organizations and city agencies in order to successfully run this program.³⁵⁵

Preservation Wayne is also known for its *Detroit Heritage Tours*, with topics including theatres, cemeteries, downtown, midtown and auto heritage.³⁵⁶ Other programs throughout the year include an internship program, volunteer program and newsletter for members.³⁵⁷ In July, the organization hosted a lecture series called 'What Makes a City?'. One of the lectures was titled 'Neighborhoods!', and it focused on the University District's 1920s and 1930s homes.³⁵⁸

While all of these programs are beneficial, the Executive Director of Preservation Wayne, Karen Nagher, knows they do not mean anything if few know about them, so she has worked on making the organization better known.³⁵⁹ As Preservation Wayne becomes better known, people may be more drawn to preservation in Detroit. Preservation Wayne offers many opportunities

³⁵³ Preservation Wayne, "Preservation Wayne – Who We Are, What We Do."

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Preservation Wayne, "Detroit Tours 2010."

³⁵⁷ Preservation Wayne, "Preservation Wayne – Who We Are, What We Do."

³⁵⁸ Preservation Wayne, "Lectures & Forums," <http://www.preservationwayne.org/forums.php>

³⁵⁹ Karen Nagher.

for Detroit's citizen to become informed and involved in preservation as a leader in Detroit's preservation movement.

Detroit Historic Neighborhood Coalition

The Detroit Historic Neighborhood Coalition is a unique organization centered on the historic neighborhoods of Detroit. Founded in 1999, the organization now includes approximately 30,000 people who live in historic neighborhoods and approximately 9,000 homes.³⁶⁰ The organization is comprised of member neighborhoods and their associations, including the previously mentioned Boston-Edison, Corktown and Indian Village. A number of other historic neighborhood associations belong to this group, as well.³⁶¹

The group focuses on historic architecture as well as creating stability in the city's historic neighborhoods. By connecting these groups, the Coalition strives to unite residents and help them revitalize their communities.³⁶² The connections formed through this group strengthen neighborhood ties and encourage historic neighborhoods to get together, brainstorm and take action on behalf of Detroit's heritage. At their meeting this July they focused on bank owned properties. Many bank owned properties in historic neighborhoods are left to deteriorate, so the Coalition is working on a project to make the banks accountable for the condition of these homes.³⁶³ The Coalition helps maintain Detroit's historic neighborhoods by working as a group and advocating.

³⁶⁰ Detroit Historic Neighborhood Coalition, http://www.neighborhoodlink.com/Detroit_Historic_Neighborhood_Coalition/info (accessed July 4, 2011).

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Corktown Connection, "July Meeting DHNC," <http://www.corktownconnection.org/?q=node/205> (accessed October 2, 2011).

Government

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh is familiar with preservation as an economic development strategy, but this does not mean preservationists and the government always agree. Like most cities, Pittsburgh still struggles to fully incorporate preservation into planning as well as the overall vision for the city. This goal is clear in the comprehensive plan Pittsburgh is currently working to complete. The plan will consist of twelve main components, one of which is cultural heritage and historic preservation.³⁶⁴ Once completed, the comprehensive plan will outline the goals for preservation for the next 25 years, making preservation a large part of a comprehensive plan.³⁶⁵ The website for the comprehensive plan sets out its intentions as follows:

PreservePGH will provide the city with a working document that holistically identifies historic and cultural assets, giving consideration to the issues, problems, and opportunities associated with those resources.

PreservePGH will develop goals, policies, and strategies for the appropriate use, conservation, preservation and protection of our historic and cultural assets.³⁶⁶

The plan creates a more cohesive idea of what preservation means and makes the process more clear.³⁶⁷ This comprehensive plan should help the city work with preservation groups throughout Pittsburgh by providing clarity and a reference point from which to begin preservation efforts.

While people within Pittsburgh's government care about preservation, this does not mean that they cooperate fully with preservation goals. Part of the problem may simply be lack of resources. Pittsburgh has only one preservation planner and was actually without one until

³⁶⁴ City of Pittsburgh, "PlanPGH," Department of City Planning, <http://planpgh.com> (accessed July 7, 2011)

³⁶⁵ Sarah Quinn, phone interview by author, July 7, 2011.

³⁶⁶ City of Pittsburgh, "PlanPGH."

³⁶⁷ Sarah Quinn.

recently.³⁶⁸ More support from local legislation for preservation groups trying to utilize preservation effectively and develop strong communities would be beneficial to the preservation community of Pittsburgh.³⁶⁹ An example of this lack of support is Pennsylvania's lack of a state preservation incentive program and Pittsburgh's lack of a local preservation incentive program. Attempts to institute incentives have been made for about a decade, but the state government has yet to enact legislation.³⁷⁰ .

While Pittsburgh's preservationists and government are not always in agreement, they often work successfully together. Many of Pittsburgh's Community Development Corporations, for instance, work with the government whenever possible to make progress in their neighborhoods, such as the MCC's work with the URA on façade improvements.³⁷¹ PHLF also commonly works with the government to achieve goals and the Mayor has given PHLF support for many of its projects. A recent example of this partnership is the development of the Fifth/Forbes/Market Square area in downtown Pittsburgh. The city and PHLF are working together with a \$4 million grant from the state and private grants given to PHLF to rehabilitate many of the buildings.³⁷² Additionally, many of PHLF's programs -- walking tours, main street programs and education programs -- have received government funding from the state and local levels, indicating the government's willingness to use preservation and work with preservationists.³⁷³ Pittsburgh's government may not have completely embraced preservation at every level, but it has shown that it is willing to work on this. The work done by Pittsburgh's government and its preservation groups indicates what can be accomplished. As these groups

³⁶⁸ Louise Sturges.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Louise Sturges. and *The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Southwestern Pennsylvania*, 3.

³⁷¹ Eric Allison, 161.

³⁷² City of Pittsburgh, "Mayor & PHLF to Unveil Restoration Plans for Fifth/Forbes Area Downtown," <http://www.pittsburghpa.gov/mayor/article.htm?id=1124> (accessed October 2, 2011).

³⁷³ Louise Sturges.

work together and the government understands the many advantages of preservation, these accomplishments will only grow and strengthen Pittsburgh.

Detroit

Detroit must have government cooperation in order to make preservation effective an economic development strategy. The planning division of Detroit's government includes a heritage planning section which helped make preservation an element of Detroit's comprehensive plan. The City of Detroit Master Plan contains goals specifically concerning neighborhood preservation, which is an important step in the government showing its support. The also mentions the economic benefits of preservation.³⁷⁴ There is no separate preservation plan for Detroit, though, a lack which could limit preservation's effectiveness. Despite this drawback, the Master Plan is flexible enough through additional supplements that it can be adjusted as preservation needs arise.³⁷⁵ Detroit's planning division is amenable to preservation and has shown this through its actions. The planning division's openness to preservation is a major asset to preservationists in Detroit and the overall goal of using preservation as a tool for economic development.

Despite these efforts to include preservation in the comprehensive plan for Detroit, some people still see a reluctance to include preservation in the broad planning of the city. There is a fear that Detroit focuses too much on specific projects that while beneficial, are not backed up by a more overarching plan. While there is a comprehensive plan for the city, it does not include similarly detailed and comprehensive goals for preservation. Without the support of a broader plan, preservation can be dismissed for projects that result in more instant gratification for the

³⁷⁴ City of Detroit Master Plan, 35.

³⁷⁵ Susan McBride.

city.³⁷⁶ This approach was evident in the demolition that occurred leading up to the Super Bowl in Detroit. People argue that the Mayor at the time, Kwame Kilpatrick, ignored landmark protections to demolish the Madison-Lenox by declaring it unsafe since he had already been refused permission to demolish it twice by the Historic District Advisory Commission. He countered that the demolished buildings were not economically viable.³⁷⁷ Whoever is right in this case is not truly the issue. The main problem is the obvious distrust between the government in Detroit and preservationists. In order for preservation to be successful, its proponents must learn to work with the government and create a trusting relationship with them.

Frustrations with the government are not new for Detroit. The city has a history of incompetence within the government, which has held back preservation. Unlike in Pittsburgh, CDCs in Detroit have struggled.³⁷⁸ Nonprofit developers in Detroit have found "...a changeable and unpredictable environment where no one has managed to resolve important institutional challenges."³⁷⁹ CDCs in Detroit are still a fringe idea. They have not been able to make the necessary connections within the government and development community to be as successful as Pittsburgh's CDCs.³⁸⁰ Now, more than ever, CDCs and similar preservation groups are critical to Detroit's future success. Detroit is planning for its shrinking, and these groups can save the existing historic resources that may otherwise be lost.³⁸¹

A major element of the existing problem is a history of dismissing neighborhood development. Two recent mayors, Coleman Young (from 1974 to 1993) and Dennis Archer (from 1994 to 2001), focused on bringing large businesses downtown. Additionally, they saw

³⁷⁶ John Gallagher, "Super Bowl."

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ John Gallagher, *Reimagining*, 33.

³⁷⁹ Margaret Dewar, 5-6.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Diane Van Buren.

new housing developments as an answer to Detroit's problems, which involved the demolition of older housing.³⁸² This creates a governmental environment that while perhaps not hostile to preservation, certainly is not welcoming.

The funds that the government receives for improvement projects often do not go to preservation. For example, in 2006 the city council only gave six percent of Detroit's Community Development Block Grants to community-based organizations, under which many preservation activities fall.³⁸³ This lack of support, both policy and monetary, is frustrating for preservationists. There is a lack of communication and willingness to listen in Detroit's past administrations. The current administration is shifting to a more open environment, but there are still many problems such as the residential demolition plan and lack of trust built up from previous administrations that must be worked out before preservation reaches its full potential in Detroit.

Affordable Housing and Gentrification

Affordable housing is often a concern in cities such as Pittsburgh and Detroit. Contrary to common belief, historic preservation can be an innovative and effective way to provide affordable housing that is high quality and inclusive.³⁸⁴ The flip side, however, is gentrification, often cited as a reason to oppose preservation. Without proper planning, preservation can force out the original inhabitants of a neighborhood as much as urban renewal. While gentrification is not a pervasive problem in either Pittsburgh or Detroit, it should still be taken into consideration before it arises.

³⁸² Margaret Dewar, 7.

³⁸³ Ibid., 6.

³⁸⁴ Donovan D. Rypkema, 69-71.

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh's commitment to affordable housing lies at the heart of its burgeoning preservation movement, largely begun by the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation. The PHLF was concerned from its inception about the displacements of residents, which it strove to avoid whenever possible.³⁸⁵ This commitment was clear in Manchester. Through all of the efforts to preserve it, the neighborhood remains to this day what it was before it was preserved: low-income and largely African-American. This was possible because PHLF worked to offer affordable rental units and ownership to many residents.³⁸⁶ PHLF's efforts elevated Manchester into a nationally recognized example of working with, not against, a community to save all aspects of a neighborhood, including its population.³⁸⁷ Retention of original residents is central to the identity of a neighborhood, so avoiding their displacement maintains character and community.

Manchester is not the only project that successfully integrated preservation and avoided gentrification. East Carson Street, another PHLF project, improved slowly so that change did not happen too fast for the neighborhood to adapt. Gradual change is common in Pittsburgh preservation projects. It allows new residents to come in without creating a drastic change in the current population.³⁸⁸ This also allowed new businesses to co-exist with more established businesses so both the current population and the new, younger population could be served in the neighborhood.³⁸⁹ Balancing a desire to draw in new people to revitalize a neighborhood while working with and maintaining the existing population can be challenging, but it has worked well in these Pittsburgh neighborhoods.

³⁸⁵ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 6.

³⁸⁶ Eric Allison, 150.

³⁸⁷ Roy Lubove, *The Post-Steel Era*, 13-14.

³⁸⁸ Melissa McSwigan.

³⁸⁹ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, 9.

The Mexican War Streets are another example of how gentrification can be avoided. The efforts to preserve and revitalize the Mexican Wars Streets were community based, like most of the successful neighborhood preservation efforts in Pittsburgh.³⁹⁰ PHLF has always been creative in its efforts to avoid displacement, and this project was no exception. By working with the URA, PHLF was able to lease homes that had been rehabbed to low-income residents of the neighborhood.³⁹¹ Government help was essential to PHLF's ability to offer affordable housing to residents, but sacrifices did have to be made. Some residents simply could not afford to buy homes or stay in the neighborhood; they had to leave.³⁹² Avoiding displacement entirely is often impossible, but the positive impacts of preservation usually far outweigh the negative.

Preservationists in Pittsburgh know that preservation is about more than rehabilitating the buildings themselves. It is about the residents and the people of the neighborhood just as much as the buildings; even people that seem undesirable. Everyone in a neighborhood should have a say in what it becomes.³⁹³ Displacing the residents of a neighborhood wipes out its history and identity as surely as demolition and neglect. These residents are critical to maintaining the identity and the appeal of historic neighborhoods. Keeping residents is possible through partnerships and cooperation.³⁹⁴ Above all, these residents must have a voice in the preservation and revitalization process or the neighborhood will not succeed. Pittsburgh realized this early in the city's preservation efforts and continues to have success due to this awareness.

Detroit

Gentrification is the last thing on most people's minds, preservationists included, in Detroit. The housing market in Detroit has been depressed since about 1970, so housing is

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 7.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 6.

³⁹² Nory Miller, 97.

³⁹³ Stanley Lowe quoted in Eric Allison, 153.

³⁹⁴ Howard B. Slaughter, Jr., 45.

already affordable in the city, abundantly clear in neighborhoods like Indian Village where the housing would be much more expensive if located in a different city.³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, gentrification should still be kept in mind and planned for in case affordable housing becomes an issue as Detroit recovers.

Even in Detroit's current depressed state, some people simply cannot afford a home. Affordable or not, owning a home requires maintenance and money, but this is not the same as gentrification. It is simply a fact that will prohibit some people from owning a home historic or otherwise.³⁹⁶ This is especially true of historic homes, though, due to Detroit's strict preservation ordinance. The ordinance states that the homeowner must use like materials when repairing or replacing something on the home, which can make maintenance prohibitively expensive.³⁹⁷ This is a concern, especially in a city like Detroit. If people cannot afford to maintain their historic homes, the neighborhoods will suffer.

Gentrification should be incorporated into a city's plan for preservation, and it has been included in Detroit's Master Plan. The plan strives to "... (m)inimize the impact of gentrification associated with preservation efforts."³⁹⁸ This includes a number of strategies mentioned throughout the plan, including financing of affordable housing, ensuring that rental opportunities are available at all levels and offering homes at a variety of income levels.³⁹⁹ Offering a wide variety of housing, both in type and price, is important to Detroit's future success. It will attract a more diverse population while still allowing those who want to remain in Detroit to do so.

Gentrification and affordable housing are not overwhelming concerns in either Pittsburgh or Detroit. Both cities have vacant housing that needs filled along with other factors that keep

³⁹⁵ Susan McBride.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ City of Detroit, Master Plan, 35.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 42-43, 45.

prices affordable. However, these cities should not ignore the issue. Without a plan for affordable housing options, gentrification can become a problem. Detroit has incorporated this concern into the city's Master Plan, but does not provide much detail about how to avoid gentrification. Presumably, Pittsburgh will also cover these concerns in the city's forthcoming master plan.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Pittsburgh and Detroit share a history of industrial rise and decline. This legacy also left both cities a rich architectural heritage. The neighborhoods of these cities and their vernacular architecture are no less a part of this heritage than the skyscrapers and other grand buildings that preside over their downtowns. These neighborhoods continue to be integral elements of these postindustrial cities through their architectural heritage and their intangible cultural and community heritage.

This history is not unique to Detroit and Pittsburgh, though. Postindustrial cities around the country from Buffalo to Baltimore and beyond have faced similar challenges as industry has moved across the border and overseas. The lessons and opportunities Pittsburgh and Detroit have to offer exist in many of these cities, as well. Postindustrial cities are struggling to bring back population and business in a changing economy and preservation needs to be a part of their recovery plan.

Pittsburgh realized the importance of its neighborhoods many years ago and worked to save them. Much good work has been done to preserve these valuable historic neighborhoods and their resources. Preservation organizations in Pittsburgh educate the public about the value of historic resources, and the results of this educational work are clear today in neighborhoods throughout Pittsburgh.⁴⁰⁰ A variety of preservation organizations with different missions and goals has made Pittsburgh's preservation efforts successful.

⁴⁰⁰ Louise Sturges.

Detroit also has many unique and historic neighborhoods, but it struggles to save them. In order to move forward, Detroit must accept the sweeping changes in its conditions. These include the shrinking of the city population and the change in the economy. These large scale changes mean that funding is a problem in all areas of the city, including preservation. The rents, for instance, make preservation projects less profitable than in cities like New York and mean that finding funding sources for these projects is difficult.⁴⁰¹

There are many opportunities and resources worth saving in Detroit's historic neighborhoods; people simply need to take advantage of what already exists. Homes in Detroit, even in the more affluent neighborhoods, are extremely affordable. This makes them great investment opportunities as the city recovers from the decline of the auto industry. The people of Detroit appreciate their history, including the vernacular architecture of these neighborhoods. The architectural resources and interest exist in much of the city, but Detroit needs time to figure out how best to save these neighborhoods.

These two cities exemplify the challenges as well as the opportunities that exist in postindustrial cities. Many of these cities have numerous historic buildings and infrastructure that is not being effectively used. Detroit's burgeoning preservation efforts show the challenges that face recovering postindustrial cities, but it is also an excellent example of the many resources available. Pittsburgh, shows the economic impact of preservation for a postindustrial city that has had more time and resources to recover. It provides strategies that other postindustrial cities, including Detroit, can use for their own neighborhood preservation efforts.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations for each city concerning what to do to further neighborhood preservation efforts in the city. While these recommendations are based on

⁴⁰¹ Dian Van Buren.

analysis of Pittsburgh and Detroit, they can easily be adapted and applied in other postindustrial cities. Many of these cities face the same challenges as Pittsburgh and Detroit, so they can learn from the preservation efforts of Pittsburgh and Detroit.

Survey

Both Pittsburgh and Detroit have outdated historic resource surveys. One of the biggest threats to historic assets in these and other postindustrial cities are abandoned and neglected buildings. Many resources have been lost or deteriorated, while some resources may now be old enough to be considered historic. Without a current survey many of the other recommendations are more difficult to accomplish and much less effective. A survey is especially important for neighborhood preservation, because these more vernacular resources and districts are less well known than larger buildings.

A current survey could bring previously overlooked districts into the public eye. It would also help preservationists make a case for saving historic resources by providing concrete data that people can easily understand. A current survey is also critical for making many decisions including demolition and planning decisions. Preservation has not been a priority in many postindustrial cities, so having an outdated historic resources survey is not uncommon. Comprehensive survey efforts require a lot of resources, but postindustrial cities everywhere, not just Detroit and Pittsburgh, need to make this a priority. Without a comprehensive, current survey knowing where to concentrate resources and which neighborhoods to save is extremely challenging. Cities need to know what resources they have in order to make informed decisions about their future.

Education

Detroit and Pittsburgh also need to focus on preservation education. Preservation is commonly misunderstood as an elitist effort that does little to contribute to a city's economy. This misconception can be addressed through more public preservation education. Many organizations in Pittsburgh have educational programs, including Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation and the Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh. PHLF in particular focuses on the economic advantages of preservation, which can make it appealing to business owners and investors.

Detroit, while it has some education programs and tours, is not as advanced in the field of preservation education. Detroit must work on improving its preservation education resources. Nonprofits should create more programs and workshops to educate the public, young and old, about the advantages of preservation. The better people understand preservation, the more likely they are to advocate for it.

This misunderstanding of preservation is prevalent throughout postindustrial cities where many historic assets are instead seen as burdens representative of an industrial age that has passed. Education through lectures, workshops, hands on work and more is essential to reversing this train of thought and helping cities see these neighborhoods as opportunities for economic growth instead of decay. With effective education people will begin to lead preservation efforts on their own.

Government

Preservation can only be truly effective in a city if the government, state and local, is willing to help and reward preservation efforts. There are many ways for government to show support of preservation efforts but one of the most common and effective is tax credits. This is

one tactic Pittsburgh has not taken advantage of in its neighborhood preservation work.

Pittsburgh has never had a state or local tax credit, leaving the federal tax credit as the only option. This does not provide any advantage for homeowners who want to preserve their homes.

Michigan had a state tax credit for preservation, but it was eliminated due to the current economic climate. While the economy is likely to limit many state and cities ability to create preservation based tax credits, efforts should be made to create them as soon as possible. These credits can help people who are undecided favor preservation over demolition. Governments in postindustrial cities should lead the way in preservation efforts. Their actions will prove that preservation is an integral element of postindustrial cities.

Preservation Plan

Many cities, including Pittsburgh and Detroit, include preservation in the overall comprehensive plan for the city. While this is preferable to ignoring preservation planning, a separate preservation plan is best. Even when preservation is an important element of a comprehensive plan, it does not allow for as much detail and direction as a separate preservation plan.

Preservation plans provide the opportunity to look at many aspects of preservation as well as each historic neighborhood individually and assess characteristics including the neighborhood's history, housing patterns, available resources and condition. Charleston, South Carolina's preservation plan provides an example of why a separate plan is so important. It covers many topics such as regulations, design review, education, affordability and sustainability. It also includes a section on each historic neighborhood, maps and photographs of important areas and an historic resource survey.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² "Vision-Community-Heritage: A Preservation Plan for Charleston, South Carolina," City of Charleston <http://www.charlestoncity.info/dept/content.aspx?nid=1247> (accessed November 29, 2011).

An individual comprehensive preservation plan allows a city to clearly set out its preservation policies. This is important, because people need to understand the rules and regulations attached to historic neighborhoods and structures. An effective preservation plan provides the opportunity to make these regulations clear while also showing why these resources deserve protection. Including preservation in an overall comprehensive plan curtails the space and limits the specificity that is necessary to create effective and clear preservation policies.

Conclusion

Preservation is not a panacea for all that ails a city; no one idea can solve the many problems that plague postindustrial cities in America. Preservation, however, must be included in the overall plan for these cities. Pittsburgh's work makes this clear. Without preservation, Pittsburgh would not have reached the level of success it has today. The city used preservation as one of many tools to solving its problems following the collapse of its industry, and Detroit should follow suit. Like Pittsburgh, Detroit's industrial legacy includes many historic neighborhoods that play a large part in defining the city and telling its history. While Detroit no longer has its industry, it still has the neighborhoods it left behind. Neighborhood preservation will help economic recovery, maintain communities and bring in new people. Detroit, and postindustrial cities like it, can look to cities such as Pittsburgh for inspiration and ideas about what works best. Preservation cannot be the only tool used for economic recovery; it must be one of them in order to create a successful postindustrial city. The industrial legacy that in many cities represented failure can now support a prosperous future.

Pittsburgh and Detroit are the focus of this analysis, but the lessons learned in them can be applied to other postindustrial cities. Postindustrial cities need to focus on their industrial heritage and the built environment that reflects this history. Neighborhood preservation creates

stronger communities within these cities and draws people to them once again, so it must be an integral in the plans for their future; preservation takes advantage of what industry built in these cities. Postindustrial cities need to show the public what preservation can accomplish and its many advantages through projects and education outreach. Many successful preservation efforts start at a grass roots level, so engaging the public and showing them what resources are available is vital. The buildings and communities left after deindustrialization should not become casualties of an economic downturn. They are resources that postindustrial cities can and should use to become prosperous again.

REFERENCES

- 71 Garfield: Sugar Hill*. <http://www.sugarhilldetroit.com/index.html> (accessed September 29, 2011).
- About the Mexican War Streets Society. General Information.
www.mexicanwarstreets.org/about.html (accessed July 4, 2011).
- AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trusts. "H.J. Heinz Loft Apartments," http://www.aflcio-hit.com/user-assets/Documents/project_profiles/heinz_lofts.pdf (accessed November 23, 2011).
- Allison, Eric and Lauren Peters. *Preservation and the Livable City*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011.
- Associated Press. "City Council Vote all but dooms Pittsburgh arena." *Forbes.com*
<http://www.forbes.com> (accessed July 2, 2011).
- Belko, Mark. "Civic Arena's Lower Interior Already Guttled." *Post-Gazette.com*.
<http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/11272/1178551-100.stm>(accessed October 1, 2011).
- Berg, Nate. "Right Size Fits All." *Next American City*, December 2010.
- Bluestone, Barry and Bennett Harrison. *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1982).
- Chatfield-Taylor, Adele. "Proposal for Paterson." *Architectural Forum*, January-February, 1970.
- City of Detroit. "Download GIS Files."
<http://www.detroitmi.gov/DepartmentsandAgencies/PlanningDevelopmentDepartment/Pl>

anning/InformationServiceandMapping/CommunityInformationandMapping/AdvancedMaps/DownloadGISFiles.aspx (accessed November 10, 2011).

City of Detroit Planning and Development Department. *Boston-Edison Historic District*.

www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/boston_edison.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

City of Detroit Planning and Development Department. *Corktown Historic District*.

www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/corktown.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

City of Detroit Planning and Development Department. *Indian Village Historic District*.

www.detroitmi.gov/historic/districts/indian_village.pdf (Accessed September 23, 2011).

City of Detroit: The Official website of Detroit. "Residential Demolition Program." Mayor's Office.

<http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/DepartmentsandAgencies/MayorsOffice/ResidentialDemolitionProgram/tabid/2992/Default.aspx> (accessed June 30, 2011).

City of Pittsburgh. Historic Review Commission of Pittsburgh. *Design Guidelines: Manchester Historic District*.

www.city.pittsburgh.pa.uskp/.../guidelines105_Manchester_Guideliens.pdf (accessed September 18, 2011).

City of Pittsburgh. *PGH SNAP*, Section 3: Lower Northside.

City of Pittsburgh. "PlanPGH." Department of City Planning, <http://planpgh.com> (accessed July 7, 2011).

City of Pittsburgh, *Title Eleven: Historic Structures, Districts, Sites and Objects*, (Pittsburgh)

<http://library.municode.com/index.aspx?clientID=13525&stateID=38&statename=Pennsylvania>

Corktown Connection. "July Meeting DHNC."

<http://www.corktownconnection.org/?q=node/205> (accessed October 2, 2011).

Crane-Murdoch, Sierra. "Farewell to the Assembly Line." *Next American City*, December 2010.

Detroit Historic District Commission. *Historic District Commission Design Guidelines*.

http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/dsn_guidelines.htm (accessed September 17, 2011).

Detroit Historic District Commission. *Ordinance*

<http://www.ci.detroit.mi.us/historic/ordinance.htm> (accessed October 20, 2011).

Detroit Historic Neighborhood Coalition.

http://www.neighborhoodlink.com/Detroit_Historic_Neighborhood_Coalition/info
(accessed July 3, 2011).

Detroit Land Bank Authority. *Who We Are*. <http://detroitlandbank.org/whoweare.htm> (accessed October 1, 2011).

Detroit, Michigan. Mayor David Bing and Detroit City Council. *City of Detroit Master Plan of Policies*. May 2008.

Development News. "\$10 million PHLF redevelopment projects restore three homes and create 27 apartments in Wilkinsburgh." *Pop City*.
<http://www.popcitymedia.com/devnews/phlfinwilkinsburg020211.aspx> (accessed October 2, 2011).

Dewar, Margaret. "What Helps or Hinders Nonprofit Developers in Reusing Vacant, Abandoned, and Contaminated Property? Findings from Detroit and Cleveland." *CLOSUP Working Paper Series, Number 4*, February 2009. <http://closup.umich.edu> (accessed April 10 2011).

Diane Van Buren, phone interview by author, Lula, GA, May 25, 2011.

Duggan, Daniel and Nancy Kaffer. "Proposal to end brownfield, historic preservation tax credits called 'devastating' for Detroit." *Crain's Detroit Business*.

<http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20110217/FREE/110219881/proposal-to-end-brownfield-historic-preservation-tax-credits-called-devastating-for-detroit#> (accessed October 1, 2011).

Duggan, Daniel. "Renters help Book Cadillac get to half full: Condo sales expected to pick up with economy." *Crain's Detroit Business*. May 9, 2010.

<http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20100509/SUB01/305099974/renters-help-book-cadillac-get-to-half-full-condo-sales-expected-to-pick-up-with-economy> (accessed November 23, 2011).

Eby, Margaret. "The Ruins of Detroit." *Next American City*. Issue 28.

Flanagan, Joe. "Running on Empty: the Plight of Detroit and the Postindustrial City." *Common Ground*. Fall 2010.

Florida, Richard. *Who's Your City: How the Creative Economy is Making Where to Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.

Foster, Margaret. "Detroit Offers Historic Houses to Cops." *Preservationnation.org*, February 23, 2011. <http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2011/story-of-the-day/detroit-offers-historic.html> (accessed February 23, 2011).

Francis, Mark. "A Case Study Methodology for Landscape Architecture." *Landscape Journal*.

Gallagher, John. *Reimagining Detroit: Opportunities for Redefining an American City*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010.

Gallagher, John. "Super Bowl spurs demolition in Detroit." *Architectural Record*. Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals. <http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy->

remote.galib.uga.edu/ehost/detail?vid=3&hid=110&sid=2b666484-e82c-46dd-9016-539b142a0781%40sessionmgr110&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=bvh&AN=583493 (accessed April 9, 2011).

Gelernter, Mark. *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context*. Lebanon: University Press of New England, 1999.

Georgia. Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation. *Joint Study Committee on Historic Preservation Final Report*. December 1998.

Grunow, Francis. "The Future of Detroit's Past." *Next American City*. Issue 28.

Historic Boston-Edison Association. Historic Boston-Edison.

<http://www.historicbostonedison.org> (accessed July 3, 2011)

Historic Indian Village. <http://www.historicindianvillage.org> (accessed July 3, 2011).

Karen Nagher, interview by author, Detroit, MI, May 10, 2011.

Kidney, Walter C. *Life's Riches: Excerpts on the Pittsburgh Region and Historic Preservation from the Writings of Walter C. Kidney*. Edited by Louise King Sturgess and Albert M. Tannler. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2006.

Louise Sturgess, e-mail and personal interview by author, Pittsburgh, PA, June 10, 2011.

Lowry, Patricia. "Winners Announced in CIVIC Design Competition." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. September 27, 2010. <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/10270/1090771-100.stm?cmpid=latest.xml> (accessed October 4, 2010).

Lubove, Roy. "City Beautiful, City Banal: Design Advocacy and Historic Preservation in Pittsburgh." In *Pittsburgh History*. Pittsburgh: The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 1996.

Lubove, Roy. "Historic Preservation and Industrial Heritage in the Pittsburgh Region." In

Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh, Volume II: The Post-Steel Era. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996.

Madera, Christian. "The Data Dividend." *Next American City*, December 2010.

Manchester Citizens Corporation. *Mission and History*.

<http://www.manchestercitizens.org/home.htm> (accessed October 1, 2011).

"Mattress Factory," Mattress Factory, www.mattress.org (accessed July 2, 2011).

Melissa McSwigan. Interview with the author. July 21, 2011.

Mexican War Streets National Register Historic District <http://www.mexicanwarstreets.org/map-national-register-historic-district.html> (accessed November 23, 2011).

Mexican War Streets Society. *Mexican War Streets Historic District: Design Guidelines for the Issuance of Certificates of Appropriateness*.

www.mexicanwarstreets.org/pdfs/mws_historic_guidelines.pdf (accessed September 17, 2011).

Michigan Association of Planning. "Form-based codes – new approach to zoning." *Smart Growth Tactics* Dec. 2006: 1-8.

Michigan Historic Preservation Network. "Save the Michigan Homeowners' Historic Tax Credit!".

Michigan State Housing Development Authority. *State Only Tax Credits for Historic Properties*. http://www.michigan.gov/mshda/0,4641,7-141-54317_18873-211483--,00.html (accessed October 1, 2011).

Miller, Nory. "Big Business Preservation." *Architectural Record*, October, 1983.

Moe, Richard and Carter Wilkie. *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl*. New York: Henry Hold and Company, Inc., 1997. Reprinted by Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2010.

Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation. *Preservation Easements*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 2007.

Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation. *Preservation Loan Fund*.

<http://www.phlf.org/programs-and-services/financing-sources/preservation-loan-fund/>
(accessed October 1, 2011).

Preservation Pittsburgh. "About Us."

http://www.preservationpittsburgh.org/about_us/mission_history.htm (accessed July 5, 2011).

Preservation Wayne, "Detroit Tours 2010."

Preservation Wayne. "Lectures & Forums." <http://www.preservationwayne.org/forums.php>
(accessed October 2, 2011).

Preservation Wayne, "Preservation Wayne – Who We Are, What We Do."

Rodriguez, Cindy. "Riot or Rebellion? Detroiters Don't Agree." *The Detroit News*. July 19, 2007. <http://detnews.com/article/20070719/METRO/707190418> (accessed June 30, 2011).

Rypkema, Donovan D. *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide*. Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994.

Ryzik, Melissa. "Detroit's Renewal, Slow-Cooked." *The New York Times*. October 19, 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/20/dining/20Detroit.html?ref=melenaryzik> (accessed October 24, 2010).

Sarah Quinn, phone interview by author, July 7, 2011.

Sharoff, Robert. *American City: Detroit Architecture, 1815-2005*. Pictures by William Zbaren.

Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005.

Shine, Dan. Pictures by Kevin J. Miyazaki. "Block By Block." *Preservation*, May/June 2009.

Slaughter, Jr. Howard B. "Integrating Economic Development and Historic Preservation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania." *Preservation Forum*, Spring 1997.

Social Compact Inc.. "Detroit Neighborhood Market Drilldown: Catalyzing Business Investment in Inner-City Neighborhoods." October 2007.

Southeast Michigan Council of Governments. "Quickfacts: 2010 Census Data for City of Detroit Neighborhoods." April 5, 2011.

State Historic Preservation Office. *Preservation Shore to Shore: Making Michigan Competitive Through Historic Preservation; Michigan's State Historic Preservation Plan: 2007-2012*, by Amy L. Arnold. Lansing, MI, 2006.

Susan McBride, interview by author, Detroit, MI, May 11, 2011.

Talen, Emily. *New Urbanism & American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

"Vision-Community-Heritage: A Preservation Plan for Charleston, South Carolina." City of Charleston. <http://www.charlestoncity.info/dept/content.aspx?nid=1247> (accessed November 29, 2011).

The Westin Book Cadillac Detroit." <http://www.bookcadillacwestin.com/> (accessed November 23, 2011).

Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh, "About Us," <http://www.youngpreservationists.org/about-2> (accessed July 7, 2011).

Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania Works!. *The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Southwestern Pennsylvania: Jobs that cannot be Outsourced* (May 2010) http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/rehabilitation-tax-credits/additional-resources/Study_201005_HistPresSouthWest.pdf (accessed July 4, 2011).

Young Preservationists Association of Pittsburgh. "News & Events."
<http://www.youngpreservationists.org/about-2> (accessed October 2, 2011).

Ziegler, Jr. Arthur P. *Contributing to Pittsburgh Livability: Neighborhood Preservation and Station Square*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 1997.

Zito, Salena. "Hill District divided by legacy of Mellon Arena." *Tribune-Review*.
http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/dailycourier/news/dunbar/s_493962.html (accessed September 26, 2011).