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Modes, Means and Measures: Adapting Sustainability Indicators to Assess Preservation Activity's Impact on Community Equity

Mackenzie M. Greer
University of Massachusetts Amherst

**MODES, MEANS AND MEASURES:
ADAPTING SUSTAINABILITY INDICATORS TO ASSESS
PRESERVATION ACTIVITY'S IMPACT ON COMMUNITY EQUITY**

A Thesis Presented
By
MACKENZIE M. GREER

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Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Mark Hamin, Chair

_____
Elisabeth Hamin, Member

_____
Michael DiPasquale, Member

_____
Elizabeth Brabec, Department Head,
Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

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ABSTRACT

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MAY 2009
MACKENZIE M. GREER, B.A., HARTWICK COLLEGE
M.R.P, M.L.A. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST
Directed by Mark Hamin

Preservation of and reinvestment in the built environment as a redevelopment tool
has been used by cities and towns across the country, in many cases providing significant
social, economic and environmental benefits. Potential social effects have often been the
least explored aspect of sustainable development, especially with regard to preservation,
yet they are often the most challenging, particularly given the potential for displacement.

This thesis reviews literature where the issues of preservation, redevelopment and
sustainability intersect. A set of best practices was developed that can be applied to other
cities and towns to help balance preservation- and equity- enhancing activities. Another
result of this research is the development of appropriate community indicators to provide
means for measuring the effects of preservation on social equity. A selection of the
indicators will be applied to two selected case studies (Northampton and Pittsfield, MA)
to explore how such indicators can work as a measurement tool, how to best adapt them
for a community, and their comparative strengths and weaknesses.

The findings section addresses the data at both the fine and coarse grain – for the
indicators and best practices as well as for the overall observations from the study process.

Keywords: preservation, historic preservation, sustainability, social equity, rehabilitation,
community indicator

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PRESERVATION AND EQUITY BACKGROUND

1.1 Primary Issues

Preservation has been a growing trend in many American cities. The results have been mixed, but in many cases preservation has provided significant social, economic and environmental benefits. While in some instances it has lead to gentrification and has changed the character of some cities and towns, in other places through careful effort and policy, preservation has helped make some cities and towns more accessible and in turn more equitable for a diversity of residents. The thesis will look at two case studies to develop measurement tools to understand the impact of preservation on equity. The research culminates in a set of best practices that can be applied to other cities and towns and the development of potential indicators to help measure progress toward goals of preservation and increasing social equity.

For over a half century following World War II, the development pattern in the United States, particularly in urban areas (small and large) has shifted from concentration at the metropolitan core of cities toward their greenfield edges and beyond. Many once vibrant downtowns and neighborhoods have been abandoned and neglected, with little regard for the impact on each community in the long term. While this was not the case in every community, often this outward growth tended to result in pristine lands, meadows, farmlands, and forests being degraded, denuded and destroyed to make room for residential subdivisions and commercial retail. Meanwhile, city centers and inner-ring suburbs must cope with disinvestment in decaying buildings, civic and park spaces and

infrastructure. This reciprocal dynamic of uncoordinated new edge development and underinvested existing core causes deeply rooted political and economic problems within our society. Irreplaceable heritage and culture is lost, the divide between rich and poor grows, and residents become increasingly desensitized to the long-term impacts of reckless development (Hall and Silka in Hamin, Silka, and Geigis, 2007; Bluestone in Page and Mason, 2004; Page and Mason, 2004; Mason, Bluestone, Klamer, and Throsby, 1999; Hayden, 2003; Rae, 2003).

Some cities and towns across the country have begun to recognize and address these issues, largely at the behest of active and concerned citizens, recognizing a need for protection of our natural and built resources. Lack of affordable housing and accessible civic amenities, a sign of limited equity in a community, has increasingly become a concern for many residents and professionals. However, it is not often fully appreciated how preserving and enhancing the current built environment, particularly in the most concentrated urban areas, can contribute to solutions for achieving equity. In fact, many critics have traditionally assumed that preservation and reinvestment in the urban core more often contribute to increased social inequality than to social equality.

There is no doubt that investments in city centers, particularly those with strong historic fabric, have caused displacement of residents in many cases. But this is not sufficient reason to stop investing – what is needed are clearer means to do so while protecting residents from adverse affects, and ways to assess the potential impacts of those actions. A preserved and enhanced neighborhood or district can and should provide a greater quality of life for diverse community members for generations into the future.

1.2 Thesis Purpose

This research represents an initial attempt to begin to address limitations in the research literature regarding the relationship between preservation and equity (apparent during this research), and to identify strategies for assessing how preservation of the built environment impacts the sustainability of a community, particular in terms of its social equity, i.e., the fair distribution of resources or goods among a diverse citizenship. In order to achieve these goals, the intersections of preservation and sustainability, in terms of both potential complement and incompatibility, have been explored in this thesis by means of a comparative assessment method to be described below. While most of the relevant existing literature considers historic preservation (often distinguished in national, state, and local designations as being culturally or architecturally significant), this research takes into account the other kinds of significance and value that older, sound buildings and their surroundings make to the cultural fabric and heritage of a community.

A key aim of this study will be to formulate a set of assessment criteria and best practices, based on an examination of relevant literature, and by means of a comparative case study method. These criteria and recommendations could assist a community in their efforts to achieve greater equity through preservation of their existing resources, while the best practices can provide potential tools for different-sized municipalities in a variety of areas of the country. But how helpful are these tools, if their effects cannot be measured or otherwise documented? To that end, a set of sustainability indicators has been prepared to assist communities in assessing how preservation activities affect aspects of their social equity. A selection of these indicators will be tested on two small cities in western Massachusetts.

It is not expected that the assessment criteria, recommended best practices, and sustainability indicators will be a perfect fit for every community – they should each be considered with respect to local context. The full list, however, will provide a starting point for citizens and leaders to determine what is most important and relevant for their own residents, neighborhoods and community. These tools and means of measurement should help to address potential risks, benefits and other relevant considerations when seeking to promote community-preserving redevelopment efforts.

1.3 Thesis Goals and Objectives

This research is framed to understand the divergent and convergent historical trends which have brought preservation and equity planning to their current situation. It will also seek to develop a working definition of sustainability as it applies to preservation of the built environment, and why equity is such a vital but relatively overlooked component of both preservation and sustainability planning. The development of best practices and indicators, supported by a comparative case study assessment, should provide a working application for municipalities with often competing or conflicting goals of preservation, equity, and sustainability.

The thesis has the following major goals and objectives:

1. to describe and situate the current relationship between preservation and planning in historical context, and to explain how this historical relationship is relevant to promoting sustainability practices at present

Objectives to achieve this goal are:

a. to establish the historical foundations and evolution of the relationship between and planning and preservation

b. to develop an operational definition of sustainability, particularly its equity aspect, as it relates to the built environment

c. to identify current opportunities and challenges related to preservation and equity

d. to formulate best practices for preservation, promotion or enhancement of equity through preservation

2. to develop sustainability indicators for assessing the balance between preservation and equity

Objectives to achieve this goal are:

a. to develop a method for identification and formulation of sustainability indicators through research of current measures and adaptation of best practices into indicators

b. to gather data for indicators related to preservation and equity

c. to formulate relevant best practices metrics as indicators

3. to demonstrate selected indicators by means of comparative case studies of two communities

Objectives to fulfill this goal are:

a. to select two locations with good data accessibility, similar demographic characteristics, apparent preservation

activities, and publicly-declared goals of becoming
sustainable communities

b. to establish relevant background (geographic, demographic, economic) information for each case study

c. to examine a similar redevelopment tool (special districts) where preservation is a primary strategy in each case study

d. to create a focused set of indicators relevant to the declared goals of the districts and gather applicable data

e. to devise a process to evaluate the selection, accessibility and measurability of the indicator set

1.4 Research Questions

What are the complementary considerations and opportunities for fostering better redevelopment practices by means of the connection of preservation to social equity?

- In what ways and to what extent are the goals of preservation planning and sustainable equity planning complementary or incompatible relative to one another?
    - o Where are the areas of convergence in the research literature?
    - o Where are the areas of divergence in the research literature?
- In what ways and to what extent can conventional preservation activity present obstacles to promoting an equitable community?
    - o How can obstacles to equity be overcome, mitigated or minimized?

- Which best practices and measures for using preservation to achieve equity are most transferable, i.e., can readily be adapted for use by other communities?

- What sustainability indicators are most transferable, i.e., can readily be adapted to measure a program's fulfillment of creating equity through preservation efforts?

1.5. Assumptions

One assumption of this research is that cities in earlier phases of a preservation-based redevelopment cycles are more likely to be able to meet equity goals of diversity, affordability and accessibility compared to those in later phases. Early redevelopment stages may include greater attention directed at increasing investment to spur job growth, bolster the economic condition, and fulfill more social needs, while later stages may entail efforts to keep the economy, physical place and social needs/resources stable, especially at the higher end of the socioeconomic scale. The two case study areas to be examined, Northampton and Pittsfield, MA, are each pursuing various redevelopment strategies to achieve sustainability goals. In their efforts to develop a more robust municipal economic base, the community's social equity may be further neglected.

The indicator test may show that a variety of metrics will present the most accurate picture of a community –e.g., some combination of specific, tabulated data, basic yes/no or simple ranking evaluations, directional measures of change over time ('moving toward,' moving away from' goals). Based on preliminary research, it is expected the indicator data may show that Northampton offers less diversity and affordability of housing compared Pittsfield, which could be tentatively linked to their

stage of preservation activity. Because of the limited scope afforded by these two case studies, it is assumed that the precise causal factors likely will not be determined.

1.6. Scope and Organization of Study

Historical case studies and recent literature have formed the foundation of this research. It was important to understand how the current issues of redevelopment and sustainability have been influenced by trends, events and policies in the past. The fields of redevelopment planning and preservation in the United States are relatively new, both maturing over the past century, becoming convergent only in recent decades. Over time, the goals of each field have in some cases complemented and in others competed if not conflicted with one another. Shared tools and strategies, as well as complementary goals of community redevelopment, have on occasion brought redevelopment planning and preservation together in a sometimes tenuous relationship. Many researchers, theorists, and practitioners have developed strategies and practices which can help address goals of community redevelopment. These ideas have been culled from the various literatures and were compiled into a larger of best or beneficial practices.

As numerous municipalities and regions try to understand what it means to be a sustainable community, they have an opportunity to more closely examine how existing built resources can help contribute to that goal. This study has examined sustainability more generally, then more closely in terms of its three primary components – ecology, economy and equity, through the lens of the built environment. It was found that equity has been the area addressed least critically in the existing literature, often glossed over or paid nominal tribute; its qualitative and contextual character poses a greater challenge to

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formulation as precisely measurable indicators or metrics. Sustainable ecology and economy, by contrast, have each received a significant greater degree of research attention; their indicators and metrics, moreover, tend to be more readily formulated in concrete, quantitative terms. Sustainability indicators have been used for some time to help a community understand the progress it is making toward self-prescribed goals (Maclaren in Wheeler and Beatley, 2009; Hamin in Hamin et al., 2007; Maclaren, Intergovernmental Committee on Urban and Regional Research, Canada. State of the Environment Directorate, and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1996). Previously developed indicators which relate to the built environment and equity have been collected, supplemented with the most relevant current best practices which were adapted into indicators. A selection of these indicators will be tested on two communities to better understand application of these measurement tools. For example the type of data, accessibility of information, and ability to compare year to year, will be aspects of the indicator review.

It is the intention of this project to develop a sample of readily transferable set of best practices and indicators to help communities trying to become more equitable through preservation and redevelopment of the built form. These tools are not intended to apply to each and every community, but hopefully they can provide a starting point for community discussions and deeper thinking about the particular needs of each community and neighborhood. The developed indicators should be carefully and deliberately adapted to each particular time and place, and may be most effective when used recurrently as part of a long-term effort to monitor and measure progress – rather than as a single snapshot that freezes a community in time.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Technique

The technique for this research process was multi-stage, with each step building on prior research. Literature was reviewed to understand the historical context of disinvestment and redevelopment of physical resources. A set of best practices was derived from this literature, exploring different means for redevelopment which take social equity into consideration. Then a collection of indicators was compiled to measure the potential success and impact of such redevelopment efforts. Finally, two case study municipalities with ongoing preservation efforts and interests in sustainability were selected for application of select, relevant indicators.

2.1.1 Literature Review

Recent literature and historic case studies related to planning, preservation and sustainability helped form a foundation for this study. The historical origins and evolution of planning as it relates to the built environment, preservation of existing resources, and their points of overlap were explored. Planning's role in sprawl, exodus of residents from the city core, and urban renewal practices all contribute to the state of the built environment around downtowns and surrounding neighborhoods. The historical development of planning at the neighborhood and community level provides a structure for valuing and supporting investment in existing built resources, and the need to include building of equity as a part of this process.

The evolution of historic preservation is fundamental to understanding valuation of older resources today. While early historic preservation efforts focused on individual sites of a limited nature, the movement came to have a more egalitarian focus, encompassing a wider timeframe, distinct districts made up of contributing resources of varying natures, landscapes with and without buildings, and elements of the everyday, working landscape. This progression toward a broader focus led to using the simple term 'preservation' for this research – in this case defined as *preservation of older, sound buildings, surroundings, and infrastructure which supports a cohesive heritage and cultural fabric*.

The literature review also encompasses reinvestment in declining neighborhoods, commercial centers, and their supporting infrastructure as a strategy used for a number of decades. Urban renewal, starting in the 1950's destroyed many older neighborhoods, disrupted social networks, and encouraged sprawl to outer fringes. Unfortunately, there was limited support for discontinuing the encouragement of development at the edges of communities, and perhaps even less for maintaining an existing core.

Sustainability has inspired a vast amount of literature available due to its many applications, from the regional level to the individual site. This review focused on how the primary components of sustainability relate to preservation of the built form. Reduced consumer waste, retention of embodied energy, and reduced production of energy and material are environmental benefits of preservation. In rehabilitation far more than new construction, local economies are better supported through the employment of greater local labor, encourage smaller, local businesses, and reduced strain on municipal budgets through use of existing infrastructure. Social equity, the just distribution of resources

amongst a diverse citizenship, is the primary focus of this research because literature to date appears limited. Often preservation and equity are discussed in terms of supporting retention and enhancement of culture and heritage within a community, but less about its effect on social equity. This research delved into housing issues, access to appropriate commercial space, preservation's role in neighborhood revitalization, and community diversity.

2.1.2 Development of Best Practices

Nearly all literature reviewed contained suggestions and strategies for redevelopment through preservation, and some also addressed equity. In addition, many case studies suggest methods that were successful in other communities. These were brought together in a comprehensive list, where many themes and specific ideas were found to recur, providing a starting point for individual communities – not each and every one will be suitable, but rather this list will provide choices. Applicability will vary greatly by size and condition of the municipality and smaller focus areas. In addition, there many strategy sets for redevelopment of downtown commercial areas which could also be reviewed by municipalities to create a set of strategies unique to that location's needs.

The full set of best practices is described in Chapter 4.

2.1.3 Relevant Sustainability Indicators

Many communities are beginning to employ sustainability indicators to assess how well their communities are achieving their goals of enhanced livability. Ideally, the

indicators will address how the built environment impacts the social condition and function of the community (Hamin in Hamin et al., 2007; Maclaren in Wheeler and Beatley, 2009). Sustainability indicators have developed in order to help reveal information about simple phenomena (Maclaren in Wheeler and Beatley, 2009). Well-constructed groupings of indicators could provide a picture of an aspect of that community's redevelopment efforts and how they may be impacting equity.

Previously developed indicators were researched and those related to preservation of the built form and social equity selected. These indicators were supplemented by reviewing the best practices and adapting the most applicable ones into indicators. This larger set of indicators should provide a starting point for communities wishing to measure and understand the progress they are making toward goals related to preservation and equity. Similar to the best practices, the selection made by each location should be specific to that place and its goals. This should be a community-driven process, where the goals and the indicators reflect the desires of that place.

The full set of indicators is included as Appendix A.

2.1.4 Developing Case Studies

The case studies were chosen for accessibility, sustainability as a stated goal of the community, similar physical characteristics, and variant development patterns. Two small cities, Pittsfield and Northampton, MA, were selected. This size city has less often been a focus of redevelopment literature (Faulk, 2006). Each location has considerable older building and landscape fabric which contribute to the sense of place and cultural development. The downtown areas and surrounding neighborhoods offer local

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commercial and residential opportunities. Each has designated an overlay for their central

business district (downtown) as a means to focus preservation efforts. In each case study,

relevant background was researched including demographics, programs addressing

preservation and equity, and overall similar and different development characteristics.

Please refer to Chapter 5 for case study area descriptions.

2.1.5 Selected Indicator Test

The goals of the overlay districts were explored, and indicator criteria (out of the

full set developed in this research) most relevant to their locations and municipal tools

were selected. The data for each indicator were researched and assessed for accessibility

of information, measurability, and relevance to goals of measurement. In most cases, it

was noted if aspects of redevelopment were being attempted in the city overall, and also

within the specific municipal tool. The indicator data were reviewed for emerging trends,

current challenges and opportunities.

This test represents a starting point – each practice and subsequent indicator

should be adapted specifically for each locale, and, most importantly, by representative

members of that community. This process will help determine how accessible and

measurable the information is, and potential for transferability to other communities.

2.2 Research Limitations

There were a range of limitations within this research project. The most

significant was how vast the subject matter was – historic preservation and sustainability;

narrowing these areas and clearly defining them helped to provide greater structure for

the research. The development of this project was without input or impetus from a particular community; because of that the process developed suggests parameters and general steps, rather than containing specific input from a community process. In this way, the suggestions are somewhat theoretical at this point, particularly in terms of application to a locale.

2.2.1 Extensive, complex subjects

The relevant subject areas of preservation and planning are vast. There was an abundance of literature related to historic trends, community revitalization, historic preservation, sustainability and equity. Notably, there was limited research related to how these fields overlap, though downtown revitalization, which often involves historic preservation strategies has significant scholarship. The research for this project was limited to that which was most relevant – where the subject areas overlapped.

The best practices are developed out of the literature sampled. There are likely many more to add to the list. In addition, there are a number of previously developed strategy sets specific to discrete, separate goals of preservation and equity, of which few were reviewed, in part to avoid their often disparate approaches. Thus, a next step, beyond the scope of this research, would be to comparatively evaluate the set of tools formulated in this study to others with potential similarities.

2.2.2 Community Input

The most significant limitation of this study was the process for developing the indicator set. Indicators should be derived out of a community's own goals and desires

for their future direction. Since the community process was not a part of the research study, it instead focused on gathering a comprehensive best practices and indicator lists to provide many choices for communities seeking means of measurements.

2.2.3 Historic preservation vs. preservation

Understanding and protecting important and emblematic architecture, landscapes and districts is the primary function of historic preservation today. However, this study, when referring to the built environment, or contributing built resources, includes all structurally sound buildings and supporting infrastructure which make a contribution to the culture or heritage of the neighborhood or district, the existing surroundings and designated public spaces.

The United States Secretary of the Interior has established that any building over fifty years of age has potential to be designated historically significant. These buildings must meet a specific set of criteria before being considered significant at the national level; most states and localities also have a similar designation. In the case of this study, generally all buildings fifty years of age and older which are structurally sound and contribute to the integrity of the local culture and heritage are included when referring to 'preservation.' The word 'historic' has been left out because the research, designation process, and future design standards often imposed on much of the historically significant built form can limit the potential for rehabilitation. The degree of cultural contribution a building, landscape or neighborhood provides is important – however, the interpretation of degree will vary from person to person and group to group. Those elements which make a greater contribution to the presence, substance, and clarity of a local culture will

likely contribute to increased equity for residents. Of primary concern here is how existing buildings can potentially help contribute to the sense of place, create greater equity among residents, and support goals of sustainability.

CHAPTER 3

POTENTIAL RECIPROCITY OF PRESERVATION AND EQUITY

3.1 Introduction

It is vital that the study and promotion of preservation move beyond architectural history and significance as its ultimate (and sometimes only) standard – identifying what features of the built environment represent and sustain the evolution of a community's culture and heritage should focus less on the most eminent structures it has built. The constructed environment, i.e. buildings, designed outdoor spaces and built infrastructure, should be able to fulfill residents' needs and desires, whether physical, symbolic, or social (Lynch and Mumford in LeGates and Stout, 2000). Existing, functional buildings of sound construction can and should be maintained and used to help residents fulfill their needs of daily living, e.g., providing suitable housing, access to jobs and transportation while supporting social needs – all elements of a more equitable community.

In the last century, a modernist standard emerged in which new construction was lauded while rehabilitation was discouraged, if not dismissed entirely (Jacobs, 1961; Lynch in LeGates and Stout, 2000; Platt and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2006). Often in an effort to spur revitalization, cities and towns may overlook the existing resources they have, and unfortunately may demolish buildings, compromising the overall integrity of the area. Development continues to stretch into the green fringes of our land, leaving residents with less access to open spaces. In Massachusetts, it has been claimed that two acres of open space each hour are consumed by new construction – 88% of it is in new housing, 65% of that is low-density residential (Smart Growth Alliance, 2009).

It is neither possible nor desirable to start over, but many communities can still hold on to what they have not yet displaced – by making careful decisions about where to develop further, how to preserve existing older buildings, and how to fairly distribute resources. They can move in a new direction by preserving and rehabilitating buildings and public spaces, infilling existing neighborhoods, and consciously recognizing the merits of our heritage as we try to build a more sustainable, equitable place. Even though the preservation movement has been making great efforts over the last forty years, many buildings are still torn down, "every day, 7 days a week, 52 weeks a year for the last 30 years the United States has lost 530 units of housing built before 1950, 80% of which were single-family dwellings" (D. D. Rypkema, 2003, p. 10). The crisis of affordable housing in America has been critically exacerbated because we have torn down what was affordable and built what is financially unreachable or unadvisable for many of our citizens.

Given the vast subject nature of planning, preservation and sustainability, the literature was reviewed primarily for contributions where the fields overlapped as they related to built resources.

3.2 Historic Overview: Planning and Preservation

3.2.1 Introduction

Roby and Birch (1984) offer a helpful retrospective on the historical origins and evolution of planning and historic preservation fields in the United States. While once separate disciplines with disparate perspectives, approaches and tools, today the fields share much in common. Allied preservation and planning can serve to promote each

other's agenda and methods. These advances have largely taken place over the last two decades; it wasn't until 1980 that historic preservation was considered an official planning function, and even then it was not fully embraced. As planning's focus shifted from the regional and city scale to include neighborhood planning, the finer framework brought attention to individual buildings, districts, and the surrounding land (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984). Understanding the origins and development of these two fields sets the stage for understanding the related contemporary issues of built form facing communities today. (Please see Appendix B for a discussion of the historical origins and development of this relationship.)

3.3. Sustainability and Preservation

3.3.1 Defining Sustainability within a Community

An early framework, the *Our Common Future* report by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 defined sustainable development as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Roseland, Cureton, and Wornell, 1998). This definition encourages an "ecological balance" that stresses a less consumptive lifestyle (Park, 1998, p. 13; Bronson and Jester, 1997; Owens, 1994). Part of the 1992 Rio *Agenda 21* emphasized the importance of individual behavior within the local governance structure and policy, which likely encouraged contemporary consideration of sustainability within issues of livability and equity (Portney, 2003). The parameters of sustainability are commonly defined by three E's – environment, economy and equity, all three converge in preservation of the built environment; frequently a fourth 'E' is added for empowerment of citizens. For example,

vernacular landscapes, frequently the object of preservation efforts, were often built in accordance with environmental principles and provided a strong cultural expression within the place. As well, Heritage Preservation Program Services promotes projects supported by the Historic Investment Tax Credits which embody the principles of ecological and cultural sustainability (Park, 1998).

The process of building sustainable communities is not just about the present – it is a vision of what the lives of residents have been and can be like; not just maintaining a certain quality of life here and now, but actually preserving what is valuable from the past and improving prospects for the future (Roseland et al., 1998). The elements that comprise quality of life can be seen in what questions sustainability indicators seek to answer if and how "the economic, social and environmental systems that make up the community are providing a healthy, productive, meaningful life for all community residents, present and future" (www.sustainablemeasures.com/Sustainability/index.html, accessed 03/20/2009).

3.3.2 Relationship of Sustainability to Planning and Preservation

Some authors have pointed to the need for the planner to play a greater role in preservation of their communities. Planning is now expected to address sustainability in terms of environment and culture, though the idea is already familiar to many in the field (Owens, 1994). Wojno (1991) describes a need for greater collaboration between planners and economic developers in articulating an extensive program of preservation in support of cities and towns undergoing revitalization. Rifkind (1981), in describing the long-term trend of manufacturing base decline in many former industrial cities, points to

the need for a planning process which is of "extraordinary scope and comprehensiveness" as "encompassing economic, physical, cultural, commercial, and tourism" issues (Rifkind, 1981).

Second on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's website list of 'Issues' is sustainability. The Trust describes fundamentally how "historic preservation can – and should – be an important component of any effort to promote sustainable development" (National Trust, 2009). The Trust believes that conservation and improvement of our existing built resources, including re-use of historic and older buildings, 'greening' existing building stock, and reinvestment in older and historic communities, is crucial to combating climate change. Recognizing that perpetual urban growth is unsustainable, it is important to understand that "nothing physical can grow indefinitely…sustainable use is applicable only to renewable resources: it means using them at rates within their capacity for renewal" (Roseland et al., 1998, p. 3). While not in endless supply, the existing built environment should be considered a valuable resource to help create a sustainable community, requiring reinvestment and contextualization for the present community and individual residents.

Sustainable development through preservation of existing resources should not be considered antithetical to all new construction, which can fill many needs appropriately. In her essay about saving community character through historic preservation, Annaliese Bischoff, associate professor of Landscape Architecture, makes a case for incorporating good planning in order to make old and new elements compatible. Understanding that there is going to be a need for new development, she makes a strong statement that "preservation and development need not be mutually exclusive," arguing instead for well-

suited construction developed through careful planning and design (Bischoff in Hamin et al., 2007, p. 222).

3.3.3 Relationship of Sustainable Equity to Planning and Preservation

A review of literature proved ample information is available about preservation activities supporting sustainability in terms of the environment (often focusing on energy) and the economy (see Appendix C for a brief overview of these issues relative to preservation and built environment.). What is rarely explored or claimed as a benefit, it how preservation activities can help support an equitable community. Social equity is rarely addressed in depth, even cities who "purport to be working toward becoming more sustainable do not address issues of equity at all" (Portney, 2003, p. 158). Hayden suggests that looking forward, planners should be challenged to think beyond urban planning as primarily serving economic development to how it can serve the community as a whole (Hayden, 2003).

3.4 Defining Equity within a Community

Equity has various meanings, depending on the context in which it is discussed. In this study, equity is one interrelated component of sustainability and refers to how well resources, in this case those of a community or neighborhood, are distributed among its residents. Resources, also called goods, can range from open space to transportation access to housing, but this research focuses on resources having a relationship with preservation of the built environment. Many measures of equity in a community can be measured in terms of access which accounts for both distance (ability to reach) and

affordability, which includes housing, commercial or retail areas, jobs, safety and well-being, and transportation. This research primarily explores resources which make a contribution to the built form of a neighborhood or district will be explored in detail, primarily rehabilitation of housing and downtown commercial buildings. Fair housing, access to transportation, and affordable commercial space for small businesses are all elements of equity that can be addressed through preservation of the physical form.

3.4.1 Importance of Equity

Protecting culture and heritage is only one social benefit of preservation that could or should be claimed. There are other factors that can bring about change and opportunity within a community. Preservation and community equity have a potentially symbiotic relationship: living conditions improve, work prospects stabilize, and the life and use of familiar places lengthened and preserved for many generations to come – all benefits meeting the definition of sustainability (Lichfield, 1997; Mason et al., 1999). In order for preservation to be relevant and positive today, it should be a benefit for its residents as a whole. While it should help build a sense of self and location in place, it can also address issues and needs related to quality and capacity of the living environment.

3.4.2 Equity and Neighborhood Revitalization

Both fields – planning and preservation – make contributions to neighborhood revitalization. Community development activities in planning often target the particular neighborhoods that may have high crime, poverty, and/or have failing physical facilities

and amenities. Much neighborhood revitalization is initiated through targeted investment in areas of decline or in an attempt to create a more cohesive social support system, often to better allocate available resources. Some have said that an issue too frequently ignored is the quality of the built environment, e.g., the soundness of buildings, aesthetic appeal, relationship of topography to street layout, circulation patterns, and how well public and private spaces integrate (Clarke, 1997). In addition, existing neighborhoods, including downtown areas and the neighborhoods which surround them tend to be compact in development, often offering greater access to multiple transportation modes and amenities than less dense developments far away from such existing infrastructure (Frey, 2007 and Wilts, 2007).

3.4.3 Culture and Heritage – Sense of Place and Time

The neighborhood's heritage and cultural identity can be particularly evident in the layers of change over time. Historic buildings can help to define a neighborhood, giving it a particular scale and relationship to other parts of the community. But it is not just the physical place that remains accessible. The built environment provides links to the past and a contrast to modern developments, which tend not to be so evocative (Wilts, 2007). Preservation shows a concern for everyday spaces and social memories that formed them; it can provide positive connections between a resident and their community, while linking them to longer as well as wider historic and economic trends (Bischoff in Hamin et al., 2007; Deckha, 2004; Hayden, 2003). The act of conserving or preserving can produce a reflective significance which, absent the added attention preservation will bring, residents may tend to ignore. Conservation is vital to collective memory,

community preservation, neighborhood planning, residential and community

revitalization (Clarke, 1997; Hayden, 2003; Bluestone in Page and Mason, 2004). In the

same way that our natural resources must be maintained to pass on to subsequent

generations, our heritage resources require maintenance and protection. David Throsby

remarks that "the sort of development that rips out forests and pollutes the atmosphere is

not sustainable in the long term. Behavior that treats cultural heritage in the same sort of

exploitative way is also not sustainable in the long term" (Mason et al., 1999, pg. 10).

Preservation is most often credited with this cultural and heritage-oriented aspect equity.

Just as sustainable development principles encourage consideration and respect for the

needs of future generations, planners and community leaders need to have greater

consideration and respect for the legacy of past generations.

3.4.4 Role of Housing

The connections between social equity and preservation, as explored in this thesis,

have been most substantial in discussions about housing. In many areas of the country,

housing is in crisis. There is a shortage of adequate, accessible and affordable places, and

subsidized housing cannot help everyone. Housing affordability affects both the

employed and unemployed (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007), and in Massachusetts

housing prices are (or were) rising faster than any other state (Smart Growth Alliance,

2009). One key to preserving communities and making amenities available to all

residents is through creation and preservation of housing – it is the building block of

modern living. About a third of all impoverished people live in housing fifty years or

older, and about half of people who pay $500 or less for rent are living in older housing

(D. D. Rypkema, 2002), while, according to the Massachusetts Smart Growth Alliance, nearly 80% of impoverished school aged children live in older cities and towns, rather than newer subdivisions (Smart Growth Alliance, 2009). Hall and Silka (2007) suggest that an important early step is to carefully analyze existing building stock for its merits, deficiencies and general status. Roseland (1998) describes a major reinvestment and community revitalization initiative, the "Don't Move! Improve!" campaign in South Bronx where $100 million investment into rehabilitation and construction of affordable housing and retrofits (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007; Roseland et al., 1998).

3.4.5 Neighborhood Diversity

An equitable neighborhood will be diverse – it will offer opportunities and support to a wide range of people with a variety of family compositions, races, ethnicities, income and education levels and ages (Silka and Eddy in Hamin et al., 2007; Talen, 2006). When resources are distributed more equally among a diverse population, it can create a 'geography of opportunity,' according to Emily Talen (2006) – even though some incomes may remain low, those residents can have an increased standard of living. A diverse community tends to be more tolerant and stable and there is greater potential for creativity through cross-fertilization of ideas and energy. Some research has shown political importance as well – where communities are homogenous, they tend to have decreased civic participation (Talen, 2006). Some researchers describe the connections between social equity and sustainability as implicit – that the more diverse a community is, the more likely it is to be sustainable (Kline, 1995; Portney, 2003).

It is a common belief that historic preservation tends to lead to gentrification, the transition of a neighborhood's residents caused by in-migration of middle- and upper-middle-class, often associated with the renovation of existing housing stock (Powell in Bullard, 2007) This may be a misconception – that preservation is named culprit while its actual cause is a lack of housing diversity, often due to widespread increased property values, without preservation of housing affordable for residents of many income levels (Deckha, 2004). Frequently when significant improvements are made to existing neighborhoods property values escalate, driving out low- and middle-income residents. Long-term residents are forced to leave – even if their homes are paid for, rising property taxes can make remaining in the area impossible.

3.4.6 Relationship of social equity to preservation and the built environment

It is the physical functions of the neighborhoods, as evident in housing, access to retail, and transportation, which can help maintain stable neighborhoods, and keep long-term residents. Talen (2006) outlines strategies for creating and supporting greater population diversity in neighborhoods, much of which can be achieved through preservation of existing assets. Housing is the fundamental building block within a neighborhood, and, across the nation, it is in crisis – short in supply of "adequate, accessible and affordable places," it is the poorest in our communities who suffer the most (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007, p. 167). Housing diversity, in size, style, and rental and owner-occupied, is essential, but not sufficient as the only means for promoting diversity. She suggests that a mix of housing values and resident tenure will also increase diversity and stability of a neighborhood. Planners, according to Talen, need

to be aware that neighborhoods change rapidly – those that are losing diversity should be targeted quickly (Talen, 2006). One important early step is to carefully analyze existing building stock for its merits, deficiencies and general status (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007).

In addition to residential neighborhoods, commercial mixed-use areas, particularly those in downtowns are integral to supporting an equitable community. Recent trends in downtown development help illustrate the important role of preservation and equity play. Eugenie Birch describes the health of downtowns as "critical" to a municipality's overall health in her article, *Longer View on Downtown Living*. Reviewing the shifting roles and physical expression of downtowns, Birch suggests many opportunities arise from the layers of history that may exist (E. L. Birch, 2002).

Urban historians Campo and Ryan (2008) describe the entertainment zone phenomena, normally located in or near downtown areas, and which include bars, cafes, and restaurants, cropping up in mid-size and large cities. The authors suggest that these places have a disruptive, transformative power to excite imaginations through everyday experiences. The success of these areas can largely be attributed to the flexibility of their small-scale, vernacular architecture which tends to create a vibrant and diverse downtown (Leinberger, 2005; Kunstler, 1993). The historic buildings are inherently flexible because of their size and architectural interest, over time hosting a variety of uses and functions. They provide an opportunity for the small-business owner and entrepreneur who cannot afford the cost of a newly constructed building. Such places, when invested in and rehabilitated offer lower cost, collective marketing and draw, and inspiring and reflective physical surroundings, (Moe and Wilkie, 1997; Campo and Ryan, 2008).

In recent years generally positive reinvestment activity has occurred in previously neglected downtowns, exciting many who have long been their advocates. The National Trust's Main Street program has helped focus investment in downtowns across the nation. Preservation of historic resources and housing are two primary strategies for revitalization of downtowns (Faulk, 2006; Grogan et al., 2000; Leinberger, 2005), however the relationship between housing and downtown revitalization is not often explored in literature, nor are the revitalization efforts of small cities with populations of 25-50,000 residents (Faulk, 2006).

3.4.7 How can equity be achieved through preservation efforts?

One may ask whether there can be alternatives to the dilemma of gentrification vs. neighborhood disinvestment. Neighborhoods need investment – all structures, no matter how well built, need fixing and upgrade over time. Benign neglect can also harm the social life of a community, as evident in boarded up buildings, a feeling or reality of unsafe streets, and the plague of substandard housing. Ironically, deteriorating buildings are often taxed less, rewarding disinvestment (Roseland et al., 1998). The building stock in neglected neighborhoods and downtown areas can vary widely – some, particularly more architecturally distinct structures may have been rehabilitated over time, much has been neglected, and most revitalization efforts will have to work with incompatible infill from previous decades (Faulk, 2006).

Rehabilitation and preservation suit small-scale creative industries. These new functions add to the social and architectural history of the building (Campo and Ryan). When improvements are developed at the smaller scale, such as at the building or

neighborhood level, it provides an opportunity to structure redevelopment around one large historic structure, stimulating ideas for appropriate new construction (Hayden, 2003). It may be that the downtowns which experienced wholesale clearance during urban renewal and other redevelopment efforts engaged in a far more difficult process, starting over from scratch, without a guiding element of place (Manning, 1998). It is vital that foot traffic increase in these areas, necessitating a focus on housing in downtowns to build in presence of people beyond traditional work hours and on the weekend (Faulk, 2006).

3.4.8 Achieving Preservation through Equity-Enhancing Activities

Many equity-building activities and actions encourage preservation. Community-based-organizations (CBOs) are citizen-led initiatives that address issues particular to the area(s) they target. Such organizations present a different model from municipal or regional planning, broad and bottom-up, rather than top-down, creating greater opportunities for empowerment and in-depth understanding of equity issues (Davidoff in LeGates and Stout, 2000). There are many community development activities and actions which support preservation activities – particularly in the areas of rehabilitation and housing. Achieving preservation through equity programs is an important topic, though is beyond the scope of this research project. It holds potential for future research on the sustainability of preservation practices and policies.

CHAPTER 4

BEST PRACTICES

4.1 Introduction

Though not exhaustive, the following are strategies culled from literature reviewed which support mutual goals of preservation and equity. The balance of preservation and equity consideration varies from strategy to strategy, though each strategy has a complementary nature. The suggestions here vary from the general policy level to specific action items. Each of the strategies will not apply to every community, and should be considered within the overall redevelopment, preservation and equity objectives, opportunities and concerns.

4.2 Best practices and strategies

1. Use underutilized property for community uses.

The creative reuse of land and buildings to fulfill needs within a community can achieve many goals – it can remove a potential aesthetic detraction at the same time providing essential community services. In many cases, vacant, unused, or underused buildings can represent a market failure. Excess supply of buildings and lots in the downtown may exist while new property is being developed on greenfield sites. Brownfield remediation and adaptive reuse can be powerful redevelopment tools that serve a variety of functions and fulfill needs of many residents (Faulk, 2006; Hayden, 2003; E. L. Birch, 2002). Reuse of vacant lands helps to promote the integrity of the overall fabric of the neighborhood and can help promote further investment in that area. Community gardens are being used in many urban areas to turn eyesores into useful land

which provides healthy food at low cost to residents, through community-engaging activity.

2. Create density and mix of uses.

Some researchers suggest that focusing efforts to achieve close proximity between home and work, utilizing existing infrastructure and buildings such as transit and schools, and preserving the unique qualities of place will go far in accommodating current and future needs of citizens, particularly in mixed use developments (E. L. Birch, 2002; Hayden, 2003). One researcher suggests that older districts be preserved, but not as landmarks; that spaces should be kept flexible and free (Campo and Ryan, 2008).

The presence of an organization whose singular purpose is to advocate for and oversee development of downtown interests can assist in new and ongoing redevelopment efforts as well as marketing residential and commercial properties in the targeted areas (Clarke, 1997).

3. Concentrate development.

New construction and rehabilitation efforts should be concentrated around existing infrastructure and neighborhoods, "building on existing strengths of a neighborhood rather than replacement" (Faulk, 2006). Making clear growth boundaries, encouraged through tax incentives connected to local amenities, such as open space (Hayden, 2003) will support this goal. The scale of new construction should be carefully approached – reducing the scale can create compatibility with surroundings (Campo and Ryan, 2008; Hayden, 2003). Infill development and new construction within already developed areas is one primary Massachusetts Smart Growth strategy.

4. Encourage downtown redevelopment through landmark buildings.

There are a number of different specific strategies for how to start redevelopment in the downtown. One recurring example found in this project's literature review is strategizing around a large, often architecturally significant building can beat life into the heart of a revitalization effort. Such a landmark can be leveraged to build smaller redevelopment projects around it. The large size offers visibility and the building's surroundings and prior functions often have historical and cultural ties within the existing community (Faulk, 2006; Clarke, 1997). This was part of the redevelopment strategies in Northampton (Thorne's Marketplace) and Pittsfield (The Colonial Theatre). Such projects can present a great challenge in funding, finding a suitable buyer, and preventing decay and abandonment. Some communities have secured sites surrounding landmark sites to ensure the potential for affordable housing as property values may begin to rise.

5. Keep costs low for rehabilitation.

Affordable housing or other service-type reconstruction projects (i.e. non-profit centers) are often hindered by zoning code, building code, historic preservation standards and lending requirements, rehabilitation can be expensive and arduous. If standards could be reviewed and relaxed or offer affordable, safe substitutions, it may make rehabilitation easier (Denhez, 2007; Hayden, 2003; Tibbetts, 1993). Project costs can be kept minimal by replacing only what is necessary for greater energy efficiency and carefully analyzing all repairs (Tibbetts, 1993). As well, consider how communication between city hall officials and professionals in the rehabilitation industry could be more

effective; investigate the potential for creating training programs for building

rehabilitation (Denhez, 2007). Combining sources of funding, such as the Community

Preservation Act if applicable to the town, and historic tax credits, can help provide

security and build a case for the project (Hayden, 2003).

6. Develop a unique vision and plan for your city or town

Each city is unique and the strategy in each place should reflect its special

characteristics and needs (Bischoff in Hamin et al., 2007; Leinberger, 2005; Clarke,

1997). "The smartest growth may be to determine what is unique and worth saving about

each of these locations and what is necessary to prevent one from gobbling up and doing

badly what the other does so well" (Burchell, Listokin, and Galley, 2000, p. 870).

Preservation of historic assets can help make a community distinct and special, creating a

destination (E. L. Birch, 2002). Design review boards and historic design review boards

can help ensure development progresses in the desired manner, but to address potential

social equity issues the boards should include an affordable housing advocate. Many

states, including Massachusetts have circuit riders who can provide technical resources

for historic preservation to residents in less urban areas with fewer accessible resources

(Hayden, 2003).

7. Revise zoning to reduce or remove barriers to preservation.

Municipal leadership: There are a number of ways in which leadership within the

municipality can legislate desired development patterns. The zoning code can require

open space development for all new subdivisions and where feasible that they connect

and to existing neighborhoods. Transfer of development options can work to increase density in one area while preserving rural character in other areas. Underpinning redevelopment efforts, Hayden found that strong local leadership, particularly when supporting low- and moderate-income projects, was vital for success (Hayden, 2003).

Physical development: A series of physical development considerations are outlined in Laura Weir Clarke's article, *Rebuilding Neighborhoods: the Untold Story* (1997). Weir suggests working toward a clearly defined neighborhood; giving attention to the street and pedestrian experience; and providing design guidelines for congruency with existing area, all of which can help promote beneficial redevelopment (Clarke, 1997). One goal can be striving for a 'walkable urbanity,' where within a five minute walk there are a variety of businesses and points of interest which either fulfill everyday needs or encourage continued exploration (Leinberger, 2005).

8. Engage in a conscious, deliberate process.

Developing a strategy to oversee long-term affordability must be developed early on in the process for a wide-range of residents and businesses. In a downtown, some of the first to suffer as a result of rising real estate costs will be artist spaces and lower-end service industries (ex. shoe cobbler) (Leinberger, 2005). When rehabilitating homes, find affordable housing in the same neighborhood and require that displaced residents receive the first opportunity at rehabilitated housing (Tibbetts, 1993). Hope VI programs will be most effective when combined with economic development features related to that particular community, and if they are designed for single-parent families (Hayden, 2003). Other strategies to help reduce displacement is the creation of a land bank to hold

additional properties for rehabilitation and acquisition of surrounding sites before a major

project (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Hayden, 2003).

In a broader approach, when multiple needs are combined within one project, the

project can achieve greater consensus – i.e. rehabilitating a decaying building while

providing affordable housing (Hayden, 2003). Ultimately, the more carefully the results

of rehabilitation efforts are considered related to a community's diversity, the greater

potential for overall success it will have (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007).

9. Create incentives for community redevelopment.

Local tax incentives appear to be one of the least utilized tools for desired

redevelopment and protection of residents' ability to continue affording real estate costs.

It is vital that tax subsidies are shifted away from fringe growth and redirected toward

preservation and reinvestment in older suburbs, towns and cities. Hayden describes

growth rates through 2050 indicating a need for "affordable housing in decent

neighborhoods," she and others suggest that new construction or strengthening of the

built environment will be necessary the latter through increased federal and state tax

credits and creating incentives for rehabilitation, just as is done for new construction

(Denhez, 2007; Hayden, 2003).

Consider property tax caps or rebates for long-term residents who may be unable

to afford the tax on rising property values after a major revitalization effort, and those

who have already made a significant contribution toward municipal expenses and

burdens (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Hayden, 2003; Clarke, 1997). Location-efficient mortgages

can provide greater lending capital to those people who wish to reside around public

transportation who will have reduced personal vehicle expenses (Hayden, 2003). Loans that mature only when the property changes hands can serve similar purposes (Clarke, 1997). 'Pioneer' discounts or tax breaks for the first residents to reside in a building or be part of a project can help break down the initial barrier, building goodwill and proof of success (Leinberger, 2005).

10. Encourage and enable diversity of housing.

It has been suggested that gentrification is not caused by density; it is caused by a shortage of mixed income and affordable housing developments (Hall and Silka in Hamin et al., 2007). A diverse neighborhood or grouping of neighborhoods will have housing of varying ages, styles, and size. The residents should have a variety of tenure (length of time as a neighborhood resident), representation of multiple generations, income levels, race and ethnicity. Planners should carefully monitor neighborhoods in jeopardy of losing their diversity, while being prepared to quickly engage in strategies to combat changes in neighborhood stability (Talen, 2006). Those within the neighborhood should be representative of the wider metro area or region (Maclaren in Wheeler and Beatley, 2009). Unfortunately, while equity is a sustainability topic rarely addressed in a comprehensive way, housing is in a similar predicament. Even researcher Dagney Faulk, in the article, *The Process and Practice of Downtown Revitalization,* mentions how rarely the relationship between housing and downtown revitalization is explored, while giving only a cursory explanation of the state of housing in the article's case studies.

4.3 Themes in Best Practices

The best practices outlined in this section offer some strategies for communities wishing to encourage greater social equity through preservation efforts. They emphasize a paradigm shift, away from 'new is better,' to focusing on the existing built resources in a community – an idea that would need to be supported by a municipality's policy in a number of areas, from taxes and subsidies to zoning. These strategies suggest that more creative approaches, such as turning vacant properties into community gardens, can help fulfill multiple needs in a community, building a stronger case in the process. With regard to each of these suggestions, the concerted combination of preservation and equity enhancement is central and thereby puts greater focus on how redevelopment strategies can be crafted toward balancing achievement of both goals.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY COMPARISON: PITTSFIELD AND NORTHAMPTON, MA

5.1 Overview of Case Studies

Pittsfield and Northampton are located in western Massachusetts. Both are small cities, with populations of 42,931 and 28,411, respectively (American Community Survey, 2007). Speaking very broadly of their different development patterns, Northampton experienced disinvestment in its downtown around the early 1970s and had a relatively quick rebound complemented by stronger aesthetic control. Pittsfield's downtown decline was most dramatic in the mid-1980s during the closing of General Electric and its mass-layoffs. A number of efforts to revitalize the Pittsfield area through the late 1990s essentially failed, though there were a handful of new developments that preserved existing buildings and built new ones fairly consistent with the surroundings. However, since 2001 there have been more substantial, lasting redevelopment efforts in the downtown.

5.2 Demographic Comparison of Case Studies

5.2.1 Total Population

Overall, US Census data show a small increase in Massachusetts's population over the past seventeen years. It also shows a decline in population of Northampton and Pittsfield from 1990 to 2007, and in the counties in which they are located, Hampshire County shows slow growth while Berkshire County declines during that same time period.

In each of these areas, the decline in population appears to be greatest in Pittsfield. (See Table 5.1)

Table 5.1: Population comparison

	Northampton	Hampshire County	Pittsfield	Berkshire County	MA
Population change 1990-2000	-1.06%	3.88%	-5.82%	-3.16%	5.53%
Population change 2000-2007	-1.96%	1.79%	-6.25%	-4.12%	2.34%

5.2.2 Resident Income and Education

The median household income for Pittsfield and Northampton were close in 1990 and grew further apart through the present day (see Figure 5.1). Median household income for Massachusetts is higher than the cities and their counties, and increases at a greater pace on the whole. However, some difference in income can be weighed against the lower cost of living for Northampton and Pittsfield versus the Boston MetroNorth area.

Figure 5.1: Comparison of median household income
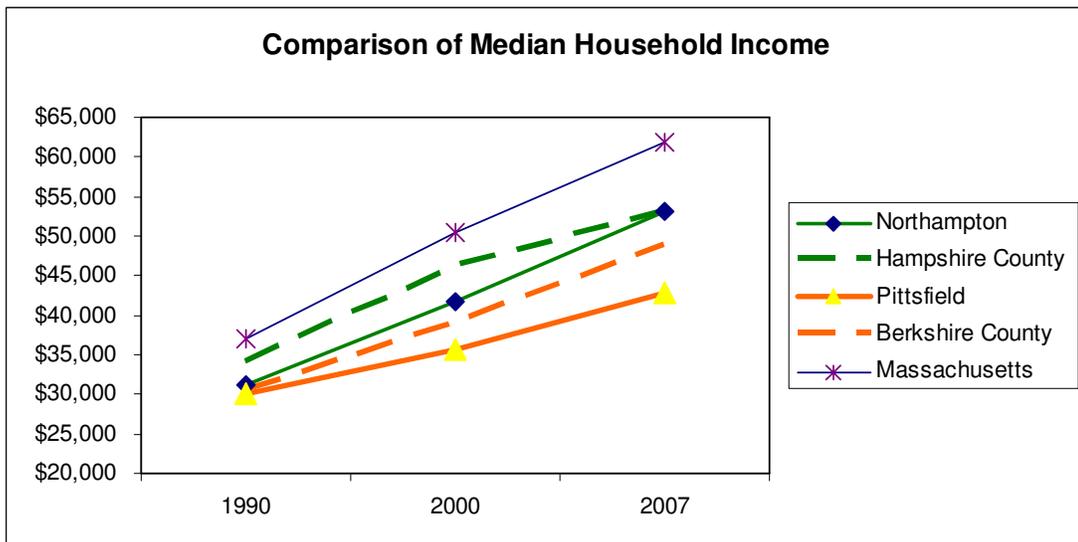
Data related to household income and cost of housing is explored in further detail in Chapter 6, Indicator Application to Case Studies.

The number of people in Northampton holding advanced degrees (46%) is higher than that of either Hampshire or Berkshire Counties and the whole of Massachusetts (Table 5.2). The preponderance of educational institutions may support this in a number of ways: those holding advanced degrees are needed to teach and fill upper-level management positions; graduating students may settle in the area; and, availability of a variety of educational opportunities may encourage residents to continue schooling.

Table 5.2: Comparison of educational attainment

Educational Attainment in 2000 Census	Northampton	Hampshire County	Pittsfield	Berkshire County	Mass.
Population 25 years +	19,714	93,193	32,063	93,339	4,355,378
High school grad or higher	88.7%	89.4%	84.4%	85.1%	87.9%
Bachelor's degree or higher	46.1%	37.9%	20.5%	26.0%	37.1%

Source: 2000 Census

While it is beyond the scope of this research, understanding the impact higher education availability has on quality of life and fulfillment of resident needs can help direct local policies around creation and enhancement of educational institutions. The type of such facilities ranges greatly; each area must determine the most appropriate educational offerings for their residents' and workforce development needs.

5.2.3 Household Tenure

     The length of time a person remains in their home (whether owned or rented) can

contribute to the neighborhood's overall stability. The data from the 2007 American

Communities Survey (see Figure 5.2), show Northampton having higher percentages of

residents having recently moved into their homes. The most significant differences are in

the high and low ends of the time ranges – of those having moved in 2005 or after, 19.1%

of Pittsfield's population falls into this category, while 23.2% of Northampton residents

do. On the other end, 11.5% of Pittsfield residents have been in their homes for nearly

fifty years (since 1969), while only 7.9% of Northampton residents have. This difference

between the overall tenure of residents appeared significant, prompting further analysis,

which appears in Chapter 6, Indicator Application to Case Studies.

Figure 5.2: Comparison of household tenure
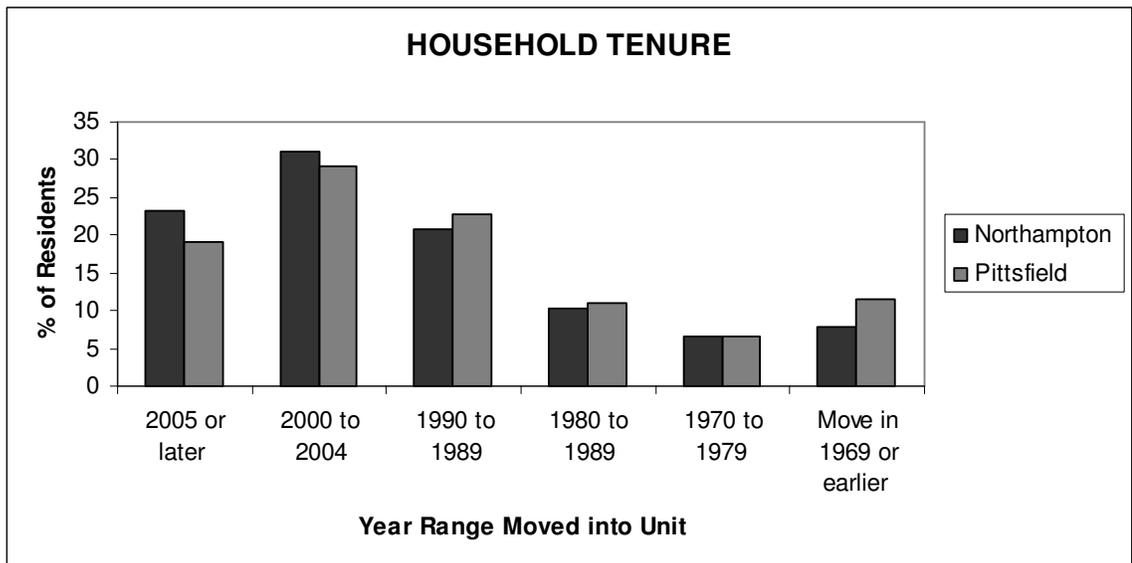
Source: 2007 American Communities Survey

5.3 Case Study 1: Northampton, MA

Northampton is located in central Hampshire County, also in a larger area called the Pioneer Valley, which is in a hub of agriculture as well as educational institutions (the Five Colleges – Smith College, Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mount Holyoke, and the University of Massachusetts Amherst). Much of the traffic and many activities in downtown Northampton could be connected to the educational institutions. The primary industries are service and retail, employing over 78% of the working population (PVPC, 2006). These sectors include healthcare and education.

5.3.1 Relevant Background

Downtown Northampton has weathered many changes over the last forty years. In the mid-1970's, the area experienced decline as highways and new roads leading out of the core were constructed. Most construction was taking place toward the outer edges of the city in the form of suburban-style developments.

Thorne's Marketplace acts as an anchor of downtown Northampton. It is a landmark and serves, in some ways, as a segmented department store. The building itself had been a retail mainstay for many years, housing the local McCallum's upscale department store for a century from 1873 through 1973. A local businessman, Floyd Andrus, purchased the building and began removing the modern elements, such as carpeting. The building was subdivided into separately-leased units and called Main Street Center. In 1977 the building was sold to a small group of young entrepreneurs, including two architects. They created a strong presence around the building, renaming it

Thorne's Marketplace. A concerted effort was made to fill the individual stores with local, distinct businesses, rather than franchises (Thorne's Marketplace, 2009).

Rehabilitation was not limited to Thorne's; across the downtown, many facades and interiors were restored to remove modern and obviating elements. According a Northampton Senior Planner, there was an unspoken desire to keep out franchise businesses, which was widespread among business and building owners. Only a handful of franchises fill downtown storefronts, though the number has increased in the past few years. The planner described downtown Northampton, synonymous with the Central Business District, as presently being at a cusp of physical maintenance and potential for ownership turnover. Many of the buildings are going to require greater upkeep as the masonry fails (in early April 2009 there was a major masonry failure on the façade of a three-generation-owned building at Pleasant and Armory Streets); some of the business owners are older and may want to consider selling their buildings in the near future.

Following the renovations and rehabilitation of many buildings in the downtown during the 1970s and through the 1990s, controls were put into place to insure new construction would be congruent with the existing buildings. There was an attempt to create a local historic district which would enable greater control over design elements in the area, but this effort was stymied by the Chamber of Commerce's business interests. Instead, in 1999 the Central Business Architecture (CBA) Ordinance was created to protect the physical appearance of the Central Business District (CBD). According to the staff liaison to the CBA Board, this action was largely to insure that new buildings would blend in with the surrounding architecture and character.

5.3.2 Policy – Preservation and Equity

While there are efforts and plans which address both preservation and equity, it is not apparent that the two initiatives are combined. The ongoing Village Hill development, which will contains market-rate affordable units, has incorporated rehabilitation and new construction. There are two primary locations of historic preservation activity – the CBD and the Elm Street Historic District. Neither of these incorporates affordable housing requirements into new construction. The Residential Incentive Development Overlay District was created to "provide housing opportunities that are affordable for low- and moderate-income persons". By special permit, a developer can request to build at a greater density if 33% affordable units are included. There is no mention of special conditions for rehabilitation. The area of the overlay is north of the downtown and is rural in areas.

5.3.3 Relevant Initiatives

Northampton is engaged in a number of initiatives targeted to preservation and equity building. Some of the initiatives which address issues of social equity include the direction of their recently developed master plan to include a Community Housing Needs Assessment for which a consultant has just been selected. Northampton has a number of preservation programs within their downtown and historic residential neighborhoods, in addition to protective ordinances such as demolition delay.

Sustainable Northampton is a comprehensive plan adopted in December 2007 that seeks to ensure the city can continue to meet its current and ongoing environmental, social and economic needs without compromising the future for succeeding generations.

The first guiding principle of the plan is to 'provide social equity…a diverse and integrated community where all residents have the opportunity to excel on a social, economic, and academic level" (Northampton, 2008).

The Village Hill Development, off Route 66, while quite controversial, includes elements of preservation and creation of affordable housing. This project, two decades in the making, will include a range of housing styles in an attempt to develop a diverse community; much of the site offers similar types of housing grouped together. The site is two miles from the center of downtown, about a twenty minute walk; a complementary bus route is to be established as well.

In spring of 2006, the Pioneer Valley Planning Commission (PVPC) updated a 2003 Community Indicator Report for Northampton. The areas in which Northampton rated well were employment, retail trade, education, the environment, health, poverty, and social indicators. Northampton received lower ratings in the areas of wages, housing, and transportation (PVPC, 2006, p. 2). This Community Indicator Report helped initiate the current process for developing a Community Housing Needs Assessment. Proposals for conducting this assessment are currently being reviewed. The research will begin by summer 2009. The 2006 Community Indicator report suggested that there is a deficit of affordable housing for purchase, and only slightly more affordable housing for rent in the city. Many residents spend more than the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) guidelines of no more than thirty percent of income expended on housing costs, which should include heat and electricity.

5.3.4 Specific Preservation Initiative

The Central Business Architecture Board is charged with overseeing applications for new construction, façade improvement or changes, and demolition within the CBD, enabled by the Central Business Architecture Ordinance. The primary role of this ordinance is to protect the aesthetics of the area, and thereby ensure its "pedestrian-scale character, culture, economy and welfare" (Northampton Code, Chapter 156, Section 1, Central Business Architecture Purpose). This preservation activity is largely a protective measure, to insure that new development will not conflict with existing architecture and streetscape appearance and objectives. The board is comprised of five members and two alternates, representing the Greater Northampton Chamber of Commerce, the building trades or construction industry, the association of realtors covering Northampton, practicing architects, and the Northampton Historical Commission. The board might be more well-rounded if it included a member associated with affordable housing projects and community interests in Northampton.

The Central Business Architecture Board reviews proposals to significant changes and additions within the district. There is a set of design guidelines, established with the ordinance which addresses fifteen primarily aesthetic considerations, from building setbacks, heights and rooflines to materials and detailing.

5.3.5 Conflicts / Difficulties / Challenges

While the guidelines have helped to encourage interesting and congruent designs, there have also been a number of challenges presented by the process, according to a Northampton City Planner. The overseeing committee has struggled at times between

dictating how a structure can be (re)designed and providing helpful guidance about appropriateness. Also, there is little guidance or control at the storefront level, where more modern elements are often introduced. In general, it is understood that a variety of design typologies creates a more interesting and vibrant downtown; buildings with little architectural interest are the ones most strongly discouraged. However, this distinction presents some difficulties – Who defines vibrancy? What are the parameters? How are the guidelines interpreted by different committee members?

Staff reports and recommendations to the committee are required to address fifteen different guidelines, which create extensive documents that may be less likely to be carefully read. Issues of interpretation are also a potential issue for staff. However, the committee may think of the guidelines as a kind of 'cookbook'; if all the ingredients are present, then the project should be able to move forward. The design guidelines also state that there are alternatives to their suggestions which may make for a strong development proposal.

In downtown Northampton, as in most cases, much of the physical environment is built, owned and managed by property owners. If one building owner holds a significant amount of property, much of the character of that area will be driven by that individual or corporation's goals and approach. Such a situation currently presents itself in downtown Northampton. It not only affects the physical environment, but such a presence also controls rent costs and thereby influences who is able to reside in that area.

5.4 Case Study 2: Pittsfield, MA

Pittsfield sits in the heart of Berkshire County, which has a number of popular tourist destinations for those interested by both nature and culture. The city is considered the "primary engine for the county's traditional economy, the main location for manufacturing, educational and medical services as well as a center for the region's retail, business, and financial services" (AIA, 2005, p. 10). Historically the largest employer in the city was General Electric. The company laid off thousands of workers in the mid-1980s, and eliminated nearly all of its operations, leaving a campus of vacant buildings and polluted properties throughout the city.

5.4.1 Relevant Background

Today, Pittsfield strives to diversify its economy by rehabilitating brownfield sites, establishing an identity as a cultural destination and revitalizing its downtown center (AIA report, 11). Pittsfield's revitalization, a work-in-progress, has been enabled by many things – strong leadership, focus on developing the creative economy, and workforce investments. Its strong architectural and historic core has also supported this initiative. Today, Pittsfield is trying to position itself as the creative, entrepreneurial, and cultural city in the heart of the Berkshires; its 2009 comprehensive plan is entitled *Planning to Thrive*. The mayor envisions the city as a place defined by neighborhoods – distinct in flavor, quality, and needs; he purports that the city's cultural heritage continues to be its strength (Pittsfield, Mayor's Vision, 2009).

5.4.2 Policy – Preservation and Equity

The planning functions of the city of Pittsfield are housed within the Office of Community Development. The principal planner offered a professional perspective on the city's rehabilitation activities. Overall, they encourage fixing what is already there and encouraging good design for new construction. The Planning Board has been progressive in thinking about zoning and development to create more beneficial development within the City.

5.4.3 Relevant Initiatives

According to a 2005 report by the AIA's Sustainable Design Assessment Team, a number of recent initiatives have supported Pittsfield's goals to become more sustainable. Pittsfield purports to be engaged in what it calls, "smart planning." They have invested in the downtown through historic assets such as The Colonial Theatre and Barrington Stage Company. They are encouraging more restaurants and amenities through permitting of additional liquor licenses. The city is now in the process of instituting energy efficiency programs which cover, in part, traffic signals and wastewater treatment plant updates.

A demolition delay was enacted in 2007 for the purpose of "preserving and protecting historically significant structures within the City of Pittsfield which reflect distinctive features of the architectural, cultural, economic, political or social history of the City, and to encourage owners of such buildings or others to seek out ways to preserve, rehabilitate or restore them rather than demolish or alter them in a detrimental way, thereby promoting the public welfare and preserving the heritage of the City" (section 3.3-1 of the Pittsfield General Code). This demolition delay ordinance appears

strong, including national, state and locally designated historical structures – or those that could be eligible for designation. Permits for demolition are reviewed by the Pittsfield Historical Commission and the Community Development Board who are empowered to advise the City Building Inspector for all buildings over seventy five years of age. There is little demolition within the downtown area of Pittsfield.

In 2008 the city passed a Flexible Development Ordinance to provide a viable alternative to conventional subdivisions and, in part, to encourage affordable housing. As well, city leadership has taken redevelopment initiatives in the bordering neighborhoods of Morningside and Westside.

5.4.4 Specific Preservation Initiative

One primary goal of the Downtown Arts Overlay District (DOAD), passed in 2005, is to increase vitality in the downtown through the allowance of residential uses. This goal supports a vision of a more active downtown with a variety of businesses and mixed uses including a "core of arts, cultural, and residential activities" while encouraging pedestrian activity (residents and visitors) and better use of existing resources (Chapter 23, Zoning, Pittsfield City Code). According the city planner, there is a high percentage of vacant office space, due to decreasing demand. Potential conversion of office space to residential units could fill a need within the area.

A handful of residential developments have been made possible through the Downtown Arts Overlay District since its inception. The overlay contains a provision for creation of affordable housing – if a development involves five or more units, at least twenty percent of the total units have to be affordable. The initial developments were

exempted from this stipulation because a potential waiver is in place for projects that

entirely funded through private sources. The Planning Board has become less tolerant of

granting the waivers and recent projects, though containing less units overall than the first

developed under the DOAD, the most recent projects have included affordable units. The

$10 million New Amsterdam Apartments has just completed construction and will offer

43 apartments in five buildings. All the units will meet market-rate affordability

requirements.

5.4.5 Conflicts / Difficulties / Challenges

There are a number of challenges to the redevelopment of Pittsfield's downtown

area. During past discussions, some members of the public have objected to the inclusion

of affordable housing – whether at market-rate or subsidized. The city planner suggested

that many residents do not have a clear understanding of what affordable housing means,

and who would qualify for it. Education about what affordable housing is, who it would

serve, and what it looks like may help remove some barriers to future projects.

The affordable housing waivers available for projects within the DAOD posed a

difficult challenge for the city. Rather than continue to allow the exemption, the city

responded and tightened the provision. This may indicate that moving forward, there is a

willingness to place value on affordable housing even given development pressures for

market-rate developments.

As described earlier, the downtown historic district offers potential for increased

control over building design, but there are no guidelines related to its designation as an

historic district. There are now streetscape guidelines, but these do not pertain to the

buildings, just the public spaces surrounding them. The process of developing the streetscape guidelines could provide a framework for implementing overall design guidelines. However, this is an area which should be approached very carefully, and if pursued, should be coupled with strong requirements for promoting equity within the area. Additional requirements can mean increased cost for developers, leading to fewer small businesses and residents with higher incomes moving to that area. However, it may offer a greater diversity of options for fundraising and capitalizing on the architectural merits of the district.

The city is currently dealing with an issue that affects equity in the downtown, to which there appears no simple resolution. There is a large grocery store, Big Y, located in the immediate downtown area. This store is to be relocated as an anchor tenant out of the downtown area, though on a bus route. There are many local residents who walk from their homes to the store and back, which will no longer be an option. Unfortunately, a 'do not compete' clause will prevent another grocery store from filling the vacancy.

CHAPTER 6

INDICATOR APPLICATION TO CASE STUDY AREAS

6.1 Introduction to Indicator Application to Case Studies

As stated previously, the development of a full set of indicators, located in Appendix A, was based on those suggested in earlier literature with additions based on suggested best practices. The full set of indicators was then looked at to determine which applied to the preservation initiatives to test issues of relevance to the issue, accessibility of data, and measurability. This project focused on the two case studies, Pittsfield and Northampton and the specific preservation activities, the Downtown Arts Overlay District and the Central Business Architecture Ordinance. Many of the goals of each program were found to be similar. Research was done to understand the impetus behind the formation of each program and how they relate to other programs in each community that address issues of preservation and equity. In particular, the indicators selected related to age of housing, tenure and income of residents to see how these area may have been affected (or have the potential to be affected) by the downtown preservation initiatives.

To be clear, in this step, the degree of incorporation of equity and preservation in each program is not being assessed – rather, it is the indicators themselves that are being tested and assessed for potential application to other programs involving preservation and equity. The data will be analyzed for their ability to tentatively show trends and current context, but the programs themselves will not be assessed, particularly because their focus is primarily about enhancing and protecting the downtown environment, and only secondarily about the creation of social equity.

6.2 Determining the Indicators

The primary goals of each program were compared in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Program comparison

Northampton Central Bus. District	Pittsfield Arts Overlay District
Character and Culture	Character and Culture
Economy (vital downtown)	Revitalize downtown
Welfare	Foster mixed-uses
Preserve significant buildings	Adaptive Reuse
Encourage compatible design	Infill development

There were similarities in each program, particularly in the underlying belief that

protection and enhancement of this area would create a stronger economic and cultural

climate. Indicators relevant to these goals and to this overall research were selected, with

a focus on those addressing the age of the building and cost of renting or ownership,

tenure and income of residents. Presence and effectiveness of relevant municipal plans

and programs were also included. As the data were researched to fulfill each indicator,

questions and issues arose. In the future, greater consideration to the indicators with

respect to overall community goals will help. It is suggested that a more illustrative data

set could be compiled if the same questions were answered for the regional (potentially

using county data), municipality and best encompassing census tract(s).

6.3 Most and Least Successful Indicators

The most successful indicators were found through a process somewhat different

from that originally designed. At first, the indicators were developed based on goals, best

practices and previously developed research. However, the issue of data accessibility was

a significant one. It appears to be a better process to consider broad goals and then review the data publicly available. At that point, indicator can be determined that would be most accessible and repeatable. Unfortunately, while trend changes from census to census may help reveal information about who is living in a particular area and the changes taking place there, employing the decennial census may reveal problems already deeply rooted. The more frequent American Communities Survey data are not available at the census tract or block level.

Each of these questions will be answered for the city and downtown area, where the initiative is focused. The goals are important because they will help determine whether stabilization or change in a particular direction is desired. Determining the percentage of change from one time period to another can be illustrative in establishing trends. This percentage of change (related to census data) was one part of the research analysis in this study. For this study's ease of presentation and discussion, only data for the cities and the downtowns were included, but to understand more fully the larger context, data gathering at the county level may be helpful.

The least successful indicators were about construction and building permits. In Northampton, a great deal of information about building permits is available on line, but greater research needs to be done to determine what types of rehabilitation are most relevant to preservation. In Pittsfield, details about types of rehabilitation are not recorded or available to the public. It could be helpful to have data on brownfield remediation, but these data needs would need cooperation among municipal departments and staff.

Another constraint relates to the data boundaries. The area of interest (particularly in this case as it relates to an overlay or ordinance applied to a very specific area) may not

always have a comparable data set for the census. For example, the downtown Pittsfield census tract extended just beyond the boundaries of the Downtown Arts Overlay District, but the Northampton Central Architecture/Business District did not line up well with the downtown census tract, which was larger than the district. Unfortunately compiling census block data would not have yielded a more accurate result. Part of the community process developing the community indicators should include how far beyond the particular project area (if there is one) to include measurement of impact. The surrounding neighborhoods will likely be affected by changes at the core, and the areas of concern should be an important part of the discussion.

6.4 Additional Indicators Applied

Other areas explored included what incentives exist and what the process is for rehabilitation, also how and if current plans for the municipalities involve these areas targeted for preservation efforts. These questions were most often answered with a yes or no answer, supplemented with additional information about current changes being proposed that might impact the future direction. The indicator questions, data and analysis are included later in this chapter.

6.5 Indicator Variety

When researching how and where equity and preservation are addressed in the communities (and through particular programs), it was determined that a blend of measurement types would likely yield the most comprehensive results. Particularly, issues of process and availability of incentives were best addressed through

"yes/no/mixed" answers and potentially a system of "moving toward/moving away from" could show a desired direction for future development.

The following process for development of indicators was followed in this research project:

- o Identify goals of program/site and relevant goals within whole community
- o Review previously developed indicators
- o Modify existing and add new indicators
- o Review available public data to fulfill desired indicators; work with necessary data collection agencies (i.e. building department)
- o Amend indicators as necessary

Communities wishing to adopt indicators to measure their progress toward certain goals or objectives should also consider:

- o Establishing a timeframe for data collection
- o Consistently relating goals in question to each indicator developed
- o Noting the 'desired result/change/stability', (may relate to the stage of development)

6.6. Indicators Applied to Case Studies for Analysis

Each US Census data-based indicator selected for this study follows in a table, with a brief analysis of potential trends that the data may be showing. Given the limited amount of data (1990 and 2000 Censuses) much of the interpretation is tentative. These data were all publicly accessible; many of the percentages were achieved through simple mathematical steps.

Table 6.1 Diversity of housing by age (years ago structure was built)

Years ago structure was built	N.hamp. % of total units (2000)	N. hamp. % Change 1990-2000	N.hamp. D.town % of total units (2000)	N. hamp. D.town % Change 1990-2000	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield % Change 1990-2000	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	PDT % Change 1990-2000
< 1 year	0%	-90%	0%	-90%	0%	-65%	0%	-100%
2-5 years	2%	-65%	1%	-81%	1%	-79%	2%	-33%
6-10 years	3%	8%	2%	25%	2%	-42%	0%	-90%
11-20 years	9%	-23%	6%	-32%	6%	-35%	6%	-76%
21-30 years	12%	10%	10%	58%	7%	-36%	13%	176%
31-40 years	10%	1%	8%	25%	10%	-17%	6%	80%
41-50 years	18%	167%	15%	145%	30%	156%	14%	1257%
50 years / +	45%	-7%	59%	-12%	43%	-20%	59%	-17%

In Pittsfield and Northampton, there is an overall decrease in units built in the last five years. There are fairly similar increases in percentages of older housing from 1990 to 2000, with significant increases in percentages of housing built 41-50 years ago, and with decreases in housing over fifty years old. In both locations, there was growth in older housing, though Pittsfield shows an anomaly of growth; data were checked suggesting there was a change in tabulation standards or contributions to housing stock. Both downtown Northampton and Pittsfield show a significant percentage of growth in older housing – in Northampton downtown in the category of fifty years or older, potentially making more buildings eligible for nomination to the national or state historic listings. The numbers in downtown Pittsfield show an anomaly, pointing to a change in counting methods.

Table 6.2 Diversity of resident tenure (years ago householder moved into the unit)

Years ago structure was built	N.hamp. % of total units (2000)	N. hamp. % Change 1990-2000	N.hamp. D.town % of total units (2000)	N. hamp. D.town % Change 1990-2000	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield % Change 1990-2000	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	PDT % Change 1990-2000
Within the last year	20%	2%	28%	-12%	17%	-7%	29%	-6%
2-5 years	30%	14%	38%	37%	24%	-10%	38%	0%
6-10 years	14%	15%	12%	11%	15%	14%	17%	38%
11-20 years	14%	-2%	9%	-15%	15%	-8%	7%	-50%
21-30 years	7%	-7%	3%	-9%	10%	-14%	4%	5%
over 30 years	14%	7%	9%	-18%	19%	30%	5%	35%

Those residents in Northampton who have resided for a shorter period of time appear to be growing, though at a slower pace than those within the downtown area. The residential makeup in Pittsfield is increasing in people residing for less time, moving up to the last five years, while number of residents living in the same place over thirty years is increasing more than in Northampton. Recent downtown Pittsfield residents in 2000 were the same or less than in 1990 and those living there for longer, over 21 years increased. It is vital to understand what needs longer term residents have and how the current housing and other issues of accessibility will affect them as decisions are made about new types and modes of development.

Table 6.3 Changing resident income (median household income)

Decennial Census	N. hamp.	30% of salary each month	DT N.hamp.	30% of salary each month	Pittsfield	30% of salary each month	DT Pittsfield	30% of salary each month
1990	$31,097	$777	$23,258	$581	$29,987	$750	$12,547	$314
2000	$41,808	$1045	$32,311	$808	$35,655	$891	$18,167	$454
% change 1990-2000	35%		39%		19%		45%	

The income of residents (median household income) in the city of Northampton is increasing at a faster pace than Pittsfield, 35% growth compared to 19%. While the median household income in downtown Pittsfield is significantly less than that of downtown Northampton, it is growing faster. Both downtown median household incomes are growing faster than their overall city. This indicator may be showing that the type of people living in these areas is changing – their income is increasing, and though the cost of rent is not rising at the same rate, it means that there will be more people that can afford the full range of rents while those that can only afford the lower end may be out-competed.

Table 6.5 How many residents spend over 30% of income on their housing?

SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME	Northampton % of total units (2000)	DT Northampton % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield DT % of total units (2000)
30% or more	*22%*	*26%*	*21%*	*36%*

GROSS RENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME	Northampton % of total units (2000)	DT Northampton % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield DT % of total units (2000)
30% or more	*33%*	*35%*	*36%*	*35%*

These data, monthly owner costs as a percent of gross income for owner-occupied homes and monthly rent as percent of gross income, indicate that renters are paying a higher percentage of their income toward housing; however, there are residents in owner-occupied units who no longer hold a mortgage, which may skew the numbers. The percentage of gross income spent on housing appears similar when each city is compared with its downtown area. This could mean a number of things; the cost of living and the wages could be higher, or vice-versa. This indicator relates to the previous one,

describing a potential change in the income levels of those choosing to reside in the
downtown areas. While it is important to have people in the area who can and will
patronize local businesses, contributing to the economy in a vital way, the potential exists
for residents in a lower income bracket to be priced out. Potentially these residents may
be forced to relocate to a place with fewer amenities available to them.

Table 6.6 How are the costs of living changing?

MORTGAGE STATUS AND SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS Owner-occupied units with a mortgage	N.hamp. % of total units (2000)	N.hamp. Change 1990-2000	DT N.hamp. % of total units (2000)	DT N.hamp % Change 1990-2000	Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	Pittsfield % Change 1990-2000	DT Pittsfield % of total units (2000)	DT Pittsfield % DIFF. 1990-2000
Less than $300	0%	-100%	0%	0%	0%	-87%	0%	0%
$300 to $499	3%	-77%	0%	-100%	4%	-80%	0%	0%
$500 to $699	10%	-31%	11%	-31%	13%	-30%	0%	0%
$700 to $999	22%	9%	28%	85%	40%	37%	42%	19%
$1,000 to $1,499	40%	116%	28%	7%	31%	85%	58%	73%
$1,500 to $1,999	15%	273%	21%	338%	6%	43%	0%	0%
$2,000 or more	10%	224%	12%	n/a	6%	102%	0%	0%
Median (dollars)		46%		53%		24%		31%

GROSS RENT Specified renter-occupied housing units	% of total units (2000)	N. CITY% DIFF. 1990-2000	% of total units (2000)	N. DT % DIFF. 1990-2000	% of total units (2000)	PC % DIFF. 1990-2000	% of total units (2000)	PDT % DIFF. 1990-2000
Less than $200	9%	-30%	12%	-21%	8%	-31%	16%	-31%
$200 to $299	6%	-13%	7%	14%	6%	-21%	10%	-20%
$300 to $499	14%	-41%	13%	-41%	33%	-22%	42%	-4%
$500 to $749	35%	-12%	32%	-12%	39%	13%	25%	12%
$750 to $999	24%	113%	27%	108%	8%	133%	3%	148%
$1,000 or more	8%	217%	7%	229%	2%	137%	1%	n/a
No cash rent	4%	56%	2%	214%	4%	4%	3%	59%
Median (dollars)		22%		20%		9%		8%

The limited amount of owner-occupied units with mortgages makes downtown Pittsfield difficult to compare; a number of recently created units for sale in that area will provide more data for comparison; and a need for greater oversight. The data do indicate that in each city and study area rental prices did not increase nearly as much as the selected monthly cost of owner-occupied units, even more so in the downtown areas. In downtown Northampton, the data show that the number of units at the high end of the price spectrum is increasing. While downtown Pittsfield does not have many units in the $1000 and over category, the fastest growing category is $750 to $999, far above the recommended housing cost for the median household income in that downtown area, the range is at the high end of recommended housing expenditure for the median household income of the overall city.

Table 6.7: How do the changing costs of living compare to income changes?

Decennial Census	N. hamp.	DT N.hamp.	Pittsfield	DT Pittsfield
1990	$31,097	$23,258	$29,987	$12,547
2000	$41,808	$32,311	$35,655	$18,167
% change in median HH income 1990-2000	35%	39%	19%	45%
% change in cost of median gross rent 1990-2000	22%	20%	9%	8%

Analyzing the median household income and the median rent in each location potentially indicates the trends of affordability coupled with income. The data indicate – contrary to preliminary presumptions – that income in each area is rising faster than the cost of rent (the only cost considered because of the limited number of owner-occupied

homes in downtown Pittsfield). Household income in the downtown areas is rising faster than in the entire city.

Indicators related incentives, process, communication and coordination of preservation and equity follow for each community. In these cases, a blend of measurement types was employed. Tables with the specific indicator questions and collected data follow.

Table 6.8: Incentives and Process – Northampton, MA

Indicator	2000 City	2000 Area	Notes	Data location (proposed source)
Are there incentives available for new construction vs. rehabilitation	Limited	Limited	There is no significant rehabilitation program in Northampton. Historic tax credits are the primary rehabilitation incentive.	Planning office
Is demolition delay in use?	Yes	Yes	There are three different demolition delay ordinance procedures, depending on the site location. Attempts are ongoing to streamline the process.	Zoning Ordinances; planning office
Is there alternative building code for older/historic buildings?	No	No		Planning Office Bldg Inspector
Are there design guidelines for the areas of interest?	Site plan review	Yes	The downtown guidelines have been helpful, but the process can be challenging -- to still encourage development while getting good design, balancing guidance with dictating how to design.	Community Development office documents; Principal Planner
How effective are the design guidelines? (i.e. increased cost, flexibility of use, provide for congruent new construction)	n/a	Mixed	Good and bad; visualizations are helpful, little control over first floor storefronts, property owners may have to incur great expense to adhere to standards.	Community Development office documents; Principal Planner

Table 6.9: Communication and Coordination – Northampton, MA

Indicator	2000 City	2000 Area	Notes	Data location (proposed source)
Are there common areas between preservation significant areas and slated development areas?	Some	No apparent plan within the area	Most larger development taking place around the downtown and further beyond.	Research Map analysis Planning Office
Are historic areas included in plan for housing/commercial redevelopment?	No	No apparent plan within the area		Research Map analysis Planning Office
Is there a current plan/oversight for affordable housing - incorporation of rehab/reuse?	Some	No	Projects have reused existing buildings; there is not a stated plan to do so. There is no requirement for creation of affordable housing within the downtown.	Research; map and plan analysis (available on website); planning office
Is there a current plan/oversight for commercial development - incorporation of rehab/reuse?	Yes	Yes	Within the downtown, the emphasis is on reusing buildings.	Research; map and plan analysis (available on website); planning office
How effective is city hall communication with rehabilitation developers?	Mixed	Mixed	Much depends on the desires of the private developers; there are some who wish to fulfill broad needs in the community, others are more motivated by profit.	Planning Office Interview (?) developers
Is there a forum for preservation and housing authority / commercial interests to communicate?	Mixed	Mixed	Senior Community Development Planner is the primary liaison between housing and preservation interests.	Research Planning Office

Table 6.10: Incentives and Process – Pittsfield, MA

Indicator	2000 City	2000 Area	Notes	Data source
Are there incentives available for new construction vs. rehabilitation	Some	Some	There is a significant rehabilitation program in Pittsfield.	Planning office; rehabilitation website.
Is demolition delay in use?	Yes	Yes	Demolition delay is strong, though if age requirement were reduced to 50 years, that would provide greater potential for protection.	City ordinances
Is there alternative building code for older/historic buildings?	No	No		Planning office
Are there design guidelines for the areas of interest?	Streetscape Guidelines, 2006; Overall guidelines: None yet, but desired and in process.	Streetscape Guidelines: 2006; Overall guidelines: None yet, but desired and in process.		Planning office, also available on website
How effective are the design guidelines? (i.e. increased cost, flexibility of use, provide for congruent new construction)	n/a	n/a	Streetscape Guidelines: have been used in a few projects; desire to incorporate larger design guidelines -- currently in draft form.	Planning office

Table 6.11: Incentives and Process – Pittsfield, MA

Indicator	2000 City	2000 Area	Notes	Data source
Are there common areas between preservation significant areas and slated development areas?	Yes	Yes	The downtown is part of the Urban Center Growth District, which encompasses many of the older buildings and intact architecture.	Research; map and plan analysis (available on website); planning office
Are historic areas included in plan for housing/commercial redevelopment?	Yes	Yes	The downtown area is a national historic district; however, not many in the city know of the designation.	Research; map and plan analysis (available on website); planning office
Is there a current plan/oversight for affordable housing - incorporation of rehab/reuse?	Yes	Yes	There is staff in the municipal planning office who administer several rehabilitation programs.	Research; map and plan analysis (available on website); planning office
Is there a current plan/oversight for commercial development - incorporation of rehab/reuse?	Unsure	Yes	The primary focus for commercial rehabilitation appears to be in the downtown. There are other commercial areas targeted for attention and investment.	Research Map analysis Planning Office
How effective is city hall communication with rehabilitation developers?	no clear answer	no clear answer	The city planner would like to work more with educating developers about the benefits of affordable housing and better design and construction. There is little time for this type of outreach.	Planning Office
Is there a forum for preservation and housing authority / commercial interests to communicate?	no clear answer	no clear answer	The planning office probably acts as the primary liaison for such activity.	Research Planning Office

6.7 Indicator Application Discussion

There are some lessons to take away from this indicator exercise, once it was applied to

Northampton and Pittsfield. It is difficult to address the indicator results because they are

not connected to stated goals from the community; thus it cannot be definitively stated

whether the indicator is making progress one way or another. Instead, what is provided is a baseline measure from which each community could begin to develop a set of objectives for combining preservation and equity-enhancing efforts. The development and redevelopment stages for each community are different; Pittsfield has a robust rehabilitation program, actively trying to rehabilitate, preserve and fill in much of its building stock, while Northampton is closer to a maintenance stage. There are notable issues around designation of downtown historic districts, not fully made clear from these indicators. While Northampton has strong design guidelines for their downtown area to preserve, in part, its historic character, there is no local historic district in this area. In Pittsfield, the downtown is an historic district, but few know of the designation, nor are there deign guidelines pertaining to the historic nature of the area. It is important to note and consider that historic district designation at the local and national level can bring both opportunities and challenges for rehabilitation activities.

Each community has, as suggested by the indicators, areas where they are doing well and areas where they could improve – *if* the goal is to increase equity through preservation. It is up to the community to set goals and match those with programs to achieve the desired results – these indicators provide a starting point to measure such progress and should be adapted by the communities to meet their individual needs.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS: MEANS AND MEASURES

7.1 Means: related to redevelopment efforts

Need for education about affordable housing and diverse communities

Planners in both communities struggle with perceptions about what affordable housing means – who needs it, what it looks like, what encouraging it will mean to their community. Most of the objections are based on misconceptions of what income levels would qualify. Density also seems to be a concern and density is often coupled with affordable housing, accurately or not. Visualizations were suggested as one way to abate some concern. According to the planners, people receiving Section 8 housing vouchers are often perceived as undesirable and the housing voucher system is not well understood. There is a need for education about affordable housing within in the whole community and also targeted to developers.

Also, education about implementing a greater variety of design options, as a part of an affordable product may be beneficial. Pittsfield's planner described the challenges in encouraging creative design practices, particularly in new construction – that some developers think this will make the product unaffordable. While outside the scope of this research, it indicates a need for municipal tools to encourage a greater variety of development.

Challenges to Promoting Rehabilitation and Redevelopment

Described more fully in the Chapter 3 Literature Review, the challenges facing arguments supporting rehabilitation and preservation are vast and deeply rooted. There are great concerns about gentrification, constraints on property considered historic, and desires to build new and less dense. Many new programs addressing community and building sustainability, such as LEED and Smart Growth, promote reuse of material and buildings as well as infill development. Preservation advocates continue to petition for greater consideration of rehabilitation and reuse to be incorporated into these standards, and some progress is being made toward that end. We are still a society that regards new construction very highly, while rehabilitation and reinvestment often play second fiddle. In many ways, the type of projects and programs described in this research project are a movement away from the status quo. Demonstrating the positive impact of preservation through incremental change and improvement may help to build a foundation to prove the case for reinvestment in a community's already built resources.

Challenges that Municipal Planners Face

There are many tasks that a municipal planner must balance throughout their work day. Much of the work can be maintenance of boards, minutes, and other administrative tasks, leaving little additional room for introducing new programs or redevelopment initiatives. Personal and public education may suffer though even while it is recognized as vital. If planning and community development boards are interested in progressive action and standards, this may help further strategies and programs. But if they are more

interested in maintaining the status-quo, much of this work will fall to the progressive

planner. In addition, municipal budgets across the state and nation are facing extreme

cuts to staffing and programs, exacerbating the problem.

Challenges in Isolating Preservation Goals

The indicator selection as applied to the case study areas helped to show the

changing trends of income and housing diversity within an area with concentrated

preservation activity. While some of the changes found in the indicator data and analysis

may have been a result of preservation activity, it is difficult to isolate an exact cause

because of the other development and redevelopment activities that are ongoing in the

same location and in the city overall. It may be possible, through more narrowly

described indicators and more detailed data to understand the circumscribed impact a

particular project has on the area's social equity. A more fine-grained analysis is

necessary, coupled with further indicator development.

7.2 Measures: related to tracking a community's progress toward desired goals

Communicating a multi-dimensional issue

When an indicator is able to use multiple sets of data to describe a larger issue or

trend in the community, it will thereby be most useful. For example, rather than looking

at changing income and cost of housing separately, it is important to understand how the

two connect – the changing cost of housing coupled with income will get closer to

understanding overall affordability of the area. When these changes are viewed in terms

of their trend of change, it is possible to understand better how the overall community makeup is being affected by the housing choices and programs available.

Facilitating a Community-driven Process

The selection of best practices and indicators should be developed to within each community. These tools are not intended to be directly applied to each and every community, but hopefully they can provide a starting point for community discussions and deeper thinking about the particular needs of each community and neighborhood. The indicators should be similarly developed, particularly to each time and place, and will be most effective when used over a long period of time to measure progress toward a community goal – rather than a single snapshot in time.

Accommodating Multiple Types of Indicator Data

Not all data can be collected in numerical form. Many areas of interest may relate to what is included in new programs or plans – where the general direction of municipal interests is heading. Allowing for questions which may be answered affirmatively or negatively may permit very informative inquiries. However, it will also be helpful to understand what the desired future changes are, even though they may not be legislated or bound by a plan. Using an answering method similar to moving toward, away from, etc., combined with the other type of indicators may yield an illustrative description.

Frame for Change

Much of the data collected for this research will help to establish a baseline for Northampton and Pittsfield, and other communities if a similar process is followed. The information should be considered in context, reviewed the over long term. If indicator data are available at more frequent intervals than the decennial census, that will likely be most useful. This baseline may provide point from which progress can be measured – if a specific goal is set, it should be revisited regularly and consistently.

Recognize the Constraints

It will be very helpful for a community to work within the data that are available to them. Some of the best data may come from places easily accessible to the public, such as census data, as long as it is accurate. It can be challenging when using the census data to determine the best fitting census tract or census block relevant to the area of interest – as well, determining how far beyond the determined boundary of a program, such as an overlay, to study impact and change can be subjective. In this case, explicitly relying on community-initiated direction can provide appropriate structure. Measuring areas such as ratio of building permits for new construction versus rehabilitation could provide helpful information – it will probably work best if these data are determined with the relevant departments and specific needs are clearly established. There may be great variation related to who, within the relevant municipal departments, will respond to inquiries. Internal information may reveal directions not apparent through public documents, as well as an overall policy toward rehabilitation and equity, but the publicly accessible data

are probably the strongest area for trend analysis. For tentative trend findings related to the case study areas, please refer to Chapter 6, Indicator Applications to Case Studies.

Expanding the indicators

The choice of indicators for this case study application were limited primarily to physical attributes of the housing, tenure of residents and income changes. Future analysis should expand to consider issues of race, ethnicity, and household composition. The physical attributes of units could be explored further to examine diversity in terms of the number of units in buildings and potentially even architectural style. Ultimately, the choice of indicators should be manageable which will encourage the monitoring to continue for many collection times and they should be relevant to that community's concerns.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Directions for future research

The issue of how preservation activity affects a community's sustainability is one that has not been addressed in a comprehensive way. There have been some studies that point to its contributions to increasing a community's economic base and to the benefits it has for the environment. When discussing issues of how preservation affects equity, the identified ways are often vague and issues of gentrification typically become the subject of focus. This current research investigates the relationship highlights an issue that may have been inhibiting others – while recognizing the difficulty isolating preservation from other redevelopment efforts. The best solution to this issue may be adapting indicators with related social and physical redevelopment potential while investigating what other efforts may influence that potential. Ultimately, it may not be necessary to completely isolate the effect of historic preservation or general preservation activities on social equity, as long as that equity is carefully monitored and addressed.

This thesis has addressed how preservation affects community or social equity, providing a future opportunity to understand how equity-enhancing activities in turn can help promote preservation-interests. Community-based organizations and community development corporations are often engaged in activities which reinvest in neglected neighborhoods, providing enhancement of social resources and improved physical environments. Both areas, preservation and equity, could be further supported by this alternative approach to understanding the various other ways in which they can and do complement each other.

The need for education around housing needs and potential design alternatives appears in this discussion. Both case study areas (Northampton and Pittsfield) cope with issues regarding opposition to affordable housing. It may be that when residents understand more about what constitutes good housing diversity, what it looks like and who benefits from it, the community will be more open to making creative choices around preservation of and reinvestment in their built environment. Education about affordable housing appears to be a distinct and important need in both communities – development of such programs may be an important first step toward achieving goals of social equity.

Developing a working definition for preservation – out of historic preservation's evolution – led this research to embrace the broader implications of how the existing built environment is planned (or not planned). Such an expanded definition has allowed for the application of a greater number and more creative development of best practices. A more precise definition of historic preservation has a very relevant place in communities, but it can be limiting when describing preservation as a tool for helping protect and enhance places for future generations. While historic preservation today is applied to many more buildings, landscapes and typologies than it once was, the strict definition still suggests a lack of importance in investing in resources not historically distinct. Acting on a wider definition of what existing attributes of communities are important may help to preserve a more equitable place for all residents.

Ultimately, the main take-away message that underlies this research is that it should not be difficult to include consideration of equity issues into preservation planning and redevelopment initiatives. When a greater range of resident needs are included, it

may bolster the case for preservation, increase funding opportunities and could encourage spin-off projects from the primary ones. Such an explicit focus in redevelopment activities will help to ensure that many generations will benefit from the efforts of those that came before them. This thesis has outlines some ways to incorporate and initiate preservation activities and how to track their impact in the community.

APPENDIX A

COMPLETE INDICATOR SET

An indicator is a measure or set of measures that describe a complex social, economic or physical occurrence. Each measure is a description of one body of data, which we can use to tell how well or how poorly we are doing in some area of study that the indicator seeks to access. An indictor can tell us how much, how many, what size something is, in order to tell us if we are progressing in the right direction because, "if you can't recognize success, you can't reward it" (Maclaren inWheeler and Beatley, 2009). Many communities are beginning to employ sustainability indicators to assess how their communities are achieving their goals of enhanced livability. Ideally, they will address how the built environment impacts the social condition and function of the community (Maclaren in Hamin et al., 2007; Wheeler and Beatley, 2009).

There are primary criteria to select applicable measures (Mullin in Hamin et al., 2007; Hamin in Hamin et al., 2007), including relevance and impact; validity and availability; and, simplicity – can all types of readers understand the indicators? The process for developing this set of indicators was to select those suggested in literature, primarily Elisabeth Hamin's Appendix: Indicators of Community Preservation in *Preserving and Enhancing Communities: A Guide for Citizens, Planners, and Policymakers*, that were most relevant to preservation, equity, and the built environment. These were supplemented with strategies from the Best Practices adapted into indicators.

Housing

- Percent of adults that can afford the median house price

- Percent of adults that can afford the median apartment rental price

- Number of new units created per year (cost)

- Number of units renovated per year or dollars invested in existing homes (cost)

- Cost of new construction and cost of rehabilitation in avg./sq.ft./project

- Incentives available for new construction vs. rehabilitation

- Presence and use of demolition delay

- Avg. age of housing for different median income brackets

- Location of housing by age

- Diversity of housing (i.e. age, location, style, owner occ./rental, size)

Adaptive Reuse

- Building permits issued for new construction

- Building permits issued for renovations and additions

- Use of alternate building code for older/historic buildings

- Use of fee waivers or other incentives for encouragement of rehabilitation

- Hindrance/flexibility of historic designation restrictions

- Percentage of reclaimed land rehabilitated (brownfields, condemned, etc.)

Historic Landscapes

- Number of landscapes (type, location, residents) identified as worth preserving

- Local and private dollars invested in identifying or preserving resources

- Grassroots actions to preserve buildings and landscapes

- Common areas between development and/or revititalization + historically significant areas

- Historic districts or identified areas as part of master plan

- Do existing buildings to support housing needs?

- Do existing commercial property to support retail and commercial needs for local businesses?

- Flexibility in use of historic buildings (i.e. restrictions on adaptation of historic properties)

- Design guidelines in place for congruent new construction

- Presence of a design review board within the historic district?

- Process for development of design guidelines

- Local government in touch with state historic circuit riders?

Transportation

- Percent of people who live in older housing working nearby

- Proximity of public transit to areas in need of revitalization

- Proximity of public transit to areas of older housing/existing commercial

Equity

- Representation of community members involved in preservation and housing

- Representation of demographic spectrum (race, income, education, head of household, etc.) living in area of study

- Oversight of affordable housing options (IN SAME NEIGHBORHOOD) when big project is in the works?

- Efficacy of relocation for displaced residents. Are displaced residents given priority for newly rehabbed projects?

- Are residents able to evolve, adapt, in that place?

- Are public housing/assistance programs combined with economic development and social service? Are they designed for single-parent households?

Neighborhoods

- How is the pedestrian experience?

- What is the treatment of internal connections?

- Are development projects required to connect to existing neighborhoods or other resources?

Development

- Presence and efficacy of a land bank system to make use of abandoned properties and hold housing to serve need

- Presence and efficacy of a development program for abandoned properties

- What is the process for choosing building demolition? Who weighs in? What are the considerations? (Also see demolition delay indicator in Historic Properties section.)

- Consideration of alternative uses for abandoned/demolished properties considered? (i.e. community gardens, open space, etc.)

- Presence and efficacy of growth boundaries around existing infrastructure

- Size of new or redevelopment requiring open space

- Consideration (requirement/suggestion) of local context in development

- Consideration of preservation or creation of diversity during development
  decisions and planning?

Communication

- Forum for preservation and housing authority to communicate?

- Effectiveness of city hall communication with rehab developers

- Amount and success of marketing for neighborhood/commercial (needing
  reinvestment)

Taxes and lending

- Tax credits/incentives/caps for rehabilitated properties and/or long-time residents

- Availability of loan programs to make rehabilitation more affordable

Government/Leadership

- Does leadership (city hall, regional planners) support preservation? Housing rehab?
  Relationship to new construction? Support low- and moderate-income
  housing/retail projects?

- Zoning protections for existing built resources? Level of encouragement for
  development outside built resources

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION – PLANNING AND PRESERVATION

Some of the earliest joint planning and preservation efforts may have been the ones which give preservation a reputation as an elitist activity. Colonial Williamsburg, a reconstruction of the eighteenth century colonial capital beginning in 1926 was one of the first wide-scale historic preservation initiatives. For many years, and still in part to this day, Colonial Williamsburg is considered a non-representative recreated historic site, in large part for leaving out African-American slave history and other 'undesirable' and controversial elements of history (Handler and Gable, 1997). In the early 1930's, residents in Charleston, South Carolina experienced an infiltration of what they considered undesirable elements, such as gas stations, into their historic neighborhood. The first local historic district in the nation was created. Without regard to resident issues of displacement, relocation and gentrification, residents and leaders sought to eliminate blight through preservation of their historic resources (Tibbetts, 1993; E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984).

Early federal involvement

The Historic American Buildings Survey, established in 1933, and the programs of the National Park Service continued to focus on stand-alone projects, usually of a civic or memorial nature. Meanwhile, the professional field of planning did little to preserve historic community resources. They primarily engaged in planning for new construction, transportation and resource development. Neighborhood character was not a priority for preservation, nor was it recognized as worthy (or perhaps in need of) such preservation

efforts. The preservation programs which emerged at this time did establish a framework for designation and evaluation of historic sites. Preservationists began to adopt professional techniques from planners and architects, including methods for establishing districts, standards for worthy sites and creative financing (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984).

The years following WWII saw massive demolition of private and commercial property that had been declared "blighted". As planners sought solutions to renew urban centers, many demolished large swaths of existing neighborhoods. A different approach was taken in other cities and neighborhoods, Philadelphia's Society Hill, for example, where piecemeal clearance paired with robust historic preservation produced desired aesthetic and economic results. Unfortunately, while the bones of many historic structures, layout and general feel of the neighborhood remained in tact, most residents prior to the rehab were priced out of the area, and today only the wealthy can afford to live in the area.

Responses – private and public preservation efforts

The proliferation of clearance programs across the country spurred the formation of The National Trust for Historic Preservation, modeled after similar organizations in Europe. The private non-profit was formed in 1949 to help protect irreplaceable resources in the nation were being torn down or neglected to the point of ruin without regard to potential reuse, community impact, or alternative planning. The National Trust purports that when this happens, "we lose history that helps us know who we are, and we lose opportunities to live and work in the kinds of interesting and attractive surroundings that

older buildings can provide" (National Trust Website,

www.preservationnation.org/about-us/, accessed 03/13/2009).

The middle of the twentieth century brought an expanded definition of historic preservation, with the historic district model, introduced in Charleston, South Carolina, becoming more commonplace across the country. A wider range of time periods (beyond colonial) were also included. Some relaxation of museum-inspired preservation standards led to wider applications of adaptive reuse. Professionals and the public were learning about the value of historic preservation – educational and outreach programs helped disseminate the ideals, supported by new scholarship published in journals, textbooks, and magazines. Coupled with a simplification of analysis and inventory processes, preservation grew in depth and breadth (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984). The subject of preservation efforts broadened to include elements of the everyday landscape. Initiatives began to take place at the neighborhood level to include concepts of class, race, gender and ethnicity through the celebration of ordinary, vernacular landscapes such as tenements, markets, factories, meeting halls and parks (Birnbaum and Hughes, 2005; Murtagh, 1997; Jackson, 1984).

At the same time that the field of preservation was expanding its roots, finding new, firmer ground, the field of planning was heading in the other direction. Modernist urban renewal, wholesale clearance and an emerging emphasis on highway and suburb development indicate that 'modernizing' planners did not have a strong respect for local culture and historic values. Many downtowns and neighborhoods experienced severe clearance and suffered from disinvestment. Middle- and upper-income families filled the rapidly expanding suburbs, enticed by public incentives and municipal infrastructure

development, while housing programs for lower-income families dwindled and existing neighborhoods declined. Urban renewal, while short-lived in its heyday, was particularly rampant in downtowns, rarely providing an adequate complementary affordable housing or replacement housing component. (Hayden, 2003; E. L. Birch, 2002; E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984; Stegman and Rasmussen, 1980).

In the mid-1970's the urban renewal focus shifted from wholesale clearance to smaller site or individual building demolition, and in some cases rehabilitation. Block grants and rehabilitation programs supported this change, which provided housing for low-income residents. Middle- and upper-income residents, meanwhile, continued to fill the suburbs (E. L. Birch, 2002). The spreading low-density auto-centric development intensified the gap between rich and poor, exacerbated racial segregation, and instituted an unsustainable growth pattern, one which was not only "ecologically unconscionable but economically inefficient and socially inequitable" (Faulk, 2006; Hayden, 2003; Bullard, Torres, and Johnson, 2000; Roseland et al., 1998).

A growing movement within planning, however, challenged this trend, instead citing the importance of diverse, smaller-scale approaches to planning which are "more appreciative of the beauty and functionalism of existing neighborhood organization" (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984). Starting in the late 1960s, community development advocates sought to address many market weaknesses, including sustained disinvestment in existing built resources, white flight, and erosion of infrastructure. Asset building was a strategy used to improve the quality of life of low- and moderate-income families, in part, through the physical environment (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

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Additional federal initiatives

The evolution of federal initiatives influencing neighborhood built environments is a complicated one. While very influential to planning, historic preservation, and the creation of equitable communities and neighborhoods, it is beyond the scope of this work to explore the federal and state policies and supporting legislation in great detail.

Birch and Roby suggest that the most substantial joint efforts between planning and preservation were supported by federal initiatives. These include shifts in legislation to encourage adaptive reuse and rehabilitation at the neighborhood level, such as Tax Reform Act, the Community Renewal Program, the Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (Model Cities) and the Neighborhood Development Program. Nearing and in the last quarter of the twentieth century a major shift in legislation and policy, e.g., which encouraged adaptive reuse and rehabilitation and focused resources at selected neighborhoods. Additional legislation required that federal administrators, largely in planning fields, were required to care for and protect historic sites, 1966 Transportation Act and 1969 National Environmental Protection Act. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, historic preservation found an active and vital place in the urban planning and redevelopment agenda. This approach was weighted as an economic development strategy and a good strategy to deal with urban issues in sensible segments, yielding immediate, visible results. This coalition of preservation and community planning advocates strengthened as many planning related fields began to find each other as allies: transportation, environmental, housing, and tax legislation (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984).

In the late 1970s programs, such as the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, amended 1977, encouraged buyers to look at and purchase previously

unconsidered properties in older city neighborhoods, leading in many cases to urban 'revitalization' albeit with gentrification (E. L. Birch and Roby, 1984). Many of the aesthetic and economic benefits from this proliferation of legislation came at the cost of significant residential displacement in improved neighborhoods. Such an emphasis on economic benefits is frequently considered to undermine the intrinsic community value of these historic neighborhoods (Page and Mason, 2004).

Much of this protective legislation achieved during the 1960's and 1970's was negated during President Reagan's administration, when funding for many of the supporting programs was slashed or eliminated (Listokin and Lahr, 1997). At the same time, many low-income housing development projects, created through federal initiatives were considered unsuccessful. In the 1990s, a new approach emerged, where careful physical design and market-rate units were designed alongside subsidized ones.

Decline of Downtowns

During the 1970s and 1980s it was apparent that a great unbalance existed within downtown centers. There was little life after the working day, with few features to draw outside residents in, and little to entice new residents to move to the core. Many gaps left by urban renewal never were filled, leaving residents despondent and apprehensive (Manning, 1998). Birch (2002) describes the Business Improvement District and Tax Increment Financing as one strategy that emerged to produce new amenities. Downtown housing was promoted and made possible through adaptive reuse, brownfield redevelopment and mixed use, all taking advantage of existing buildings and infrastructure (E. L. Birch, 2002). Many realized that the dominant pattern of growth was

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not going to meet the needs of future generations and was undermining the culture and

heritage of the past (Bullard, 2007; Faulk, 2006; E. L. Birch, 2002). While, until the

recent housing bubble burst, suburbs were continuing to expand, a significant shift

toward downtown and more urban living was evident (Burchell et al., 2000).

APPENDIX C

**RELATIONSHIP OF SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY TO
PLANNING AND PRESERVATION**

Relationship of Sustainable Environment to Planning and Preservation

The adage that 'the greenest building is the one that's already built' is apt for this

discussion. The data are clear – construction of new structures consumes more raw

materials and more energy than rehabilitation, while demolition of existing structures

contributes to landfill waste and loss of embodied energy. Replacing older buildings with

new, energy efficient ones will rarely get a superior energy return on investment (Hughes,

2008). Reuse is an important part of minimizing waste reduction (Roseland et al., 1998).

In the United States, buildings alone account for 43% of carbon emissions. It also takes a

great deal of energy to produce a building; according to the National Trust for Historic

Preservation, a 50,000 square foot commercial building requires the same amount of

energy needed to drive a car 20,000 miles a year for 730 years. A viable argument for

preserving embodied energy, they claim that it will take as much energy to demolish and

reconstruct 82 billion square feet of space (as predicted by the Brookings Institute) as it

would to power the entire state of California – the 10th largest economy in the world with

a population of about 36 million people – for 10 years. Not to mention the landfill

contribution from demolishing 82 billion square feet of space will create enough debris to

fill 2,500 NFL stadiums (www.preservationnation.org, 12/01/2008).

Today's LEED program offers limited support for rehabilitation of existing

resources. To an extent, the program values the energy efficiency potential in the built

environment. Taking advantage of existing infrastructure and services while avoiding

building into pristine greenfield sites is also awarded in LEED. When a building is constructed, it is not just the bricks and mortar, the hard materials that are of value. The total energy consumed in the process of constructing a building, called its embodied energy, should be considered. This includes the extraction, manufacturing and transportation of material building goods, in addition to the human labor necessary (Frey, 2007; Hughes, 2008) LEED website, www.usgbc, accessed 02/03/2009).

Relationship of Sustainable Economy to Planning and Preservation

Though he writes about government policy and construction funding in a Canadian context, Mark Denhez describes a situation similar to the United States, where leaders can support new construction over rehabilitation. He suggests that one strategy to counter sprawl and make the most of our investment dollars is to invest in our current assets, primarily existing buildings and infrastructure. It is important that we strive to extend the working life of city investments – Denhez states that many of the buildings to be occupied in 2020 are already built. Public policy should favor, or at least treat equally rehabilitation versus new construction, but this is rarely the case. (Denhez, 2007). Reinvestment in the built form is a primary tool for rehabilitation of neighborhoods and downtown districts. Roseland (1998) describes a process of taking existing resources and investing in them to serve current needs. He suggests that we need to re-urbanize city centers, reorient transportation support from the automobile to alternative forms – all by putting people at the center of design and planning of public spaces (Roseland et al., 1998).

Predominant support for new construction over rehabilitation has and probably always will be an issue. Many private and public programs have favored new construction and new growth, such as the National Homebuilders Association, the Urban Land Institute, and the National Association of Realtors (Hayden, 2003). Even programs today, such as LEED and Smart Growth, while providing some incentives for reuse, favor new construction (Frey, 2007; D. D. Rypkema, 2002). Most Americans favor suburban over urban living, preferring a more 'rural' lifestyle and ability to have multiple vehicles at convenient access (Burchell et al., 2000).

Another deeply rooted issue is a lack of maintenance practices which would incorporate small changes to the building and landscape over time. There are many reasons maintenance is not well-planned, often funds are not included in capital project funding, while federal tax law, real estate financing and general business practices do not put maintenance as a funding priority (Fisher, 1998). Even sustainable design programs often have a primary focus on new construction (Park, 1998). Private national programs such as LEED, as well as state programs such as Smart Growth initiatives, typically put far greater emphasis on new construction and development than on adaptive reuse and rehabilitation (D. D. Rypkema, 2002).

A strong argument for rehabilitation can be made when analyzing allocation and best investment of dollars spent. The percentage of labor costs can account for twenty to fifty percent increases in construction budgets, while material and transport costs are greatly reduced (Gratz, 2008; D. D. Rypkema, 1994). Instead of significant portions of the project budget being directed toward material often produced across the country or in other parts of the world, rehabilitation generally reduces the cost of materials and

increases labor expense – having a greater effect on the local economy if local laborers are employed. Direct socio-economic effects can include short-term creation of employment in construction and material production; multiplier effects can provide increased tax income from employment and spending, reduced welfare benefits for unemployed, benefits of tourism, local and regional development stimulus, and the ability to subsidize some housing through market-rate sale of other housing (D. D. Rypkema, 2006; Clarke, 1997; Lichfield, 1997).

Nathaniel Lichfield (1997) notes that conservation or preservation is too often thought of in what it costs society (as an impediment to growth, leading to loss of development, and is often considered less economical) – rather than how society benefits from such action. Preservationists cite benefits: restoration creates more jobs than new construction; cultural tourism visitors spend more and stay longer than other types of tourists; and Main Street buildings in need of revitalization are usually the best size for local businesses, which are often small and cannot afford new construction (D. D. Rypkema, 2006; Moe and Wilkie, 1997; Langdon, 1996).

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