

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO HISTORIC PRESERVATION
IN AN ERA OF SUSTAINABILITY PLANNING

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A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO HISTORIC PRESERVATION
IN AN ERA OF SUSTAINABILITY PLANNING

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Systems Approach to Historic Preservation

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The public outcry over large scale urban renewal projects of the mid-20th century served a catalytic role in the codification of the modern historic preservation movement in the United States. While theories of heritage and its protection underpinned policy development, the discourse surrounding the loss of historic fabric and the fracturing of communities within American cities played a critical role in the institutionalization of the field. It effectively pitted preservation as a counter movement against the public and private interests seeking social progress through rational planning paradigms. The modern preservation infrastructure – including institutions, legislation, and policies – is now half a century old, but the conceptual dynamics that isolated preservation from other land use decision-making at the juncture of its institutionalization persist.

The disjuncture between preservation and broader land use and building policies presents new challenges in light of contemporary sustainability concerns. Climate change -- and associated energy and resource consumption, greenhouse gas emissions, waste generation, and habitat and landscape destruction -- have made apparent, if not dire, the need to revolutionize the way we live in the industrialized world. Preservation, as an

integral component of the larger system of the built environment, is under increasing pressure to align its own aims and functions with those of the larger system and to share common goals of environmental, economic, and social sustainability.

This research uses *discourse analysis* to deconstruct historical and existing relationships among the theories, policies, and practices of preservation, planning, and sustainability. Using the lens of *systems thinking*, a basic framework is constructed to model behavior and dynamic relationships, and to suggest changes for forging shared aims and common ground.

Sustainability provides an accessible framework through which to view the built environment as a socio-ecological system (with economic inherent in the “socio”) and navigate the relationships and processes within it to which preservation contributes. Understanding those dynamics can help to better contextualize the enterprise of preservation and to elucidate how the policies and institutions of the field can be made more responsive to the needs of society.

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This research is underpinned by my twenty-five years of professional experience in the field of historic preservation, both here in the United States and abroad. This dissertation thus incorporates research and ideas that have been included in some of my previous publications, namely:

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Avrami, Erica. "Earthen Architecture, Sustainability, and Social Justice," *Terra 2008 Proceedings*. 10th International Conference on the Study and Conservation of Earthen Architecture. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2011.

Avrami, Erica. "Preservation and Sustainability," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*. Vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 20-23.

Avrami, Erica. "Heritage, Values, and Sustainability," *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas, and Uncomfortable Truths*. Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker, eds. London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my son, Harry Avrami Saroff, and to the memory of my father, Louis Avrami.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research Needs and Framework of Inquiry

The rational planning models of the early- and mid-twentieth century sought to compel a new social order through design and control of the built environment. But as society transitioned from the modern to the postmodern era, planning theory and practice underwent significant paradigm shifts. Rooted in a long history of utopian thought that emphasized scientific knowledge, rational planning methods unraveled as the community consequences of many urban renewal efforts became evermore apparent. Concurrently, planning theory was increasingly challenged as part of the growing postmodern critique of Enlightenment epistemology.

The public outcry over large scale urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 60s served a catalytic role in the codification of the modern preservation movement in the United States. While theories of heritage and its protection underpinned policy development, the discourse surrounding the loss of historic fabric and the fracturing of communities within American cities also helped to spark the building of a preservation infrastructure – including institutions, legislation, and policies – that is now half a century old. However, in part because of its contentious divide with the planning establishment at the juncture of its institutionalization, that preservation infrastructure exists quite separately from the agencies and legal framework governing other land use and built environment management (at federal, state, and municipal levels).

The relationship between preservation and broader land use and building policies impacts society and the environment in myriad ways, and can be analyzed through a variety of lenses. The realm of design and aesthetics has often served as both a

framework of inquiry and a crux of debates between the two fields. Indeed much of the legislation that underpins preservation in the US is built upon an aesthetics rationale that has enabled the field to advance its cause with a high degree of autonomy vis à vis land use planning. Qualitative research regarding what gets preserved and why has led the preservation field to new questions and concerns regarding the subjective and changing values that underpin such decision-making, and introduced new lines of inquiry focused on stakeholder participation and process.

Politics and governance, especially in light of globalizing economies, can also serve as a scaffold for deconstructing the preservation-planning dynamic. Destatization and sector hybridization over the past decades have made the relationship increasingly complex. The postmodern world has witnessed significant changes in the function of the public sector in redevelopment and the rise of neoliberal policies regarding economic investment in the built environment. Whereas much of the urban renewal machine of the 1950s and 1960s was federally-funded, major redevelopment projects in US cities are increasingly undertaken through public-private/hybrid partnerships orchestrated at the state and/or municipal level. Incentive policies for developers allow for public funding of private capital, based on the notion that such investments will leverage higher public revenues. Preservation protections are challenged by such changes, and create new dynamics between politics and policy.

Economics has likewise served as a tool for analyzing the often contentious relationship between preservation and planning. An underlying aim of preservation is to protect important buildings, districts, and landscapes from market pressures, so as to prevent demolition and inappropriate alterations. Longstanding preservation policy

asserts a self-declared apolitical role with regard to heritage designation – meaning that determination of significance and listing/protection is (theoretically) not contingent upon economic or political factors. However, strains on public funds, a shrinking supply of buildable land, competitive real estate markets, and other factors have forced preservation to rationalize its work in economic terms. Economic development agendas have found natural (though not always willing) partners in preservation, particularly through tourism. These forces along with the ongoing development of the “experience economy” have helped to spur the commodification of heritage and its utilization in economic planning. But in doing so, it compels preservation to own up to its role in the political economy.

Thus the production of space, and associated social relations and capital flows, can also serve as an interesting – though underutilized – lens for understanding preservation and planning dynamics. It can be argued that preservation is a means of maintaining the values of past capital investment in the built environment. Within a framework of spatial economics, heritage might be viewed as a response or a contributor to over accumulation -- a social reinvestment in physical capital that complicates the cycles of creative destruction.

However, the built environment is not merely a form of physical and economic capital. The sites, buildings, and landscapes that constitute heritage resources are also important forms of natural, social, and cultural capital. Shaped by a complex dynamic of ecological, financial, and societal factors, the built environment is thus in want of both capital- and flow-based approaches to examination. In short, heritage is not only places but the processes through which society assigns them meaning, and any lens of inquiry must accommodate this wide range of values.

While all of the above provide viable analytical lenses for understanding the dynamics of preservation and planning, none provides an overarching framework that effectively integrates social, economic, and environmental concerns. The last of these, environmental, merits particular focus in light of contemporary sustainability concerns. Climate change -- and related energy and resource consumption, greenhouse gas emissions, waste generation, and habitat and landscape destruction -- have made apparent, if not dire, the need to revolutionize the way we live -- particularly in the industrialized world.

According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), buildings account for up to 40% of worldwide energy consumption and are a major generator of greenhouse gases. Approximately 50% of all raw materials humans take from nature are for use in buildings. Construction, rehabilitation, and demolition debris constitutes nearly half of all the waste generated in higher income countries. And current trends suggest that, by 2032, the built environment will destroy or disturb natural habitats on more than 70% of the Earth's land surface. The growing human population and the limited carrying capacity of the earth compel explicit transformations in how we design, construct, and manage the built environment.

Sustainability has thus become a new, though ill-defined, cause cum inquiry for scholars and practitioners engaged in any and all aspects of managing the built environment. As Birch and Silver note, "...city planners are confronting the worldwide problem of global warming, looking to the core areas of urban design, transportation, land use, and environmental planning to reduce the nation's carbon footprint. Planners' current priorities are to promote sustainability and green cities" (2009, 120).

Preservationists are also raising the mantle of sustainability, and actually first made the claim of preservation's environmental benefits pursuant to the 1970s oil crisis, when the profound role of buildings in energy consumption was only beginning to come to light (Figure 1.1). To bolster its claim, in 2009 the National Trust established the Seattle-based Preservation Green Lab to undertake research in support of the positive environmental impacts of preserving and reusing older buildings.

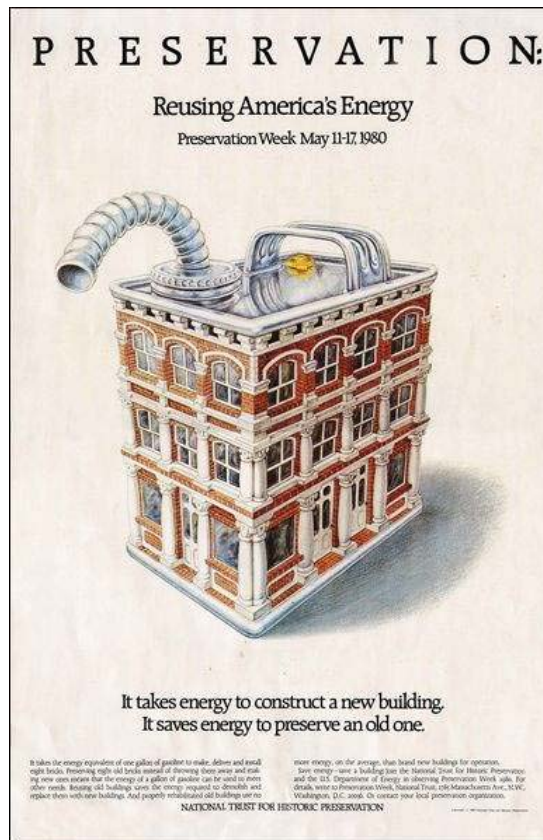


Figure 1.1 National Trust promotion of preservation as energy saving, circa 1980 (source: <http://www.michigan.gov/mshda/0,1607,7-141-54317-190700--,00.html>)

Many -- preservationists and planners alike, as well as architects, developers, product manufacturers, service industries, researchers, and others -- tout their contributions to a sustainable built environment through green design, energy efficiency, growth management, life-cycle assessments, triple bottom line accounting, social justice,

and more. The result is disparate perceptions and practices of sustainability and a lack of integration, both in theory and praxis.

Sustainability is not a singularly defined concept; it is an evolving and complex discourse involving a tripartite of environmental, economic, and social spheres. While it is neither a unified theory nor comprehensive tool, it can nonetheless serve as an organizational framework for mapping some of the dynamics at play within the built environment, in particular between preservation and broader planning issues. That it is such a pervasive notion and one that is already driving current decision-making regarding the built environment, from zoning to building codes, suggests that modeling dynamics within a sustainability rubric is warranted, if only to provide a means of navigating the complex landscape of environmental, economic, and social concepts involved in contemporary discourse.

Consider sustainable management of the built environment as a large system of inter-relating subsystems, of which preservation is one. To ensure that historic preservation is a process that benefits society without undue negative impact on the environment, its goals must be aligned with those of the overarching system.

Some might argue that framing historic preservation within an environmental, economic, and social sustainability tripartite cum rubric somehow presents a new set of goals or expands the mission of the field unduly. While preservation is largely justified in social terms -- such as aesthetics, quality of life/place, and community building -- it nonetheless involves and impacts a host of economic and environmental concerns. The growing body of research on the benefits of preservation, from economic impact studies

to lifecycle analyses, suggests that the preservation field – wittingly or not – has already embraced the need to rationalize its work in both economic and environmental terms.

The challenges preservation faces are not merely the result of a growing emphasis on environmental and economic concerns, but are prompted by fundamental social factors and philosophical issues as well. Population and demographic shifts compound preservation politics and underscore the need for policy reform. As Sandercock contends (2002, 3), increased international and rural-to-city migration postcolonialism, the resurgence of indigenous peoples, and the rise of organized civil society make for profound changes in negotiations about memory and the built environment. Along with increasing heterogeneity, there is acute pressure on urban areas to accommodate growing populations. In New York City alone, population estimates project an additional 900,000 people by 2030. If current construction and land use trends continue, by that time more than 27% of the buildings that exist today will be replaced and 50% more will be constructed (Urban Land Institute 2005).

To some extent, evolving theories within the preservation and planning fields have laid the groundwork for reform and improved synergy between the sub-system and the larger whole. Communicative and advocacy planning theories have informed the development of more value-driven and deliberative preservation methodologies through which stakeholders can engage in the determination of what is heritage and how it should be safeguarded. However, stakeholders must still negotiate the institutional arrangements through which the politics of preservation play out, and those institutions were founded on the prevailing theories of the 1960s. Ethnic, cultural, and community groups with alternative views of how to preserve or what is appropriate are at a clear disadvantage

with regard to participation and power. So while stakeholder values and deliberation have become part of the general rhetoric of theory and to some extent practice, how cultural difference and multiple knowledges translate to new policies and institutional arrangements for preservation remains largely uncharted territory.

As communities try to combat the market pressures of urban growth, grapple with shifting demographics, adapt to the influx of migrating populations, and apply new sustainability principles to land use decision-making, preservation is becoming increasingly significant and controversial in the struggle to maintain continuity and manage growth, yet meet the demands of necessary change.

For example, growth management strategies, inclusionary zoning, and green building incentives are becoming common tools for both planners and policy-makers alike. Yet, while there are clear environmental and economic rationales for increased density and a more energy-efficient building stock, community-based preferences for down-zoning and preservation pose interesting challenges. As communities contend with the market and public pressures of redevelopment, preservation is used more widely and for varied ends, from managing change at the neighborhood level to protecting property values. The NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission designated a record one thousand buildings and sites in 2007 -- fundamentally constraining their potential for redevelopment -- just as the need to identify areas of redevelopment and rezoning within the city became a sustainability priority of PlaNYC, the mayor's initiative for a greener, greater New York.

These issues illustrate both tensions and synergies in the relationship between preservation and the overall planning and management of the build environment. What a

sustainability framework provides is a means of better modeling the dynamics amongst social, economic, and environmental factors, one that transcends the traditional divide between humanities-driven qualitative research (a mainstay of preservation) and the quantitative bent of the social and physical sciences. The aim is not to extend the scope of the preservation enterprise by creating a new sustainability imperative, but rather to better contextualize its work within the fabric of society and an evolving global agenda.

Contextualizing the work of preservation – making it more responsive to societal needs and environmental concerns – is largely dependent upon the capacity for the policies and institutions of preservation to adapt and evolve. The modern US preservation infrastructure of laws, policies, and institutions emerged in the 1960s, driven by theories largely dependent upon Western European experience and aesthetic rationales. Since then, sustainability research has grown tremendously and posited a new understanding of the impacts of the built environment on both people and the planet.

The need to forge common ground between historic preservation and planning becomes more pressing in light of this new sustainability knowledge. However, can the existing preservation infrastructure accommodate the changing needs of society and the planet? Is the preservation field prepared and positioned to adapt? Indeed, this dissertation posits that while preservation discourse served to institutionalize the field and codify a legitimate infrastructure and policy framework some fifty years ago, that infrastructure may be constraining the political maturation of the field and inhibiting the development of policies responsive to twenty-first century problems and practice.

Examining these issues is challenging. The body of preservation scholarship is limited. There are significant gaps with regard to preservation's maturing theoretical

development. The social, environmental, and economic effects and responsiveness of current policy is a growing area of research, but emphasis is on the latter two with little study of the social impacts of preservation. While the policies and the infrastructure of preservation have been explicated in the literature, the institutionalized politics that shape decision-making (and potentially policy reform) are not adequately addressed, nor is the overall dynamic amongst theory, politics, and policy.

Study of preservation's theoretical evolution and its intersection with other discourses is critical to preparing and positioning the field for engagement with broader planning and sustainability issues. Likewise, examination of the institutional arrangements that have been codified by the infrastructure of the past four decades is needed to understand the role these have played in shaping policy and vice versa.

Research Assumptions

This research is underpinned by several assumptions. First and foremost of these is that climate change is occurring, as posited in the 2007 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Climate change is largely a result of greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), which have increased dramatically since the Industrial Revolution. The built environment is a major generator of GHGs, representing a third of emissions worldwide and nearly half in the US. The need to mitigate the role of the built environment in climate change is imperative.

While there are clearly many unresolved questions about how sustainability is defined, we know without doubt that current consumption rates of the Earth's limited resources cannot be sustained in light of exponential population growth. Thus

sustainability, while disparate and debated a concept, has nonetheless been operationalized through government and intergovernmental action, stemming from a collective desire to maintain the planet's capacity to support humanity.

Sustainability concerns will increasingly influence policies and practices regarding society's planning and management of the built environment. The position of historic preservation within this broader system is important, because preservation is a fundamental element of civilized society. The universal presence of heritage (however reified a concept or culturally relative a practice) across space and time suggests that its preservation is a ubiquitous social process, though varying in how it is undertaken.

While it is presumed to benefit society at large, preservation has a range of motivations and may have positive and/or negative impacts on particular communities. In its most robust form, preservation can be a tool for managing change and for codifying collective memory and storytelling in the built environment. It can provide a vital means of community-building by reinforcing shared histories, cultivating collective identities, and fostering a sense of cohesion. It can likewise serve as a dangerous vehicle for exclusion and ideologies of difference, and as a means of preventing, rather than managing, change. Understanding the potentially good and bad consequences of preservation processes is critical to contextualizing its work in a broader social agenda and system of built environment management.

That said, preservation – on its own – is never likely to achieve particular importance in a complex social agenda. While it is a (potential) contributor to quality of life, issues of healthcare, education, employment, etc. understandably rank higher in

priority. Therefore, to strategically achieve its ends, preservation must integrate with other fields and within a broader sustainability rubric to establish a shared agenda.

The work of the field and the needs of society would be better served if preservation were a more integral component of planning writ large. To achieve this, preservation should leverage shared goals as a means of promoting a common agenda for management of the built environment, and should create clear feedback loops for assessing the impacts of its work. Growing sustainability concerns pose a prime need and opportunity for preservation to do so. Shared concerns for resource management, intergenerational equity, social and environmental justice, and sustainable growth/development provide key areas of common interest around which social action can be mobilized.

Research Questions and Goals

The fundamental query of this research is whether the field of preservation is prepared to address the built environment challenges of the twenty-first century. The specific research questions include the following:

- *Discourse and Position:* How is the preservation position defined? How do institutional policy, theory, history, and politics shape the preservation position?
- *Process and Participation:* How are varying interests and knowledges given voice in discourse shaping? How does preservation engage the discourse regarding broader sustainability and built environment concerns?
- *System Dynamics:* What are the drivers of and challenges to the preservation position (economic, environmental, social factors)? What role does preservation play in relation to the planning and management of the broader built environment

This research posits that urban conditions and redevelopment dynamics helped to solidify preservation politics in the 1960s and prompt the establishment of an instituted policy infrastructure. However, that infrastructure has not changed significantly in the past forty years. As result, the field has perpetuated an orthodoxy that inhibits its capacity to incorporate in its work advances in theory and changing political dynamics. This has also limited the field's ability to engage in broader sustainability planning and management of the built environment.

The ultimate aim of this research is to inform policy reform that better integrates preservation within broader planning discourse and practice and one that more effectively contributes to sustainability. Such integration would expectantly serve to contextualize the work of preservation within a more inclusive structure for deliberation and decision-making and to better link its objectives to a common agenda and system regarding sustainability of the built environment. To achieve this end, greater understanding is needed about how effectively preservation has engaged in this arena to date. This study furthers that endeavor by analyzing past and emergent preservation discourse, and examining the evolving dynamics that mediate between discourse and policy. The aims therefore include:

- Framing preservation as a component of a larger system of sustainable built environment management,
- Characterizing the strengths and weaknesses of the existing preservation establishment and orthodoxy,
- Historicizing the relationship between preservation and planning,
- Extending and refining emergent theory and discourse intersections,
- Identifying opportunities for policy reform and convergence.

Plan of Analysis and Research Methods

This research is framed within a critical theory paradigm, in that it challenges the structures and ideological patterns of preservation so as to better understand its existing function in society as well as inform its potential transformation. This study thus suggests that preservation policy has been shaped by the dominant theory and power relationships of the era during which it was institutionalized, and seeks to elucidate how changes in the environment, society, and preservation discourse itself, prompt the need for change.

This research utilizes various methodologies to shed light on this interplay between discourse, practice, and policy. First, the research problem is framed using the lens of *systems thinking*, based largely on the work of Donella Meadows (2008). Because of the significant energy and land consumption of buildings and the waste generation associated with their construction and demolition, the terrain of the built environment, both literally and figuratively, is changing quite rapidly. Sustainability provides a framework for mapping and navigating the dynamics at play in decisions about land use and what structures should be saved, adapted, razed, or built new and how. Viewing the built environment as a socio-ecological system (with economic inherent in the “socio”) can help shed light on how historic preservation operates as a subsystem of the larger whole. Understanding those relationships can help to elucidate how the policies and institutions of preservation work with – or against – a system paradigm of sustainability that more explicitly acknowledges the range of social, economic, and environmental values that inform positions and process.

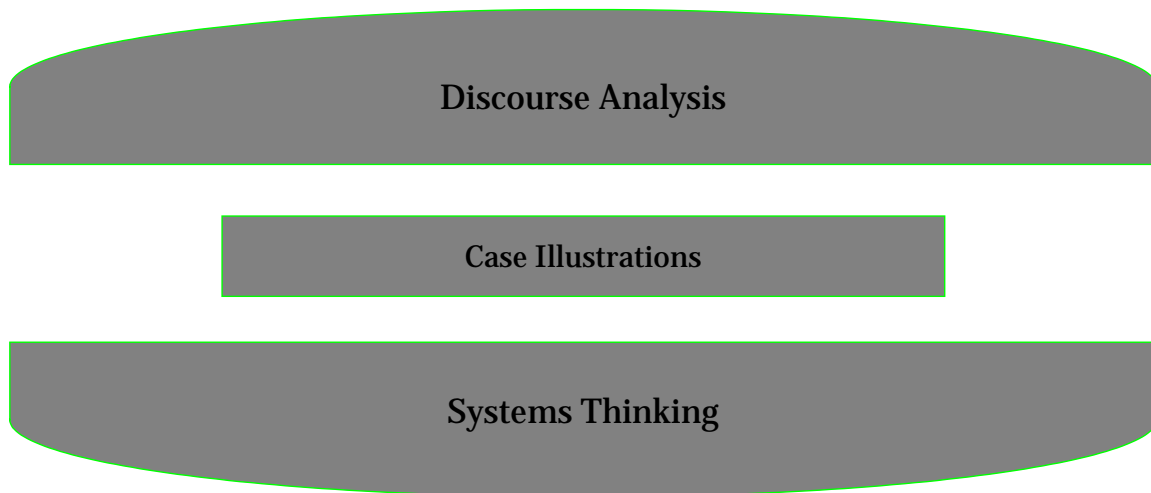


Figure 1.2 Research methods diagram

Discourse analysis provides an additional lens through which to examine these relationships and the ways in which they have been influenced by the theories and establishment of preservation. Applying critical thought to the preservation dynamic and exploring the political implications of the dominant – as well as other – discourses provides insight into how the field has defined its mission and scope in light of evolving philosophical debates and changing social, economic, and environmental conditions.

Case illustrations are used to examine and demonstrate the practical application of preservation's goals, so as to further elucidate the dialectic of theory and practice, and the relationship of preservation to broader planning and sustainability concerns, with international examples as well as some from the United States. The cases locate the ideas and relationships -- examined through the systems lens and discourse analysis -- in heritage places, providing a geography to the conceptual arguments. Using the three fundamental research questions, the cases illustrate the conventional *position* of preservation, the *processes* employed to advance it cause, and/or the *dynamics* (often

tensions) they engender in relationship to other social, economic, and environmental concerns of managing the built environment. The following table provides an overview:

Chap.	Cases	Position	Process	Dynamic
3	Grand Central/Penn Station	✓		
3	Historic Tax Credit Program	✓		
4	South Street Seaport/World Trade Center	✓		
5	Historic Tax Credit Program		✓	
5	Everglades		✓	
6	Solar and Wind Farms (Cape Wind: Route 66; Toledo, Spain)			✓
6	Urban Densification (Buenos Aires, Argentina; Kyoto, Japan; Avila, Sevilla, & Barcelona, Spain)			✓
6	Earthen Architecture			✓
6	New Gourn, Egypt	✓	✓	✓

Figure 1.3 Table of Case Illustrations

Organization of Research

Because the field of preservation itself draws from different disciplines and bodies of knowledge, understanding its evolving role within the overall system of the built environment requires the analysis of multiple discourses and the ways in which they are brought to bear on the theories, policies, and practices of heritage protection. The chapters of this dissertation therefore provide different lenses on the field, each including a review of the relevant literature.

Chapter 2 examines the concept of sustainability and its applications to the built environment, offering a framework for analysis of preservation's role within the larger system.

Chapter 3 examines the evolution of preservation discourse and its theoretical underpinnings, the rationales for government action to foster heritage protection, and the professionalization and institutionalization of the field in the latter part of the twentieth century. A small sub-study related to professional attitudes of graduate students entering the field extends this analysis and is included in Appendix A.

Chapter 4 explores developments in the field of planning and the ways in which these have influenced and intersected with preservation's trajectory in the second half of the twentieth century, creating opportunities and challenges for improved synergy.

Chapter 5 looks at how the societal benefits of preservation are qualified and quantified. Particular attention is paid to the way in which preservation is increasingly justified in economic terms, and how these shifts have influenced discourse, policy development, and practice.

Chapter 6 looks specifically at how preservation has engaged sustainability concerns and aims, and how it has positioned itself within the discourse, as part of policy agendas, and in practice, using illustrations from the US and abroad.

Chapter 7 provides a synthesis of the research findings through the lens of systems thinking, draws conclusions about the current state of preservation, and recommends possible opportunities for the future of the field.

2. SUSTAINABILITY AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Modeling preservation dynamics within a sustainable built environment rubric requires an examination of some of the fundamental concepts of sustainability and what is meant by *the built environment*.

How humans interact with their surroundings is a complex dynamic. Indeed, the concept of a truly *natural* landscape is becoming increasingly challenged as the Earth's environment is evermore changed by human use and intervention. One can effectively argue that there are virtually no natural landscapes left on the planet; the direct and indirect effects of man's activities have reached every corner of the globe, through land use practices, water pollution, greenhouse gas accumulation, ozone depletion, etc. For certain, most landscapes in the contiguous forty-eight United States have been appreciable altered by the interaction of man and nature.

More and more, the concept of *cultural* landscapes is being applied to the confluence of man and the environment in particular places. The US Secretary of the Interior defines a cultural landscape as, "a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein), associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values."¹ This mixed resource-based definition essentially implies that any landscape that contains both natural elements and manmade or human artifacts (e.g. remains of Native American cultures) and/or is associated with some significant happening (e.g. George Washington crossing the Delaware River) is cultural.

¹ <http://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments/landscape-guidelines/terminology.htm>

Many academics and practitioners have advanced beyond this definition, drawing largely from new concepts of heritage preservation. Past preservation paradigms have been built largely upon the notion of heritage – natural and cultural -- as objectified resources of intrinsic value to be protected for the benefit of future generations, with those managing their preservation serving as neutral stewards. Current research contends that what constitutes heritage is created and recreated continually over time, deriving from the changing values people ascribe to such resources. Society does not suddenly discern the inherent value of a landscape; it constructs that value based on its relationship with it. Thus, for example, the Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies at Harvard University does not use the phrase “cultural landscape” to mean a certain kind of landscape. “Instead, (it) uses ‘cultural landscape’ to mean a *way of seeing* landscapes that emphasizes the interaction between human beings and nature over time” (Ingerson).

So what does that mean in terms of the built environment? From a typological standpoint, it means that the built environment is not simply the buildings that humans occupy and use. It’s bridges and roads, rice terraces and cemeteries, archaeological remains and monuments, parks and formal gardens, industrial complexes and entire urban centers, and more. From an analytical perspective, it’s the spatial and social interrelationship of all these things, how we conceive and perceive them, how we use them, how their physical construct and ascribed values influence our lives, how they serve the needs of humankind and influence our larger environment (i.e. the planet).

Why is this important? Because understanding the cultural-natural interplay and political processes can provide greater insight into how to frame sustainability vis à vis the built environment, and how to map the role preservation plays in that system.

Framing the System

The built environment is not merely an agglomeration of buildings and places. It is a complicated system of relationships that involves not only the products of design, planning, and construction, but the complex processes associated with their creation and management. A systems approach affords a lens that helps to show those relationships and their effects. The goal of the built environment system, in this light, is to maintain a sustainable -- environmentally, economically, and socially -- habitat for humanity within the planet's overall (and finite) eco-system.

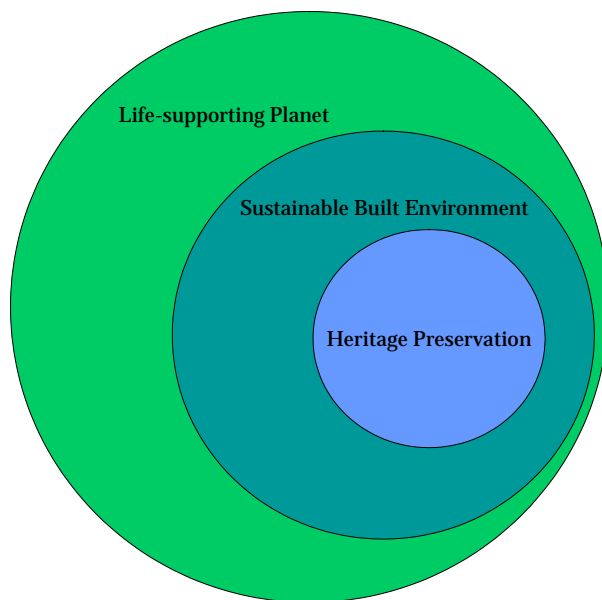


Figure 2.1 Preservation as a subsystem

In systems modeling speak, places – buildings to cultural landscapes – can be viewed as *stock*. The dynamics of society and nature create behavior flux within the system and *inflows* and *outflows* of stock. System management helps to control stocks as well as ensure resilience, or the “ability to recover from perturbation” (Meadows 2008, 78); in the context of the built environment, that means the capacity to adapt to changing conditions be they environmental or social.

Feedback loops influence system flows and stocks. Population growth and changes in the way people occupy space (i.e. increased per capita land use) create a *reinforcing feedback loop* that causes inflows to exceed outflows, meaning the stock keeps increasing and the built environment keeps growing. Market conditions that encourage real estate speculation and development as a profit-generating enterprise can likewise create a reinforcing feedback loop, increasing inflows and stocks.

Balancing feedback loops are “equilibrating or goal-seeking structures in systems and are both sources of stability and sources of resistance to change” (Meadows 2008, 30). Land use regulations, building and demolition codes, zoning, and the like are all balancing feedback loops intended to control stocks within a given range of values, that is to say they serve as tools for managing the built environment. The relative strength of reinforcing and balancing feedback loops and associated information flows can influence how and why stock grows, for example as dense development versus sprawl (*Figure 2.2*)

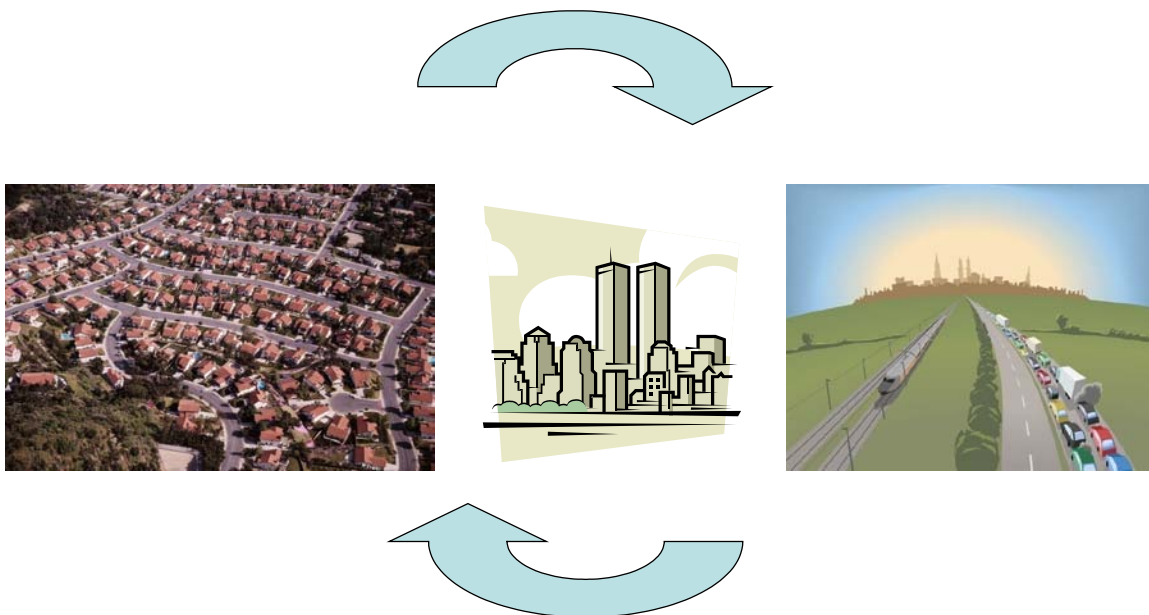


Figure 2.2 Feedback loops influence how the built environment stock grows

Within this built environment framework, heritage constitutes a socially-differentiated segment of stock, including the buildings, sites, and landscapes that are assigned cultural significance. Preservation creates associated flows through a variety of processes (listing, material conservation, interpretation, etc.) and essentially serves as a feedback loop, by helping to determine which places should not be demolished or significantly altered because of the meanings and values ascribed to them by society.

The role of preservation in the overall system, then, is one that is largely social. Decisions to preserve a place as protected heritage are not driven directly by economic potential (generally) or energy efficiency. They are driven by a fundamental belief that stewardship of the built vestiges of the past is good for society; it makes us better citizens (this will be explored further in Chapter 3). However, such decisions can have profound economic and environmental consequences. As Shipworth notes in his application of the *Stern Review* to construction:

Economically rational actions taken at the local (say, project) level lead to economically irrational outcomes at the global level, so long as “externalities” such as climate change exist. Externalities exist as soon as one draws system boundaries that define what is inside and what is outside the system (2007, 480).

Thus the enterprise of preservation, despite its largely social motivations, cannot be wholly divorced from the sustainability of the built environment and the overall well-being of the planet and its populations. For preservation to be effective and maintainable in the long-term, its goals must align with those of the overarching system so that it is contextually responsive. However, in order to examine if and how preservation supports the aims of a sustainable built environment, it is necessary to examine what sustainability actually is.

Concepts of Sustainability

In *Sustainability and the Civil Commons: Rural Communities in the Age of Globalization*, Jennifer Sumner summarizes succinctly and eloquently the many ways in which the idea of sustainability is understood and conceptualized in the literature:

Some...see sustainability as a goal or objective or end state – that is, some final point to be aimed for and arrived at. In this sense, it is understood in both individual and common terms, and must be consciously chosen. Sustainability has also been described...as a condition or a state that people are in or aspire towards, as well as a vision, such as a vision of economic stability or a clean environment, which can fill a void in the way we live our lives. Some...consider sustainability to be like an ethic, concerned with such issues as intergenerational equity, human survival, and morality, while others go so far as to see it almost like a religion, or at least a sacred cow. In contrast, sustainability is understood by some simply as a management practice, without moral and ethical ramifications, or merely as a characteristic of some process or state. From a more scientific perspective, sustainability has also been seen as both symbiosis and a manifestation of the second law of thermodynamics. It has also been associated with systems thinking, and is considered by some to be an emergent property of certain kinds of systems, which adds a dynamic and unpredictable aspect to the idea of sustainability. Some...see sustainability as a principle that can unify people and guide choices, or as a form of mediation that can help to bridge the gulf between opposing groups. It is also linked with the idea of a social construct – something socially constructed by humans for their own uses. On a more philosophical level, sustainability is also seen...as a “metabelief,” which can open up whole new ways of thinking, feeling and acting in the world. Sustainability has also been described as a catalyst for creative thinking, a liberating idea and a constant challenge to human ingenuity. And finally, a number...see sustainability as a process, which means it involves an ongoing development or becoming without end (Sumner 2005, 77).

For the purposes of this study, this researcher utilizes sustainability as a concept for framing a complex set of dynamics, proffering that it is not an absolute end state but rather a system of processes and trade-offs amongst environmental, economic, and social concerns.

While there are clearly many unresolved questions about how sustainability is defined, we know without doubt that current consumption rates of the Earth’s limited

resources cannot be sustained in light of exponential population growth. The climate change effects of greenhouse gas emissions, while challenged by some, are well documented and were unequivocally demonstrated in the 2007 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Thus sustainability, while disparate and debated a concept, has nonetheless been operationalized through government and intergovernmental action, stemming from a collective desire to maintain the planet's capacity to support humanity.

The United Nations held its first major conference on the “human environment” in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972. There was growing awareness, particularly in the industrialized world, on the toll humankind was taking on natural resources through its development. It is important to note that at this time, the concept of development (itself disparate and debatable) was largely based on a premise of economic growth, that increasing productivity and thus income was a fundamental vehicle through which to achieve improved quality of life. Nordhaus and Shellenberger (2007) argue that the boom of the post-World War II era created a post-material society that could suddenly afford to acknowledge and prioritize the impact industry and growth were having on land, resources, water, and air – and thus on the human condition.

In 1980, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature or IUCN (established through United Nations action in 1948), issued the World Conservation Strategy. While focused on the protection of natural landscapes and habitats, the IUCN advocated for local community engagement as a critical tool in protecting the environment, reasoning that balanced stewardship could only be achieved by making conservation a vehicle through which local communities could meet their present and

long-term needs. Thus, there was a purposeful interest on the part of the IUCN to engage the development discourse to advance these aims.

In 1983, the United Nations established the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), chaired by the Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland, to examine this intersection of environment and development. What became known as the Brundtland Commission issued a report in 1987 titled, *Our Common Future*. The report was seminal in that it merged these arenas under the term “sustainable development,” which it defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987, 43).

In 1992, the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) – more familiarly known as the Earth Summit or Rio -- was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The result was a dense action plan entitled *Agenda 21*, which outlined goals and strategies for sustainable development that integrated environmental, economic, and social concerns at the international, national, and local levels. An important element of the plan was acknowledgement of the disparity between lesser and more developed countries (or the North-South divide), and the need for global cooperation to effectively address equitable progress and responsible management of resources.

This linking of human and natural systems also helped to mark shifts in thinking from an environmental paradigm that was anthropocentrically-focused to an ecological paradigm that placed humankind within a more complex system of bio-dynamics. It also established the environment as part of the “global commons” (Dowdeswell and

Chanovitz), transcending geopolitical boundaries. In effect, Agenda 21 proffered that “think globally, act locally” was not enough: the nations of the world needed to also “act globally” as well. There was growing scientific research demonstrating that local activities such as emissions and deforestation had profound global effects. International cooperation was imperative. Without discounting the important considerations of particular contexts and conditions, this approach championed a certain universality with regard to sustainability and the link between economics and the environment.

This paved the way for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, known as the Kyoto Protocol (1997), and largely influenced the development of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which emerged from the UN Millennium Summit in 2000 and include “ensure environmental sustainability” as one of eight goals for human development. At the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (also known as Rio+10), in Johannesburg, South Africa, the United Nations reinforced its commitment to both Agenda 21 and the MDGs.

However, despite these intergovernmental concerns and commitments, operationalizing sustainability programs remains a challenge, in part due to complex tensions regarding priorities within the global community. Post-Brundtland, the main schism was viewed as that between the “Green” and “Brown” agendas of the North and South, respectively. The “Green agenda” focuses on reducing environmental impacts and is generally oriented toward the problems of over-consumption in affluent nations. The “Brown agenda” addresses the problems of poverty reduction and underdevelopment, with an environmental focus centered more on issues of health and sanitation (*Agenda 21* CIB and UNEP-IETC 2002, 9). Reconciling these two agendas in ways that can alleviate

immediate problems as well as provide for a well-managed future vis-à-vis resources, health, and infrastructure, in an environment of tremendously rapid urban growth proves thorny. For industrialized countries, reducing over-consumption brings the specter of sacrificing quality of life, though a quality of life earned at the expense of the global community. For lesser developed countries, it suggests stifling economic growth because of the over-consumption of others.

The economic crisis, triggered in 2008 with the financial meltdown of the banking and insurance industry and still rippling across the globe, compounds the situation. As globalization has moved the world toward faster communication and freer markets, economic, environmental, and social implications have become inextricably linked, crossing geo-political boundaries in increasingly complex ways. Any discussion of international trade, foreign investment, national debt, and banking regulation incurs social and environmental consequences and vice versa. Seeking to stabilize national economies, governments struggle with growing tensions among financial, social, and environmental policies.

Multi-pronged debates involving global market forces and the environment are often fraught with disparities of power and protectionist interest, and have made states leery of the process and reluctant to come to the negotiating table. Thus, finding a common proving ground for equitable and balanced international policy development for sustainability, while imperative, is riddled with obstacles. There is a growing lack of faith in the capacity of international organizations and national governments alike. Despite the history of international efforts outlined above, there is little measurable progress when one looks at growth trends and resource consumption worldwide.

Wackernagel et al (2002), in measuring the ecological footprint of humanity, conclude that the carrying capacity of the earth was exceeded in the 1980s and continues to overshoot, such that in 1999 society was operating at 20% beyond the planet's capacity.

Clearly markets do not have the ability -- no matter how free nor to what extent externalities are incorporated -- to solve all sustainability issues or to ensure equity or to prevent overshoot. So, in this void of international leadership and global consensus, alternative collectives begin to emerge to attend to their particular interests. Whether because of protectionist sentiments or exasperation with the efficacy of intergovernmental organizations, local action has once again become a primary conduit for sustainability policy.

Sustainability is not simply a technical challenge for achieving economic and environmental balance and social equity; it is a social construct, a politically negotiated idea about what quality of life means for different people in different places. As a Dutch report *Quality and the Future* suggests:

Sustainability is about the quality of life and the possibilities for maintaining this quality in the future. What sustainability is, therefore, depends on the public opinion about the quality of life, the distribution of this quality across the globe, and the scientific understanding of the functioning of human and natural systems (RIVM 2004, 5).

As a result, some of the most interesting developments with regard to sustainability are emerging at the community and state levels, where discursive deliberation is more manageable and policy development less complex. This is also fueled by global demographics showing the shift from a predominantly rural to urban population, with a particularly high rate in lesser developed countries. The city is the object of renewed interest. Indeed, in their 2011 publication, *The City as Fulcrum of*

Global Sustainability, Ernest Yanarella and Richard Levine proffer that grappling with economic, environmental, and social issues at the city-region level is the only way sustainability can be successfully undertaken. Though very normative in their approach, they make a compelling argument for why the city-region has the potential to be fertile ground for innovation (this will be discussed further in Chapter 4). They argue that:

Our times are experiencing multiple crises on a variety of geographic scales that call for serious reconsideration and reevaluation of foundational values, social and economic institutions, political practices and visions of the good life and the good society. Such an era also calls for a serious rethinking of society's relationship with a natural world that is deeply implicated with the society and its built environment and in some ineliminable sense separate from it (230-1).

Toward a Sustainable Built Environment

The built environment is a primary concern when considering sustainability. According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) buildings account for up to 40% of worldwide energy consumption and thereby are a primary generator of greenhouse gases.² Approximately 50% of all raw materials humans take from nature are for use in buildings. Construction, rehabilitation, and demolition debris constitutes nearly half of all the waste generated in higher income countries. And current trends suggest that, by 2032, the built environment will destroy or disturb natural habitats on more than 70% of the Earth's land surface. With regard to environmental degradation and resource consumption, buildings and the construction sector are egregious culprits. However, they are likewise a vital social and economic enterprise.

To effectively address sustainability issues and translate Agenda 21 principles to the building and construction sector, the International Council for Research and

² The US Energy Information Administration puts the energy consumption of buildings at 49% of total US energy consumption, with industry at 23% and transportation at 28%, as of 2011.

Innovation in Building and Construction (CIB) initiated the development of *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction*. The effort was launched in 1995, on the heels of the 1996 UN-Habitat II and as a lead-up to the 1998 World Building Congress on Construction and the Environment, in Gävle, Sweden. Published in 1999, *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction* provides a “conceptual framework that defines the links between the global concept of sustainable development and the construction sector, and enables other Agendas on a local or sub-sectorial level to be compared and co-ordinated and to define detailed measures appropriately responsive to the local context” (CIB 1999, 17). Thus there is a need and desire to transform the built environment and related industries so as to utilize natural resources efficiently, minimize waste and energy consumption, manage land use effectively, and improve quality of life – in ways that are both globally and locally responsive.

The fields of industrial ecology, engineering, materials science, and others have greatly advanced understanding regarding the way in which buildings can maximize energy efficiency and minimize resource consumption. But sustainability of the built environment cannot be achieved through solely technical means, as indicated in *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction*:

A decade ago, the emphasis was placed on the more technical issues in construction...and on energy related design concepts. Today, an appreciation of the non-technical issues is growing and these so-called ‘soft’ issues are at least as crucial for a sustainable development in construction. Economic and social sustainability must be accorded explicit treatment in any definition. More recently also the cultural issues and the cultural heritage implications of the built environment have come to be regarded as pre-eminent aspects in sustainable construction (CIB 1999, 18).

The built environment is not, physically, the same the world over, nor is it perceived in the same ways. It was, in part, this concern about cultural responsiveness

that prompted the development of the subsequent *Agenda 21 for Sustainable Construction in Lesser Developed Countries in 2002*. *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction* was strongly dominated by thinking about what could or should be accomplished in industrialized countries, and though lesser developed countries face some similar challenges, problems are often more extreme (such as a lack of adequate housing and infrastructure, rapid urbanization, and limited institutional capacity). In addition, lesser developed countries have fewer financial resources. Though the end goals of sustainability may be the same, the contexts require different approaches.

For example, a specific condition of construction in the lesser developed world, though not a significant issue in industrialized countries, is the prevalence of vernacular or “informal” architecture (owner/occupant constructed, not designed by architects and engineers, and generally employing local materials). There are varying statistics, but the Centre for Vernacular Architecture at Oxford Brookes University estimates that 80% of the world population is housed in vernacular structures, and this is not strictly a rural phenomenon, as *Agenda 21* (2002, 23) notes:

The majority of the world’s megacities are in lesser developed countries where there is not sufficient urban investment to keep pace with the high rate of demographic growth...In many of the largest cities, 20-30% of this growth happens in the informal sector. (For example) in Lima...54% of the population lives in informal housing.

Likewise, what is understood to be vernacular or informal architecture varies drastically in design and quality. On one end are traditional buildings and streetscapes that embody many sustainability principles and have endured for centuries; on the other are essentially urban slums that combine vernacular techniques with readily available and reused materials. And there is a full range in between. Juxtapose this to conditions in the North, and we find a different set of circumstances where professional fields of

architecture and planning have determined much of our built surroundings. Finding effective means of promoting context-responsive sustainable construction practices given these realities poses significant difficulties.

A Framework for Analysis

As noted above, the concept of sustainability varies widely. However, from the dialogue of the past two decades, three fundamental “pillars” of sustainability have emerged: environment, economy, and social equity.³ While the relationship and influence of these three pillars is debated, as indicated by the figures below (*see Figure 2.3*), there is some degree of consensus within the policy field regarding this tripartite. Some argue that the environment is the limiting factor, as the planet is finite (*see Figure 2.4*). Others see economic factors as too much of a driving force in sustainable development, and suggest a more balanced tripartite (*see Figure 2.5*). Regardless, all accept that there is an inextricable relationship among the three when framing within a sustainability discourse.

A driving force behind the interrelation of these three pillars was the seminal 1972 text, *Limits to Growth*. Commissioned by the Club of Rome, a team of researchers at MIT used system dynamics modeling to demonstrate the demands humans place on the earth and the growth trend toward overshoot. It is through systems analysis that one can

³ Some researchers (namely Jon Hawkes) have argued that “culture” is a fourth pillar of sustainability, and this notion sparked the creation of *Agenda 21 for Culture*, which was adopted by United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) in 2004. The Agenda itself is fraught with inconsistencies regarding the concepts of culture, harking back to C. P. Snow’s *Two Cultures* critique. Issues surrounding the concept of culture will be examined in Chapter 3. For the purposes of this dissertation, culture is not regarded as a fourth pillar of sustainability; issues that have been related to culture, including diversity, inclusion, etc., are considered part of the social pillar.

begin to see the interconnections of the spheres and the ways in which they affect each other and behave collectively.

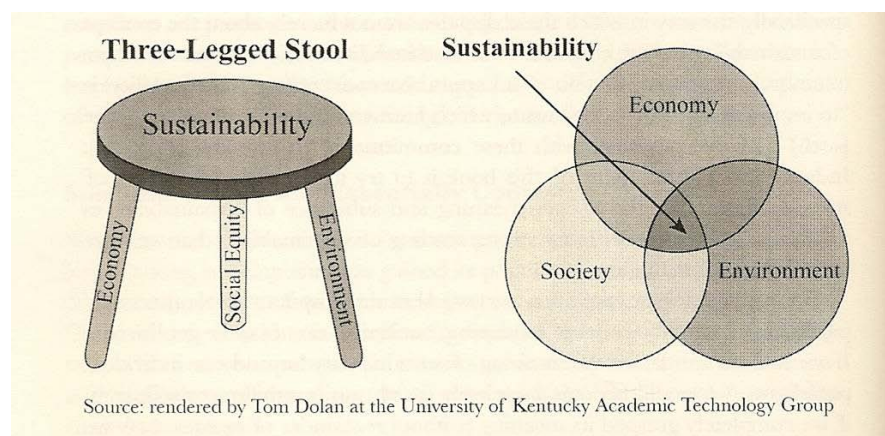


Figure 2.3: *Three pillars of sustainability* (source: Yanarella and Levine 2011, xxii)

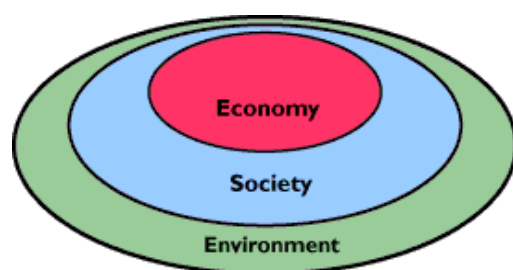


Figure 2.4: *Bounded Sustainability* (source: <http://www.sustainablecampus.cornell.edu/sustainability-intro.htm>)



The three pillars of sustainable development, from left to right, the theory, the reality and the change needed to better balance the model

Figure 2.5: *Sustainability- Theory, Reality, Change* (source : <http://www.iucn.org/programme/>)

Likewise, systems thinking provides a useful lens through which to analyze the built environment and examine the ways in which its varied elements play a role in broader sustainability. It should be reiterated that this researcher has no training or expertise in systems modeling, but is simply seeking to use some of its very basic principals as a tool for organizing and elucidating the interrelationships at play with regard to sustainability, the built environment, and preservation. The rationale behind this is that preservation, which is a form of land use control with significant impact on the built environment as a collective set of elements and as a series of relationships, can and should be viewed as a subsystem of the larger in order to ensure that goals are aligned effectively and policies commensurate.

Using the three pillars of sustainability, a very basic model might begin to take shape as follows:

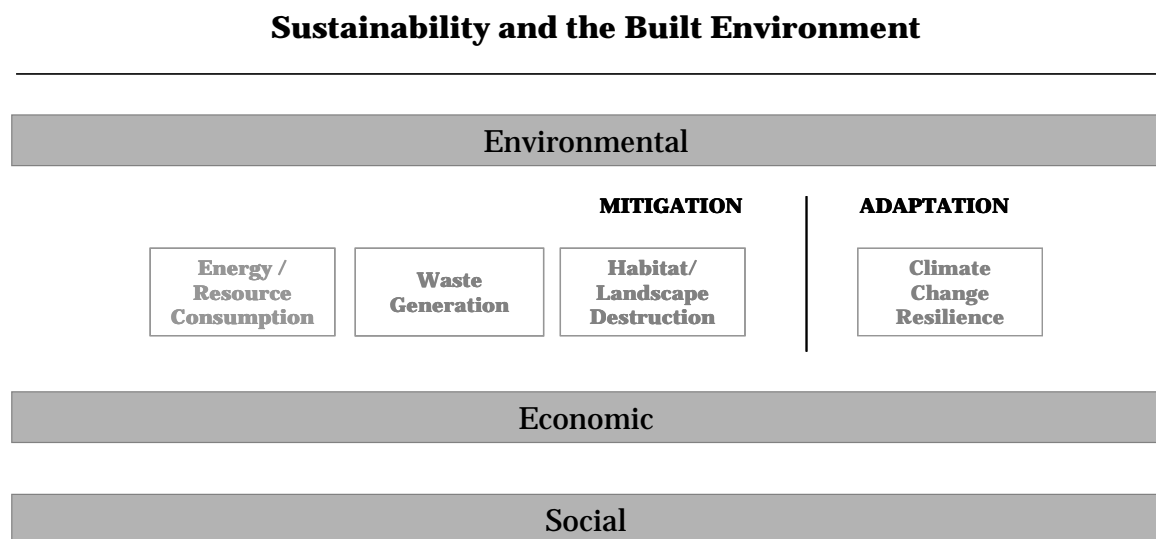


Figure 2.6: A framework for analysis

The following section will begin to describe the elements of the model and the interrelationship between the built environment and sustainability. The role of preservation and heritage within the system will be examined in Chapter 6, after unpacking some of the concepts that underpin its function in society and the environment.

Environmental

Sustainability planning for the built environment seeks to balance environmental, economic, and social concerns for the greater good over time. That said, the bulk of research and policymaking has focused on environmental sustainability, within which there are two fundamental discourses: mitigation and adaptation. Mitigation focuses on ways to minimize climate change and remedy overshoot, by reducing the consumption of energy and resources, the generation of waste and emissions, and the destruction of landscapes and habitats. Adaptation addresses the effects of climate change and how to prepare for and adjust to it.

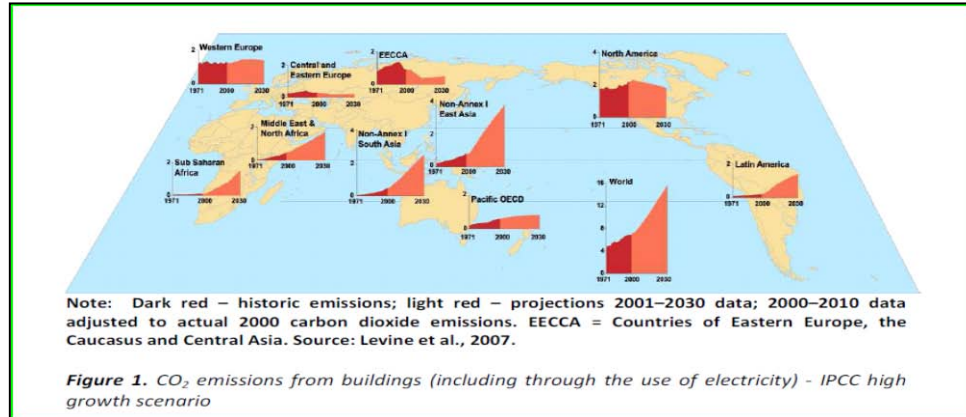
The latter, adaptation, fundamentally seeks to prepare and protect places and people in light of changing environmental conditions. Efforts to date have focused on improving the resilience of communities in anticipation of more dramatic shifts in temperature, precipitation, groundwater and sea levels, and climatic events. Universities and other research centers are cooperating in the collection of environmental data, to monitor trends and patterns and to better predict future conditions. Disaster preparedness and response programs are integrating climatic extremes and weather events into their scopes. Municipalities are surveying their physical landscapes to identify areas of risk and develop strategies for preventing damage and destruction and to plan for change. The outcomes of all of these adaptation-oriented initiatives are geared toward more

responsive strategies for managing the built environment and protecting critical infrastructure (in addition to life and limb) in the face of climate change.

The former, mitigation, presents a much thornier challenge with regard to the built environment. An underlying premise of the mitigation discourse is that dramatic changes are needed in the way we plan, design, construction, and manage the built environment in order to ensure carrying capacity for the earth's growing population. The built environment contributes significantly to greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), consumes vast amounts of natural resources and land, and generates substantial landfill waste. Current practices must be altered. Yet patterns of building and land use have become ingrained in most societies, particularly in the industrialized world where construction and zoning is highly regulated.

Energy and Resource Consumption

The built environment in industrialized countries is in dire need of remediation due to high energy consumption and GHG emission rates. The situation in lesser developed regions is trending toward similar conditions, given population growth estimates and industrialization trends (*Figure 2.7*). The former has spawned extensive research and policymaking regarding energy efficient design and retrofiting. Design guidelines for sustainable construction, such as LEED in the United States, have been developed to improve efficiency. Evidence-based research has grown to support and inform these systems and standards by generating quantitative data about building performance and energy use. Analytical tools such as life cycle assessments (LCA) are becoming increasingly more sophisticated and allow for assessment of energy-



*Figure 2.7 CO₂ emissions from buildings (including through the use of electricity)
– IPCC high growth scenario (UNEP 2008, 8)*

saving options in both new design and renovation. Energy audits and retrofitting programs are helping to reduce energy consumption in existing buildings, and one of the more promising ideas on the horizon is outcome-based energy codes.

Research from the National Trust Preservation Green Lab contends that,

...in an average year, new construction and major renovations only account for 1-3% of the total building stock. As such, existing buildings necessarily compose the majority of the energy consumption and carbon emissions that are due to buildings... Therefore, if we are to look to buildings for significant reductions in both energy consumption and carbon emissions, we need an energy code framework that can effectively produce deep energy savings in existing buildings, that will apply to a larger scope of existing buildings, and that will reinforce and enable other mechanisms that can foster energy efficiency in existing buildings. (Denniston et al 2010, 1).

Current modeling tools help to predict energy performance and existing codes seek to prescribe standards through various elements or indicators (such as R-values). Outcomes-based systems seek to complement these tools by assuring energy performance through actual building use, and this bodes well for new as well as existing buildings. As David Hewitt notes of the New Buildings Institute, an

outcome-based approach “narrows the gap between design and actual performance, puts pressure on design teams...to optimize the solution set – not just play the game, creates feedback loops so we know what works and what doesn’t, and enables setting of public policy goals and measures results of that policy” (2010).

While outcome-based approaches show great promise, they also face significant obstacles with regard to policy reform. All agree that, in order to achieve deep energy savings, fundamental changes to the system are required, such as “benchmarking, performance disclosure, and the creation of a performance metric” (Denniston et al 2010, 2).

Pollutants and Waste Generation

As noted above, the construction industry is a notorious waste and pollutant generator, especially in industrialized countries. According to the US Environmental Protection Agency, 25% to 40% of the solid waste stream in the country is construction and demolition waste (C&D). Data from 1996 and 2003 show an estimated annual increase from 136 million tons of C&D debris to 170,000 million. Of that, approximately 9% is generated by new construction, 42% by renovation, and 48% from demolition (EPA 2002 and 2009).

At the front end of the lifecycle, such concepts as cradle-to-cradle design and design-for-disassembly are helping to minimize debris by incorporating end of lifecycle reuse and recycling into the initial manufacturing process. Regulation and disincentives, primarily at the municipal level, help to reduce waste generation at the back end by creating incentives for recycling and disincentives for not (for example, high tipping fees for the dumping of construction and demolition waste).

Deconstruction programs play an important role through building disassembly and materials salvage operations. However the EPA estimates that only about 20% of C&D is currently being recycled. C&D remains a problem with regard to both landfill and toxic pollutants, such as lead paint and asbestos. All in all, the social cost of this waste and of the mitigation (and health effects) of such hazardous elements has not yet been fully internalized in the market structure of the built environment.

Habitat and Landscape Destruction

Three-quarters of the population in industrialized countries already lives in urban settlements, and it is estimated that sometime in 2007, world population became more urban than rural. This urban population growth, coupled with land economics and environmental concerns, is forcing efficient building footprints and intensified urban density. Such densification, along with the infrastructure development that accompanies it, can meet with opposition, particularly in older, historic cities. As communities and metropolitan regions grapple with the need to develop more robust economies and greener built environments, difficult tradeoffs must be made regarding the existing built environment and a more sustainable quality of life.

Increasing density and infrastructure development will also be a problem for entire metropolitan regions, especially in the suburbs around urban centers. These suburban areas form some of the least sustainable landscapes on the planet: low density, subdivision housing often coupled with big box commercial development: in effect, sprawl. A challenge on the horizon will be to find ways to concentrate

development and increase density in suburbs as well. However, these suburban landscapes – particularly in the United States – represent a major population demographic and an embedded element of the twentieth century American landscape built environment (this will be discussed further in Chapter 4). The suburban form promulgates, rather than mitigates, the problems of sprawl by pushing development elsewhere.

Planning tools such as smart growth and growth management are grappling with these issues, as are design movements like New Urbanism. But more robust systems for analyzing and informing decision-making regarding land use are needed to meet sustainability challenges in a substantive way.

Economic

Unfortunately, any systems to improve land use and energy efficiency in buildings will always confront challenges because land and buildings are real estate commodities with vested owners/stakeholders (though not in the specific fungible sense of the term commodity). Likewise the construction sector – especially the building materials industries such as concrete and steel -- is a powerful force in the political landscape worldwide. According to the UNEP, the economic contributions of the construction sector amount to approximately 10% of world GDP (depending on how the sector is defined) and accounts for over 50% of national capital investment in most countries. The construction sector also accounts for approximately 7% of world employment. However, these statistics and the traditional purview of construction economics do not necessarily take into account the full range of values associated with

the built environment, including upstream activities such as manufacturing and quarrying, parallel activities such as architectural and technical consultancy, and downstream real estate activities.

Advances in life cycle assessments and material flows are helping to quantify these values, and a burgeoning field of built environment economics has emerged in recent years, most notably with the publication of *Economics for the Modern Built Environment* (2009). By looking not only at the construction of buildings but also at their management across entire life cycles and the services they render, research seeks to bring added dimension to the understanding of the built environment and its role in the economy at macro and meso levels. However, as noted by Les and Steven Ruddock in their chapter on “The Scope of the Construction Sector – Measuring its Value,”

The role of built assets in the economic development of a nation needs to be considered and it may be that broader measures of the economic value of the built environment are needed in order to allow an assessment of the contribution of the built environment to quality of life and to enable the full value of the construction industry to be properly understood (2009, 81).

Social

Reference to “the contribution of the built environment to quality of life” of course brings us to social sustainability and what economist would refer to as the nonmarket values of the built environment. As Winston Churchill noted, “We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us.” The observation reflects a long history of architectural and planning scholarship related to the role of buildings and the concept of place in shaping human experience and condition, some of which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In the past century or more, the growth in world population has been coupled with significant demographic change as well. Industrialization and globalization have contributed to international and rural-to-city migration, postcolonialism, the resurgence of indigenous peoples, and the rise of organized civil society (Sandercock 2003). These all make for much more heterogeneous – and urban – societies, and engender profound changes in negotiations about the built environment and the increasingly diverse social values associated with it.

As noted above, the sustainability discourse has given rise to more environmentally responsible land use and construction practices in many metropolitan areas. Growth management strategies, inclusionary zoning, and redevelopment incentives, for example, are becoming common tools for both planners and policy-makers alike. Yet, while there are clear environmental and economic rationales for increased density and a more energy-efficient building stock, community-based preferences for down-zoning and preservation pose interesting challenges. Communities are trying to combat the market and public pressures of redevelopment and densification, adapt to the influx of new populations, apply sustainability principles to land use decision-making, yet still encourage growth. As a result, historic preservation is becoming an increasingly important aspect of planning and managing urban change and continuity at the regional, city, and neighborhood levels.

Built Environment and Sustainability Metrics

Of course, some challenges in using a systems approach to analyzing the built environment in a context of sustainability are the limitations posed by varying metrics

among system elements. Economics is wed to quantitative analyses that monetize values, costs, and benefits to society. The environmental realm, particularly through the work of the field of industrial ecology, also applies robust quantitative tools as well as systems dynamics to assess, in particular, material flows, energy consumption, and waste generation. However, these are not always compatible with land use metrics, even with the improved sophistication of tools like ecological footprint (Global Footprint Network 2010). The analytical tools are not sophisticated enough (yet) to help determine trade-offs in, for example, a decision between building a very high energy efficient new structure on a greenfield lot versus renovating an existing structure in an urban downtown. While energy impacts of the two can be predicted using LCA tools, waste impacts and land consumption muddy the metrics.

Values from the social realm likewise complicate assessments and decision-making. Analyses about the social or cultural values and consequences of the built environment are traditionally qualitative, though there are some quantitative measures of what economists refer to as nonmarket values (these will be discussed in Chapter 6). Indicators for quality of life (QOL) and quality of place (QOP), cultural indicators, and process-oriented community indicators (CIS) are all used in varying ways in relation to the built environment and its social implications, but do not necessarily mesh with the others. The result is a system framework that may help to map elements, but more work is needed to develop tools that can elucidate their interrelationships (to be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6).

3. INSTITUTING PRESERVATION

...there are times when one wonders whether New York's bulldozers are not going to knock down everything in sight...The destruction arises from a basic land policy that has come to prevail in New York. Under it, all land must be put to its greatest economic use. If a particular piece of property is not bringing the greatest possible cash return, it must be torn down to be replaced by a larger structure that will yield a greater profit.

This approach has, of course, led to much of the progress and economic growth that make New York such an imposing city. But there are dangers at the end of the path. For any policy that treats a city and its space solely in economic terms may ultimately destroy the entire values of urban life (Seymour 1963).

The tension between preservation and economic growth is common rhetoric in most US cities today. Preservationists are deemed anti-development by many, wanting to maintain low-scale density and curtailing the capacity of property owners to achieve highest and best use. But the preservation battle cry against progress did not fully emerge until the second half of the twentieth century. As Mason (2009) eloquently argues in *The Once and Future New York*, preservation was understood as an integral element of the urban modernization project writ large. A glimpse into the history of two important New York City landmarks provides a telling illustration of how the dialogue and position of preservation vis à vis progress shifted in the course of half a century.

A Tale of Two Stations

Before the terminal we now know as Grand Central graced New York's Eastside, the site was occupied by Grand Central Depot, a Victorian structure built by Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1871, and expanded under the moniker of Grand Central Station in 1898. As Theodore Steinberg recounts in *Slide Mountain* (1995), the advent of electrified trains revolutionized rail transportation and specifically Grand Central, as the obsolescence of the steam locomotive allowed for a shift underground. The design process began in 1903, calling for the construction of a vast network of below grade tunnels in addition to

the terminal itself. With the vast rail yards no longer necessary, the land above the tunnels became leasable space that financed the undertaking and gave New York such landmarks as the Waldorf-Astoria. Significant demolition to stage and implement the project was still required. As noted in a 1907 *New York Times* article, construction of the terminal meant the destruction of all the building between Fiftieth and Forty-fifth Streets and Park and Lexington Avenues, including 86 houses and several churches and public buildings. But the demolition was widely understood as the bargain price of progress:

The buildings torn down in New York every year would make a city as large as Poughkeepsie. The money they cost would have paid for the Williamsburg Bridge. It would buy four battleships like the Oregon, pay the board bills of all the men in the United States army for more than a year, or wipe out the National debt in a decade. In other words, progress in a great city like New York is purchased at a tremendous sacrifice of invested capital. The churches, warehouses, and dwellings destroyed in the metropolis every year to make way for larger structures cost fully \$12,000,000...This seems like a heavy sacrifice for even a great city like New York to make to progress. As a matter of fact the loss is insignificant when compared with the tremendous gain. The \$12,000,000 worth of demolished structures are replaced with buildings worth \$100,000,000. It is as if a 6-foot man could add to his stature and in a single year grow to be 48 feet tall – as high as the average city dwelling (City's Growth Costs Millions in Wreckage 1907).

At the same time that Grand Central Terminal was rising in the east, McKim, Mead, and White's Pennsylvania Station was rising in the west. With the capacity for electrified trains to cross the Hudson River by tunnel, plans for the new station were announced in 1903. The Pennsylvania Railroad company purchased land from Seventh to Eleventh Avenues between Thirty-first and Thirty-four Streets to stage the construction of the tunnel and the terminus, demolishing large swaths of existing structures and selling excess properties as the project drew to a close. Completed in 1910 to great acclaim, the building occupied four city blocks.

Half a century later, the destruction of Penn Station became the *cause célèbre* for the modern preservation movement:

Until the first blow fell no one was convinced that Penn Station really would be demolished or that New York would permit this monumental act of vandalism against one of the largest and finest landmarks of its age of Roman elegance...

It's not easy to knock down nine acres of travertine and granite, 84 Doric columns, a vaulted concourse of extravagant, weighty grandeur, classical splendor modeled after royal roman baths, rich detail in solid stone, architectural quality in precious materials that set the stamp of excellence on a city. But it can be done. It can be done if the motivation is great enough, and it has been demonstrated that the profit motivation in this instance was great enough.

Monumental problems almost as big as the building itself stood in the way of preservation; but it is the shame of New York...that no serious effort was made. A rich and powerful city, noted for its resources and brains, imagination and money, count not rise to the occasion. The final indictment is of the values of our society.

Any city gets what it admires, will pay for, and, ultimately, deserves...And we will probably be judged not by the monuments we build but by those we have destroyed (Farewell to Penn Station 1963).

The well known battle for Penn Station is often cited as the birth of the US preservation enterprise, but that is indeed not the case. This awareness about historic structures and their importance to – and reflection of – society did not emerge overnight. It had been part and parcel of the city's changing urban landscape for decades, but as a partner in its ongoing evolution and redevelopment. The public and professional dialogue regarding the significance of old buildings and their preservation evolved significantly by the mid-century, due to a number of factors, and a new tension emerged. And it was in that era that a national preservation infrastructure was codified, serving as the foundation of the system today.

To fully understand the preservation position and how it evolved, it is necessary to deconstruct the underpinnings of the field and the dynamics of the system. Analyzing past and emergent preservation discourse, and examining the evolving dynamics that

mediate between discourse and policy, will provide a history and context in which to better view preservation as a subsystem of the larger built environment.

Concepts of Heritage and Preservation

Analyzing the field of historic preservation requires some unpacking of the concepts of culture and heritage, memory and nostalgia, so as to fully understand why and how societies utilize vestiges of the past in the management of the built environment. “Culture” is clearly a thorny concept with myriad historical definitions, such that it has been invoked as “something which both differentiates the world and provides a concept for understanding that differentiation” (D. Mitchell 2003, 103). At once a system of interrelation, an explanatory concept of distinction, and an attribute of bounded social entities, culture has become both abstracted and reified in its usage within the social sciences.

Don Mitchell, coming from the perspective of the “new cultural geography,” contends that while much of the field acknowledges that culture is, in essence, a social construction, it is nonetheless invoked as an objectified and bounded entity. It does not construct difference, but rather “allows us to turn differences into something orderly, mappable and controllable. The very idea allows us to reify transformation and struggle as culture” (107). This application of the concept causes us to “parcel humanity into discrete, bounded cultures” (109) and precludes the capacity to understand how the concept of culture is a vehicle for power and dominance. Mitchell suggests that a reconceptualization of culture as a flexible ideology will allow researchers to illuminate better how the idea of culture is operationalized by powerful actors. Echoing David Harvey, Mitchell likewise asserts that “what gets called ‘culture’ is part and parcel of

systems of social reproduction, both at local and more global scales... The currency of ‘culture’ is precisely its ability to integrate by denying connections at some scales and by over-valorizing localism” (111).

Commodification of Culture, Built Environment, and Heritage

Zukin’s application of culture in both *Landscapes of Power* (1991) and *Cultures of Cities* (1995) serves as accessible examples of Mitchell’s argument. In the latter, Zukin defines culture as a system for producing symbols and describes a symbolic economy, where cultural production and innovation overshadow traditional material production. “The symbolic economy features two parallel production systems that are crucial to a city’s material life: the *production of space*, with its synergy of capital investment and cultural meanings, and the *production of symbols*, which constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity” (1995, 23-4). Public culture is created through the shaping of public space for social interaction and constructing a visual representation of the city. Who will control and use “space” in cities – and especially who will profit from them – is increasingly a battle defined by such images and by community and institutional relationships.

While Zukin speaks generically of space within the built environment of the city, the concept of commodification can be easily extended to cultural heritage, or the preservation of designated “landmarks” or cultural resources (buildings, districts, sites, etc.) within the city. The “designation” of heritage has historically been viewed as an act of stewardship. Through expert opinion and community interaction, a given resource is identified as having some significance and placed under regulatory protection so as to

ensure against demolition or alteration. Theories and traditions of connoisseurship underpin a curatorial approach to such inventory and management of cultural resources (Stanley Price 1996). However, designation is not a neutral process of discerning some sort of intrinsic value. Rather it is a creative process of valorizing a given resource or element within the built environment for the purpose of perpetuating a particular idea or narrative about a place or people.

Much like Zukin, Barthel characterizes these commodified resources as “symbolic;” referring to “staged symbolic communities” such as Williamsburg (1996, 36) and to their power brokers – those who institutionalized a particular narrative or memory through material preservation and heritage construction – as “symbolic bankers.” As Glassberg (2001) notes, the concept of collective memory in the creation of a “sense of place” is constantly brought into question, as it “reflects the struggle for power among various groups and interests.” He argues that the collective memories ascribed to places “emerge out of dialogue and social interaction” (116), but are likewise the consequence of “conflicts with political implications over the meanings attached to places” (117). Thus, *material* heritage, like culture, is a social construction born of negotiated and contested power relationships; it is effectively produced and consumed as part of the broader symbolic economy through the promotion of history, tourism, antiquing, and other market media.

The term *material* helps to differentiate between that which is classified as *tangible* within the heritage preservation field, versus that which is typified as *intangible*. Cultural heritage likewise denotes not only the material goods “worthy of preservation,” but also the associated processes and traditions, from vernacular building techniques to

rituals and performance. Hobsbawm and Ranger's seminal text, *The Invention of Tradition*, argues that many traditions are, in fact, invented so as to legitimize relations of authority and establish or symbolize "social cohesion or... real or artificial communities" (1983, 9). While this supports the case for social construction of heritage traditions and underscores power theories, Hobsbawm nonetheless notes the existence of "genuine traditions" that are strong and adaptable and demonstrate a factitious continuity with the past, which he differentiates from those invented. This seeming contradiction represents an ongoing debate in the heritage field regarding notions of "authenticity."

Authenticity has traditionally been viewed in the preservation field as a yardstick for assessing the extent to which the visible remains and representation of a particular resource constitute its original material and form. The authenticity question has spawned endless debate as to relative conceptions of how to preserve within the context of different societies. Only recently have scholars truly challenged the notion of authenticity, rather than drape it in the cloak of cultural relativism:

...proceeding in a positivistic manner from a belief that the landscape has some authentic connection to a discrete population is risky... We should turn our attention away from a search for the authentic, the characteristic, the enduring and the pure, and immerse ourselves in the active, evanescent and the impure, seeking settings that are ambiguous, multiple, often contested, and examining points of contact and transformation – in the market, at the edge, in the new and the decaying (Dell Upton in AlSayyad 2004, 9).

The implications of such an argument transcend scales from the local to the global through the concept of World Heritage. Through the listing of natural and cultural (denoting manmade) sites, the World Heritage Convention, established in 1972 and administered by the United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization (UNESCO), seeks to protect places that are of "universal value" to all humanity. It is at

once the highest form of heritage designation and commodification. Within the field, a dialogue emerged in the late 1980s regarding the cultural relevance of “authenticity,” a primary criterion for World Heritage listing. Through a series of conferences and regional seminars in the 1990s and beyond (in Bergen, Norway; Nara, Japan, San Antonio, Texas, etc.), the field tried to grapple with the notion and expand the term’s definition to be more inclusive of non-Western views, without ever abandoning its use or core tenets. Several recent articles in American periodicals, including *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*, have also touched upon the trade-offs regarding the damaging effects of increased tourism and cultural consumption when a site goes from being ascribed local to global significance:

“The dark side, of course, is consumption,” said Francesco Bandarin, assistant director-general of Unesco and head of its World Heritage Center, speaking of the consumerism that so often surrounds heritage sites. “And consumption and preservation do not go together.” If a site is “within an hour of a harbor,” he added, “it becomes inundated by a flood of tourism and geysers of money” (Erlanger 2012).

There has clearly been little self-reflection by the preservation field to examine how its own work and tenets promote commodification and promulgate dominant narratives, or to understand the effects these actions have on communities – whether at the local or global level.

Politics, Difference, and Culture

This transcendence of scale and its political and economic ramifications brings one back to Don Mitchell’s argument regarding notions of culture and difference. Mitchell contends that “‘culture’ makes ‘others.’ ‘Others’ do not make ‘culture’” (2003, 111). The “idea of culture has been developed and deployed as a means of attempting to

order, control and define ‘others’ in the name of power or profit” (104), though critics contend that it has likewise been co-opted by minorities and indigenous populations as a device for empowerment. Yet just as society begins to grapple with “the discourse of postcolonialism, the resurgence of indigenous peoples, and an associated politics of reclaiming their land” (Sandercock 2003, 3), ideas of cultural difference are eschewed as partial truths and social constructions. Thus this argument of constructed culture has profound politically revisionist consequences.

What of those for whom otherness is a legitimate form of self-identification? How do we recognize and incorporate difference (in the spirit of Iris Young and Leonie Sandercock)? How do we champion other ways of thinking and knowing if academia has invalidated culture as an invention? How do we differentiate between what may be a perpetuated conceptual flaw or a co-opted form of domination from what is a matter of social difference and identity?

Conflicts of Preservation

These questions and their associated tensions are already playing out in the preservation field, despite some of the myopia referenced above. Historic preservation in an urban context has traditionally been used as a means of regulating aesthetics by basing criteria for protection on architectural significance. However, preservation has expanded the epistemological concept of significance to include a broader range of cultural meanings and associations. So while heritage may not be ostensibly embraced as a social construction, its preservation has historically and increasingly been invoked for purposes of social protectionism and as a means of battling change, be it through the effective down-zoning of the Upper East Side or the preservation of *cultural history* in the

Hamilton Heights section of Harlem, both of which are landmarked districts in New York City. The fear of difference as well as that of change, as examined by both Sandercock and Neil Smith (1996), is an unspoken, yet driving force in planning and by extension historic preservation, which fundamentally embodies a fear of an unknown and inauthentic future.

Zukin (1995, 124) observes that “the conflict between producing symbols through historic preservation and producing space through speculative development makes strange bedfellows,” but each is exploiting the relationship for particular goals of dominance, particularly as globalization both homogenizes and particularizes urban space. “Globalization has made the very issues of identity and representation in urbanism cumbersome...Because...culture has become increasingly placeless...urbanism will continue to be an arena where one can observe the specificity of local cultures and their attempts to mediate global domination” (AlSayyad 2004, 11).

One might intellectually acknowledge Don Mitchell’s argument that culture is indeed misinterpreted as a reified and ontological “thing,” a social *invention* that scholars should deconstruct. However, one cannot deny that it is likewise a social *convention*, emotionally and politically charged and entrenched in popular thought (much like the concept of sustainability as discussed in Chapter 2). Is our fundamental understanding of culture a conceptually flawed consequence of circular reasoning, or might Mitchell be accused of privileging an academic discourse over the different knowledges of those who feel their cultural otherness quite acutely? After all, is there some reality that is *not* socially constructed, against which we can juxtaposed all that is?

Mitchell's reasoning is compelling in that culture cannot simultaneously be both an explanatory framework for difference and a medium for differentiated meaning. However, the popular conceptualization of culture nonetheless provides an accessible conduit through which power associations can be examined with due diligence. Zukin's work is a good example, in that she acknowledges that culture is a social construction, yet does not become mired in a language of analysis that staunchly resists colloquial reification of the concept. The fact of the matter is that once culture is "commodified" through the market forces that Zukin describes, its production inherently connotes ontological meaning.

Similarly, one can contend that heritage is a purely social construction. It is an invention through which elements of the built environment are differentiated and commodified through social interactions. While the concept of heritage seeks to celebrate some sort of universality or immutability that might serve as a trope for social cohesion, a deconstruction of heritage concepts leads to similar conclusions of dominance and power. Preservation is not merely a conservative act of stewardship that privileges the past over the present, it is consequently a destruction of alternative narratives and futures.

From a Marxist perspective, the selection or designation of certain elements of the built environment as "heritage" can easily be viewed as a tool of cultural hegemony, with certain values being ascribed to places through the structures and institutions of an expert cum elite class that seeks to promulgate particular narratives. Aspects of preservation history and practice, indeed, do not effectively contradict such views, be it the dominance of theories emerging from Western Europe in the professional discourse or the

overwhelming number of Western European sites on the World Heritage List, for example. However, one might counter that it is precisely the symbolism so inherent in heritage that makes it a hegemonic tool. The destruction of the Bridge at Mostar by the Croats during the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the dynamiting of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in Afghanistan are examples of how cultural heritage can be purposefully targeted because of the meaning ascribed to them by communities. It is specifically this danger that underpinned the development of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954 (finally ratified by the United States in 2009).

While there may indeed be a precarious history of circular reasoning in the practices of historic preservation, the fact of the matter is that most – if not all – societies preserve material elements of their past in some way, shape, or form. The ubiquity of the process suggests that, even though the structures governments have developed in service to preservation may suffer from systemic and conceptual flaws, there is some inherent human desire for nostalgia and collective memory that transcends critical analysis.

What is nostalgia good for then? For one thing, it runs search-and-rescue missions against the disposability of consumer capitalism. And it raises exception to the great leveling effect of the Internet, the perpetual digital now that tears cultural artifacts out of context to make them into objects of curiosity or pastiche. And it's a reminder that it matters not only that an idea or an image was created, but *when* – that things speak most fully in chorus and counterpoint to other events and concepts of the same era. In intimate terms, nostalgia is a glue that reinforces bonds of solidarity and shared experience (C. Wilson 2011, 45).

It is precisely the differentiation that heritage affords – in time and space – of old and new, of “designated” and “unprotected,” that whets the social appetite for place-based memory and fuels the preservation mindset and machinery. Historic preservation is a social invention, but a convention nonetheless. Its pervasiveness alone suggests that the

desire to preserve may be intuitive. Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is accepted that these instincts warrant some form of collective action. How they are operationalized in theoretical discourse, policy, and practice will nonetheless be examined.

Theoretical Developments

...Architecture is to be regarded by us with the most serious thought. We may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her. How cold is all history, how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears! – how many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare, for a few stones left one upon another! ...there are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality: it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life (Ruskin 1880, 178).

The body of literature specific to preservation theory is diverse, but sparse and somewhat fractured. What are traditionally considered to be the seminal theories of preservation deal primarily with the interaction of meaning and object (artifact, building, etc.) and how interventions may affect that relationship and its interpretation. These theories are derived from European antecedents through the works of Brandi 1963; Phillipot 1976; Ruskin 1849; Morris 1877; Viollet-le-Du 1854; Riegl 1903; et al.

The works of James Marston Fitch proved pivotal (at the time, 1982) in forging a US professional perspective on preservation theory, though much in the footsteps of its European predecessors. However, preservation was an active endeavor long before its institutionalization through law, academic programs, and professional practice. A growing, and much needed, body of literature relating to the history of preservation in the US has focused a lens on the pre-professional era of preservation and the political and

philosophical forces that forged the movement, including Hosmer's three-volume chronicle (1965, 1981); Page and Mason's (2004) compendium of the movement's varied US history and its antecedents; Mason's (2009) thoughtful and thorough examination of New York preservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and Wood's (2007) account of the era leading up to the passage of the New York City Landmarks Law. Hosmer, in his two-volume *Preservation Comes of Age*, devotes an entire chapter to the emergence of US theory through an analysis of the growing body of literature, but notes:

The people who preserved and restored historic buildings before the 1950s were usually too busy to sit down and think about or write out a rationale for their projects. Most of their work had practically no enunciated philosophical underpinning because the preservation movement then operated almost entirely by instinct. The continual effort to save endangered landmarks drained too much time and energy. On the other hand, one should not say that the preservationists of the past had no philosophy. They usually stated their objectives, not in words, but in bricks and mortar (1981, 1044).

By examining US preservation histories, Page and Mason's and Mason's aforementioned texts challenge Hosmer's assertion and begin to articulate some of the uniquely American aspects of preservation theory, development, and application. There are likewise a number of texts that outline the evolving nature of the preservation profession and, in particular, its federal infrastructure (Stipe 2003; Stipe and Lee 1987; Lee 2002). There is little research, however, that looks to the history of the post-institutional period (mid-1960s on) with much scholarly rigor, save Wallace's 1986 piece, which begins to place the institutionalized US preservation movement within a broader economic and social-political context.

Barthel's (1996) comparative analysis of preservation in Britain and the US likewise speaks to the varied theoretical perspectives that interplay in preservation, from

collective memory, to cultural symbolism, to the commodification of history. Lowenthal (1985, 1996) has been one of the most prolific scholars of the politics of heritage, its social construction, and its preservation, though mostly in a non-US context. Hobsbawm and Ranger's seminal text, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), likewise serves to elucidate the social construction of heritage and underscores how power relationships and political dynamics contribute to such processes. In the context of applied theory, Muñoz Viñas (2002) has challenged longstanding tenets of preservation (reversibility, authenticity, etc.) and suggested that even technical conservation is a socially negotiated process.

That historic preservation is at once a creative and political endeavor, rather than simply a conservative act of stewardship, is a theme that has emerged within the discourse in recent years. Values about what to preserve and how to preserve are derived from the meanings and uses that people ascribed to buildings, sites, and landscapes, and are constructed amongst individual, institutional, and community actors. The values of certain stakeholders may conflict with those of others, and values may change over time or as a result of political dynamics. Thus, the temporal role of values or “cultural significance” in the preservation process has become an increasingly salient topic within the literature, starting from the early texts of Lipe (1984) and Tainter & Lucas (1983) and examined more recently through Tomlan's 1998 conference proceedings, *Preservation of What, for Whom?*, and a series of research publications on values and heritage conservation by the Getty Conservation Institute (Mason 1999; Avrami, Mason, de la Torre 2000; de la Torre 2002; de la Torre 2005).

The social construction and ascribed values of heritage tie directly to issues of participation and pluralism (see *Preservation and Planning* in Chapter 3) as well as to

those of collective memory and place making. The growing recognition of indigenous cultures in a postcolonial world and the rise of participatory planning in recent decades have been brought to bear directly on preservation, and there is an emergent body of literature that promulgates preservation processes driven by community values and stakeholder engagement (Kerr 1996; Burra Charter 1999; etc.). However, studies that effectively connect theory and practice in this regard are limited. Preservation thus increasingly draws upon research in the fields of cultural geography, planning, history, sociology, etc. to underpin its work.

Important connections between preservation and its disciplinary allies play out in the substantial body of literature related to place and place-making (Hayden 1995 & 1997; Riley 1997; Jackson 1980; Tuan 1980; Lynch 1972; etc.). The work of Dolores Hayden, in particular, brings these theoretical concepts to bear upon historic places. Arguing how the manipulation of the built environment can perpetuate dominant culture, foster exclusion, and create bias toward the “architectural legacy of wealth and power,” Hayden suggests that place likewise has the potential to support greater diversity, inclusion, and “cultural citizenship” through participatory processes of place and memory preservation (1999, 8).

Intertwined with the place-making discourse, the critical role of collective memory in shaping the built environment has likewise been explored by a number of authors, including Till 2005; Mason 2004; Boyer 1996 & 2003, Glassberg 2001; Barthel 1996; etc. As noted previously, Glassberg argues the collective memories ascribed to places “emerge out of dialogue and social interaction,” but are likewise the consequence of “conflicts with political implications over the meanings attached to places” (2001,

116-17). Collective memories are rarely singular; rather they are precarious amalgamations of multiple narratives over time. Thus the field is also struggling to reconcile evolutions in theory that call for the recognition of the multiple and particular memories with its infrastructure of institutions and policies, and to contextualize its work within the broader management of the built environment. A fair amount of research on planning, urban, and social theories further underscores this dialectic between preservation theory and issues of politics and place (see *Preservation and Planning*, Chapter 3), but it is not squarely addressed within the preservation literature in a substantial way, save Mason (2009) who draws out many of these issues in his analysis of New York preservation between 1890 and 1920, and finds:

At its roots, preservation was not isolated as a singular, stand-alone cause. Preservation was envisioned as *part of* the development of modern cities, not as a reaction against city building; preservationists connected their work to the fields of city planning, landscape architecture, and urban design emerging in the same historical moment (Mason 2009, xi).

Historical analysis of the preservation field may indeed further the notion that preservation theory and practice were shaped by broader planning concerns and vice versa, giving hope to the notion that there is potential for realignment of goals in the era of sustainability (this will be discussed further in *Preservation and Planning*, Chapter 3) .

Building Rationales

While the discourse on preservation theory is one in need of development, a substantive body of literature exists on preservation legislation and programs in the United States, including historical overviews (Duerksen and Bonderman 1983; Sebastian in Richman and Forsyth 2004; Rose 1981; Stipe 1987; Mayes in Stipe 2003; etc.) as well

as a host of articles discussing the major legal decisions involving preservation (Costonis 1977; Cavarello 1995; etc.). These texts lend important insight into the rationales behind preservation that have guided the justification of government action. In many ways, these evolving rationales provide a lens into how the dominant perspectives and politics of particular eras have influenced the development of public policy and the legislation that now serves as the foundation of the preservation establishment.

Inspiration and Stewardship

Carol Rose speaks to the nineteenth century underpinnings of US preservation law through the concept of “inspiration.” Part of the national building project was a civic education that roused sentiments of patriotism, unity, and a shared past cum future, particularly in the peri-Civil War era. Places became an important trope for conveying collective history. Stemming from the notion that “visual surroundings (can) work a political effect on our consciousness” (Rose 1981, 483), buildings and sites with historical associations were understood to inspire the observer with a sense of nationalism and instill the duty of stewardship. Thus, historic preservation rationales in the nineteenth century were closely tied to the philosophies underlying the environmental movement of the time, which idealized wilderness and established vehicles for the protection of landscapes.

One of the first legal decisions to influence the future development of preservation law was *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Co.* in 1896 (Duerksen and Bonderman 1983; Rose 1981; Lamme 1990; et al). Essentially, this decision justified the taking of a property for the “public purpose” of creating a national battlefield memorial at the Civil War site of Gettysburg, noting that, “By this use the government

manifest for the benefit of all its citizens the value put upon the citizen soldiers of that period. Their successful effort to preserve the integrity and solidarity of the great republic of modern times is *forcibly impressed upon every one who looks over the field*” (emphasis added). This obligation of government to inspire political solidarity through the preservation of places of historical import was codified a few years later in the Antiquities Act of 1906, though it focused primarily on landscapes through the declaration of national monuments and provided some regulatory structure for the excavation of archaeological sites. This federal role in preservation policy expanded more explicitly to the built environment with the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 and the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

Aesthetics

While federal legislation was built upon the aforementioned foundations of political inspiration and stewardship, most of the local landmark regulation in the United States is premised on an argument of aesthetics that emerged in the late nineteenth century (e.g. through the City Beautiful movement) and began to take shape in the early twentieth century (Costonis 1989; Rose 1981; et al). This shift in preservation rationale to aesthetics and specifically architectural merit was manifested in local ordinances to protect and regulate historic districts. The earliest of these was the 1931 zoning ordinance to protect the historic district in Charleston, South Carolina, followed by the establishment of the Vieux Carré commission of New Orleans in 1937 to protect the heart of the French Quarter. The aesthetics rationale was legally codified in the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Berman v. Parker*. Much of the aesthetics argument draws upon what Costonis refers to as the “beauty-based

rationale” for preservation that is deeply rooted in notions of connoisseurship, professional/scholarly expertise, and curatorial management of the built environment. During the post-WWII period of expansive construction, the opinion of the court emphasized “the right of a community to regulate private property on the basis of community beauty and appearance, regardless of the more usual factors of health, safety, morals, and public convenience.”⁴ This paved the way for the New York City landmarks preservation law, which has served as a paragon for municipalities across the country. (the history of making of the New York City Landmarks Law is recounted in a recent text by Anthony Wood 2007).

Ironically, this same justification of the value of architectural aesthetics to the public good paved the way for a host of urban renewal projects that razed urban neighborhoods and raised the ire of Jane Jacobs et al a decade later. In fact, the *Berman v. Parker* case – which has so often been cited in judicial opinions favoring public preservation – was a decision that favored destruction of an existing building to make way for an urban renewal project (Rose 1981, 486).

Procedural Protection

As some of the more the devastating effects of modernist planning were revealed through major urban renewal projects during the mid-twentieth century, the legal infrastructure for preservation became increasingly focused on procedural issues designed to protect communities from the negative impact of federal projects. The backlash against large-scale urban renewal gave preservationists strong political currency that translated to significant legislative safeguards, most notably: the National Historic

⁴ http://www.nypap.org/public_programs/public_insearchofbard.html

Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, which established the National Register for Historic Places and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and required impact assessments for any federally funded projects affecting Register properties.

The National Environmental Act (NEPA) provides similar procedural protections by requiring an assessment of the impact of federal agency actions on historic resources, as does Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (Preservation Law Reporter 1994). The rationale that the federal government should protect historic places thus expands quite significantly with these new regulations, which essentially protect historic places from the federal government. The policies and institutions established by this cadre of legislation mark an important shift for the role of the federal government. While protection of places was a well established mandate, this procedural mandate empowers and obligates the federal government to monitor and more actively manage cultural resources, thereby prompting the development of the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, which were first issued in 1977. The *Standards* themselves were based largely on the Venice Charter, an international (primarily European) document of standards for preservation practice, though the US experience largely expanded the parameters of the Venice Charter. The National Register Criteria (established after the 1966 NHPA) introduced the concept of associative value, meaning a place need not be simply architecturally important to be preserved, but could have associations to important events and people to be considered heritage. This suggests an expansion beyond the aesthetic rationale, though not an abandonment of it.

Common Good versus Individual Rights

As preservation regulation developed into a more stringent set of standards and review, the potential burden posed by landmark designation sparked a debate between preservation and property rights. The legislative milestone in this shifting preservation discourse was the *Penn Central* case in which the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) denied a building permit for construction of a 55-story office tower atop Grand Central Station. The suit claimed a “taking” of property without fair compensation and due process, and that the designation of the terminal placed a discriminatory burden on Penn Central that was not required of other property owners. The Supreme Court sided with the LPC, arguing that, in the case of landmarks, a reasonable rate of return is not necessarily hinged on highest and best use. The *Penn Central* case has been well analyzed (Costonis 1977; Carvarello 1995; Miller 1999; Lamme 1990; etc.), and has continued to serve as an important touchstone in legal debates regarding property rights and the transfer of development rights.

Community Building

While the *Penn Central* decision reinforced the legal aesthetics foundations for much of preservation law, there has been growing concern in the legal community in the past 15 years that the “beauty-based rationale” underpinned by *Berman* has had unintended consequences. While legal aesthetics have created stronger linkages between people and their environment, preservation law has often been co-opted to combat NIMBY issues and battle controversial development (Costonis 1989). The potential arbitrariness of applying aesthetic arguments regarding the maintenance of architectural

integrity and harmonizing with surrounding resources begs a more compelling theory for how preservation of the built environment benefits communities.

Costonis (1989) speaks of the “symbolic environment” as physical host to our cultural values and understanding of self. He suggests replacing the beauty-based rationale with a stability-based one, citing preservation’s capacity to orient and secure a community beyond the effects of physical form. Rose (1981) notes that a community-building argument for preservation is, in fact, threaded throughout the legal discourse since *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Co.* She contends that “a major public purpose underlying modern preservation law is the fostering of community cohesion, and ultimately, the encouragement of pluralism...The most important substantive contribution of preservation law has been recognition of the political aspect of our physical surroundings... and the consideration of which kinds of physical environment are appropriate to a nation of democratic communities” (533-4).

Quality of Life

Hinged to this concept of community-building is the ever present tension between the collective and the individual and the particular conundrum of “quality of life.” As Justice Brennan noted in the *Penn Central* decision, “Historic conservation is but one aspect of the much larger problem, basically an environmental one, of enhancing – or perhaps developing for the first time – the quality of life for people” (quoted in Stipe 2003, 183). In fact, much of the legal discourse regarding preservation can fall under this umbrella. However, while this may provide more stable ground with regard to legal theory, preservation theory itself has yet to catch up. While there is implicit consensus that historic preservation is a social good that improves quality of life, research

demonstrating this has been limited and mostly focuses on economic benefits (see *Preservation, Society, and the Market*, Chapter 5).

Government Action

While there has been a fair amount of analysis with regard to preservation law, there has been little research that effectively connects the aforementioned legal arguments and evolving rationales with broader preservation theory and politics, so as to inform an understanding of preservation policy. Most policy research consists of federal agency reviews and limited evaluations of programs, and economic assessments of preservation (again, see *Preservation, Society, and the Market*, Chapter 5).

Robert Stipe's 2003 collection, *A Richer Heritage*, incorporates the history, but limited analysis, of federal, state, and local policies vis à vis preservation. Stipe's concluding chapter articulates many of the challenges faced by preservation today and underscores the need for a new focus and connective framework within the field, so as to advance policy. He notes the expanding and increasingly blurred boundaries of preservation, which he attributes to fragmentation within the field as well as external dynamics. In particular, he asserts that "while there is nothing wrong with joining the many planner-environmentalists... promoting environmental sustainability... the more closely identified [*preservationists*] become with these and related trends, the closer we come to losing our identity as the keepers of cultural tradition" (492-3).

Others arguing for new direction in preservation (Kaufman 2006; Wallace 1986) see the advantages of such alliances and place greater emphasis on reinvigorating the "movement." Yet while many agree on the need to reassert preservation's passion, mission, and identity, there is little discussion of how that can be operationalized through

policy reform. Both Wood (2007) and Stipe (2003) argue that the field has relied too heavily on preservation law and regulation, without vesting as significantly in other policy tools to advance its objectives.

Policy Tools

Schuster, de Monchaux, and Riley's 1997 compendium provides a seminal text on preservation policy, though it takes a tools approach. That is to say it accepts *a priori* the need for government action on behalf of preservation, and examines how five basic tools can be effectively applied for policy implementation, namely:

- *Ownership and Operation.* The state might choose to implement policy through direct provision, in this case by owning and operating heritage resources.
- *Regulation.* Alternatively, the state might choose to regulate the actions of other actors, particularly those private individuals or institutional entities that own and occupy heritage resources.
- *Incentives (and disincentives).* The state might provide incentives or disincentives designed to bring the actions of other actors with respect to heritage resources into line with a desired policy.
- *Establishment, allocation, and enforcement of property rights.* The state can establish, allocate, and enforce the property rights of individual parties as they affect the preservation and use of heritage resources.
- *Information.* Finally, the state can collect and distribute information intended to influence the actions of others who might be engaged in the preservation or use of the built heritage (de Monchaux and Schuster 1997, 5).

All of the above tools are applied by governments – federal, state, or local – to advance preservation in the United States. Many area not used in isolation, but rather are applied through hybrids that combine or sequence multiple tools. Historic sites, parks, monuments, buildings, are *owned and operated* by multiple federal agencies, including the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the General Services Administration, and the Department of Defense. As noted in previously, the early years of the federal government in historic preservation was marked by acquisition of important

properties by the government and/or transfer of significant sites to the control of the NPS, based on a stewardship rational.

A Congressional committee was formed in 1964, the recommendations of which led to the passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. By this time, rationales were evolving, as demonstrated by the seminal committee publication, *With Heritage so Rich* (NTHP 1983, first published in 1966). With significant influence from European experiences, there was a growing sentiment that a more comprehensive federal policy was needed to list significant sites not in government ownership, provide more funding for preservation activities, and establish an infrastructure that could better integrate preservation concerns into federal urban renewal activities.

With the passage of the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act in 1974, the typologies of heritage were largely expanded in the eyes of the government to include archaeological remains, artifact collections, shipwrecks, graves, as well as cultural practices. As the stewards of these properties, the government is compelled to manage this broad ranging heritage in a responsible manner. The concept of “cultural resource management,” which emerged from the archaeology field in the 1970s, was thus applied to federal policy. Cultural resource management was modeled after the environmental conservation movement’s concept of resource management, which was championed at the federal level by Gifford Pinchot at the turn of the twentieth century. This, along with the 1966 NHPA, marked a notable shift from simply protecting places to more active management of their use to insure access and prevent depletion or degradation, as outlined in the National Park Service’s 2001 Management Policies:

The National Park Service is the steward of many of America’s most important cultural resources. These resources are categorized as archeological resources,

cultural landscapes, ethnographic resources, historic and prehistoric structures, and museum collections. The Service's cultural resource management program involves:

- Research to identify, evaluate, document, register, and establish basic information about cultural resources and traditionally associated peoples;
- Planning to ensure that management processes for making decisions and setting priorities integrate information about cultural resources, and provide for consultation and collaboration with outside entities; and
- Stewardship to ensure that cultural resources are preserved and protected, receive appropriate treatments (including maintenance), and are made available for public understanding and enjoyment (NPS 2001).

Regulation of historic properties falls largely in the hands of municipal governments for properties not owned by the federal government. Local laws generally outline detailed parameters for how historic properties may be treated and provide the vehicles for enforcement through preservation commissions, design review boards, etc. Likewise, *property rights* tools, such as the transfer of development rights, are applied most robustly at the local level. Tools like easements fall into the categories of *property rights* and *incentives*, as they are used to foster stewardship by providing benefits to private owners. Other *incentives* include tax credits, which are applied at the federal and state level (and sometimes at the municipal level), as well as tax increment financing (TIF), revolving loan funds, and more.

Information, on the surface, appears to be the most passive or neutral tool, in that it involves simply the collecting and sharing of data in an effort to promote preservation. Schuster (2004) contends that “listing” or “designation” – the process of identifying those places or resources that constitute heritage – is an information tool. He notes that the process of selecting from the built environment that which is worthy of preservation may indeed be a subjective process or one prompted by “rent seeking” interests, since, for example, in order to take advantage of tax credits or trigger NHPA section 106 review, a

property must be eligible for the National Register. However, he asserts that its application is purely informational.⁵ This position warrants challenge.

Policy Implications

As of late 2011, there were more than 80,000 properties – constituting 1.4 million individual resources (buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects) included on the National Register of Historic Places. Of these, approximately 2,400 are National Historic Landmarks (NHLs), which constitute the highest level of significance.⁶ The selection of Register properties and NHLs are the responsibility of the National Park Service, which is supported by the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO), representing the fifty states, US protectorates, and Native America communities respectively. States maintain State Registers, which are often a launch pad for National Register inclusion. It should be noted that local designation, however, exists independent from the state and federal mechanisms.

National Register Properties must be at least fifty years old and must also meet the following criteria for inclusion:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

⁵ This is the assertion of his 2004 piece, “Making a List: Information as a Tool for Historic Preservation.” In email correspondence between this researcher and J. Mark Schuster, dated February 12, 2008, he was intrigued by the idea of listing as creating value, but we could not continue the dialogue, as Prof. Schuster was quite ill at the time and died less than two weeks later.

⁶ Under the Antiquities Act of 1906, “national monuments” can be declared by the President through executive decree. National parks must be designated through an act of Congress.

C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (NPS 1998).

National Register listing does not *de facto* allow for any included property to be regulated, meaning a privately-, state-, or municipally-owned structure can be changed or even demolished without recourse, unless federal action or funding is involved.

Therefore, in order for any property to take advantage of the federal level incentives for preservation or be protected through procedural regulations such as 106 or NEPA, it must be listed on the National Register or deemed “eligible” for listing (meaning it meets the criteria but has not gone through the complete application process). To illustrate this, let us look at the example of tax credits in more detail:

The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives Program (HTC) offers a 20% income tax credit to property owners for the rehabilitation of historic income-producing residential and commercial buildings. The program is jointly administered by the National Park Service (NPS) and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), with the NPS authorizing front end certification of historic buildings and proposed projects. A *project* must “qualify” for the incentive; whether or not a *property owner* may utilize the credit to offset income tax liability is determined by IRS regulations. Project review is fundamentally a three-part application procedure administered by the SHPOs and overseen by the NPS:

- *Part I:* The **property** must be certified as an historic building, either through listing on the National Register or through a determination of a property’s eligibility for the

National Register. The property owner submits the application and relevant documentation to the SHPO of the state in which the property is located. The SHPO makes a recommendation for approval or denial, and then forwards the application to the NPS in Washington, DC, for final certification or rejection.

- *Part II:* The **proposed project** (pre-construction) must be certified, assuring that any alterations to the building are in keeping with its historic character and significance. The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards* provide a set of universal design guidelines that are interpreted by each SHPO on a project-by-project basis. As in Part I, the SHPO makes a recommendation for approval or denial, and then forwards the application to the NPS in Washington, DC, for final certification or rejection.
- *Part III:* The **construction** (post-certificate of occupancy) must be certified, to confirm that the final outcome of the project was in keeping with the proposal. Again, the SHPO makes a recommendation for approval or denial, and then forwards the application to the NPS in Washington, DC, for final certification or rejection. Once the building is placed in service, the tax credit may be claimed by the building owner(s) or investor(s).

Therefore, to reap the benefits of the tax credits, the project must be in keeping with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards*. However, those *Standards* are ultimately interpreted by the SHPO and the NPS, and a 2004 assessment of the Federal Historic Tax Credit Program noted that there is a “tendency to require ‘restoration’ in a program for

which ‘rehabilitation’ is the regulatory standard” (NPS 2).⁷ An example presented by the NPS at a recent conference clearly illustrates this charge:

A defunct school building was being adapted for affordable senior housing, and the project was utilizing historic tax credits, as the school was listed on the National Register. The classrooms were redesigned as apartments, and the original hallways were reduced in size to provide storage space and to improve energy efficiency. During the Part II application review, the NPS required the developer to modify the design so as to maintain either the original gymnasium or auditorium (which were each converted to multiple living units in the design), as well as to maintain the original hallways, complete with lockers (Park 2006).

This case helps to illustrate an important point regarding the US federal preservation program; it is based on a command-and-control approach to policy. Tax credits are meant to operate as incentives; they use a market-based approach to policy to engage the private sector in the preservation of downtowns, main streets, and urban neighborhoods throughout the country. The ripple effects of such activities provide a rationale for continued public investment in private capital through the tax credit program. However, the 20% HTC incurs significant regulation with regard to the design and approval process.⁸ So even when market-driven tools are used to incentivize private investment in preservation, there is significant government regulatory action through the design review process – which occurs at the local level as well, with municipal regulations and tools.

⁷ “Restoration” involves a higher level of historic accuracy and preserves a structure to a particular time period. “Rehabilitation” involves renovations that are appropriate to the historic character and architectural significance of a structure.

⁸ A 10% HTC is also available for non-residential commercial buildings that pre-date 1936. It should be noted that use of this credit does not require NPS certification and is administered by the IRS.

This command-and-control approach begins with the aforementioned listing or designation of places. Listing is an action on the part of government that prompts or enables regulation, the application of incentives, property right allocation, etc. The curatorial and very political process of determining that some resources are historic, culturally significant, etc. – or at least more so than others – is a tool through which government creates added value within the built environment, or valorizes some elements of the built environment over others. In doing so, the government establishes a pool of heritage resources that becomes the focus of subsequent action and policy. Designation or listing is so ubiquitous a government tool that in some ways we may take it for granted when analyzing and categorizing preservation policy. It serves far more than simply *informational* purposes; it is the gatekeeper for government intervention and a tool that influences knowledge, economic and other values, collective identity, and more.

Schuster, in his 2004 paper, “Making a List: Information as a Tool for Historic Preservation,” questions whether it might be possible to decouple listing from other tools, and muses whether doing so might help to control the proliferation of heritage sites on the National Register, the World Heritage List, and other heritage rosters. This is highly dubious in the United States. Indeed, in 2006, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act, the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation hosted a summit entitled, “Preserve America,” to take stock of the federal preservation program and make recommendations for its future. The summit established panels to address each of eleven issue areas over the course of several months, culminating in a conference in New Orleans in October 2006. Panels ranged from “Involving all Cultures”

to “Fostering Innovation.”⁹ Each panel submitted a report of recommendations, and all recommendations were compiled into an Executive Summary. The top priority recommendation that emerged was to create a comprehensive inventory of historic properties (ACHP 2007, 11). Despite the more than 1.4 million resources on the National Register, it was felt that other federal agencies had information on historic properties, which were not properly linked to the Register and that the success of the federal program hinged on having as comprehensive, accessible, and efficient an inventory as possible.

Despite the cultural resource management approach that gained traction during the 1970s, the preservation establishment still remains wed to the practice of collecting places, as many as possible, so as to ensure the protection of our cultural heritage. It is at once the field’s primary measure of success and its battle cry for more. In 2007, the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) sang its own praises when it designated 1000 properties in a single year. The following year, the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation led a campaign to lobby the City Council to increase the LPC annual budget by \$1 million, claiming the need for more funds given the high rate of landmarking the previous year.

This imperative to save more sites can also be viewed as a mission to tell more stories, to reach out to more communities, to allow for increased diversity in the narrative that plays out in the built environment. Indeed, the acknowledgement of the range of stakeholders and interests involved in what gets preserved and how has brought new insights to preservation practice that will be examined in the next section. However, it

⁹ This researcher served as an invited panelist for the issue area, “Participating in the Global Preservation Community.”

also must be acknowledged that the process of designation itself is the primary means of control for the preservation establishment, followed by the procedural review of designs that affect designated or listed properties. A vast government infrastructure has been built at the federal, state, and local level dedicated predominantly – though not solely – to the identification of heritage and ensuring that any changes in the built environment do not adversely affect that heritage. While the community aspect has certainly been acknowledged with regard to the values ascribed to places, the establishment has little provision – legislative or financial – to assess how its actions actually impact communities beyond aesthetic review.

Professionalization

The notion of the early professional preservationists as “pioneers” in a progressive social movement is rife in the literature:

And far from being a form of nostalgia, as an interest in old buildings is frequently seen to be, it was – even in its beginnings, even in its most primitive, inarticulate form – a pioneering, heroically revolutionary, and completely avant-garde activity (Chatfield-Taylor 1986, 27).

In...the 1970s and 1980s, many preservationists regarded their work as pioneering. They approached historic properties surveys with an almost missionary-zeal (Lee 2004, 131).

However, much has changed in the past decades. As Ned Kaufman notes, “Once upon a time, historic preservation was a passionate protest. Now it’s a prudent profession” (2004, 313).¹⁰

¹⁰ To begin to better understand attitudes toward preservation and the motivations of its practitioners, a small, ancillary study was undertaken to survey the attitudes of first year graduate students as they enter the field. The results of this research are included in Appendix A.

This professionalization is in part due to the development of preservation as a field of study. The academic discipline of historic preservation was forged nearly fifty years ago, when James Marston Fitch introduced a concentration in historic building restoration at the Graduate School of Architecture and Planning at Columbia University in 1964. A decade later, the program had grown into a Master of Science in Historic Preservation and ninety other schools in the US and Canada were offering preservation courses (Wallace 1986, 189). There are now approximately thirty graduate and eleven undergraduate preservation degree programs in the United States, along with a multitude of programs in allied fields offering historic preservation specializations (according to the National Council for Preservation Education). The historic preservation academy has grown tremendously, and its role is a critical one vis à vis the profession.

The professionalization of preservation is likewise due to some very important milestones of practice that happened at the international level. The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments was a seminal manifesto adopted at the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Athens in 1931 and published in 1932. While there were earlier credos to preserve architecture, such as William Morris' manifesto for the society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877) and Recommendations of the Sixth International Congress of Architects held in Madrid (1904), the Athens Charter was an important moment in calling for international cooperation and making specific recommendations with regard to conservation techniques and materials.

After World War II, there was renewed attention to heritage with the establishment of the United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization

(UNESCO) and the development of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict in 1954. In 1964, the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments convened in Venice. Some thirty years after the First Congress, they produced a more elaborate doctrine of international standards for the preservation of built cultural heritage known as the Venice Charter, which is considered to be one of the most influential documents with regard to preservation practice and a founding document of the profession. It largely influenced the drafting of the *Secretary of the Interior Standards* in the United States.

In the years since the Venice Charter, the conservation field has produced dozens of transnational conventions, declarations, and documents pertaining to the protection and management of immovable cultural heritage.¹¹ Hand in hand with these has been the development of a global infrastructure of organizations, legislation, and programs. These collectively bear witness to the maturation of conservation as a legitimate profession and field of study.

A notable milestone was the founding of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) by UNESCO in 1965. ICOMOS launched an international network of practitioners and academicians and laid the foundation for a common language of heritage conservation. The 1972 World Heritage Convention proved an equally seminal tool for safeguarding sites worldwide and created a newfound solidarity amongst the national bodies responsible for conservation. The notion that some resources were of “universal value” to all of humanity likewise fostered dialogue and cooperation across

¹¹ See inventory of Cultural Heritage Policy Documents compiled by the Getty Conservation Institute, available at http://www.getty.edu/conservation/research_resources/charters.html

borders and sectors of society. The stewardship of the historic built environment was cast as a shared responsibility at the global level.

These combined international efforts have had a synergistic effect on preservation. Cross-cultural collaboration has enhanced education and research. It has set precedents and guidelines for national and local heritage policy and management. Such cooperation has also had an influential role in the “standardization” of professional practice through shared principles about how to conserve.

Following on the heels of the globalization of preservation has been a growing recognition of the importance of local knowledge and public participation in heritage protection. This response is due in large part to developments in planning theory and social movements in the second half of the twentieth century, which will be discussed in the following chapter. As a result, “value-driven planning” has thus emerged within the preservation field. Australia’s Burra Charter was one of the early instances of such approaches to preservation being codified as part of a national policy. Hinged on the participation of a range of stakeholder groups and individuals, value-driven planning seeks broad public and professional input regarding decision-making about a heritage place or resource.

At the core of this planning methodology is a fundamental acknowledgement that values are ascribed to heritage by society at large. Values about what to preserve and how to preserve are derived from the meanings and uses that people attach to buildings, sites, and landscapes; they are constructed amongst individual, institutional, and community actors. The values of certain stakeholders may conflict with those of others, and values may change over time or as a result of political conditions.

This more particular and temporal view of heritage and its significance gives greater weight to local knowledge and stakeholder perspectives. It highlights the very essence of heritage: that these resources differentiate one place from another, one community from another. Their uniqueness, because of associated meaning or added value, symbolizes the past of a particular society and helps to define the distinctive character of a locality. Heritage conservation is therefore a fundamentally local act, though shaped by constituencies that may or may not be in close geographic proximity.

These shifts in discourse pose interesting challenges for preservation. On the one hand, the globalization of the field has served to legitimize the profession and practice of preservation and given rise to a community of experts and institutions who govern what to conserve and how. It has underscored the universal nature of heritage and fostered international cooperation on a range of fronts, from education to research to policy. It has likewise served to establish a common language of professional practice.

On the other hand, postmodern thought has engendered new questions and considerations vis à vis heritage and its cultural relativity. With the rise of value-driven preservation and the recognition of different ways of engaging with one's heritage, some of those universal ethics that have served to standardize practice are called into question. As Salvador Muñoz Viñas effectively argued in his "Contemporary Theory of Conservation," reversibility, authenticity, scientific objectivity and other long held tenets of the field are under challenge. Likewise, the role of preservation professionals is evolving. No longer are preservationists simply experts prescribing an appropriate course of action, but also facilitators of a socially-responsive process that Muñoz Viñas refers to as "negotiative conservation" (2002, 30).

As discussed earlier in this study, preservation has traditionally been viewed as a neutral act of stewardship. It was premised upon a curatorial paradigm, underpinned by the principles of connoisseurship and involving expert identification of architecturally, historically, and culturally significant structures. However, preservation is not an impartial process of discerning some sort of intrinsic value. Rather it is a creative process of valorizing a given resource or element within the built environment for the purpose of perpetuating a particular idea or narrative about a place or people. Decisions about how to conserve a resource or element likewise reflect the very complex ways in which places are significant to different people at different times.

In its most robust form, preservation can be a tool for managing change and for codifying collective memory and storytelling in the built environment. The process of preservation can provide a vital means of community-building by reinforcing shared histories, cultivating collective identities, and fostering a sense of place. It can likewise serve as a dangerous vehicle for exclusion and ideologies of difference, and as a means of preventing, rather than managing, change. This tension is exacerbated as populations become more heterogeneous, as knowledge production becomes more prolific, as the 'experience economy' thrives, and as globalization incurs rapid changes in social structures and landscapes (National Heritage Board 2006, 16). The preservation field seeks to underscore the universality of heritage so as to promote cohesion within and across societies through a shared past. However, collective memories are rarely singular; rather they are precarious amalgamations of multiple narratives over time. Thus the field is also struggling to recognize the particular voices – of the many individuals and

communities – that contribute to such narratives by ascribing values to vestiges within the built environment.

Communicative and advocacy planning theories have informed and spurred the application of a more value-driven and deliberative process through which stakeholders can engage in the determination of what is heritage and how it should be safeguarded. As historian Antoinette Lee notes:

As the preservation field matured in the 1990s and early 21st century, many preservation agencies and organizations are attempting to bridge the “values” gap between “yuppie preservationists” and the actual cultural heritage needs of overlooked communities. Rather than telling the public what is important and worth saving, there is now a greater emphasis on consultation with these communities to determine what is important to them (2004, 131).

However, stakeholders and preservationists alike must still negotiate the institutional arrangements through which the politics of preservation play out. The fundamental significance of built heritage has long been vested in the ‘place’ –the building, the streetscape, the archaeological site, etc. By reifying the concept of ‘heritage’ in physical structures and landscapes, the preservation field has promulgated the notion that the social benefits of its efforts are embodied in the conserved place – or *product* -- and society’s experience of it. The presence of vestiges of the past within the built environment is essentially assumed to make us better citizens. Therefore the identification, listing, and thus protection of resources -- increased preserved building stocks, in systems speak -- have emerged as paramount in professional practice and institutional missions. With a new emphasis on social relationships to heritage and the *process* of preserving, the profession is faced with a significant need to change, and there are questions whether the field and the policy infrastructure it has built can support such

change. "...Just when the preservation movement might be most in need of new blood and new partnerships, the movement might become more exclusive and parochial in an attempt to sustain the commitment of the remaining stalwarts" (Tepper, 2002, 4-5).

Globalization incurs the need for cooperation and shared values, and preservation has met the challenge by promoting the universality of heritage and establishing a common set of professional ethics. But the very localized and political nature of heritage betrays a "one size fits all" approach. Indeed, the very essence of heritage is its celebration of difference: certain places and structures are significant because people have developed associations and attachments to them that distinguish them from others. Accordingly, how to conserve such places – and the multiple narratives and values ascribed to them by various stakeholders – entails a complexity that extends well beyond the traditional tenets (i.e. authenticity, reversibility, etc.) that have guided practice and its institutionalization.

4. PRESERVATION AND PLANNING

The separation of the preservation enterprise – institutionally and in practice – from broader land use planning, was instituted when the first major preservation laws were passed in the US (in New York City in 1965 and nationally in 1966), and this segregation has persisted. This has significant impact on the way in which preservation integrates – or fails to integrate -- with the system of the built environment as a whole. In an effort to keep *places* protected, the preservation enterprise has also isolated decision-making *processes*. To understand why and how this dynamic has occurred, it is necessary to look historically at the relationship between the two fields, first through a case illustration and then through broader analysis of the discourse.

Lost Opportunities in Lower Manhattan

Cities, especially great capitalist cities like New York, do not often grow by plans: they grow by market forces during periods when the economy is strong. During boom times, city government can generally only regulate or channel growth. When markets are weak or declining, planning can play a more important role. In the 1950s and 1960s, Lower Manhattan was a weak market in a strong economy because it was hobbled by the weight of its old technology. The obsolete waterfront and aging office stock of the historic core was a problem that could be remedied, or at least positively affected, by planning and public policy, and it was (Willis 2002).

The gains downtown are clear, in regeneration and economic strength, and they are essential to the health of the Lower Manhattan community. But the losses, less apparent to the untutored eye, are tragic. They are in history, architecture and environment...In Lower Manhattan now, the past has no future. Today, there are few places left where classical red brick stands against a theatrical backdrop of towering steel and glass. This has been New York's greatest environmental throwaway, its nonpareil drama of contrasts, its superb architectural accident. It is, or was, an extraordinary indication of its special strength and style. As the contrasts and continuity are lost, the magic disappears forever (Huxtable 1973).

While skyscrapers began to dot the skyline of lower Manhattan in the early twentieth century, redevelopment slowed after the Great Depression. The post-war boom

brought renewed interest in New York's historic downtown. Between 1947 and 1960, 129 major office buildings were constructed in Manhattan, representing a growing shift from the historic downtown district to midtown, where most of the new commercial spaces were located (Ennis 1961). Public and private interests sought to curtail this trend and to ensure the survival of the city's downtown as the financial capital of the world. As a result, a number of major redevelopment project began to emerge from the late 1950s on, largely promoted by the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association, established by David Rockefeller in 1958.

Among the earliest projects was 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, completed in 1961, while plans for other major redevelopment were unveiled, including urban renewal of the Brooklyn Bridge South and Washington Market areas, and Port Authority-backed development of the World Trade Center, with its 16 acre site eventually located in what was known as Radio Row along lower Manhattan's Westside. Relocation of the downtown markets was seen as a priority for alleviating congestion and streamlining commerce, and efforts toward that end had commenced in 1953, when the Victorian Market Building housing the Fulton Street fish market was demolished. More formal plans were announced in 1959:

The city Markets Commissioner announced yesterday a plan to develop a site in the Hunt's Point section of the East Bronx as the city's principal wholesale food and produce market...This comparatively modern facility would replace the Fulton Fish Market, leaving that waterfront area on the lower East Side free for redevelopment...A contradictory viewpoint on one aspect of the sweeping reorganization came in a separate broadcast yesterday by Robert Moses, the city's Construction Coordinator. He said the moving of Fulton Fish Market was 'a long, long way off.' He called it 'just a gleam in the eye of some of the architects who have been making pictures' (Fowle 1959).

Given the varied and powerful interests involved and the potentially dramatic changes on the horizon, there was clearly a need to look comprehensively at the host of redevelopment efforts afoot. Under the auspices of the NYC Planning Commission and with the backing of the mayor, the Lower Manhattan Plan was unveiled in 1966 with an aim toward providing an integrated framework for land use, transportation, waterfront access, and more. More than 27 million square feet of office space was constructed in Lower Manhattan between 1950 and 1971, reestablishing it as the hub of international commerce (Metzger 2001, 27).

These efforts, along with roadway developments, wreaked havoc on the historic urban landscape of New York City's birthplace, destroying hundreds of Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, and Victorian buildings. With the establishment of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission in 1965, among its early efforts was the survey of historic structures affected by downtown development efforts and the designation of Schermerhorn Row and additional early 18th century buildings in 1968 (the designation was subsequently extended in 1977 and 1989, to what is now known as the South Street Seaport Historic District).

This represented an important moment in the relationship between planning and preservation, as it opened up an opportunity for partnership in redevelopment. With some trepidation but an air of hope, the preservation community saw their new tools beget action. The Friends of South Street Seaport, later the South Street Seaport Museum, came to be a key player in efforts to establish the district as an open air museum, meant to spatialize the rich heritage of New York's early seaport through both the historic buildings and maritime vessels. However, the endeavor was fraught with financial

challenges from the beginning, and the litany of public and private efforts to bring the project to fruition have been well chronicled by many (Metzger 2001, Defillippis 1998, et al). In short, the Rouse Company entered the fray in the late 1970s, and the redevelopment of South Street Seaport evolved into a vision for a festival marketplace of which the Museum was a key component.

The redevelopment of the district has been an ongoing affair for three decades, with critiques by planners and preservationists alike. The discourse of the latter has focused primarily on two issues: a universal condemnation of the commodification of the Seaport's history into an inauthentic shopping mall (Huxtable 1997, Sorkin 1992, Barthel 1996, Boyer 1992, Helleher 2004, et al) and the local struggles to combat inappropriate and high density infill developments in and around the Seaport Historic District. In effect, while the promise of collaboration seemed imminent at the start of the South Street saga, preservationists came to the table with a limited toolbox and little experience. Their new legislation and government infrastructure gave them the authority to review proposed designs and plans so as to assess impacts on the historic character and architectural integrity of the Seaport, and they brought their skills to bear on fine restoration efforts of some of the district's anchor buildings. But the enterprise of preservation had a limited set of goals and purview – protect the buildings – and the intent focus on the formal qualities of the historic district meant that some of the broader and more profound aspects of New York's waterfront heritage were lost, along with one of the first and most important opportunities to build synergy between preservation and planning.

Ironically, one of the last “authentic” elements of the Seaport was the Fulton Fish Market, with its smelly wares and salty sellers. In 2005, some 46 years after Robert Moses’ prophetic comment about the relocation of Fulton Fish Market being “a long, long way off,” *The New York Times* reported:

Three weeks ago, after 180 years of hawking seafood on the wind-whipped waterfront in Lower Manhattan, the fishmongers of South Street packed up their equipment and their camaraderie and headed north to a gleaming, climate-controlled facility in Hunts Point in the Bronx (Gill 2005).

The departure of this icon of New York’s gritty past, along with a population boom in lower Manhattan, have led to a transformation of the district into two distinct areas: a fashionable residential-commercial enclave at the northern end filled with high-priced housing in adaptively reused historic buildings and infill development, and the museum and mall to the south. While the north thrives, the core area of the Museum and the mall—the heart of the preservationists’ battle -- continues to struggle. The City Museum has taken over the South Street Seaport Museum and a new developer has purchased the Pier 17 mall with plans to revitalize it.

Just blocks away, another redevelopment effort is underway in lower Manhattan. After the devastating attacks of 9/11, efforts to rebuild the World Trade Center site have also been fraught with controversy and delays, while powerful government and private interests battle over reconstruction priorities. The sheer significance of what happened in 2001 compelled some form of memorialization in the urban landscape, some steadfast reminder of the profound loss. The tools of preservation had grown somewhat more sophisticated and the players more savvy since the early Seaport days. Eligibility of the site to the National Register and the use of Federal funds required Section 106 review, thus formalizing an important impact assessment and consultative process to determine

how the memory of what happened could best be preserved as part of the built environment. But the lack of built resources posed an interesting conundrum for the field: spatializing memory when the structures no longer exist. As Ruth Pierpont, Deputy New York State Historic Preservation Officer noted:

[T]he first challenge that we faced came shortly after 9/11 when we had to grapple with the eligibility of a site that had immediately taken on national significance, essentially a pioneering effort in historic preservation. Along with the physical remains, it was the absence of the towers that took on great significance, and those voids – densely packed with history and meaning – were the essence of what was saved in the Section 106 process and the redevelopment. The process gave stakeholders, scholars, family members and others the opportunity to address the historical meaning of Ground Zero and its value to future generations.¹²

Preserving an historic urban landscape through the construction of a new one presented a tremendous opportunity to think beyond existing preservation paradigms. It raised the possibility of applying the new value-driven methodologies that had emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century. It also offered the prospect of thinking beyond the historic resources themselves and engaging their broader role in the downtown environment and recovery process.

The preservation community was more successful with the former. It is largely because of strong community engagement with the survivors' network, preservationists, local residents, and business owners that the preserved footprints of the Twin Towers serve as the poignant silhouette of the new memorial and a centerpiece of the site. The preservation of the Vesey Street (Survivors') Staircase, the interpretation of the core columns, and the integration of the slurry wall remnants are all important milestones achieved through the preservation dialogue.

¹² <http://www.achp.gov/news09142011.html>

The preservation community was less successful in transcending the built remains to grapple with issues of memory within the urban landscape writ large. Much like the South Street Seaport experience, there was a strong focus on preserving the formal qualities of the site's surviving elements. The dynamic between those vestiges and the plan for urban recovery seemed beyond the preservation purview, with the possible exception of the creation of the memorial.

While this has much to do with the way in which the preservation field has evolved, as discussed in the previous chapter, it also speaks to the unresolved relationship between preservation and planning. To understand why and how this dynamic evolved, it is necessary to look historically at the early days of both fields and to examine the intersections in theory and practice, as well as the differences.

Convergence and Divergence

The Two Athens Charters

As noted in the previous chapter, the 1931 Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments marked an important moment of international awareness and a commitment to the idea of preserving heritage within the built environment. Another Athens Charter emerged at nearly the same time. The Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) was a hugely influential organization that banded under the leadership of Le Corbusier in 1928 to promote the architectural and urban planning principles of the Modern Movement. The organization's fourth conference was held in 1933 on a ship that sailed from Marseilles to Athens.

From this meeting emerged an urban planning manifesto for the "Functional City" that idealized rational planning paradigms as a means of improving social condition. Its

ninety-five articles championed the role of urban design in controlling the form of the city, protecting against private interests, and ensuring quality of life for its citizens. Several articles were devoted to the historic heritage of cities, which was viewed as both an important element of memory within the city, but not one that should impede progress and improvement of the human condition, “by no means can any narrow-minded cult of the past bring about a disregard for the rules of social justice” (Le Corbusier 1933, art. 67). Because of the influential membership of CIAM, these principles saw broad application throughout Europe, particularly in the reconstruction after World War II.

There is no evidence to suggest that these two Athens Charters had any substantive relation to each other with regard to critical response or influence. However, their parallel emergence speaks to the tensions that had been developing between notions of preservation and progress as the twentieth century unfolded.

Preservation and Progress in the Early Twentieth Century

Mason (2009) builds a strong case for how the New York preservation movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was viewed as an integral aspect of urban development. Without a dialectic between new and old, there are no physical markers to show progress as a process -- that here and now only exists in relation to that from whence we came. Mason and to some extent Boyer (1994) and others argue that memory was an important tool within the urban reform rubric and the City Beautiful movement. There was synergy between preservation and planning, but each was also evolving in their own right.

As noted in the previous chapter, there was a growing awareness and action on the part of the federal government with regard to preservation in the early 1900s,

beginning with the passage of the Antiquities Act in 1906 and the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916.

The dawn of the twentieth century also brought new purpose to planning. As Donald Krueckeberg notes:

Thus we see on the 19th century landscape of individualism and industrial enterprise three converging ideas of urban planning: one of sanitation and scientific efficiency, a second of civic beauty and building arts, and a third of social equity and charity. Enterprise alone bred chaos. Cooperation for efficient development was essential to the survival of city life (1983, 6)

The First National Conference on City Planning was held in 1909, the same year as the publication of the Chicago Plan and the offering of the first planning course at Harvard (the first school of city planning was launched there in 1929). W. H. Wilson, in his 1983 piece “Moles and Skylarks,” proffers that there emerged two fundamental branches in planning in those early years, the *realists* who took a broad, empirical view of the urban condition and sought solutions in improved functionality (e.g. Robert Moses), and the *utopians* who saw progress in new, totally planned forms and communities (e.g. Lewis Mumford).

The realists tackled what was to become one of the most pivotal tools of urban land use: zoning. The construction of the imposing Equitable Building in 1915 as well as the encroachment of commercial interests, then later the garment industry, on the Fifth Avenue mansions north of 34th Street, both fueled battles over height restrictions in New York City (Wilson 1983, 90-91). Concerned over the impact these new forms and uses were having on neighborhoods within the city, planners in many respects were fighting the battles over urban neighborhood preservation that were not yet on the radar screen of the preservationists themselves.

Their efforts bore fruit with the New York City Zoning Ordinance of 1916 and spread prolifically. “By the end of 1921 city planners and local elites had secured zoning enabling acts from almost half the state legislatures in the country...and by 1926 more than 400 cities and towns had zoning ordinances” (Wilson 1983, 95). Zoning was first seen as a critical step in the planning process writ large and a way to control urban growth in ways that benefited communities. It was challenged by property rights and Fourteenth Amendment concerns and brought to the Supreme Court in 1926 in *Euclid v. Ambler Realty*. While the court validated zoning, it soon lost its luster as the tool for planning a functional future became subject to politics and power through variances, adjustment boards, and spot zoning. Overzoning for commercial and industrial use also worked to undermine the legitimacy of the zoning enterprise as full utilization of New York’s 1916 zoning accommodated 300 million workers, fifty-fold the city’s population at the time (Wilson 1983, 96-7).

The 1920s also marked the development of the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs which fundamentally sought to modernize access to and around the city in the age of the automobile, spawning the bridges, parkways, tunnels, and more that marked the imperial reign of Robert Moses. Meanwhile, the utopians were planning ideal communities beyond the city, like Sunnyside Gardens in Queens and Radburn, New Jersey, and promoting a regional vision (through the Regional Planning Association of America) that divested from the traditional urban core. These newly invented spaces were meant to change and improve the way residents interacted and to provide fertile ground for a more engaged citizenry:

In new communities that have been planned as social units, with visible coherence in the architecture, with a sufficient number of local meeting rooms for group

activities, as in Sunnyside Gardens... a robust political life, with effective collective action and a sense of renewed public responsibility, has swiftly grown up [Lewis Mumford, a Sunnyside Gardens resident (Mumford 1956, 17-19)].

While planners were coming to terms with the zoning monster that they had created, preservation was mustering its own momentum in the years between the wars. The historian Charles Hosmer recounts in great detail the history of the preservation movement in these early years, and there a few notable milestones that can help to shape an image of the field's maturation. Hosmer notes that the well known efforts to "restore" Williamsburg under the patronage of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. marked a critical moment for preservation. The show of powerful and moneyed interests through Williamsburg, as well as Ford's Greenfield Village, Newport's Mawdsley House and others projects, gave preservation both legitimacy and political traction.

Williamsburg, in particular, required a new cadre of specialists who could interpret the resurrection of eighteenth century buildings and thus helped to shape the edges of a burgeoning profession. The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), launched in 1933 as part of the New Deal, also helped to draw architectural expertise to the movement. It laid the foundation of a national preservation network, as many preservationists were operating at local levels. HABS, which employed technicians and professionals from the design and construction fields around the country through a system of districts, brought a new national awareness within the architecture profession as well as communities. That a building was worthy enough to be recorded for the Library of Congress resonated for many, fostering the use of preservation as a tool for promoting shared identities within communities (Hosmer 1981, 552).

During this period between the wars, the National Park Service was working to acquire and interpret historic properties, especially those related to military history, such as battlefields (which were under the auspices of the War Department). However, acquisition could only be achieved through Presidential decree or congressional sponsorship with existing legislation, the politics of which could be quite complex. While the New Deal programs had provided resources and momentum to federal action, there was a desire to solidify the role of the federal government and to create a mandate to own and operate historic sites that did not require political wrangling.

New legislation was a fairly easy sell. As Hosmer notes, “The Historic Sites Act represented a popular idea at a time of economic crisis when the nation needed a sense of its heritage, so the new law quickly found some influential sponsors in the United States Congress” (1981, 572). The HSA made the federal government a key player in preservation, and from its passage in 1935 until the US entry into World War II, the NPS Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings was abuzz with projects.

Important work was also happening at the municipal level. Charleston was the first US city to adopt a zoning ordinance to protect its historic district (in 1931) and was a hub of preservation activity, in part funded by the federal government, leading up to World War II. In 1937, the first preservation commission was established to regulate the historic Vieux Carré district of New Orleans. These marked important moments of integration for preservation and planning efforts and likewise underpinned the idea of heritage as landscapes and districts, expanding the typology well beyond individual buildings and sites.

However, World War II drew focus, money, and people away from the preservation cause, and the federal program became less active. And the post-World War II boom created a whole new set of conditions for the country, the American middle class, and particularly urban areas. The Federal Housing Authority and the Federal Highway Act of 1956 both helped to fuel increased suburbanization. Mortgage lending practices made the suburban dream attainable for many of the returning GIs, while redlining practices isolated minorities in the city centers. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, urban renewal projects aimed at large-scale redevelopment and improved automobile access through and around cities devastated urban neighborhoods and communities that were already at a disadvantage.

The Post-World War II Shift

In the late 1940s and 50s, as federally funded demolition began changing the landscape of American cities, the preservation movement was regaining its post-war legs. The National Trust for Historic Preservation was established in 1949, partly in an effort to move away from the site-by-site mandate of federal preservation legislation and to encourage a more comprehensive view of the historic landscape. *Berman v. Parker* gave a boost to the cause in 1954, as did New York State's Bard Act of 1956, paving the way for the preservation legislation of the 1960s.

It was also during this time that the vision of planning and the mission of preservation began to clash. In New York City, the debate over Castle Clinton and Moses' proposed Battery-Brooklyn Bridge was waged during the 1940s. Greenwich Village and Brooklyn Heights became battlegrounds moving into the 1950s, by which

time a significant preservation community had emerged in New York City and was mobilizing for government action (Wood 2008).

Profit-driven real estate development and state-driven programs of urban renewal and highway building were seen as primary culprits in the loss of historic fabric:

To some preservationists the 41,000-mile interstate highway system, authorized by Congress two years ago, has become perhaps the most menacing threat. The very superhighways that may enable tourists to see more American history than ever before are being laid out with little regard for the preservation of bits of Americana that may lie in the way...(Brown 1958).

Jane Jacobs' seminal text, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), in many respects epitomized the growing rift between the preservationists and the planners of the time. Jacobs sought to protect neighborhoods, which is precisely what was unfolding with the Greenwich Village and Brooklyn Heights preservation battles in New York City. However, Jacobs saw this as a socio-economic imperative meant to preserve communities – communities of people -- of which buildings were a dynamic element. The preservationists saw it as an aesthetic imperative meant to preserve the traditional urban landscape of the city. What Berman v. Parker had essentially supported in its aesthetics argument was the notion that form or design can improve the human condition; it was a fundamentally modernist premise of social order through control of the built environment. And Albert Bard had taken this to the bank, as a vehicle through which to rationalize preservation regulation. In doing so, it wed preservation to building forms and aesthetics in a profound way.

But Jacobs was railing against the modernist paradigm, laying bare the pitfalls of this approach and its consequences on communities – people and places. Her critique sparked a new awareness in the planning field that helped to move it into a new era.

However, this was just the moment that preservation was codifying its approach through new legislation, namely the New York Preservation Law of 1965 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. At this moment when the entire enterprise of planning was being questioned for its negative impacts on people and places, preservation was seen as a David against the Goliath. Neighborhoods fighting urban renewal and federal intervention found an effective ally and germane rhetoric in the preservation movement's mission of saving old buildings:

A nation can be a victim of amnesia. It can lose the memories of what it was, and thereby lose the sense of what it is or wants to be. It can say it is being "progressive" when it rips up the tissues which visibly bind one strand of its history to the next. It can say it is only getting rid of "junk" in order to make room for the modern. What it often does instead, once it has lost the graphic source of its memories, is to break the perpetual partnership that makes for orderly growth in the life of a society [James Hill in the 1966 *A Richer Heritage* (NTHP 1983, 23)].

Through the creation of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and Section 106 review, the NHPA was in effect stating that preservation needed to keep planning in check. The work of the modernist planning regime had to be controlled for the sake of memory and communities and "orderly growth." Preservation was charged as a watchdog, but what was it watching?

As noted previously, there were certainly rationales within the spectrum of federal and municipal action at this time that linked preservation to notions of community building and quality of life. However, the framing of the policy problem was still largely centered on the structures themselves and their aesthetics. Indeed, the 1966 *Heritage so Rich* committee recommended that,

...the preservation movement must recognize the importance of architecture, design and esthetics as well as historic and cultural values. Those who treasure a

building for its pleasing appearance or local sentiment do not find it less important because it lacks “proper” historic credentials (NTHP 1983, 193).

Thus, measures of quality and success were predicated upon the extent to which a preservation project retained the architectural and historic integrity of a place and its past: Were accretions understood as different from the original? Were the replacement windows historically accurate? Indeed, it was precisely the critique of the practice of reconstruction in the Venice Charter of 1964 and its implications of Williamsburg as conjecture that helped to prompt this focus on historical design accuracy within the US discourse and professional practice. It was underscored by the federally-mandated practices of rigorous documentation (through HABS) and listing, and the design guidelines set forth by the *Secretary of the Interior Standards*. Preservationists had a clear mandate: to protect the aesthetic qualities of the built environment by saving historic buildings and places. There was no looking beyond to consider the feedback loops of this system, how the decisions of what to preserve and how to preserve actually affected the people of these communities, because it had been legally established that simply maintaining the aesthetics of places was a social good.

The Postmodern Turn

[I]t has become increasingly apparent in the last decade, to both public officials and the public alike, that planning is a prime determining factor not only of a city’s destiny but also of the quality of its life (Huxtable 1969).

Much of the modernist planning paradigm focused on the use of design and manipulation of the environment to engender social order and reform. Significant threads of postmodern planning thought have thus sought to illuminate the consequences of planning’s overemphasis on built infrastructure, land use regulation, and “place,” without commensurate analytical focus on social conditions. At the core of the early paradigm

shifts were emerging concepts about the social construction of knowledge (Minnich 2004), power relationships and the role of experts (Friedmann 1987), and the potential for communicative action to transform planning into a more socially- and contextually-responsive endeavor (Forester 1989 & 1999).

Key aspects of this evolving discourse are derived from the work of Habermas (1981, 1983, 1984, etc.) and other social theorists who challenged the rationalist tradition and elucidated the function of deliberation and the free exchange of ideas in social action. Theoretical developments regarding the duality of structure and human agency (Giddens 1984; Sewell 1992) and the modern/postmodern transformation (Harvey 1990) have likewise served to inform understanding of the political relationships and elements that can empower or constrain social change. Their application to planning has promoted broader participation of stakeholders, challenged “top-down” expert-driven models, and helped to transform planning into a more socially- and contextually-responsive endeavor. There is now increasing consensus in the field regarding inclusive dialogue in planning processes, the recognition of social difference, and improved understanding of the different ways in which knowledge is created and transmitted.

This evolution of social theory -- in particular the social construction of knowledge, the recognition of otherness, the role of power -- had contemporaneous effects on the humanities as well as the social sciences. The emergence of public history and the application of historic ontology and historical methodology to the social sciences marked an important reconvergence with regard to research and theory (Sewell 2005). Social theory has engendered a renewed focus on “people” within planning, and to some degree preservation, but they are still largely influenced by the evolving discourse

regarding “place.” While the concept of “place” may simply be a trope for social cohesion, “space” is both real and limited. “Space,” its commodification, and the political (and economic) forces that shape property relationships and redevelopment have been examined by a host of urban theorists, including Logan and Molotch 1987; Cox 1997; Fainstein 2001; Beauregard 2003; Healey 2003; etc. The evolving role of institutions -- in light of the effects on cities of globalization and changes in capital flows as well as the need to ensure social justice -- has been a key element in this discourse. (Foglesong 2003; Lake 2002; Fainstein 2000; etc.),

This researcher contends that these developments have had a notable influence on preservation theory and practice. In particular, the changing planning and history discourses have challenged a curatorial preservation paradigm that was fundamentally underpinned by modernist thought. To understand how this discourse has influenced preservation, it is necessary to look at some of the history and themes that have emerged from the postmodern turn in planning itself.

Historical Analysis

The history of planning is at times contentious and divergent, with a great deal of emphasis placed on the impact of modernist philosophy and the consequences of post-modern theory. This paradigm shift has created a crisis in both planning thought and practice as the field attempts to reinvent itself out of a checkered past. The contemporary theoretical concerns of planning have thus stretched across a spectrum of social, political, aesthetic, economic, and cultural thought systems, seeking new and old tenets through which to frame the planning lens. Several themes are prevalent as new

paradigms emerge, from the theoretical analysis of planning's past to a speculative vision for its future.

One of the most prominent overarching themes has been critical theory regarding past paradigms themselves and the transition from modernity to post-modernity. The literature is rife with examples of planning's theoretical and practical failures through most of the twentieth century, as it championed a rational decision-making process and social order as part of the state-directed modernization project (Boyer 1986, Beauregard 1989, et al). Rooted in a long history of utopian thought that emphasized scientific knowledge, rational planning practices unraveled as the social consequences of many urban renewal efforts became evermore apparent. Concurrently, planning theory was increasingly challenged as part of the growing postmodern critique of Enlightenment epistemology. As Sandercock (2003) notes, at the core of the early commentary were the concepts of knowledge, learning, and the role of experts (Friedmann 1987) and the potential for communicative action (derived from Habermas' theory) to transform planning into a more socially- and contextually-responsive endeavor (Forester 1989 and 1999). As the field attempts to reinvent itself in light of these paradigm shifts, planning remains somewhat fixated on this analysis of its past. While some might argue that this fascination is a consequence of planning's identity crisis, others might contend that there is continued value in seeking to elucidate the methodological and conceptual errors that presupposed this system of thought (Minnich 1990) and in extracting the "insurgent histories" that may serve to reconceptualize planning theory (Sandercock 2003).

People, Place

Ancillary to the discourse on planning's history is the debate between city-building and community-building. Much of the modernist paradigm focused on the use of design and manipulation of the environment to engender social order and reform. Significant threads of planning thought have thus sought to illuminate the consequences of planning's overemphasis on built infrastructure, land use regulation, and "place," without commensurate analytical focus on social conditions (T. Mitchell 2002, Merrifield 2002, et al). A growing body of theoretical work regarding cultural diversity and social difference has spawned a discourse linking planning to political theory and issues of deliberation and inclusion (see *Inclusion, Difference, and Knowledges* below). Likewise, concerns for social justice, the failure of markets to ensure inter- and intra-generational equity, and planning's role in achieving a just city have generated greater analysis of the effects of planning efforts on people (see *Just process, Just Outcome* below) and the role of public institutions.

However, many contend that the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction, and there is a need to strike a new balance between people and "place." As noted above, while the concept of "place" may simply be a trope for social cohesion, "space" is both real and limited. Healey questions, when it comes to spatial strategies, how do we understand, agree on, and influence the shaping and reshaping of urban regions in light of the changes that accompany post-Fordist economies and network societies? Zukin (1991) argues that "as markets have been globalized, place has been diminished" (12), but Cox (1997) reasserts the importance of place cum space in global-local linkages. Most ardently, Beauregard stresses that planning "practitioners and

theorists must rededicate themselves to the built environment as the object of action and inquiry...(It) is a source of capital accumulation, a place of consumption and reproduction, and a terrain of profound struggle...To abandon it is to abandon the meaning of urban planning in the United States as well as the source of its legitimacy as a state activity” (in Fainstein and Campbell 2001, 120).

While many academicians invoke these concerns in broader theoretical discourse, there is as yet no common thread of inquiry regarding the role of “place” and the built environment in the future of planning as a practice and field of study. While the tenets of New Urbanism are very focused on the built environment as a catalyst for community and diversity, there is little research to suggest that theory and practice converge in this regard. As the rubber meets the road, there will be greater need to contextualize what is happening on the ground within a broader theoretical framework, to both understand the role of place within the discourse and “wrest new possibilities from space” (Sandercock 2003, 10) as planning continues to define the margins of its purview.

Just Process, Just Outcome

While the framing of “place” within the theoretical discourse about the future of planning is still a work in progress, there has been significant study and modeling of the ways in which the place and its manipulation have served as a vehicle for social injustice. From planned abandonment (Metzger 2000), to suburbanization and housing policy (Jackson 1985 and Beauregard 1989), to gentrification (Smith 2002 and Merrifield 2002), to the commodification of landscapes (Zukin 1991), decision-making about the built environment has profound consequences for social conditions. Social and spatial inequalities often persist because of the flawed knowledge and injustice rooted in rational

planning ideals, and because of attempts to promote a common good that is entrenched in dominant ideology. And while such decision-making is often well beyond the purview of planners and brokered in the power structures between business and politics, many contend that planning has an affirmative obligation to seek and ensure just processes and outcomes. Fainstein (2000 and 2001) argues that planning should maintain a normative position regarding the distribution of social benefits, and Friedmann's (1997) notion of radical planning emphasizes transformative action for the purposes of social mobility. Leaning more toward the process side, Healey advocates communicative planning and discourse as an alternative to power-based decision-making, and Foglesong (1986) contends that the issue of justice in planning should be less about material equity and accumulation and more about democratic inclusion.

Again, while understanding how past planning pursuits have perpetuated injustice has provided insight into theory, there is still quite a bit of divergence regarding how justice in planning should be conceptualized and operationalized for the future. At the heart of the discourse is the debate between process and outcome. Communicative or collaborative planning theory (as derived from Habermas' communicative action) emphasizes the role of deliberative discourse in ensuring a just process, and many contend that a just process is all that can be ensured. The communicative process is one that promotes participation and mutual learning, emphasizes the role of the planner as facilitator, and champions process over product. However, while Fainstein and others recognize the historical implications of outcome-oriented physical planning (such as urban renewal, low density development, and segregated use), power concentrations and

relationships make for dubious justice through participation alone; there is a need to judge outcomes as well as process.

Inclusion, Difference, and Knowledge

While the debate regarding justice in process and/or outcomes continues, there is generally more theoretical consensus regarding inclusive deliberation in planning processes, the recognition of social difference, and increased understanding of the different ways in which knowledge is created and transmitted. Iris Young (2000) provides a seminal examination of the issues of inclusion and difference from a political perspective, challenging the long held the concepts of integration and cultural assimilation. Young suggests that an inclusive, deliberative process involving all those affected by an issue is the surest means of vetting problems, solutions, and their consequences. It is the openness and continuity of this process that lend legitimacy to social action. The deliberative process essentially serves as a first defense against segregation and oppression, if the vehicles of “greeting, rhetoric, and narrative” provide for active and equal participation.

Excavating the issue more deeply is Minnich (1990), who explores the issue of inclusion through a theoretical analysis of exclusion in dominant systems of thought and knowledge generation. Minnich’s concept of *transforming* knowledges and Young’s framing of issues of inclusion and social difference are brought to bear on the planning theory most fluently by Sandercock.

Sandercock proffers a new set of planning principles that champions practical wisdom and community empowerment, advocates people-centered, deliberative processes, recognizes multiple publics and the need for multicultural literacy, encourages

varied types of knowledge and ways of knowing, and embraces politics (2003, 34).

Sandercock notes four significant forces in today's society that necessitate this reconceptualization of planning theory, namely international migration, postcolonialism, the resurgence of indigenous peoples, and the rise of organized civil society (2003, 3). These forces have challenged the status quo and forced a recognition of difference – and especially fear of difference – in the operationalized goals of planning.

However, where the theoretical discourse dissipates is in how the operationalizing of inclusion, difference, and multiple knowledges actually occurs, how they are accommodated in planning processes and/or outcomes. While many agree on the need to empower those who are excluded (Fainstein et al), it is not sufficient to do so for the purposes of participation alone, but also in the structural positions that provide power and leverage. Communication, stakeholder participation, value-driven processes, etc. have become part of the general rhetoric of planning practice. Nonetheless, how theories of difference and multiple knowledges translate to an applied theory of planning remains largely uncharted territory.

Implications in Preservation

As discussed in Chapter 3, postmodern thought and related shifts in planning practice began to influence the preservation discourse starting in the 1980s, sparked to a large extent by preservation engagement with indigenous peoples here in the United States and in Australia in the context of archaeological remains and ruins. That different communities could have different ideas of how to preserve and why, that the significance of cultural resources was largely ascribed through the values of those communities, became salient issues. Australia's Burra Charter was the first significant policy

document to explicitly advise the consultation of many stakeholders in constructing the significance of heritage sites and thus planning for their preservation.

The recognition of difference and the need for diversity prompted a series of conferences related to the cultural relevance of “authenticity,” and likewise incited a policy shift in the management of the UNESCO World Heritage program to try to improve the representation of non-Western sites and countries on the World Heritage List. Concepts of pluralism, inclusion, and the construction of knowledge have been manifested in value-driven methodologies for preservation, the incorporation of stakeholders in preservation decision-making, and the evolving debate regarding “authenticity.” These have filtered into practice and sparked a renewed sense of community connection. These connections, however, are still fairly tenuous, as they are very much tempered by both institutional arrangements and political-economic contexts.

Globalization and Government

These issues of inclusion, difference, and knowledges are inextricably linked to the institutions (and institutional arrangements) that conceptualize and implement planning. Processes of globalization influence significant changes in flows of capital and the role of the state, creating new kinds of regionalism and localism based on new kinds of networks. Capitalist democracy both creates and constrains demands for state intervention in the realm of the built environment (Foglesong 1986), be it on varying scales. And while there is much theoretical debate regarding the concept of the common good and the changing capacity of state institutions -- themselves a product of dominant culture -- there is still a need for such institutions to serve common interests and facilitate self-development (Young 2000), as well as to serve the cause of social justice (Lake

2002). As nation states redefine their roles and sovereignty in an increasingly globalized society and one very much focused on sustainability, the function of government institutions in planning and preservation has changed and will continue to do so.

The role of collective memory and historic preservation in the context of these evolving dynamics has been explored through an historical lens by Boyer (1992; 1994). Sagalyn (2001); Zukin (1991, 1995); Reichl (1997; 1999); and Merrifield (2002) shine a more political lens on the forces of redevelopment and the role of preservation. Sagalyn (2001) argues that the politics of preservation influenced redevelopment policy in the case of Times Square; the work of Stone (1993) on urban regime theory underpins such assertions.

A fundamental theme throughout this body of literature is the impact on the management of the built environment of neoliberal policies, including market deregulation, the emphasis on private investment, and the diminished role of government. Building on Harvey Molotch's notion that cities are "growth machines," spaces within cities have been increasingly redefined through consumption-driven economic development practices (Jessop 2002, Zukin 1995). Preservation has thus become a tool for such change, evolving beyond a set of assets to be preserved and protected by government for the public good, and instead seen as resources to be utilized as a means of urban regeneration and competitive advantage in a neoliberal urban economy (Gunay 2008).

Even in situations where preservation is community-driven, the growth machine wields such influence that inclusion and stakeholder engagement can at times seem like a moot effort. Merrifield's (2002) case of the American Can Company illustrates this poignantly. A central tenet of Merrifield's argument is the capacity for people to create

new and different conditions, to construct and reconstruct the city based on the ways in which they interact with their environment. Merrifield provides several examples of how change inches up and, in some cases, overtakes communities from the outside in.

Merrifield's chronicle of the Canton section of Baltimore provides a very thorough analysis of the economic and political forces afoot throughout the United States and how they came to bear upon this one place, this one amalgam of individuals who managed to find a common purpose that focused and united their forces in the face of lost industry and livelihood. The Canton community, though diverse and with varying needs and goals, was able to rally behind the cause of saving their common history. Change had first come in the building up of the canning industry and Canton's establishment as one of the first "industrial parks" in the United States." The changing nature of manufacturing in the post-war years, corporate culture, and the economic policies of late twentieth century government eroded the economic base of the community and thus its fabric. The American Can Company building became an icon and cause célèbre for a community that was about to lose its past and, along with it, its future.

Anthropologist David Maybury-Lewis coined the notion of "cultural confidence" in referring to the capacity for cultures to adapt to change. He argues that strong community attachments to shared heritage and traditions prepare cultures more effectively for change in an increasingly globalized world. It enables communities to localize external forces and integrate them within their own cultural dynamic – at once creating *a set of actors interacting*, rather than simply *the actor and the acted upon*. But actions are not necessarily predictable. The Canton story sets out as a David and Goliath parable, the powerful money brokers preying upon the weak for financial gain. And

while this thread of the narrative may ring true, the weave is a bit more intricate. Merrifield begins to unravel this quite deftly and alludes to the web of actors rather than simply the *big guys* and the *little guys*. In fact, in providing the brief profile of Canton residents, Merrifield suggests that even though they leaned Left in their opposition to development, the community had conservative tendencies evidenced by their racial attitudes, their support for the Persian Gulf War, and other characteristics. These, in the grand scheme of things, may have helped to put the more Right-leaning federal government in place and set the stage, albeit in very small ways, for the financial speculation that so threatened their geography.

In response, the community coalesced around its heritage. It found common purpose in a common enemy that threatened its common past. What it failed to do, however, was create a common vision for the future that extended beyond protection of their neighborhood. The potential loss of fabric and associated displacement were consequences of a greater set of social and economic ills plaguing the Canton section. Saving what they had became so paramount that there was a failure to look beyond, to understand the broader ramifications of the preservation redevelopment effort on the community's future.

Thinking, and acting, beyond the past saved and contextualizing preservation within broader planning aims has certainly gained voice in the discourse of recent years. Listokin (1997) and Reichl (1997) explore the convergence of preservation and growth management infrastructure (see also the *Preservation and Sustainability*). Baer (1998) speaks to reconciling preservation's focus on the past with planning's focus on the future through greater reflexivity. Sandercock (2003) and Forrester (1999) promote a

redefinition of the role of planning and planners in society and build on the role of memory and storytelling in the city. Sandercock, in particular, proffers a new set of planning principles in light of the increasing hybridization of cities, shifts in power associations, and changing political dynamics related to international migration, postcolonialism, and the resurgence of indigenous communities – all of which speak directly to issues of identity, memory, and heritage. However, incorporating the conceptual ideals of preservation is quite a different challenge than integrating its actual institutions and policies in broader planning infrastructure.

Agency and Hope

Translating theory to practice and adapting institutional policies and arrangements poses significant challenges. However, they also prompt a renewed agency with regard to preservation and its role in broader planning and built environment management. Procedural theory has fostered generic paradigms of communication and inclusion that are meant to fit any context, but that champion local knowledge and difference. Outcome driven philosophies advocate justice and transformative action, while recognizing that all outcomes are provisional and that “just” and “transformative” may vary in space and time. From agenda setting to implementation, planning as a field of study and professional practice is still somewhat atrophied by its own fear of past mistakes. Large scale, top down planning connotes the rational paradigms of modernism; bottom up, localized planning prevails in most contemporary theoretical discourse. But some of the most challenging issues facing today’s society transcend the local: large-scale environmental sustainability, pervasive social injustice in the dynamics between the industrialized and lesser developed world, corruption in government, etc. The social and

physical rebuilding of New Orleans, for example, surpasses the local scale on multiple fronts; even the levies themselves cannot be rebuilt without implicating planning and public policy in states and municipalities all along the Mississippi River.

Caught up in the past, the critical theory that prevails in contemporary planning fails to inspire the potential for a brighter future or to convey the possibility of a better world. The utopian impulse has been squelched (excepting Harvey 1989); thus, large-scale and long-term vision in terms of planning becomes an increasingly difficult concept to sell. And while the intention is not to reinstate rational planning paradigms, there is a need to recognize that part of the work of planning should be to inspire *agency*, at many scales, for just purposes – even though we cannot insure that the outcomes will be just, and right, and good.

Premised on the principle that we are all equal, we all have equal responsibility to act, to be agents of change. Yet the local and communicative emphasis in current planning and preservation discourse at times might be interpreted as a retreat to neoliberalism. Though power dynamics and resource issues create dominance and exclusion, they do not forgive accountability or inaction at the individual or institutional level. Harnessing agency means, at times, envisioning a whole that is more than the sum of its parts, that amalgamates many knowledges, but at the same time reinforces the link between the particular and the universal, between the local and greater good. The excluded remain “unrighted” in much of the world; the fear of both difference and change pervades much of planning and public policy. The greatest challenge in contemporary planning and preservation is to help create a force for change, to reinforce the undeniable

need to act, and to instill a hope that agency will indeed (try to) make the world a better place.

Sandercock alludes to a new planning practice of “mobilizing resources and power...organizing hope, negotiating fears, mediating collective memories of identity and belonging, and daring to take risks” (2003, 10). Such an agenda intimates that the function of planning theory is not simply to analyze and model, to challenge and to question, but also to tap the kind of emotional agency that both inspired the modernist project and mobilized the forces against it.

The need for agency incurs the continued evolution of both the role of planning and that of the planner and preservationist. They are not simply facilitators or advocates – passionate pioneers -- but agents of change, purveyors of vision, mediators between theory and practice.

A fundamental challenge in making the dialogue between theory and practice more robust is finding a “place” or vehicle for such discourse to happen given current institutional structures. One can say that practitioners should have an education that is better grounded in theory and inclusive participatory process, and that academic research should connect more directly to projects in the field. But the academicians and the practitioners our educational institutions produce are not the sole agents of change. As a world of equal individuals, responsibility for change is shared equally across society. Creating an effective and inclusive forum for questioning and learning and responding means stepping outside the realm of privileged knowledge into a form of planning discourse that is neither practice- nor theory-driven, but rather practice- and theory-*informed*. The great paradox in planning may be that, in seeking to correct injustices and

improve conditions, it attempts to construct equality without effectively acknowledging its inherence. As there are many different ways of knowing, there are many different ways of planning. Facilitating these kinds of differences in what has traditionally been a fairly normative profession means not only transforming knowledge and the ways in which we think through robust engagements with difference, but also acknowledging agency as both a means and an end in shared responsibility for the future.

5. PRESERVATION, SOCIETY, AND THE MARKET

Enhancing the dialectic between preservation and planning – both in theory and in practice – requires further understanding of the role of preservation within society in general. As noted in Chapter 3, there are a range of motivations that underpin the preservation enterprise, but it is fundamentally one driven by the social values that mediate the interaction of humans with their environment. It is a process of valorizing places, be they remains of a construct now lost or entire landscapes. It is beyond simply discerning the value of a heritage resource through the act of listing or designation. Rather it is a progression that incurs reshaping or adding value through decisions to act collectively for its preservation. To understand how these dynamics play out, the case of the Everglades will be used to demonstrate the interplay of values -- natural and cultural – in preserving an important landscape and the social implications.

The Everglades

Water in South Florida once flowed freely from the Kissimmee River to Lake Okeechobee and southward over low-lying lands to the estuaries of Biscayne Bay, the Ten Thousand Islands, and Florida Bay. This shallow, slow-moving sheet of water covered almost 11,000 square miles, creating a mosaic of ponds, sloughs, sawgrass marshes, hardwood hammock, and forested uplands. For thousands of years this intricate system evolved into a finely balanced ecosystem that formed the biological infrastructure for the southern half of the state (NPSb).

Enter modern man. The early part of the 19th century and early part of the 20th century saw a number of efforts to reclaim what was considered the swampland of the Everglades. In 1916, concern for the “watery wilderness” of the Everglades had grown, and a state park was created. The proposal for designation of a national park in the area was first floated in the 1920s. An act of Congress authorizing the acquisition of lands

was passed in 1934, and the Everglades National Park was dedicated in 1947 (Nordeen 1997). But the Central and South Florida Project, initiated in 1948, created a complex infrastructure of roads, canals, levees, and water-control measures that, while providing water and flood protection, has had negative impacts on the Everglades environment (NPSb). Thus, much emphasis has been placed on the fragility and restoration of this unique ecosystem in the past half century.

The park is significant because of its subtropical wilderness and marine ecosystem. It provides sanctuary for the protection of 90 rare or endangered species and habitat for more than 400 species of birds. It contains cultural resources (archaeological and historical) spanning 3,000 years of human occupation, and is part of the present homeland of the Miccosukee and Seminole tribes of Native Americans (NPSc). Thus, it is, by definition, a landscape with a significant cultural as well as natural heritage.

While the US park designation itself garnered public engagement and added value to the Everglades, international recognition has likewise valorized the park and expanded the network of stakeholder and potential for shared capital building. The Everglades have been designated an International Biosphere Reserve (1976), a World Heritage Site (1979), a Wetland of International Importance (1987), a World Heritage Site in Danger (1993). It was the World Heritage Site in Danger designation that, coming just after Hurricane Andrew in 1992, positively influenced efforts and increased federal funding for research and restoration. Over \$8 billion in federal funding and \$1.5 billion in state funding have been allocated, spread out over several ten years, for research and restoration (Barton 2004) to South Florida as a whole. In addition, a significant number

of public/private partnerships and commissions and task forces have been established to oversee these efforts and to contain threatening growth and development in the region.

However, above and beyond these research and restoration monies and initiatives are the annual operating costs of the park itself. On the whole, the National Parks Service budget is paid by general taxes; only 10% of its budget is comprised of visitor revenues from entrance fees, concessions, and use permits (Anderson and Fretwell 2001, 141). Individual park budgets are allocated by Congress, and are often tied to visitor numbers. The annual budget allocation to the Everglades for FY2000 was \$13 million, with an additional \$7 million in special project and reimbursable funding. However, this still fell \$10 million short of the \$30 million needed to fully meet park defined operational standards (NPSd). The park serviced over one million visitors in 2000. Based on visitor statistics, the park generates an annual estimate of the economic benefits directly attributable to the Everglades using the Money Generation Model (MGM) to extrapolate sales, tax, and job benefits. Figures for 2000 are as follow:

Sales benefits	\$151,550,634
Increased tax revenue	\$9,850,791
New Jobs Created	6,062

In addition, the park revenues generated by visitation totaled \$7,190,757 (though these go into the general coffers of the NPS).

Using these figures, one might easily justify the \$30 million (2000 dollars) needed for annual park operations, based on a cost-benefit analysis. However, there are a number of additional factors to consider:

- Will the combined costs of research and restoration efforts outweigh the benefits to South Florida with regard to improved environmental quality, health, jobs, etc.? (these figures are not available)
- What are the distributional effects given the fact that the MGM-derived benefits affect, primarily, the South Florida community and the fact that the bulk of the Everglades' annual budget is paid out of general (federal) taxes?
- Will the values associated with the Everglades continue to provide adequate defense against the growing pressures of development in the region and of use within the park?

With regard to this last point, the history of man's interaction with the Everglades (at regional, national, and international levels) have garnered a significant amount of civic engagement and solidarity around the preservation of this important aspect of American heritage. International recognition, in particular, has sparked significant cooperation with regard to the study and preservation of the cultural and natural resources of the park. While one can argue that the Everglades present an extreme case with regard to benefits because it is a highly visited park in a densely populated section of the country, the popularity of and focus on the Everglades are largely due to the values and shared capital that have built up over decades in debates and controversies regarding its designation and ongoing management. What may be important to consider in a next step is whether the conditions of the Everglades are representative of parks across the country, especially those in rural areas that are not easily accessible or serviceable. In such cases, where direct economic benefits and visitation revenues may be substantially reduced, the

strength of nonmarket values associated with designating and managing parks may be a significant factor in justifying operational costs.

That is to say that valuing heritage cannot look solely at traditional economic measures and monetized outcomes. The cultural or nonmarket values – while sometimes measured through economic methods – are a critical piece to understanding the role of preservation. As a fundamentally social endeavor, one meant to improve society, it is necessary to look at the range of values associated with heritage.

Preservation Economics and Valuing Heritage

Any building that is to be preserved in the business district of a large, growing city has to have transcendent historic importance in order to justify a public campaign of massive proportions which will overcome inflated property values (Hosmer 1965, 289).

Our culture, obsessed with numbers, has given us the idea that what we can measure is more important than what we can't measure. Think about that for a minute. It means that we make quantity more important than quality. If quantity forms the goals of our feedback loops, if quantity is the center of our attention and language and institutions, if we motivate ourselves, rate ourselves, and reward ourselves on our ability to produce quantity, then quantity will be the result...Pretending that something doesn't exist if it's hard to quantify leads to faulty models...Don't be stopped by the "if you can't define it and measure it, I don't have to pay attention to it" ploy. No one can define or measure justice, democracy, security, freedom, truth, or love. No one can define or measure any value. But if no one speaks up for them, if systems aren't designed to produce them, if we don't speak about them and point toward their presence or absence, they will cease to exist. (Meadows 2008, 176-7).

There is a growing body of literature regarding the economics of preservation that aims to assess preservation's benefit to society and individuals and to understand its function in the market context. With tourism ranking among the top five revenue generators in most (if not all) states, with National Trust Main Street programs generating an estimated \$49 billion in commercial district reinvestment over the past thirty years,

and with federal historic tax credits leveraging over \$58 billion in private investment, preservation has received increased attention as an economic development tool. Law- and policy-makers are more and more seeking hard numbers to quantify preservation's economic effects and weigh it against other social programs and investments. At the same time, economists, preservationists, and others grapple with developing robust and inclusive methodologies for valuing cultural resources, the processes of preservation, and their effects on quality of life, in an effort to bolster their case for protecting heritage.

In a publication of the Brookings Institute, Mason (2005) provides a comprehensive review of the economics of preservation literature, which is largely comprised of the following types of research:

- Cost studies (e.g. cost-benefit analyses)
- Economic impact studies
- Hedonic, Travel-cost, and property values studies
- Contingent valuation and choice modeling
- Case studies

These studies can be grouped loosely under the following preservation themes:

Designation

While not all the literature is in agreement, the majority of studies have found that landmark designation has a neutral to positive effect on property values, with most indicating enhanced price premium (Coulson and Lahr 2005; NYC Independent Budget Office 2003; Rypkema 1994; Leichenko, Coulson, and Listokin 2001; etc.). Most recently, Harvard economist Edward Glaeser (2010), in a study of Manhattan south of 96th street, estimated that the average price of a mid-size condo in an historic district rose by \$6000 per year more than those outside an historic district in the period of 1980 to

2002. Glaeser attributes this, in part, to the regulation of new construction in historic districts. Because historic districts have an aesthetic draw for potential residents, there is high demand, but low supply due to the restrictions on larger/higher density infill building. This likewise contributes to a growing income disparity between those who live in historic districts and those who do not, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Most of the property value studies have focused solely on residential properties, with less research delving into the effects on commercial real estate. These findings suggest that designation (a public policy tool for protecting heritage) has a potential value-added effect on private capital; aspects of this public-private dynamic have been examined through impact studies (see *Investment* below). The counter argument – that designation infringes on property rights and thus economic potential by not allowing for highest and best use -- has been examined in the context of the aforementioned legal cases (Penn Central, St. Bart's, etc.). However, there is little research that compares or explores the costs/benefits of designation within the context of zoning potentials, air rights values, commercial redevelopment; etc. Steinberg (1996) discusses some of the market dynamics of New York City landmarks and air rights issues in *Slide Mountain*, but it is a qualitative examination. More notably, he speaks to the theoretical and practical implications of preservation effects within the market as a result of the commodification of “air.”

Rehabilitation

A long held perception about preservation is that it costs more to rehabilitate an old building than to construct a new one in its place. A handful of studies have examined

this issue, and the results suggest that rehabilitation costs can be on par with new construction costs if not less (Rypkema 1991; Wolf, Horn, and Ramirez 1999; etc.). However, the wide inconsistency of variables makes for many exceptions to these findings. Current research, driven by sustainability concerns, seeks to develop models for more accurately evaluating long-term costs such as life cycle assessments, full cost accounting, etc. These efforts attempt to incorporate costs previously external to the design and construction market, such as life cycle energy use (embodied, induced, grey, operating, and demolition), solid waste costs, etc. As the realm of sustainable construction advances, it is anticipated that the case for preserving existing buildings could potentially be reinforced on environmental-economic grounds. However, the models produced by research to date are still largely developmental with regard to existing buildings. Likewise, as discussed in Chapter 2, these models are performance predictors; they do not assess actual energy use, which incurs a great deal of speculation over the lifespan of a building.

While the above focus on the hard costs of construction and building operation, there has been limited research or detailed examination of the related transaction costs of rehabilitation. The example from Chapter 3 of the use of tax credits to convert a school building to senior housing provides an illustration.

Data suggest that while estimated investment in rehabilitation funded by the federal historic tax credits (HTCs) has grown steadily over the past decade, the number of actual projects has not. Total credits allocated from 1997 to 2002 increased from \$345 million to \$547 million, with the number of projects holding steady around 1,100 per year during the same period. Project type is clearly shifting from smaller “main street”

rehabilitations to larger scale – and more costly -- “downtown” projects, like hotels and loft/warehouse conversions (Leith-Tetrault and Stewart 1). This investment shift and the overall underutilization of the HTC's may be attributable to multiple factors.

While the historic tax credits provide an ostensible financial incentive to property owners interested in undertaking rehabilitation, there are also significant challenges involved with the tax credit process that may, in some cases, deter potential applicants. Appropriate rehabilitation requires the involvement of trained preservation professionals who can assess historic buildings and design renovations that maximize functionality while preserving architectural character. To reap the benefits of the tax credits, the project must also be in keeping with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards*. However, those *Standards* are ultimately interpreted by the SHPO and the NPS, and a 2004 assessment of the Federal Historic Tax Credit Program noted that there is a “tendency to require ‘restoration’ in a program for which ‘rehabilitation’ is the regulatory standard” (NPS 2). Thus, while meant to serve as a market-based incentive, the HTC's still function very much under a command-and-control policy regime.

The three-part tax credit process, as outlined in Chapter 3, can be fairly cumbersome and time-consuming. Preparing an application and obtaining Part I and II approval is, at best, a 4-month process; it can easily stretch to 6 months if amendments or appeals are required (Leith-Tetrault and Stewart 4). The success and duration of the process is largely contingent upon the expertise of the professionals involved, as well as their consultative relationship with the SHPO from the onset of the project (Kahr 39-40).

Besides the transaction costs of the tax credit process and the requisite consultants, there are additional financial considerations that factor into the successful

application of historic tax credits. First and foremost is whether or not a project meets the Substantial Rehabilitation Requirement of the IRS, which mandates that qualified rehabilitation expenses (QREs)¹³ must exceed the greater of \$5000 or the adjusted basis of the building. Thus, highly assessed commercial properties (for example, an historic hotel in New York City) must incur significant rehabilitation costs so as to exceed the adjusted basis.

The rehabilitation costs are also directly related to the potential for tax credit syndication. While tax credits can be used to offset a property owner's federal income tax liability, many cannot claim the credit because they have an insufficient tax liability or because their adjusted gross income exceeds \$200,000.¹⁴ To bypass these barriers, the credits can be "syndicated" -- transferred to a third-party corporate investor in exchange for equity that can be used to finance the project in the early stages. The tax credits are essentially "sold" for a percentage on the dollar, and the property owner and tax credit investor form a limited partnership or limited liability company that owns or long-term leases the building. Because there are significant overhead costs incurred in setting up the legal entity and negotiating the financial arrangements, most investors will only syndicate deals with credits totaling over \$1 million -- which, at the 20% rate, means that the project costs must exceed \$5 million (This may in part explain why the types of tax credit projects have shifted in recent years from smaller downtown revitalizations to larger scale redevelopment).

¹³ QREs are rehabilitation costs incurred during a 24-month period of the project, selected by the property owner/taxpayer. Phased projects may utilize a 60-month period (Potts and Schon).

¹⁴ Other IRS Passive Activity Rules, Alternative Minimum Tax Regulations, and Business Tax Credit considerations also limit the claiming of tax credits, but these are the most common.

A third consideration in the successful application of tax credits is the potential to combine or piggyback credits, especially in light of changes to the federal program over the years. Since the program's inception in 1976, the historic tax credit parameters have varied with changes in government administrations. Many of the original provisions have been repealed or pared down, and the current program is based on a set of 1986 revisions. Pursuant to these revisions (which reduced the historic tax credit rate from 25% to 20%), the NPS saw an 80% decrease in applications and a 75% drop in investment. In response, many states established state-level income tax credits that can be piggybacked onto the federal credits, which typically "raise about 1.5 times the amount of the federal-only investment" (Howe 292). Since 1993, the NPS has witnessed a 125% increase in applications, which it attributes, in part, to the establishment of the state incentives (NPS Annual 3). Along with higher overall project costs, state incentives can also enhance the potential for syndication – and thus the successful application of tax credits -- by increasing the credit amount.

Expert consultancy, state and federal design review, tax credit syndication, piggybacking, all of these incur time and money that must be offset by the profits gained through rehabilitation investment. These transaction costs may potentially be a factor in the great disparity between usage of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit and the Historic Tax Credit, the former realizing a \$7 billion credit expenditure and the latter certifying \$655 million in FY2008 (Historic Tax Credit Coalition 2010, 3). While a new Congressional bill, Prosperity through Preservation Act (CAPP) of 2011, proposes changes that would raise the credit, expand the eligibility of older buildings, lower

minimum rehabilitation levels, and more, the design review process for the HTC would not be altered in any substantial way.

The point of this tax credit illustration is to demonstrate the broader effects of the command-and-control policies that have been institutionalized through the federal historic preservation program, and that these may be inhibiting market-based incentives to promote the reuse of historic buildings. While traditional cost benefit analyses may still come down in favor of rehabilitation, whether through tax credits or finance mechanisms, there has not been extensive research at the project level to internalize and quantify the added transaction costs of preservation and to examine barriers to enhanced investment.

Investment

At the programmatic and government level, there is a growing body of research to support the favorable economic benefits of historic preservation. The majority of these studies regarding are advocacy-based analyses of the economic impact of preservation activities and revenues generated through construction, tourism, taxes, etc., using input-output modeling [Mason (2005) provides a comprehensive bibliography of the literature, which includes Listokin and Lahr 1997; Listokin, Lahr, St. Martin, and Francisco 2001; Lipman, Frizzel and Mitchell 2003; etc.]. A number of statewide studies, an evaluation of the Main Street program, and a very recent eight-state study of the historic corridor of Route 66 have asserted quite resoundingly that preservation has a net positive effect on local/regional economies, thereby building a strong rationale for public intervention

through the host of federal and state tax incentives; state grant, loan, and bond programs; and other local financing and abatement tools.

As noted above, however, these studies are advocacy driven and do not necessarily examine the full range of costs and benefits incurred by public investment, such as the distributive effects of public financing of private capital and the social impacts of preservation, which are primarily analyzed through qualitative methods. While there have been many advances in the tools for analyzing economic impact (as noted by Vivian, Gilberg, and Listokin 2000), research in this area continues to contend with the lack of methods to quantify the full value (social, economic, environmental) of heritage and its preservation and/or to effectively integrate quantitative and qualitative methodologies in a robust way.

Valuation of Cultural Resources

That said, a fair amount of the literature deals with the valuation of cultural resources, despite the challenges of limited tools and the public/private nature of heritage. Heritage sites and historic buildings are not pure public goods; they are generally non-rival but exclusive, and can become rival (e.g. during peak visitation seasons). On the “private” end of the spectrum are those who see such sites more like club goods and question whether the public provision of heritage sites is warranted since true market failure has not been demonstrated (Turner 2002). On the “public” end are those that suggest that heritage sites are potentially a “merit good” or a “double public good” (Sable and Kling 2001) because of the combined effect of their market and nonmarket values. Thus valuing cultural resources faces theoretical as well as methodological challenges.

This debate is ongoing in the economics field and is compounded by the fact that the many values associated with heritage, even if quantified, are not all easily monetized. The cultural economics field has made significant advances in recent years. Throsby (2001, 2000, 1995); and others have furthered this inquiry by demonstrating how heritage contributes to sustainability by generating tangible and intangible benefits, such as maintaining diversity, promoting inter- and intra-generational equity, and underscoring the interdependent nature of the cultural infrastructure of a place. These and other examinations focus on heritage as a form of cultural capital, or essentially *assets* of cultural practice. Willingness to pay measures and contingent valuation methods try to identify the value of such assets, and there is a growing body of literature on the application of these techniques to preservation, with varied results [again, Mason (2005) provides a comprehensive listing/review of literature].

Valuation of Preservation

A tremendous void in the literature still exists with regard to assessing the social impacts of preservation as a dynamic. While there is a fundamental conviction that preservation benefits society at large, quantifying and qualifying the socio-political dynamics and outcomes is no easy task. And valuing cultural capital (the buildings, sites, landscapes, etc.) does not necessarily capture the value of the social and political capital generated by the *process* of preserving and the civic engagement it engenders (researching, debating significance/protection, designating, garnering resources, interpreting, conserving, etc.).

A couple of economists have edged up against this idea of capturing the value of the process as well as the asset/product. Manzanti (2002 & 2003) makes an effort to develop this more complex view of valuation by incorporating the preservation process, guardianship, and utilization in his model. Sable and Kling (2001) likewise venture into this territory by attempting to differentiate between the value of experiencing a heritage resource from the value of the resource itself. Putnam's (2000 etc.) work on social capital provides the groundwork for venturing further into assessing the social impacts of preservation, and Jeannotte (2003) has attempted to model the process of social capital building generated by participation in cultural activities. However, quantitative research as to the social impacts of heritage preservation is virtually nonexistent.

Product versus Process

Differentiation between valuing the cultural heritage product or place versus valuing the process of creating and preserving heritage deserves some further examination. Building from the case of the Everglades at the beginning of this chapter, let us take, for example, the case of government-owned and operated heritage sites. The management of national parks, national monuments, and other protected places in the United States poses an interesting challenge in that it must balance the protection of resources – both natural and cultural – with access and use of a public good. However, as noted above, these places are not pure public goods; they are generally non-rival but exclusive, and can become rival during peak visitation seasons. These complex circumstances raise a number of questions with regard to the costs and benefits of heritage management. Thus, the economic rationale for government intervention has long been debated, as discussed

above in the private versus public discourse. Emphasizing the global importance of nonmarket values, some even advocate for the establishment of an “international park service” (Chapman 2003).

If there is an inherent belief that these places serve the public good, thereby rationalizing government stewardship, several questions emerge:

- If public designation of and access to heritage can promote social cohesion, does preserving natural and cultural capital increase shared capital (social, intellectual, and political)? How are those impacts measured and weighed, and integrated into economic analyses?
- National monuments and parks are geographically in a place, a particular locality, yet they are designated such because of their national significance. They likewise may be recognized for global significance through World Heritage designation. How do the political issues of significance at varying scales (local, regional, national, international) affect value?

Political Landscapes

Designation of a resource, cultural and/or natural, as a *national park* in the United States involves a rigorous set of criteria regarding national significance and requires an act of Congress. In particular, it must meet the following four standards:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exception value of quality illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our Nation’s heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public use and enjoyment, or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of the resource (NPSa).

Conversely, *national monuments* do not require Congressional deliberation and approval, nor are they subject to such rigorous criteria. Under the powers granted by the Antiquities Act of 1906, the president may designate a national monument by executive order, and many a national *park* has started out as a national *monument* – the Grand Canyon being prime example -- with park designation being achieved over time, once the political environment was more propitious. Thus, attitudes toward designation and policies regarding management are largely influenced by the political climate of a given era.

Historically, the US National Parks Service (NPS) has implemented a protection-oriented policy of park management, limiting uses that impair resources. This policy has been fairly centralized, with limited empowerment of park managers to adapt it to local conditions. A draft policy change, prepared by NPS Director Paul Hoffman during the Bush Administration, proposed a more decentralized approach that questioned the use and access issue with regard to impairment -- i.e. as a public resource, “use” itself should not be impaired -- and granted greater decision-making power to local managers. But NPS policy itself is not the only determinant of how national parks and similar monuments are used and impacted. The federal lands that are declared national monuments by executive order often remain under the jurisdiction of the agency that has managed it to date, which is not always the NPS.

For example, when the Grand Canyon National Monument was designated by Theodore Roosevelt in 1908, it remained under Forest Service jurisdiction until Congress declared it a national park in 1919 (Richter 1989). Likewise, the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument has remained under management of the BLM since

President Clinton designated it in 1989. Protected areas not within the national park system, in general, allow for broader, multiple use and commodity extraction. The NPS has more stringent regulations for controlling development in parks and impacts on values; however, it “cannot restrict access to mining claimants with valid existing rights” (Anderson and Fretwell 2001, 155).

This is where a 2005 congressional bill to amend the 1872 Mining Act posed alarming concerns. Passed by the House in late November 2005, the measure allowed private individuals and companies to “file and expand claims even if the land at the heart of a claim has already been stripped of its minerals or could never support a profitable mine and likewise provided for claims to pass into full ownership (Johnson and Barringer 2005). The bill’s imprecise language – combined with the legal idiosyncrasies of US mining laws that allow virtually anyone to lay claim to mineral rights – presented development risks to over 300 million acres of federal lands, including parks. The bill was thwarted after Democrats regained control of Congress in 2007, but it highlights important tensions.

While the process of designating national monuments and parks essentially creates and codifies associated *nonmarket* values for these lands, measures such as the aforementioned bill similarly add new *market* values. The often conflicting and competing nature of these different values is made even more complex when examined in the international arena. In 2003, the United States rejoined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) after a 19-year hiatus.¹⁵ Convinced that significant reforms had been made by Koichiro Matsuura, Director-

¹⁵ The US withdrew from UNESCO during Ronald Reagan’s presidency, citing budgetary mismanagement and anti-Americanism.

General of UNESCO since 1999, the Bush Administration rejoined the organization and Congress approved \$71 million in funding for UNESCO in 2004. The Heritage Foundation cautioned that “long-term US membership should be conditioned on a strict program of reform and on clear evidence that continued membership is in the US national interest. Continued membership in UNESCO should also advance US values and ideals and work in tandem with US national security goals. The fostering of free societies should ultimately reduce the threat posed by international terrorism” (Gardiner and Marshall 2005).

The reunion has not been easy. In the fall of 2005, the majority of UNESCO’s 191 member nations voted to approve the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. UNESCO’s aim is to promote indigenous and other ethnic traditions, preserve minority languages, and protect national and local cultures from the negative impacts of globalization. However, the Bush Administration opposed the Convention, which it interpreted as a move toward cultural protectionism and restricted freedom (Symons 2005).

That said, a potentially positive outcome of the US return to UNESCO was its election to the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO soon after rejoining. The World Heritage Committee nations oversee the World Heritage Fund and govern the nomination and inclusion of sites on the World Heritage List, which currently includes 936 properties of global significance to humanity. 725 are designated as cultural sites, 183 as natural sites, and 28 as mixed cultural/natural sites. Of the twenty-one US sites included on the list – which range from the Statue of Liberty to Yosemite -- most are national parks, and the US National Park Service of the Department of the Interior serves as the liaison

agency to the World Heritage Committee. The United States was an architect of and the first signatory to the 1972 World and Cultural Heritage Convention. Upon election of the US to the Committee, Interior Secretary Norton commented,

US participation in the World and Cultural Heritage Convention was to help spread the uniquely American idea of the national park around the globe. To strengthen the credibility and currency of World Heritage designation we must ensure that future nominations and designations of new sites be those that have true global significance... Here at home, this administration has emphasized the principle that conservation can usually best be achieved through communication, consultation and cooperation among governments, the private sector, local stakeholders and other organizations. As of today, the US delegation to the World Heritage Committee will work to bring the fundamentals of Cooperative Conservation to the international community. We will also vigorously assert our national sovereignty during future deliberations over World Heritage Sites in an effort to help restore the credibility of the Convention across our nation and in the United States Congress. Once again, America has a seat at the table (US Fed News).

The loaded language above alludes to long held concerns about US sovereignty and World Heritage listing, as well as to the free market attitudes regarding the preservation and management of federal lands and the exportation of American culture and ideals, in general. Tensions become more strained as significance of places is recognized on a global scale, since the designation of *world heritage* suggests that a place holds value for all of humanity and makes the country of location accountable to an international community of stakeholders.

Fundamentally, the political processes associated with designating heritage – particular at increasing scales – incur a host of nonmarket values connected to such places and their preservation. The field of environmental economics has, in recent decades, become increasingly focused on solving environmental problems and righting

market externalities through methods that capture the monetary “value” – in its most robust terms -- of environmental goods. A significant amount of research has been conducted within the rubric of cost-benefit analyses to capture and quantify market as well as nonmarket values.

Heritage and protected landscapes have been the subject of many such studies, with unresolved outcomes. Because they are not pure public goods, the economic rationale for government intervention has perpetually been debated. Market failures have long been used to defend the public provision of parks and similar heritage sites, from the negative externalities of developmental threats, to positive spillover effects of visitation, to increasing returns to scale (Turner 2002a). Analysis of option or nonuse values (existence value, bequest or preservation value, and insurance value) through contingent valuation (CVM) to estimate willingness to pay and travel cost methods have helped to demonstrate some of the benefits associated with parks, but have limitations as well. There is a fair amount of debate regarding the effectiveness of CVM in capturing such nonuse values as existence in a cost-benefit scenario (Attfield 1998, Larson 1993, Cicchetti and Wilde, 1992, Quiggin 1998, et al). Some even argue that a nonanthropocentric concept of value should be used that goes beyond the notion of nonuse value, one that extends the neoclassic theory of resource economics and places “natural resource values outside of human determination” (Mazzotta and Kline 1995, 244).

Looking to the heritage side, the valuation of cultural resources takes on many different forms based on the tools of varying disciplines. Those dealing with heritage (i.e. from the fields of historic preservation, archaeology, ethnography, etc.) generally

produce both socially-derived and expert-driven typologies that characterize values (spiritual, aesthetic, historic, etc.). A range of techniques are used to generate these typologies, from mapping and descriptive methods, to attitudinal and content analyses (Throsby 2001, 29-30). While the outcomes may be prioritized for agenda setting and decision-making, they are not monetized, so as to be compatible with economic valuation methods.

The field of cultural economics has applied many of the same environmental economics concepts to heritage and is increasingly attempting to marry qualitative and quantitative analyses. Heritage sites and landscapes, along with such other tangible cultural goods as works of arts, are considered cultural capital. Somewhat similar to the concept of natural capital, cultural capital is conceived of as nonrenewable resources¹⁶ and associated flows that contribute to the sustainability of society and the diversity of culture (Throsby 2002). As noted in the previous section, most economic studies dealing with built heritage consist of impact analyses of preservation, in particular on the indirect benefits to local economies through restoration trades, tourism, etc., in urban areas. Property value studies have likewise been carried out to estimate effects of designation on real estate prices, and hedonic methods have been used to measure the effects of a given historic site on surrounding land values (Mason 2005).

Whereas substitutability is not an option with cultural heritage (there's only one Acropolis, one Mount Rushmore) and overuse can cause loss of fabric and thus value, a fair amount of emphasis is also placed on sustainability and nonuse values. Travel cost

¹⁶ While cultural heritage resources have been deemed by preservationists and economists as nonrenewable resources without substitutability potential, notions regarding the invention of heritage challenge this stance. If the field is constantly adding more heritage to society through the listing process, there are increasing stocks, and if one is destroyed, it cannot be specifically replaced or substituted, but the process will always create more heritage. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7: Conclusions.

methods (revealed preference) and contingent valuation (stated preference) have been applied to a range of heritage sites and cultural amenities, but few studies have looked at the issues raised by combined cultural and natural resources in an integrated way. This becomes increasingly important if we acknowledge the shifts afoot in the field with regard to interpreting and valuing cultural landscapes.

There are consistently conflicts between the values associated with natural and cultural resources within a given landscape or protected area. Striking a balance in terms of policy and management necessitates some understanding of those values in comparable terms, while likewise acknowledging that these places are in constant flux:

Landscapes, human and nonhuman, are always changing and evolving. When people describe something, whether it's new housing or a wind farm, as inappropriate to a particular place, what they are really saying is that it is inappropriate to a particular *idea* of that place (Nordhaus and Shellenberger 2007, 96).

For example, the Tel Dan National Park in Israel is both a nature reserve (it contains one of the three sources of the Jordan River and is a lush oasis in the arid north along the Lebanese border) and an archaeological site (with vestiges dating from the Neolithic to the late Roman period). One such vestige is the oldest extant arch in the world, some 4000 years old, built of mud brick as part of a gateway through the ramparts surrounding the biblical city of Dan. The structure is in poor condition, in part because of the constant infestation of plants, tree roots, and burrowing insects and rodents. No pesticides can be used because of the uniqueness and significance of the natural environment, yet changing the original gateway and arch would compromise the cultural and scientific values associated with the structure.

While this is a very discrete and highly specific example of the conflict between natural and cultural values heritage, one can look to the much of the Mesoamerican region for similar tensions. Ruins from the Mayan and other pre-Columbian cultures pepper the verdant terrain in Mexico and Central America. Whereas these were once highly cultivated and built-up landscapes, many are now thick forests with stone outcroppings providing subtle reminders of civilizations lost. There is a constant battle between cultural and natural resources, between salvaging the vestiges of the past and preserving the current ecosystem – both being significantly altered from their original state. The choices society makes and the policies it implements should be based on a full understanding of the distinct values of each and their combined value within a multi-resource context – suggesting that the whole may be greater than the sum of its parts.

New Avenues for Analysis

As noted above, recent scholarship in the economics of cultural heritage, specifically, has tried to analyze and capture the positive externalities of preservation associated with both use and nonuse. Several economists have build upon the concepts put forth by Hutter and Rizzo (1997) that cultural heritage and its preservation can produce “multidimensional nonmarket social benefits, particularly when they serve as communicator of social identity, forces for change, and evidence of cultural continuity” (Sable and Kling 2001). Sable and Kling take a club goods approach to modeling the collective social value and private satisfaction derived from preserved heritage, focusing on both the supply-side and demand-side externalities. As such, they look to quantify the interactive impact of physical preservation of the resource and society’s access to it. Their result is a model of heritage preservation as a “double public good” that focuses on

the concept of “shared experience” as a public benefit of private experience, one that “fosters cultural identity and social understandings” (77).

Mazzanti takes a similar multidimensional approach to cultural heritage, but uses the concept of heritage as a merit good, public good, and mixed good as a launch point. He characterizes the heritage market as having multi-attributes – private components of economic benefits (services) and public/nonuse components (functions) -- and proffers an analytical framework of choice modeling (or choice experiment) as an analytic, rather than holistic, measure of the complex set of values that characterize heritage use/nonuse (2002).

While these new areas of research begin to better capture the externalities of heritage as a set of resources and associated flows, they do not effectively capture the full social and political dynamics. To some degree, these approaches still model cumulative individual effects to assess benefits (and costs) to society; they are not as nimble in assessing benefits that may only exist at a collective level. Sable and Kling’s “shared experience” concept is a simple summation of individual experience levels, and Mazzanto’s advocacy for choice modeling still relies on an aggregate of personal preferences.

Returning to the discussion of both political and cultural landscapes, heritage must fundamentally be viewed as a social construct. Whether natural and/or cultural, these goods become heritage through political processes of designation; heritage is *produced*. That production adds values, especially nonmarket values, and creates positive spillover effects that are not adequately captured in the analyses of consumption (or non-consumption) through public access to the good.

This researcher posits that the processes associated with designating, managing, and experiencing heritage create shared capital – social, political, and intellectual – that are not effectively valued in traditional economic analyses. By focusing on these resources as natural and cultural capital, in terms of goods and flows, valuation methods have not effectively incorporated the less tangible benefits of heritage and its related nonmarket values. As noted previously, the designation of US national parks requires an act of Congress; thus they are not simply created *for* the people, they are created *by* the people. The social and political capital building that designation processes incur can be quite significant. Let us return, for example, to the case of the Grand Canyon.

Designated first as a national monument in 1908, after considerable debate it was declared a national park in 1919. The Antiquities Act was invoked several times over the next several decades to expand the protected area of Grand Canyon, with ongoing controversy and compromise. The whole of what we know as the Grand Canyon National Park was, in fact, not designated such until 1975. Sixty-seven years of political maneuvering, public reaction, and community and professional activism over what should be preserved, why, and how has fundamentally added value to the resource itself and benefited society as a collective through the building of shared capital.

Even the Grand Staircase – Escalante, which was essentially declared a national monument by presidential fiat, has incurred significant civic engagement through community organizing and debates about restricted recreational access and the heritage of use (e.g. cattle grazing). While the resource itself becomes a symbol of identity and legacy and cohesion that may involve values of existence, bequest, etc., the political

processes surrounding it – the ways in which humans interact with and interpret it – create social values and benefits that can aggregate over time as well.

And it is not only the process of designation that can engender these effects. The management policies of the National Park Service require the continued development and updating of strategic and management plans for each and every park. These planning processes must involve the range of stakeholders associated with a given resource and chart operational activities related to research, education, visitation, etc. To some extent, these designation and management processes are still external to the public experience of access and visitation that has, to date, constituted the demand side of the model, but they likewise blur the line between producers and consumers.

Measuring the Immeasurable

While the positive spillover effect of increasing shared capital may be an externality that should be incorporated into the valuation of parks and heritage in general, these externalities may not in and of themselves justify government intervention. More holistic and integrated approaches to economic analysis -- incorporating non-market values as a function -- not only of personal preference, but of collective effect -- can produce a stronger rationale for government intervention in the management of parks and the overall designation and preservation of natural and cultural heritage. An acknowledgement of heritage as a social process rather than simply a set of inherited resources to be stewarded for future generations, may enhance understanding about their multiplicity of values and how they might be better inferred.

What is important to consider is how these values might be realistically measured. Research from the arts field has begun to look at the contribution of community participation in the arts to social cohesion, but only through theoretical analyses and the use of indicators (McCarthy et al 2004). Past research efforts aimed at forging a common language between economists and “culturalists” (anthropologists, ethnographers, art historians, etc.) regarding the assessment of such social values have not effectively spanned the divide (de la Torre 2001). Quantifying and monetizing the collective effects of forging a social identity and legacy through designation and management of the environment may, thus, not be imminent. However, thought is beginning to converge on such shared capital effects as important elements of policy- setting and decision-making. Applying the lens of heritage may, hopefully, move us toward this goal.

On the whole, while there is a growing body of literature that sheds light on the economics of preservation, there are still significant gaps. With much of the research being advocacy-based, the full range costs and benefits of preservation are not fully examined so as to understand its function in the broader realm of land use economics and the real estate market, as well as its impact on society. As such, the basis for promoting broader preservation policy reform and further developing economic incentives and interventions in the market remains rather limited.

The Social Lens

While social science-based research continues to build with regard to the rationales for preservation, much of preservation’s body of knowledge centers on the technical aspects of conserving materials. There is limited research regarding the

historical implications of preservation and even less on the socio-political issues involved in both theory and practice. The bulk of the social science void is filled with the economic studies as noted above, serving as a generally lone measure of preservation's effects on society at large. There are mounting concerns regarding the broader impacts of preservation on communities beyond the anecdotal assertions that it fosters social cohesion and enhances quality of life (economic rationales aside).

One of the principal criticisms of preservation, particularly in urban contexts, is its association with gentrification. While a fair amount of research has been done on gentrification in general, only a few studies have been undertaken that look specifically at preservation's implications. Most recently, Eric Allison's analysis of historic districts in New York City produced inconclusive findings as to whether historic preservation causes or is an effect of gentrification, with much depending on when designation takes place. While Glaeser's previously noted research proffers that housing prices and resident incomes increased in Manhattan historic districts, the cause effect relationships are not clear with regard to whether neighborhood revitalization historic districting prompted gentrification and historic districting, or if historic districting drove the process. Jeff Chusid (2006) effectively counters similar gentrification claims in the case of Austin, Texas.

But gentrification is only one aspect of the intersection of preservation and the social justice discourse. Sustainability research is expanding tools and ideas about intergenerational equity and management of the built environment, and while historic preservation falls squarely within the debate, engagement has been limited. Growing awareness of cultural diversity and the need for pluralistic deliberation in a post-colonial

and increasing globalized world further challenges the dominant traditions – or perceptions -- of preservation as a white, upper class endeavor. Issues of smuggling, provenance, and repatriation have forced a dialogue and the development of procedural legislation (e.g. NAGPRA) in the realm of movable heritage (archaeological artifacts, artworks, etc.).

While there have been a growing number of efforts to enhance representation of sites associated with African-American and Latino history on the National Register, to promote local initiatives to preserve minority community cultural resources, and to foster more diverse participation in preservation decision-making, historic preservation has, again, been somewhat slower to engage on this front.

Preservation's marginalization may be due to its institutional evolution as well as to shortcomings in the development of the field. The study and practice of preservation tend not to engage broader social development issues, and instead focus largely on the technical aspects of maintaining fabric and the historical and cultural characteristics of place. In academia, preservation is more often allied with the arts and humanities – especially architecture and history -- rather than with planning, public policy, and the social sciences. Research follows suit. (a small sub-study on graduate student attitudes toward the field is included in Appendix A).

Ironically, preservation's curatorial approach toward stockpiling and safeguarding the fabric of history (keep listing!) suggests that it clings, to some extent, to the same modernist paradigms of controlling the urban environment that it fought just decades ago. Once a disparate grassroots advocacy movement, the institutionalization and professionalization of preservation have given birth to a new generation of experts and

centralized authorities, offering educated opinions as to what places to preserve and how to preserve them. However, the field is largely unequipped to address the broader social rationales for and implications of its work.

While preservation may be accepted as a legitimate goal and activity of government, it is not a priority (Mayes in Stipe, 159). Preservationists are ill-prepared to make the case for preservation in relation to the host of other compelling interests, such as religious freedom, affordable housing, open space preservation, etc. Focusing so exclusively on its narrowly defined cause, preservation often finds itself in embattled situations and labeled as “anti-development.”

Several conflicts can be pulled from past years. When the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission voted 7 to 2 in favor of demolition of the Purchase Building, an Art Moderne warehouse in the Fulton Ferry Historic District, to make way for Brooklyn Bridge Park, they were lambasted by preservation practitioners and academics (NY Times, March 19, 2006). When the Century Building in St. Louis was razed to provide a parking garage for the revitalized downtown and historic Old Post Office -- the centerpiece of the community redevelopment plan -- the National Trust for Historic Preservation was highly criticized for endorsing the demolition, which it claimed served the greater good of redevelopment. And, as noted in Chapter 3, when a developer seeking to utilize both LIHTC and HTC proposed the conversion of an old school building into affordable housing for seniors in upstate New York, the NPS denied HTC certification unless the original hallways and lockers were retained (they had been narrowed to provide storage for the housing units and reduce energy costs) and the auditorium was retained in its original form (it was to be converted to six additional

housing units). Is the greater good served more by a school building in its original form than by six additional units of low-income housing and lower energy consumption?

What constitutes a better quality of life?

Measuring Social Effects

Let us return for a moment to the sustainability framework and the systems approach to thinking about some of these built environment issues. While the concept of sustainability has been framed as a tripartite of environmental, economic, and social factors, economic and environmental considerations have gained stronger footing, in part because they can use quantitative methods to make their case. Consequently, the built heritage field has invested significant effort in recent years to articulate the economic and environmental rationales for preservation. The message that preservation can be both profitable and ‘green’ is resonating, and there is significant momentum in the field to build a body of knowledge that unequivocally supports this assertion. In the meantime, there has been only limited scholarship advancing the traditional mainstay of preservation: its relevance to social sustainability. It is clearly important to enhance assessments of the environmental and economic benefits (and costs) of reusing existing structures versus building new, but one cannot forsake the social implications if preservation is to play an effective role within a sustainable built environment system.

Research demonstrating the complex social effects of heritage conservation has nonetheless proven difficult. While there is a fundamental conviction that preservation benefits society at large, quantifying and qualifying the specific dynamics and outcomes is no easy task. The fundamental significance of built heritage has long been vested in

the ‘place’ –the building, the streetscape, the archaeological site, etc. By reifying the concept of ‘heritage’ in physical structures and landscapes, the preservation field has promulgated the notion that the social benefits of its efforts are embodied in the conserved place -- or *product* -- and society’s experience of it. The presence of vestiges of the past within the built environment is essentially assumed to make us better citizens. However, little emphasis is placed on the social effects of the preservation *process* itself. Indeed, deciding what to conserve and how to conserve it may engender benefits that have less to do with the place itself and more to do with the way in which heritage serves as a potential vehicle for creating social and political capital. In other words, maybe the most significant contribution of heritage to social sustainability is the role of the preservation *process* in building community, recognizing difference, and enhancing social cohesion.

So how do we determine and ensure that the processes and outcomes of preservation – and which processes and outcomes -- are, in fact, beneficial to society and contributing to quality of life? While the benefits may be empirically demonstrated and inherently acknowledged, communities and governments need information and tools to support their decision-making about whether to preserve and, if so, how. As noted above, a growing and more researched rationale for preservation has been the economic benefits it can engender. While some of the tools for measuring and monetizing the values of heritage and its preservation may be limited and many of the studies advocacy-motivated, the process nonetheless provides a feedback loop for the system. What are the feedback loops for social benefits and impacts?

Indicators

As cultural amenities that influence aesthetics, property values, collective identity, a sense of community and more, built environment-related cultural heritage resources are a seemingly natural fit with conventional characteristics that typically comprise quality of place. Andrews (2001, 201) defines quality of place (QOP) “as an aggregate measure of the factors in the external environment that contribute to quality of life (QOL)...which (is) a feeling of well-being, fulfillment, or satisfaction on the part of residents of or visitors to that place.” Thus, the empirical evidence suggests that preservation has a potential role in both QOP and QOL, as well as in the closely related measurement discourses regarding sustainability and livability. However the direct links between QOP and QOL are tenuous at best. Changing times make for changing populations and attitudes, and the high degree of variability in data on types of places, their qualities, and perceptions about them make measurement, correlation, and salience particularly challenging (Andrews 2001).

Quality of life indicators have played a prominent role in public policy research in the past decade or more (Sawicki 2002, Andrews 2001). Indicators can be descriptive and/or evaluative; they can gather data about a particular community or geographic area (neighborhood, nation, world and everything in between), or they can provide for comparative analyses across communities and areas.

In the international arena, heritage conservation has had a function in the evolving discourse about quality of life indicators. Evaluative cultural indicators have been under development by UN entities since the WCCD report in 1995, and are a focus of the 1998 and 2000 World Culture Reports. Cultural indicators in this context “are meant to

examine human development from a ‘cultural perspective,’ i.e. with particular focus on how people’s quality of life is determined by how they are able to live together and the value systems that animate their interactions” (McKinley 1998, 322). The goal is to stimulate policy dialogue with regard to the role of culture in development. Work to date has included specific data about tourism and heritage sites (e.g. World Heritage sites in a country, the most visited sites, etc.), cultural trade and communication, and more. Some regional studies have likewise begun to employ cultural heritage specifically as an indicator, for example a UNESCO model for Africa whereby support for heritage resources could potentially be used as a measure for the “development and conservation of knowledge resources,” which contribute to the “empowerment of civil society” (Mbuyamba 2004, 6). However, researchers recognize that, with a fair amount of emphasis on material culture as commodities and services, the indicators fail to give adequate information about “values, behaviour patterns and social arrangements that ensure respect for identity, participation, access, global ethics and cultural diversity” (Parr 2000, 283).

Process-oriented community indicators systems (CIS) have been a particularly popular tool for local level analysis of trends within communities since the mid-1980s, premised on the notions that 1) since “public life ultimately happens at the local level, people’s quality of life as well is determined, or at least strongly influenced, at this level,” and 2) “individuals have the best opportunity, at the local level, to meet together to define mutual goals and to take mutual action toward a better collective future” (Swain and Hollar 2003, 790). Regarding the role of cultural heritage in CIS, efforts to date have mostly emerged from the arena of “arts and culture.” In the United States, the Arts and

Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP), operated by the Urban Institute's National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership and funded by the Creativity and Culture division of the Rockefeller Foundation, works to "develop arts and culture neighborhood indicators for use in local planning, policymaking, and community building." The ACIP research has proffered that "participation in the arts, culture, and creativity at the neighborhood level ...may contribute, directly or indirectly, to:

- supporting civic participation and social capital;
- catalyzing economic development;
- improving the built environment;
- promoting stewardship of place;
- augmenting public safety;
- preserving cultural heritage;
- bridging cultural/ethnic/racial boundaries;
- transmitting cultural values and history; and
- creating group memory and group identity" (Jackson and Herranz 2002, 33).

The work of ACIP, the Knight Foundation, the Boston Foundation and other philanthropic and non-profit organizations has introduced cultural indicators to broader CIS initiatives, though there is still much ground to cover (Duxbury 2003). A fair amount of arts and culture data has been compiled by the National Endowment for the Arts as well, including a range of local to national level surveys regarding arts participation, attitudes toward art, access to art, funding, etc . The data, however, look specifically at the state of the arts rather than at their relationship to quality of life or social well-being (Hoynes 2003). They are likewise very much focused on art as a newly creative form of "culture" (as in cultural assets) and connect in ancillary, rather than direct, ways to heritage and its associated social arrangements. Even the ACIP findings noted above suggest that an *outcome* of arts participation is cultural heritage preservation;

thus heritage preservation may serve as an indicator itself, but little is known about what participation in cultural heritage conservation can contribute to QOL.

The limited QOP analyses focused specifically on as noted above, policy outcomes address such issues as the appreciation of property values in neighborhoods with historic designations, influences of gentrification on historic revitalization and vice versa, and the economic impact of historic preservation and cultural tourism. These deal mostly with the economic effects of preservation policy, rather than the social (non-monetized) outcomes.

The shift toward cultural indicators as tools for measuring social interactions, behavior patterns, and values speaks to the inherent tension between the notion of culture as “arts and heritage” and that of culture in the anthropological sense as “the community creation of values, meaning and purpose in life” (Hawkes 2001). This move toward social dynamics as a system brings with it, as well, greater emphasis on process and civic participation, which are inherently local in orientation. While Sawicki contends that “most indicator efforts are unfocused, pregnant with unrealistic expectations, poorly developed and designed, and doomed to be ignored” (2002, 14), he likewise speculates that these robust engagements of community members in determining their values and their indicators -- as with CIS and the efforts of ACIP -- have procedural benefits. “If many people meet and concentrate on how best to measure sustainability, QOP and QOL, they may or may not make great progress on influencing public policy, but they may have developed some social capital. This is a hypothesis that badly needs testing” (Sawicki 2002, 23).

Capital

Returning to this notion of social capital, research in Canada on social cohesion and social outcomes has suggested that “as individuals invest in their own cultural and human capital and participate in various types of cultural events and activities, they also appear to increase the social capital within their communities” (Jeannotte 2003, 46). To explore this proposition and its potential implications with regard to cultural heritage conservation, it is necessary to first address some underlying concepts with regard to capital.

A fair amount of synergy has formed around the idea of social capital since Robert Putnam published his seminal text, *Bowling Alone*. In defining social capital, Putnam notes that, “whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (2000, 1). Putnam suggests that there are both individual and collective benefits from social capital, and discusses two forms bonding (fostering relationships with those like you), and bridging (fostering relationship with those different from you). What many contend with regard to heritage is that the process of preserving, of sharing multiple histories and narratives, can provide an important vehicle for the latter (as discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 6).

With regard to the definition of cultural capital, there is decidedly less convergence. Pierre Bourdieu’s complex and somewhat deterministic conceptualization of cultural capital outlined three forms: 1) embodied capital (or habitus), which refers to a person’s character and way of thinking; 2) objectified capital, which refers to the means

and products of cultural expression; and 3) institutionalized capital; which refers to educational qualifications and their value (Jeannotte 2003, 38). The concept has been explored mostly through the lens of sociology, in particular the sociology of education, but has more recently been invoked in research regarding cultural heritage. Throsby, building upon Bourdieu's objectified capital, contends that, like natural capital, cultural capital refers to those resources in the environment that have been recognized as having particular value, i.e. heritage resources (2002). Meanwhile, "the literature on development...is beginning to make a connection backward from dynamic systems theory to cultural capital as an asset that 'provides human societies the means and adaptations to deal with the natural environment and to actively modify it'...Embodied cultural capital, or habitus...lies at the base of this concept" (Jeannotte 2003, 39). Thus, cultural capital can be both an individual or collective asset – an individual quality or societal resource (e.g. heritage site, organization, etc.) -- that can foster capacities of social engagement and cohesion.

The above logic suggests that cultural capital can foster social capital, but it is not at all clear whether this is a causal or iterative relationship. Jeannotte asks, "What are the inputs and...outputs? Do the inputs feed directly into the outcome of social cohesion or do they work indirectly through other intervening processes? Are the processes recursive and, if so, how do the feedback loops work, which feedback loops are critical determinants of social cohesion? How can public policy contribute to the 'virtuous' loops and avoid the 'vicious' ones?" (2003, 46).

With regard to cultural heritage, similar questions are raised, and made more complex because of the resource/process dialectic. If cultural heritage does contribute to

quality of life and community, what are the processes? Does the conservation of heritage as a special site or structure contribute to QOP because the resource is an amenity of place? Do the processes surrounding conservation build social capital because of the ways in which they engage – or could engage -- communities? Are there approaches to preservation -- particular kinds of processes -- that create more social cohesion than others?

While a number of tools have been developed to assess social capital, there has not been any known application to cultural heritage and preservation directly. The Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT) developed by the World Bank is used to help the Bank identify, implement, and evaluate projects, to ensure they are making investments in places where they can have the best effect, administering projects in the most effective way, and helping to improve social capital as a result.

The enterprise of preservation starts and ends with people; we choose to preserve certain places because of the values society ascribes to them, and the preservation process is meant to benefit society by transmitting those values in some way. The structure of the preservation field is one that presumes that the mere existence of heritage provides benefits, thus its mission focuses on protection and longevity rather than on feedback loops about social effects. It also presumes that preservation can promote social cohesion, tolerance, participation, inclusion, and collective action and cooperation. But until feedback loops are integrated within the system to measure these, one cannot say for sure. Until then, the preservation field can only promote participation, with the presumption that inclusion will bring new information flows to inform better understanding and processes.

Inclusion and Cohesion

Ideas about built heritage are still largely tempered by the dominant culture of Architecture (with a capital A) that emerged from the “grand tours,” the Beaux Arts academy, and Greco-roman traditions. Exclusion is likewise institutionalized through designation or listing processes that denote certain structures and places as “heritage.” Thus, while heritage resources as cultural amenities can provide a fair amount of information with regard to people’s place-related preferences, heritage resources as descriptive indicators of generalized quality of life constitute a problematic measurement with regard to inclusion and equity. The question of “who’s heritage?” becomes particularly salient, especially when one moves from the individual to the community and beyond. “Once cultural assets become world heritage, a shift occurs in the relation of heritage to its new beneficiary, that is, to humanity...Humanity is not a collective in the way that heritage-producing communities are” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003, 21). These inherent biases and changing individual interests suggest that research that looks to cultural heritage as an amenity of place within a QOP context may not capture the more complex dynamics that are potentially involved in its contributions to QOL.

The more relevant issues relate to the processes of cultural heritage conservation within a broader system of social interactions. Jeannotte suggests that:

people who participate in cultural activity...seem to have higher rates of participation in their communities...the evidence so far seems to suggest that cultural participation helps to connect individuals to the social spaces occupied by others and encourages ‘buy in’ to institutional rules and shared norms of behavior. Without this ‘buy in’, individuals are unlikely to enter into willing collaboration with others and without that cooperation, civic engagement and social capital...may be weakened (2003, 47).

In the planning and policy fields in the past couple of decades, there has been significant emphasis on participatory methods that precisely aim to foster such “buy in” (as discussed in Chapter 4). Premised on the fundamental notion of equality and the processes of deliberative democracy, participatory planning champions self-determination by vesting decision-making (about well-being, sustainability, etc.) with communities. Like many CIS initiatives, value-driven heritage planning involving a broad range of stakeholders is building momentum, but has its challenges, in part because, while such procedural goals and benefits are in tune with post-modern concepts of communicative planning, they are not consistent with rational planning paradigms (Forrester as referenced in Sawicki 2002, 25). In the heritage field, for example, the cultural significance of -- or values ascribed to -- a particular place was traditionally determined through expert opinion. Slowly significance is being understood as a concept negotiated amongst many stakeholders. This is fundamentally changing the processes by which preservation – in both the technical and social sense – occur.

As these approaches evolve, it will be important to assess the outcomes and consequences of specific heritage plans and policies, factoring in the processes by which they were developed. Though perceptions of and approaches to heritage conservation vary from context to context, the social interactions that serve as the vehicle through which these perceptions and approaches are shared may provide some generalizable insight into why and how all societies conserve heritage. This kind of research and modeling poses a number of challenges. Firstly, deriving from Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs, cultural heritage conservation is not necessarily high on the list. A Brazilian colleague who labored long and hard to have a combined cultural and natural

reserve in the country declared a World Heritage site noted that it was difficult to motivate the local community about participation in planning efforts when people were going hungry and kids didn't have textbooks at school. This brings up a second challenge regarding the "specialness" of heritage, or certain kinds of heritage.

The social interactions that are involved in protecting vestiges like Machu Picchu, the Acropolis, or the Taj Mahal that constitute much of the *World Heritage List* – which have added universal value and thus many layers of stakeholders near and far -- may be significantly different than those of a local municipality trying to preserve the streetscape in its downtown area in order to sustain their community values and keep out big box development. The kind of social cohesion that might derive from each is related but different. The potential effects of *world* heritage conservation in a global polity suggest increased intercultural communication and tolerance of difference. While the same sorts of benefits may be derived at the local level, the social processes and dynamics of a small town main street are clearly different from those of a monument with a local community, a non-local community of stakeholders (scholars, preservations, etc), and an additional 2 million visitors per year. Understanding the relationships of those scales within a broader system would have to account for these varying contexts.

But whether a municipal landmark or a world-renowned icon, how does the system of preservation currently foster the kinds of information flows that could provide feedback on the benefits to communities? If the primary measures of success for preservation are the number of places that get protected and the "correctness" of their historical representation (harking back to the "authenticity" discussion in Chapter 2), has

the discourse and the infrastructure evolved sufficiently to accommodate these kinds of questions and analyses?

6. PRESERVATION AND SUSTAINABILITY

Paradigms are the sources of systems. From them, from shared social agreements about the nature of reality, come system goals and information flows, feedbacks, stocks, flows, and everything else about systems (Meadows 2008, 163).

...one of the things a scientific community acquires with a paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent these are the only problems the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake. Other problems, including many that had previously been standard, are rejected as metaphysical, as the concern of another discipline, or sometimes just too problematic to be worth the time. A paradigm can, for that matter, even insulate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to the puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies (Kuhn 1996, 37).

The preservation community needs to recognize that direct, active involvement with issues related to environmental protection, growth management, and land-use planning, though achieving societal ends, also has the potential to seriously jeopardize the identity and effectiveness of the historic preservation movement itself...There is nothing wrong with joining the many planner-environmentalists opposed to sprawl, big-box retailing, or promoting environmental sustainability. Some of the outcomes advanced by this recent movement will be socially, economically, and aesthetically beneficent for preservation. However, the more closely identified we become with these and related trends, the closer [*preservationists*] come to losing our identity as the keepers of cultural tradition. I believe that history “is,” and that not only one day will the lifeways and artifacts of today be seen as part of a larger tradition worth saving, but that they already have a valued place in securing our present life environment (Stipe 2003, 470 and 492-3).

A particular paradigm of preservation has been codified through not only the thought and theories behind its discourse, but also through its policy infrastructure.

Failing to contextualize preservation within a broader perspective cum system, i.e. a sustainable built environment, can create unintended consequences. Looking too narrowly at what – and who – the field includes results in a failure to recognize the

externalities and social costs of the preservation enterprise, as well as to fully capitalize on its benefits. While a sustainability rubric is not the only means of framing preservation, it serves as a timely tool for mapping and understanding the role of preservation within society and the environment. Between changes in climate and demographics, one can confidently say that there is a need to look at how we plan, design, and construct the built environment if we are to meet future challenges. Preservation can play an important role in that transformation.

Difference and Inclusion Matter

It is estimated that sometime in 2007, the majority of the world's population shifted from rural to urban areas, and projections see that gap widening (*Figure 6.1*). While urban growth is projected worldwide, UN-Habitat estimates that 95 percent of urban growth in the next two decades will be absorbed by cities in lesser developed countries. By 2030, 4 billion people, or 80% of the world's urban population, will be housed in these cities (2006, v), as illustrated by the charts below (*Figures 6.2 and 6.3*).

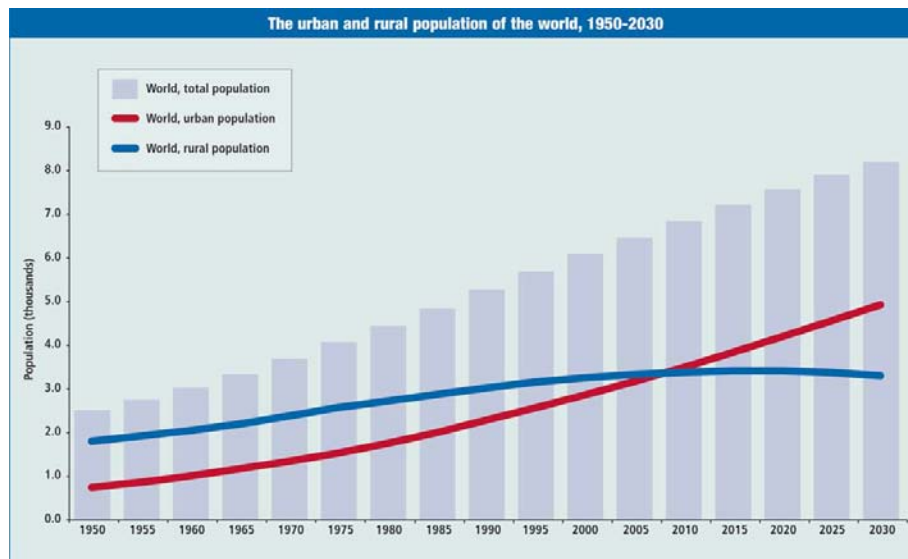


Figure 6.1 Urban vs. Rural Population (source: UN Population Division)

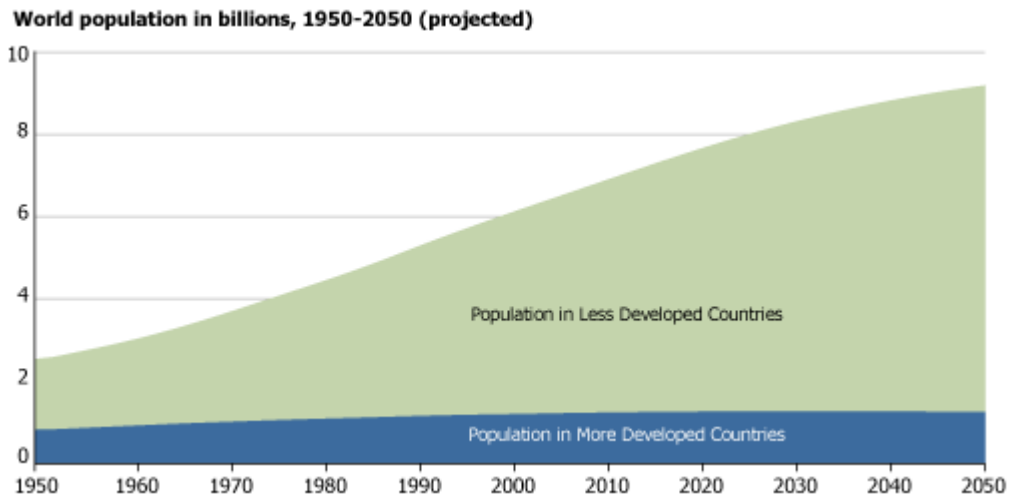


Figure 6.2 (source: Population Reference Bureau, <http://www.prb.org/Articles/2007/623WorldPop.aspx>)

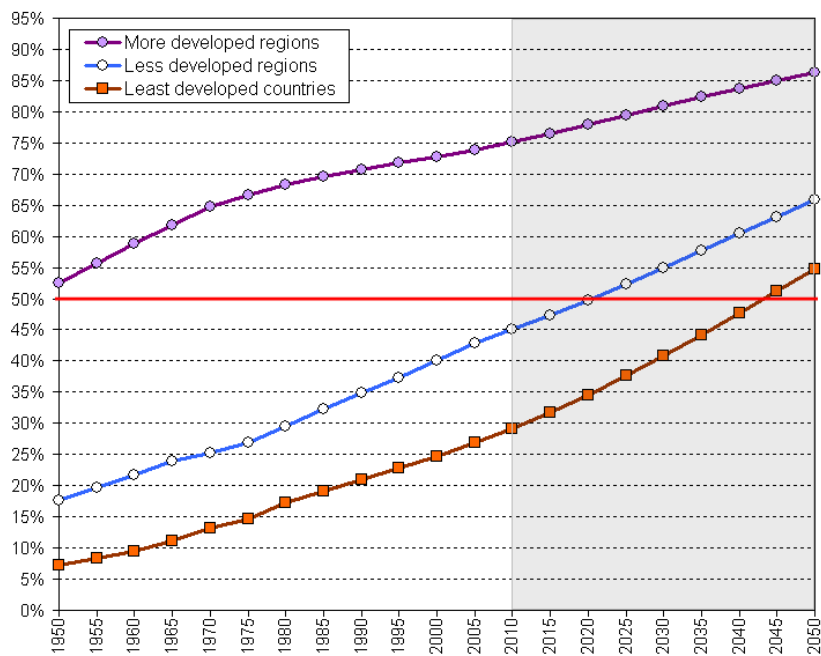


Figure 6.3 *Urban Population Growth* (source: UN Population Division)

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are very different visions of sustainability between North and South, meaning the more industrialized and lesser developed regions of the world. Concerns in the former focus on reducing environmental impacts and over-

consumption. Concerns in the latter are geared more toward problems of poverty reduction and creating economic growth, with an environmental focus centered more on issues of health and sanitation. A great deal of the built environment growth in lesser developed cities will be informal buildings. UN-Habitat estimates that by 2020, 1.4 billion people will be living in urban slums (2006, vii). However, what constitutes “slums” can vary considerably. In many instances, these informal constructions are simply vernacular methods applied in impoverished circumstances. This dichotomy between formal and informal warrants further discussion, as it will require very different approaches as to how sustainable management of the built environment is endeavored, and the role preservation might play.

Vernacular Traditions and Earthen Architecture

As noted in Chapter 2, *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction* and the pursuant discussion paper *Agenda 21 on Sustainable Construction in Developing Countries* have honed in on the differences between the more and lesser developed world and the importance of social and heritage considerations. The former notes:

A decade ago, the emphasis was placed on the more technical issues in construction...and on energy related design concepts. Today, an appreciation of the non-technical issues is growing and these so-called ‘soft’ issues are at least as crucial for a sustainable development in construction. Economic and social sustainability must be accorded explicit treatment in any definition. More recently also the cultural issues and the cultural heritage implications of the built environment have come to be regarded as pre-eminent aspects in sustainable construction (CIB 1999, 18).

The latter expands on this notion by suggesting that:

It may be that, through their cultural heritage, innovative home-grown solutions and adaptability, the developing countries are holding one part of the key to sustainability (CIB & UNEP-IETC 2002, 73).

But while the importance of heritage is recognized, how it is integrated into new approaches and solutions has not been effectively operationalized as yet.

There have been some promising experiments, take for example the post-earthquake reconstruction effort in Pakistan. UN-Habitat took the novel approach of bypassing the use of construction companies, NGOs, and the like as funding channels and redevelopment agents and instead gave money directly to homeowners to rebuild their properties themselves. A series of centers were established to educate homeowners in safer construction techniques. The program basically invested in the vernacular model, convincing the World Bank to alter construction standards and allow traditional building techniques. While the program has had its critics and challenges, two years after the disaster, 150,000 homes have been rebuilt, 200,000 are under construction, and 250,000 more will be completed in the next year. Considering that 2 years after the Sri Lanka tsunami only 50,000 homes had been rebuilt and more than 250,000 people are waiting to return to their homes 2 years after Hurricane Katrina – one may presume that this approach holds potential (Page 2007).

But expanding such practices is inherently fraught. The “grand tour” antecedents and Beaux Arts traditions of architecture have served to create a Eurocentric dominant culture in the field of built environment design and construction, one that is highly regulated and professionalized. However, as noted in Chapter 2, the overwhelming majority of the world’s population is housed in vernacular architecture, meaning housing that is not designed by architects and engineers but rather is owner/occupant constructed, using locally or readily available materials. Within this vernacular sphere, earthen architecture plays a predominant role. The US Department of Energy estimates that up to

half of the world's population lives in a house constructed of unbaked earth, meaning adobe, rammed earth, wattle and daub, compressed earth block, etc. Earth is essentially a building material and constructive culture that exists across the globe, though it is most prevalent throughout Africa, Central and South Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.

With regard to scholarship, because they lay outside the trajectory of Greco-Roman centered architectural history, these vernacular and particularly these earthen traditions are not well represented in university curricula. With regard to general perceptions, earthen architecture is considered “primitive,” not necessarily because of the inherent qualities of the material and design, but because of who constructs it. It is common in the developing world, where local resources and know-how tend to be the building blocks for place-making, rather than top down design and planning. Responding to the principles of professional architecture practice (as defined by the dominant culture), building codes in many countries prohibit construction in earth, and the lack of university-based research and development precludes standardization and improvement of earthen materials and techniques. Thus, ideologies about architecture have influenced regulation of the built environment to a point where nearly half the world's population, in the words of Elizabeth Minnich, is “unrighted” with regard to their ability to determine the built conditions of their home.

This scholarly cum public exclusion of earthen architecture and the publics who practice it brings up an interesting tension between notions of self-determination and self-development, the latter requiring state institutions to serve common interests (Young 2000). One might argue that domination by the “developed” world about what

development is disenfranchises those in the ‘less developed’ world by stripping them of their right to self-determine how they build their homes. From a planning perspective, one can make a case for the important role of state institutions in regulating land use, design, and construction, so as to protect life and limb, to keep development (in the real estate sense of the word) responsive to community, rather than private, concerns, and to ensure public health through appropriate infrastructure. While these state-driven *intentions* are noble, the *conceptual roots* that form their basis are fundamentally flawed. These roots snowball to a point where dominant ideologies become the universal norm. Knowledge centers on that norm and all else – all that is *different* – is outside. Circular reasoning then reinforces these systems of thought and knowledge construction, and creates a rationalization for exclusion. As Minnich concludes:

Knowledge matters: worlds are built to conform to it, and those worlds then produce ‘evidence’ of the accuracy of their own original premises (239).

The heritage field brings its own knowledges and conceptual flaws to these tensions. Indeed, a fundamental premise of preservation is that engagement with one’s own heritage and that of others can promote social sustainability through inter- and intra-generational equity. But what if, as in the case of earthen architecture, that heritage is largely bound up in a process of building that is outside prevailing paradigms? Those educated in the disciplines of planning, architecture, engineering, and the like may see great potential in bringing earthen architecture closer to such paradigms (through standardization, industrialization, scholarly and scientific research, etc.). But it is possible that doing so will fail to fully capitalize on this profound aspect of vernacular architecture. It represents a once ubiquitous social process, one that is in effect being subjugated by increasing control over the built environment by government, industry, and

the professional community. How do we strike a balance between the dominant norms of design and construction and the non-normative reality of earthen and other vernacular traditions, so as to serve a broader aim of sustainability? What role can the heritage sector play in preserving these different knowledges and ensuring greater social equity?

New Gournna – A Case Illustration

How these different knowledges and motivations play out in the context of preservation can have surprising outcomes. A case in point is the preservation of New Gournna, a village located within the boundaries of the World Heritage site of Ancient Thebes and its Necropolis in Egypt.

In 1945, the Egyptian Department of Antiquities commissioned the renowned architect Hassan Fathy to design and construct a new settlement to which the inhabitants of Old Gournna were to be relocated, in an effort to curtail suspected looting at the nearby Pharaonic sites and facilitate tourism development. Fathy's philosophy and vision derived from humanistic values about the connections between people and places and the use of traditional knowledge and resources in designing the built environment. Many have critiqued the efforts at New Gournna, Timothy Mitchell (2002) being the most disparaging. However, it must be acknowledged that at New Gournna, Hassan Fathy undertook an experiment to promote vernacular building traditions and integrated planning through a form of participatory design and construction, flawed though the process and its motivations were. Fathy consulted extensively with the villagers themselves, studying their habits and the social and physical organization of Old Gournna, yet the entire enterprise had strong overtones in its "improve social conditions through design" mantra.

Valorizing the humanity of the rural poor, Fathy designed each house individually and sought to infuse the village with “Egyptian” culture through land use and forms that amalgamated earthen architecture traditions found within the territorial boundaries of Egypt. Intended as a model public housing project and perhaps the codification of a national style at an important political moment for the country, the mud brick, domed dwellings gained international attention and are today considered early experiments with appropriate technology and sustainable architectural systems. Fathy also insisted on the construction of schools, as well as a mosque, a khan, and a souk within the village, promoting an innovative mixed use plan meant to provide an accessible and concentrated hub for the community.



Figure 6.4 Plan of Hassan Fathy's New Gourni Village
[source: World Monuments Fund/UNESCO World Heritage Centre]

Though Fathy's project was meant to shelter 20,000 inhabitants, only part of the plan was realized due to political and financial complications and opposition on the part of many residents to relocate from Old Gournā. The constructed New Gournā, nonetheless, included housing and many public facilities. Today, more than 40% of the original Fathy buildings have been renovated or replaced, but the New Gournā community thrives. The village remains a place strongly rooted in the social principles set forth in Fathy's innovative mixed use plan, which centered on education, commerce, and religion.

The loss of original fabric, as well as the interest of a developer to raze and recreate the village as a boutique hotel, prompted intervention on the part of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and World Monuments Fund (who included it on their 2010 Watch). In an effort to inform preservation strategies and ensure resident engagement in the process, WMF undertook a community assessment of New Gournā, to better understand the relationship between the community and its built environment.¹⁷

While many residents highly valued the Fathy legacy, they did not feel wed to his original designs. On the contrary, many of the physical alterations to the historic fabric have been in direct response to changing environmental conditions, particularly a reported increase in groundwater conditions after the construction of the Aswan Dam. Original earthen buildings have therefore been replaced with fired brick and concrete constructions. Social factors are also spurring changes to the physical design of buildings. The community research showed that families are staying in New Gournā across generations, in part because of the very positive view about the quality of life in

¹⁷ This researcher served as the project manager for this WMF-sponsored community assessment. A full report of the study can be found at: <http://www.wmf.org/dig-deeper/publication/new-gournā-village-conservation-and-community>

the village. Sons marry and combine households with their parents, necessitating the need for expansion of residences.

However, enlarging residences consists of adding more floors or rebuilding taller. Neither the plan of the village nor the individual building footprints have changed – meaning more land has not been consumed. Indeed, the agricultural lands around the village are used collectively and are viewed as a vital community resource. Instead, the houses are expanding vertically – adding more stories. In effect, New Gournah has densified, growing from a plan (based on original construction) designed to house 77 households to one now housing 174 – without destroying additional landscape. In terms of environmental sustainability and land use, this is a success story!



Figure 6.5 Overview of New Gournah
[source: E. Avrami/WMF]



Figure 6.6 New and original construction
[source: Community Consortium/WMF]

Through densification, New Gournah has lost a great deal of original fabric, but at the same time preserved very important community values – such as the centrality of education and religious life. There is palpable tranquility and security in the village; children walk to school on their own and on hot nights many people sleep outdoors. Communal baking and farming continue. The cultural significance and social impact of Fathy's mixed use plan cannot be understated. However, the preservation community is

up in arms over the loss of original fabric and design, and what they see as the destruction of heritage and the Fathy legacy. A UNESCO Scientific Committee, including international as well as Egyptian experts, was appointed to advise on action. Some have called for the demolition of the egregious infill buildings. Others have suggested that the remaining original buildings should have the residents removed so that they can be preserved intact. While still others have recommended that the entire village be leveled and rebuilt in the original design – including the unbuilt portions of the original plan – allowing for existing residents to be redistributed amongst the structures of the village. None on the Committee (save this researcher, who served as an appointed “expert”) has viewed the densification and social vitality of New Gournia in a positive light.



Figure 6.7 Densified New Gournia streetscape
[source: Community Consortium/WMF]



Figure 6.8 Village life in the khan
[source: Community Consortium/WMF]

At the end of the day, the community is not at all interested in building with earthen materials due to the factors noted above. They most definitely want to see their village preserved, but their concept of preservation is entirely different from that of UNESCO and the international heritage community. Political changes in Egypt have precluded continuation of the UNESCO-WMF project, but the case provides a poignant

illustration of how the dominant paradigm of preservation creates undue challenges in aligning goals with broader sustainability concerns, and at times completely misses the mark. Even in trying to preserve an iconic vestige of sustainable design, (attempted) community participation, and innovative planning, the preservation establishment cannot see beyond the formal qualities and aesthetics. Rather than serving as facilitators of a social process, preservation continues to rely on expertise that has been legitimized through its discourse, the profession, and the institutions it has created. While the value of the heritage environment should not be discounted, it must be acknowledged that it is a product of social construction and one intended to produce benefits to society. To ignore the social implications of preservation decisions undermines the very foundations on which preservation is premised.

Shared Aims, Different Approaches

UNESCO defends the case of indivisibility of culture and development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means of achieving a satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence. This development may be defined as that set of capacities that allows groups, communities and nations to define their futures in an integrated manner.¹⁸

The aforementioned challenges examine the tensions between industrialized and lesser developed countries with regard to sustainable management of the built environment, and the way in which values are defined by different societies. These tensions are considerable, some might suggest insurmountable. As suggested by the quote above, even when institutions have good intentions, the foundations on which they are built, the processes by which they are operationalized, and the results they engender

¹⁸ http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11407&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

may not serve the aim effectively. As discussed in Chapter 4, just processes do not guarantee just outcomes. However, the goal is not to find a universal solution, but a range of possibilities that are appropriate to given contexts.

This is where difference plays such an indispensable role – and where the developing world provides such an opportunity. Globalization and related architectural acculturation -- coupled with technology driven by comfort, convenience, and profit -- have resulted in a built environment of the industrialized world in need of drastic remediation. Design, construction, and planning practices in the United States, Europe, and many other industrialized regions are simply not environmentally sustainable in the long-term. Lesser developed countries, by the sheer fact that they do not have as much modern infrastructure, are not as deeply entrenched in this dilemma. With a fair portion of its infrastructure – primarily housing stock – constructed of local materials that are readily recyclable (such as earth, bamboo, etc.), these countries have an active cultural heritage of sustainable construction, but they are likewise faced with daunting challenges as populations boom, urbanization increases, and the built environment expands. Thus the developing world offers an immediate set of conditions whereby, as Socolow suggests, “alternative strategies might be invented by societies blending modernization with preindustrial traditions” (1994, 9).

Such conditions likewise suggest the potential for a two-way exchange with regard to knowledge production. That is to say, “creating knowledge locally through research and development, and building on indigenous knowledge” can serve the global context as well (World Bank 1999, 2). The key is identifying a common system framework and aligning shared goals that can foster cooperation and continued

knowledge production. It also means questioning some the fundamental paradigms of the preservation enterprise if a sustainable built environment is a shared goal.

Common Ground and New Divides

Despite the warnings by Robert Stipe about preservation hitching its wagon to the environmental cause (cited at the opening of this chapter), there is increasing momentum in the preservation field to connect to sustainability concerns. The growing discourse on sustainability provides fertile ground for preservation to engage in broader planning goals and agendas. Shared concerns of resource conservation, managed development, and intergenerational equity make for viable points of convergence. Advances in environmental economics and planning have produced a growing body of research aimed at assessing the social costs of the built environment at both the building and the community/regional levels, and preservation is beginning to engage in this dialogue.

The historic preservation field has invested significant effort in articulating the economic rationales for conservation, and more recently the environmental ones. The message that conservation can be both profitable and “green” is all the rage, and there is significant impetus in the field to build a body of knowledge that supports this assertion. As a component of and tool for managing the built environment, historic preservation is a key player in sustainability planning, but has yet to forge a clear role. This is due, in part, to the unresolved tensions that exist between heritage aims and those of sustainability, as well as shared stigmas.

Fundamentally, both historic preservation and sustainable development of the built environment seek to ensure a quality of life premised on intergenerational equity. However, these aims are operationalized by each movement differently.

Much like environmental conservation, historic preservation (in the US in the past 40 years) has been effected by command and control policies and regulations that provide for the designation and protection of significant places. While support for the movement has certainly grown in the past four decades, so has opposition. Many argue that preservation infringes on property rights, curbs growth, and drives up construction costs. The preservation community is perceived as intransigent and anti-development, imposing burdensome standards for restoration without possibilities of compromise. Thus, the “greens” share a certain stigma with these “hysterical societies,” as they are likewise viewed as constraining both opportunities and profits by imposing a higher standard. But while these stereotypes are extreme, they are not altogether unfounded.

The green building and historic preservation communities have failed to engage effectively in a real estate market that is increasingly pro-growth and “borderless” (borderless in that an investor may be an insurance company on an opposite coast, tax credits are syndicated to any Fortune 500 corporation, etc.). Instead, green building and historic preservation have been branded as costly and bureaucratic, even with policy incentives. For example, take a developer seeking to convert an old factory into a mixed-use commercial and residential complex. If the structure is locally designated as an historic resource, the developer must go through the permitting process of the local landmarks commission for approval to build. However, if that developer seeks to capitalize on historic tax credits (20% level) to finance the project – he/she must also ensure listing or eligibility for listing on the National Register through the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and complete the three-part application for certification of the project to ensure that it meets the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for

Rehabilitation. The application must first be approved by the SHPO, then by the National Park Service. And that is just for the *federal* tax credits; many states offer historic tax credits that can be piggybacked onto the federal ones, requiring more transaction costs.

If that same developer seeks to make the project green as well, and capitalize on similar environmental tax incentives, he/she must seek LEED or similar certification and go through a separate set of approvals, all the while working within a more constrained set of design conditions given that the building is existing and historic. Such processes can become very cumbersome on top of the existing building code and planning review processes in most municipalities, especially since different types of architectural expertise are needed along with additional review time, coordination, etc. All of this bureaucracy suggests added risk for investors and added expense for developers. Financial concerns are compounded by the fact that preservation and green building often require more costly upfront outlays, e.g. a slate roof instead of an asphalt one, or a better performing HVAC unit. Even though there are greater savings over the long-term to such choices, turnover rates in real estate often preclude the opportunity for owners to recoup the outlay within their investment timeframe, thus they choose the option that benefits them in the short-term.

The shared challenges of sustainability and historic preservation are compounded by the conflicts that also exist between the two. While conservation claims a green agenda, its position in many cases runs counter to broader environmental, economic, and social concerns, creating unintended consequences (some will be discussed in the following sections). Effective heritage legislation in many parts of the world and a well

established international conservation community and platform have enabled the field to successfully advance its agenda of protecting important places. However, with changing demographics and diminishing resources, options will become more limited and the stakes will shift. When weighed more stringently against clean air and water, carbon neutral energy, reduced sprawl and optimal land use, mass transit, jobs creation, and the like, historic preservation will face a difficult future in terms of rationalizing its cause.

These conflicts between historic preservation and sustainability will play out largely in cities in the coming years. As noted above, the growth of cities throughout the world, especially in lesser developed countries, makes for a very different set of issues and challenges in the twenty-first century. Research across a range of disciplines, including planning, public policy, sociology, environmental science, and more has found a shared emphasis on the rising importance of urban areas. Urban dwellers are, on the whole, healthier, wealthier, and better educated. Cities provide connectivity within and across industries, and thus are important incubators of ideas and innovation. The economic and political structures controlling capital flows are city-based, providing more fertile ground for job creation. And the dense building patterns and mass transit of cities make for more sustainable land use and efficient energy and resource consumption.

Christopher Leinberger contends that this will also create completely different urban and suburban market conditions as the two largest generations in American history (the baby boomers and the millennials) migrate toward more urban environments from fringe suburbs (2011). Even shrinking cities like Detroit and New Orleans, which have lost populations due to industry change and natural disaster, are facing difficult

challenges as outer lying, low density areas become depopulated and governments try to concentrate services and infrastructure for sustainability and efficiency.

The work of Porter (2003), Wheeler (2003), Yanarella and Levine (2011), and others on sustainability of cities and communities speak to the social issues of livability and quality of life, but the direct connections between historic preservation and this discourse are not well formed, with the possible exception of Keene (2003), who speaks to the need for convergence on institutional, procedural, and technological levels, noting:

As urban conservationists, the field of concern to us can be conceived of as the intersection of four areas:

- 1) the culture and social institutions through which our values are transmitted from one generation to the next;
- 2) the economic and technological sectors that shape the production and disposition of goods and services, especially the built environment;
- 3) the legal institutions and planning procedures that give teeth to societal norms; and
- 4) the built environment that embodies the social and aesthetic traditions of the past (2003, 12).

However, where some see a clear role and opportunity for historic preservation to engage in the sustainability discourse, others see preservation as an obstacle to sustainable growth, particularly because of its traditional position against development and densification. The past two years has seen increased criticism of the negative impact of historic preservation on cities in the United States.

Edward Glaeser's "Preservation Follies" (2010) and *Triumph of the City* (2011) paint a very negative portrait of preservation as stifling urban growth and creating low density enclaves for the wealthy by restricting new construction. Sarah Williams Goldenhagen, in her *New York Times* op-ed piece entitled, "Death by Nostalgia" (2011), suggests that in order to "keep historic preservation from stifling America's cities" it should be restricted to its "proper domain":

Design review boards, staffed by professionals trained in aesthetics and urban issues and able to influence planning and preservation decisions, should become an integral part of the urban development process. At the same time, city planning offices must be returned to their former, powerful role in urban policy.

Rem Koolhaas' and Shohei Shigematsu's exhibition, "Cronocaos," debuted at the Venice biennale in 2010 and has since traveled the world. It is a scathing critique of the enterprise of urban preservation, suggesting that "an army of well-meaning but clueless preservationists who, in their zeal to protect the world's architectural legacies, end up debasing them by creating tasteful scenery for docile consumers while airbrushing out the most difficult chapters of history" (Ouroussoff 2011).

Many have come out in opposition to these arguments, such as Inga Saffron's piece in the Philadelphia Inquirer, "Is Historic Preservation Strangling Cities" (2011), which takes on Glaeser's argument and contends that density does not have to be achieved through replacement high rises only. She notes:

I also wonder if Glaeser knows that most of the Philadelphia condo towers built in the boom decade now sit half empty, while individual rowhouses continue to be built and sold. Or that the city has no shortage of vacant land for affordable new housing. It's no accident that Philadelphia's strongest neighborhoods are those with the most intact historic fabric. The city's comeback has been built on old foundations. That, more than cheap high-rises, is what will make people want to live here.

But despite effective counterpoints, the fact of the matter is that both the quantity and quality of preservation has come under attack as urban market pressures increase. This is in large part due to the engrained paradigm of preservation to list and collect more and more historic places, to expand the concept of those places as landscapes and districts, and to view such places as something "other" -- sacred spaces that play by a different set of land use rules. As noted previously, destatization and neoliberal

development policies within US cities have further compounded the problem by compelling preservation to rationalize its benefits – namely economic – to society. Sustainability concerns further complicate the preservation agenda.

To prepare for change and remain relevant, the field must better align its goals and processes with those of sustainability planning for the built environment as a whole. This has been recognized within the preservation field in the US, most notably through the Pocantico Proclamation, a result of a National Trust initiative to examine the intersection of preservation and sustainability. Goal five of the Proclamation is to “Realign Historic Preservation Policies with Sustainability” noting:

Today’s challenges require that historic preservation move beyond maintaining or recovering a frozen view of the past. Historic preservation must contribute to the transformation of communities and the establishment of a sustainable, equitable, and verdant world by re-evaluating historic preservation practices and policies, and making changes where appropriate (NTHP and NCPTT 2009).

Such efforts helped to establish the National Trust’s Preservation Green Lab, which has undertaken a number of research efforts looking at the intersection, some of which will be discussed below. However, truly realigning policies of historic preservation means questioning many long held goals and practices about what to preserve and how. It requires some fundamental paradigm shifts in order to advance shared aims and develop an improved, interrelated system regarding the management of the built environment. And there are many obstacles to advancing those shifts.

The Framework Revisited

The most effective way of dealing with policy resistance is to find a way of aligning the various goals of the subsystems, usually by providing an overarching goal that allows all actors to break out of their bounded rationality. If everyone can work harmoniously toward the same outcome (if all feedback loops are serving the same goal), the results can be amazing (Meadows 2008, 115).

As discussed in Chapter 2, consider sustainable management of the built environment as a large system of inter-relating subsystems, of which heritage conservation is one. To ensure that conservation remains a relevant social process, its goals must be aligned with those of the overarching system. Therefore, one must look at the aims and concerns of sustainability writ large in the built environment in order to understand how preservation supports or counters them.

If one considers the built environment field as a whole, it is largely inhabited by licensed professionals, be they architects, engineers, planners, contractors, real estate brokers, etc. Their languages are often quite disparate from those of the sociologists, ecologists, cultural anthropologists, etc. that likewise have an important lens on the work of human interactions with the environment. Research regarding the sustainability and the built environment has suffered tremendously because of a lack of cross-disciplinary collaboration and the tension between practice and theory. While one would think that the commonalities between historic preservation and sustainable design, planning and development would enable mutually-beneficial dialogue and research, there has been limited headway. The majority of sustainable construction research and dialogue has been technically-focused on energy and resource consumption, and aimed at *new* construction:

Breakthroughs in building science, technology, products and operations are now available to designers, builders, and owners who want to build green and maximize both economic and environmental performance.... The US Green Building Council (USGBC) is leading a national consensus to produce a new generation of buildings... (LEED vii).

Even sustainability planning, through such concepts as New Urbanism, sees a change in land use and development that requires abandoning the old and creating anew:

For too long, we over-invested in the wrong places. Those retail centers and subdivisions will never be worth what they cost to build. We have to stop throwing good money after bad. It is time to instead build what the market wants: mixed income, walkable cities and suburbs that will support the knowledge economy, promote environmental sustainability and create jobs (Leinberger 2011).

Emphasis is clearly on new and better technology to create a new and better built environment of the future, without an operative balance regarding how this future builds upon the work and lessons of the past.

At the same time, ironically, that sustainability advocates are focused on the future, preservation is stuck in the past. Overemphasis on such enigmas as “authenticity,” “historical accuracy,” and “architectural integrity” have entrenched the field in inconsequential technical debates and inhibited its capacity to think creatively about the future of the built environment and the unique role it plays within the larger system.

Long before the professions of architecture and planner were ever established, people were building in sustainable ways – and continue to do so in many parts of the world. Both preservation and sustainability advocates need to position themselves within a longer continuum of practice and a broader system of built environment elements and relationships if they are to create effective strategies for policy-making and implementation that meet shared goals.

Returning to the framework suggested in Chapter 2, we can use this as a lens to examine how preservation has, to date, engaged with this broader system (*Figure 6.9*).

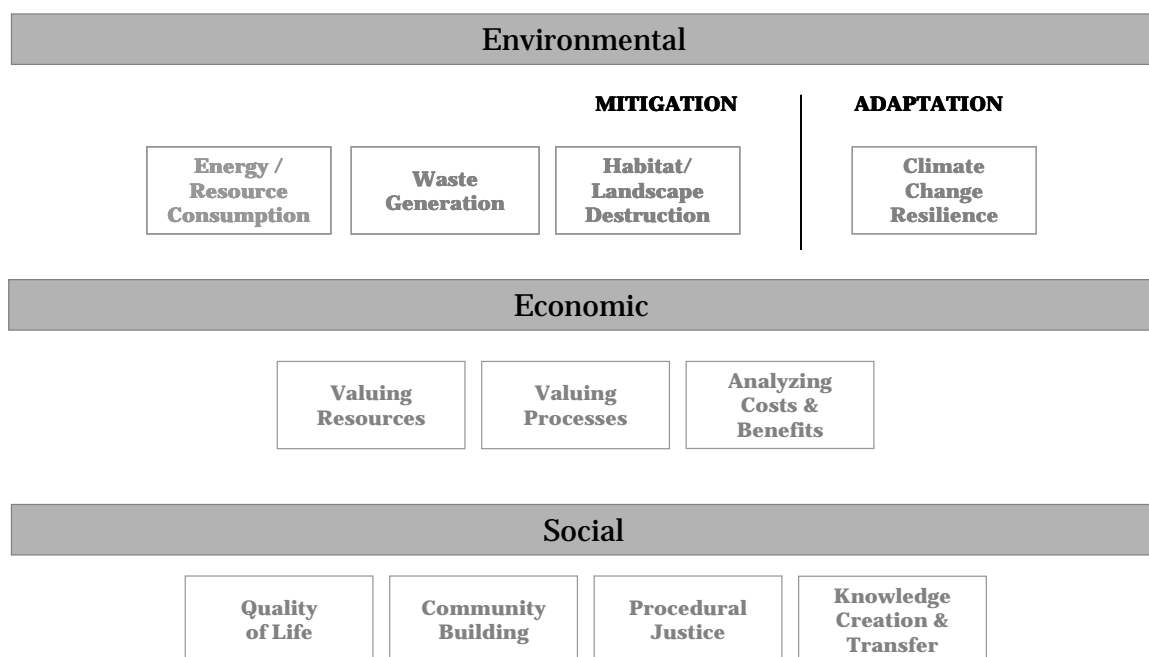


Figure 6.9 The framework expanded

Environmental

Adaptation

As noted previously, the adaptation discourse fundamentally seeks to prepare and manage places and communities in light of changing environmental conditions. Efforts to date within the conservation field have been largely concentrated in this area.

Institutions charged with heritage stewardship have initiated projects to examine the risks posed to sites by shifts in temperature, precipitation, groundwater and sea levels, and climatic events. UNESCO has established the Global Climate Change Field Observatory, which uses biosphere reserves and World Heritage sites as reference points for “understanding the impacts of climate change on human societies and cultural diversity,

biodiversity and ecosystems services, the world's natural and cultural heritage''¹⁹ The World Heritage Centre (a division of UNESCO) has hosted a series of meetings and produced a set of cases studies analyzing the climate change effects on cultural heritage sites (UNESCO 2007).

Universities and other research centers are cooperating in the collection of environmental data, to monitor trends and patterns and to better predict future conditions. A notable consortium is Noah's Ark, which includes a number of European research institutions focused on global climate change impact on built heritage and cultural landscapes.²⁰ Through innovative modeling techniques, the projected climate effects on protected heritage areas can be visualized and quantified. Disaster preparedness and response programs can then integrate climatic extremes and weather events into their scopes.

Similar research is happening in the United States, though not directly focused on historic sites in the majority of cases. Municipalities (e.g. New York, Toronto, Chicago, Philadelphia) are looking at adaptation strategies to ensure that both communities and infrastructure will be resilient in the event of extreme weather events as well as linear changes, such as sea level rise, and more importantly are seeking to create greater synergy between adaptation and mitigations strategies. New York State, along with Maryland, California, and others, have also undertaken significant research to model prediction and prepare for improved resilience (Rosenzweig et al 2011).

The role of heritage, and of existing buildings in general, in the context of these efforts can often be obscured. Likewise, the preservation field can often send conflicting

¹⁹ http://portal.unesco.org/science/en/ev.php-URL_ID=8950&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

²⁰ <http://noahsark.isac.cnr.it/overview.php#summary>

messages. Take, for example, the case of post-Katrina New Orleans. In the wake of the devastation and the resulting depopulation of many damaged neighborhoods, the government has tried to take some bold steps to concentrate redevelopment in the city center to provide for a more sustainable urban community. However, the social concerns of some of these low-lying outer districts, such as the lower Ninth Ward, have posed difficult challenges. These are well established neighborhoods with long histories; of course there is a compelling argument for remaining residents to recover their homes and their lives. But there are significant social costs to continuing to rebuild and provide city services to areas that are already flood prone and will be at greater risk as sea levels rise.

One of the interesting take away lessons of Katrina for the preservation community was that many of the older homes and buildings throughout New Orleans could have been eligible for the National Register, but applications for eligibility were never pursued. In some cases buildings were listed locally, but not at the state or national levels. As a result, when federal monies supported redevelopment in the recovery process, preservation advocates could not invoke Section 106 review to protect these structures from demolition or adverse impacts of the redevelopment process. New York City, the state of California, and other governments – particularly in places at high risk for extreme weather and sea level rise -- have taken this message to heart, and now encourage older and historic properties within the city to apply for National Register listing.

But adaptation and community resilience are not simply about providing more protections for certain historic properties without weighing the range of environmental, economic, and social factors. Preservation is looking at how to make sustainability

policy work to its advantage, when the point is to realign its policies to serve sustainability as well. That is not to say that historic properties should not get any special consideration in the development of adaptation strategies and disaster response. Indeed, heritage can be a very important tool for recovery and rebuilding of community identity in the face of dramatic change and disasters. However, there are many trade-offs that have to be considered, which are not part of the formula when determining National Register eligibility. As discussed in Chapter 3, National Register listing is not simply an informational tool but a gatekeeper to a range of government consideration, assistance, and incentives that have significant effects on land use and planning in such situations. Should inclusion on the Register be based solely on the criteria outlined on page 62? Or should a more robust range of factors come into play given the future that lies ahead?

So while there has been a fair amount of effort with regard to the role of preservation in the adaptation discourse of sustainability, the outcomes of these initiatives are geared toward more responsive strategies for the conservation and management of heritage sites, buildings, and landscapes in the face of climate change and disasters -- in effect, self-preservation of preservation.

Mitigation

An underlying premise of the mitigation discourse in sustainability is that dramatic changes are needed in the way we plan, design, construct, and manage the built environment in order to ensure carrying capacity for the earth's growing population. The built environment contributes significantly to climate change, consumes vast amounts of natural resources and land, and generates substantial landfill waste. Current practices must be altered.

Yet a sizeable portion of that built environment is historic or significant in the eyes of the heritage field. Reconciling the sustainability push for drastic innovation with conservation's goal of managing change and preserving existing resources poses inherent tensions as well as creative opportunities. Consequently efforts to forge common agendas have been ad hoc.

Energy and Resource Consumption

Heritage advocates in the United States have long touted the claim that the “greenest building is the one already built,” in an effort to show that preservation is a fundamentally green practice. Much of this claim is based on the concept of embodied energy, or the sum total of energy consumed to extract and prepare materials for the construction of a building. The heritage field was quick to claim that old buildings are inherently green because of their embodied energy, and also because of the climatically-appropriate designs of structures pre-dating the extensive use of heating and cooling systems for interiors.

However, the distribution of energy use over building lifecycles does not readily support the case for old buildings. Of the five phases of energy consumption over the life span of a building (embodied, grey, induced, operating, demolition and recycling)²¹, the operating phase consumes the most at 80% – for heating, cooling, lighting, ventilation, cooking, etc. (UNEP 2007, 7). In general, because the energy consumption during the operating phase is so much greater than other phases, much of the research and development within the design and construction industry has focused on innovations to reduce energy use during this period, such as improved windows and insulation; high

²¹ Internationally, these five cycles are used. In the United States, “embodied energy” is generally used to indicate the combined phases of embodied, grey, induced.

efficiency heating, cooling, ventilation, and lighting systems; alternative energy sources (like solar panels and photo-voltaics), and the like.

Lifecycle assessment tools (LCA), like the Athena Institute's EcoCalculator, have made it possible to model the projected performance of buildings – especially new buildings. Some LCA studies have also shown the energy savings and reduced carbon impact of rehabilitating an existing building versus building new (Athena Institute 2009, Agbonkhese et al 2010). The most promising of these is the very recent study produced by the NTHP Preservation Green Lab (2011). Using LCA tools, the study takes an avoided impact approach, measuring environmental impacts avoided by *not* constructing new buildings and instead rehabilitating existing ones to be more energy efficient. The avoided impacts are quantified in terms of the number of years it would take for a new (replacement), energy efficient building to recover all of the carbon that was expended during the initial construction process, and the findings are promising (*Figure 6.10*).

Year Of Carbon Equivalency For Existing Building Reuse Versus New Construction

This study finds that it takes between 10 to 80 years for a new building that is 30 percent more efficient than an average-performing existing building to overcome, through efficient operations, the negative climate change impacts related to the construction process. This table illustrates the numbers of years required for new, energy efficient new buildings to overcome impacts.		
Building Type	Chicago	Portland
Urban Village Mixed Use	42 years	80 years
Single-Family Residential	38 years	50 years
Commercial Office	25 years	42 years
Warehouse-to-Office Conversion	12 years	19 years
Multifamily Residential	16 years	20 years
Elementary School	10 years	16 years
Warehouse-to-Residential Conversion*	Never	Never
*The warehouse-to-multifamily conversion (which operates at an average level of efficiency) does not offer a climate change impact savings compared to new construction that is 30 percent more efficient. These results are driven by the amount and kind of materials used in this particular building conversion. As evidenced by the study's summary of results, as shown on page VII, the warehouse-to-residential conversion does offer a climate change advantage when energy performance for the new and existing building scenarios are assumed to be the same. This suggests that it may be especially important to retrofit warehouse buildings for improved energy performance, and that care should be taken to select materials that will maximize environmental savings.		

Figure 6.10 [source: NTHP 2011, ix]

However, LCA tools generally still have a high degree of variability, particularly when applied to existing buildings. As noted in Chapter 2, these modeling tools help to predict energy performance and existing codes seek to prescribe standards through various elements or indicators. However, there are no feedback loops built into the system to ensure that these projections are in keeping with actual consumption. New outcomes-based codes seek to complement these tools by assuring energy performance through actual building use, and this bodes well for new as well as existing buildings. However, large-scale, multi-typology energy audit surveys are needed to build a body of reliable data and benchmarks, as are more sophisticated LCA tools that address the complexities of existing buildings and historic materials. This would allow architects, planners, and real estate developers to more readily compare the lifecycle energy costs of building new versus rehabilitating.

So while the aim of historic preservation is to preserve significant buildings and places – not all existing buildings -- it has, in this research, realigned its goals toward a broader aim of building reuse in the framework of sustainability. If, in general, there are significant environmental impacts avoided by rehabilitating ANY existing building, then preservation can bolster its rationale in sustainability terms. That said, such environmental research that supports the cause of preservation does not necessarily effect a change in practice. In a number of municipalities where energy codes have been implemented, namely Seattle and New York City, preservationists have successfully lobbied for National Register properties to be *exempt* from compliance. In addition, just because the reuse of an existing building creates favorable outcomes with regard to energy and resource consumption, it may not have the same positive effects when taking

into account broader land use issues. If, for example, the extensive reuse of existing buildings preclude higher density development, and therefore pushed growth into greenfields, the tradeoffs may not be warranted. This is yet another reason why it is important to look at the interrelationship of components within the broader system of built environment management. The great challenge, however, is reconciling the different metrics used to assess each.

Landscape and Habitat Destruction

The historic preservation field was founded on a notion of landscape that encompassed both natural and cultural resources, dealing with whole environments as well as isolates sites and monuments...But this encompassing, landscape-centered vision of preservation was undermined (after 1920) by professionalization and specialization, as well as by barriers in public policy and politics making it difficult to implement...while many observers in recent decades have lamented the lack of connection between the historic preservation and environmental conservation fields, few seem to realize that this is an old idea, a core philosophical tenet of early preservationists (Mason 2009, 249-50).

As Mason notes above, there is indeed a precedent of a landscape approach in the history of the preservation field. However, even a renewed effort by the field to recapture this more landscape-centered vision does not ensure a more sophisticated approach to critical land use issues as they relate to sustainability.

The growing discourse related to growth management/smart growth has increasingly addressed commonalities with the preservation agenda. Beaumont (1992), Listokin (1997), Reichl (1997), and others have asserted the integral role preservation plays in growth management and, conversely, the need for preservation to engage in such dialogue to ensure its relevance. Listokin, in particular, notes the opportunities and challenges of policy advancement in the cases of Oregon and Florida. Wisconsin's 1999 Smart Growth legislation incorporated cultural resources in its comprehensive state

planning, resulting in its *Guide to Smart Growth and Cultural Resource Planning* (Bernstein). However, from a policy reform and convergence perspective, there has been little traction. Downs (2005) notes some of the reasons why smart growth itself has failed to gain significant ground, though there is little in the literature that examines preservation's timidity in joining factions. In many respects, densification is the elephant in the room that few in the preservation field want to talk about. Engaging in the growth management discourse fundamentally means embracing policies that increase density in urban areas, which the preservation field is simply not ready to do.

Cities with lower density older buildings remain a battleground between preservation and growth; these wars have characterized the contemporary face of preservation. In Buenos Aires, Argentina, the 3.8-square-mile historic center is a vibrant hub of public, religious, cultural, and political activities; it includes approximately 100 National Historic Monuments and an additional 800 listed historic properties. In 2007, the Secretary of Culture identified another 1,200 buildings as having heritage value, but these do not yet have protection from alteration or demolition. Growth has fueled the demolition of many of the low-scale historic buildings in favor of more high density replacements, the rationale being that Buenos Aires should not pickle its historic center, but continue to encourage development and densification. From a sustainability perspective, this represents good urban policy. However, preservationists have fought hard battles to extend protective legislation and stay all demolitions in the historic center.

Kyoto is one of the few Japanese cities that survived World War II with limited damage. Heritage protections have been in place for decades in the areas surrounding listed monuments, and the city has been lauded for retaining its historic street pattern and

buildings (Tung 2001). However, the traditional townhouses – or *machiya*—of Kyoto were included on the World Monuments Watch²² in both 2010 and 2012. These Edo period (1603–1867) structures originally functioned as both residences and workspaces; they incorporated interior gardens and fostered a culture that integrated urban living and commerce. However, as growth in the city has intensified and planning policy has separated commercial and residential uses, the *machiya* are being demolished in favor of high rise/high density development (Figures 6.11-6.13). Although such densification is an advisable policy for sustainable urban growth, this has raised an alarm for preservationists who see the destruction of the historic cityscape. However, because of the great many *machiya* throughout the city, the traditional tools of designating an historic district are inadequate and there is a need to rethink approaches and to work with communities on how best to achieve both goals.



Fig. 6.11
[source: Katsuhiko Mizuno/
World Monuments Fund]



Fig. 6.12
[source: Shigeya Inoue/
World Monuments Fund]



Fig. 6.13
[source: Kyoto Center for
Community Collaboration/
World Monuments Fund]

Kyoto Machiya destruction and infill development

²² The World Monuments Watch is a biennial advocacy program operated by World Monuments Fund (WMF) to call international attention to cultural heritage around the globe that is at risk from the forces of nature and the impact of social, political, and economic change. This researcher is an employee of WMF and manages the Watch program.

But even when effective legislation is in place to preserve large swaths of historic cities, problems ensue. In Spain, for example, where many historic cities and sites benefit from heritage protection, a number of conflicts have come to the fore. The World Heritage City of Avila has a designated core, bounded by its medieval ramparts. With protections in place for the historic center, new development instead has spread into the surrounding greenfields, creating sprawl (*Figure 6.14*). Heritage advocates have come out against the outlying low density development, because buildings are in many cases directly adjacent to the historic ramparts and are destroying the view shed.



Figure 6.14 New construction in the greenfields outside Avila, Spain
[source: Begoña Bernal/World Monuments Fund]

A proposal for the construction of an office tower, which concentrated development outside of the historic core of Sevilla, Spain (*Figure 6.15*) in the high density Pelli Tower, has also been opposed by preservationists because of its negative impact on the historic skyline. It has become a cause célèbre for the World Heritage system, which has voiced strong opposition and threatened to remove Sevilla's World Heritage status should the project proceed further. In both cases development is occurring outside the regulatory boundaries of the historic landscape, and in both Avila



Figure 6.15 Mock-up of Pelli Tower outside Sevilla, Spain
 [source: Nùria Font/World Monuments Fund]

and Sevilla preservationists are arguing the negative visual impact on the heritage resources.

However, in neither case has there been any discourse regarding how preservation regulations have, in fact, pushed development outside historic city centers. The focus of preservation advocates has been solely on impacts to the heritage resources, without looking beyond to either their role in the pattern of land use, or to the broader societal and environmental impacts of thwarting the development.

In Barcelona, Spain, the construction of a much needed underground commuter rail line was been opposed by preservationists after concerns were raised about the potential impact on the nearby foundations of Gaudi's Temple Expiatori de la Sagrada Família. Despite several engineering studies concluding that any potential impact would be mitigated, local and international preservation organizations continued to voice concern. After taking the case to court, the rail construction was allowed to continue.

While all of these represent commendable efforts to steward important heritage resources, they also illustrate ways in which conservation aims can bump up against the sustainable growth of cities, and the problem extends well beyond urban areas to the treatment of other landscapes.

Take, for example, recent debates over solar and wind farms. Cape Wind, a pioneering alternative energy project was proposed for development off the eastern seaboard of the United States, near Cape Cod, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard. The proposal included the construction of 130 wind turbines across 24 square miles of Horseshoe Shoal. Despite the fact that it was an important clean energy project, Robert Kennedy, one of the country's renowned environmentalists and an attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council, came out against it noting a number of potential environmental hazards, from birds being killed in the turbines to impacts on fishing. (It should also be noted that Cape Wind would be visible from the Kennedy compound on Martha's Vineyard.) Indeed, many of its strongest opponents were moneyed families with compounds along the coast, while many local year-round residents were defenders of the project (Nordhaus and Shellenberger 2007).

The project went through nine years of review and challenges. Historic preservation groups opposed the wind farm and joined forces with tribal communities with an attachment to the land, and the stretch of water was designated as a cultural landscape eligible for the National Register in an effort to thwart construction. This incurred Section 106 review, and in 2010 the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation recommended that Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar deny or relocate the project because of the adverse impact on the view shed of 34 historic homes and the sunrise vista

for the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe and the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head. In late April 2010, Secretary Salazar approved the project, and negotiated a large financial settlement with the tribes, paid by Cape Wind and the state.

When several wind and solar farms were proposed in California's Mojave Desert along historic Route 66, Senator Diane Feinstein introduced legislation in 2009 to designate the area a national monument, thereby scuttling more than a dozen projects that would have created clean energy and jobs. Senator Barbara Boxer joined her in 2011 when the legislation was reintroduced in expanded form. While the bill has yet to pass, it has effectively deterred clean energy developers from any more proposals in the region, and has in fact been supported by many environmental groups with traditional landscape protection missions.

The tension between preserving cultural landscapes and generating clean energy is not unique to the United States. In October 2009, the landscape around the historic town of Trujillo in Spain was included on the World Monuments Watch because of the construction of a solar farm several miles beyond the town (*Figure 6.16*). While many acknowledged that the visual impact was minimal, concern was that the solar farm might grow and thus have a more pronounced negative effect on the view shed around the historic urban core.

Figure 6.16 Solar farm outside Trujillo, Spain
[source: Ben Haley/World Monuments Fund]



All of these preservation positions conflict with sustainability concerns regarding land use and clean energy, as well as economic growth and green jobs in some cases. That is not to say that the preservation position is not valid; there are many reasons why one can argue for unimpeded view sheds and low density historic centers. However, there are significant tradeoffs incurred by the preservation stance, and the field provides little data to back up its claims that a dense and changing city center is less beneficial to society than a physically preserved historic core. Indeed, more often than not, the field rests its laurels on the legislative and institutional infrastructure that has been built in the last half century to legitimize its position, rather than directly quantify and qualify the costs and benefits of specific endeavors.

The example of Dresden, Germany, provides a poignant illustration in this regard. In 2004, the Dresden Elbe Valley -- a 12-mile stretch of landscape including the city center -- was designated World Heritage. Two years later, the site was placed on the list of World Heritage in Danger because of a proposed four-lane bridge that was to be built across the Elbe to alleviate traffic congestion in the city core. While alternatives were examined, including a tunnel, the options proved financially unfeasible. The World Heritage Committee threatened that if construction proceeded, Dresden would lose its World Heritage status. A poll of Dresden residents found that the majority favored the bridge over retaining its World Heritage honor, and construction moved forward. In 2009, the Dresden Elbe Valley was removed from the World Heritage List. Some lamented that the city might lose tourism revenue as a result of its stripped status, and the city lost access to a government fund for German UNESCO sites. But these considerations did not outweigh the value of the bridge to the community.

Economic and Social

While the concept of sustainability has been framed as a tripartite of environmental, economic, and social factors, current debate focuses primarily on the former two. Consequently, the built heritage field has invested significant effort in recent years to articulate the economic and environmental rationales for preservation. Faced with the increasing need to justify investment – public and private – in preservation, the field has co-opted the tools and language of economics, environmental science, and industrial ecology to quantify its benefits to society. Let us return for a moment to the bottom half of the framework of analysis:

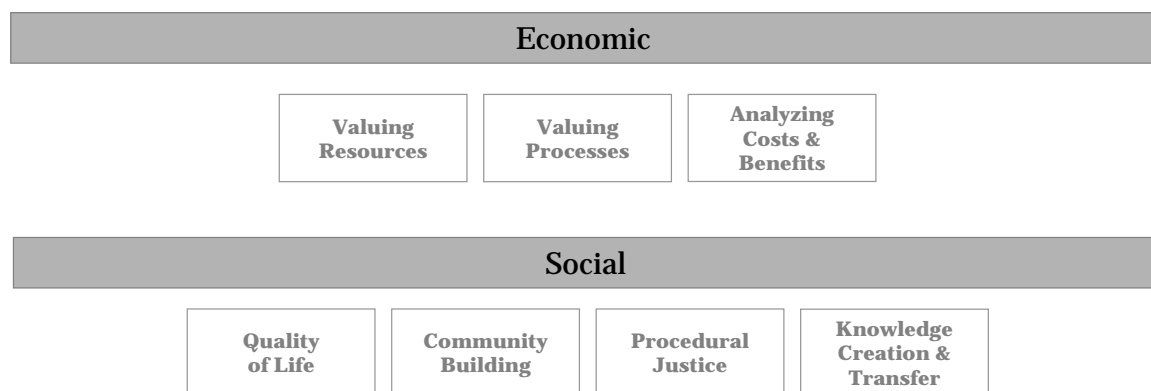


Figure 6.17 Economic and social areas of the framework

The work of economics within the preservation context was discussed at length in Chapter 5. It can be grouped into three primary areas:

Valuing resources refers to the research used to quantitatively assess and monetize the value of heritage places or resources as assets.

Valuing processes includes economics-based assessments of the value of historic preservation as a set of processes.

Analyzing costs and benefits encompasses the pro forma calculations, cost-benefit analyses, economic impact studies, and other research that look to contextualize the role of preservation within a wider set of financial decisions and/or a broader economy.

Most economics research has sought to measure impacts or avoided impacts in service to preservation, meaning they are advocacy studies commissioned and undertaken with positivist intent to make the case for heritage. However, they also begin to create important system feedback loops with regard to the relationship of historic preservation to the economic factors that influence decision-making about the built environment, and thus provide financial benefits to society.

Yet while these assessments help to rationalize why historic preservation makes financial sense, the motivating force behind preservation is not economics, just as it is not energy efficiency or environmental protection. Heritage is a socially-differentiated stock of the built environment; preservation is an enterprise fundamentally driven by social values and aims. Yet there has been only limited scholarship advancing this mainstay of preservation: the social benefits in engenders.

The lack of a robust body of work that assesses the social benefits of preservation is due in part to a failure on the part of the field to integrate such concerns in the shaping of its work as well as its evaluation. As discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, there are a series of rationales influencing the processes of preservation. These can generally be grouped into the following areas:

Quality of life includes the foundational bases of aesthetics, as well as other ways in which preservation can positively affect individual and collective well-being.

Community building refers to the arguments that preservation can promote social cohesion and cooperation, diversity and tolerance, through heritage creation and stewardship, thereby building social capital.

Procedural justice involves the capacity for preservation to promote inclusion and participation in decision-making about the environment and society.

Knowledge creation and transfer speaks to the ways in which preservation, by celebrating and transmitting the diverse traditions and places of the past, can create new knowledges for the future.

While this framing provides a neat lens, in reality many of these concerns are woven into the enterprise of preservation in inexplicit, informal, and insufficient ways. One can contend that preservation is not simply an end in and of itself, but rather a tool among many to steward cultural resources, to tell stories and codify memories, to foster a sense of community and identity, to encourage diversity and inclusion, and to improve quality of life. However, the theoretical underpinnings of why and how these ends result from preservation as well as the metrics to actually measure them are very much underdeveloped, which is why -- in part -- preservation is always at war.

Most countries, if not all, have some form of national legislation in place to list or designate cultural resources, though levels of protection vary greatly. Although there may be some inherent value in *saving places*, changing environmental conditions and growing populations will continue to challenge this preservation position unless rationalized in social terms more effectively. Justifying the assertion that historic preservation is an essential element of civilized society means taking into account all that contributes to the slippery concepts of “quality of life,” “social cohesion,” “social

justice,” and more. It necessitates a willingness to negotiate and compromise. It also means recognizing that preservation is as much about people as it is about places, and that its ramifications for social equity, environmental efficiency, and economic vitality are important considerations that must be weighed with concerns for aesthetics and formal function -- and not marginalized from preservation’s purview.

As noted in Chapter 5, deciding what to preserve and how to preserve may engender benefits that have less to do with the places themselves and more to do with the way in which heritage serves these social aims in more direct ways. A number of authors have captured this notion through the lens of storytelling, and how it engages collective action in unique ways:

What is a historic place? It is a place where something happened – an event, a pattern of events, a movement, a way of life...But it is more. It is a place where that something can be understood, remembered, or retold especially well because of the physical survival of a structure or landscape (Kaufman 2009, 233).

Both preservation and destruction involve people framing narratives and stories about existing places that promote the process of holding on or letting go of those places...Preservation often requires individuals or communities to come to terms with places in a way that pushes back against the powerful natural forces and cultural narratives that contribute to destruction (Bluestone 2011, 16).

Leonie Sandercock (2003) uses stories and storytelling as both a metaphor for understanding the past and an operative tool for future planning practice:

Stories about the past have power and bestow power. The impulse to tell new stories about the past points up the fact that time itself is a perspective in the construction of histories (37).

In telling new stories about our past, our intention is to re-shape our future (47).

Storytelling, in the fullest sense, is not merely recounting events, but endowing them with meaning by commentary, interpretation, and dramatic structure (195).

Sandercock envisions planning as a future-oriented narrative that is imbued with memory, as a way of connecting communities to the larger urban narrative and enforcing/reinforcing memories. But storytelling (and story gathering), nonetheless, has a unifying connotation, whether it is capturing memories and creating history or constructing a “future myth” (191). And the ways in which it “unifies,” in which it weaves layers and “explains” in the city context, is very much dictated by power associations. Stories are made up of multiple layered stories, memories of multiple layered memories. In cities with a multiplicity of people and difference, this is ever more poignant. How does one create collective memory from this realm of difference? What happens when memories compete and conflict? If, as Sandercock suggests, “memory locates us” (221), the tools by which communities interpret and transmit the past become increasingly significant. What to preserve and how to preserve it, for whom and by whom, raise a new set of issues with regard to inclusion and equality in light of migration and mobility. Thus the city fabric becomes both pallet and canvas for layered memories and storytelling by multiple publics.

Efforts to preserve memory and to collectively shape both the past and future have potential for allowing a multicultural citizenry to “connect through engaging in activities together” (Sandercock 2003, 144) and promoting an always “contested engagement with and continually redefined notion of the common good and the shared destiny of the citizens of the city” (Sandercock 2003, 151). But a shared destiny does not compel a shared past, nor a shared vision for the future.

Ethnic and cultural groups that do not adhere to the prevailing theories of how to preserve or what is appropriate (which are based largely on Western European

experience) are at a clear disadvantage in the participatory process. So while stakeholder values and participation have become part of the general rhetoric of practice, how cultural difference and multiple knowledges translate to a new set of principles for preservation and storytelling in the built environment remains largely uncharted territory, but an important one nonetheless. Values-based methodologies as applied in preservation seek to advance inclusion and participation, thereby providing for a just process, even if the outcomes are not just for all. While such methodologies have certainly been effectively applied to preservation at the *project* level, little research has sought to examine this dynamic at the *system* level, i.e. how the entire enterprise of preservation in a multi-cultural and globalizing world can provide a important vehicle for processes of participation by multiple publics.

Preservation is fundamentally a form of planning – both public and political -- that seeks to codify collective memory in the built environment, so as to communicate the values of a community to future generations. Those values are often contentious and conflicted, the narratives layered and discordant. The preservation process is a potential vehicle for giving voice to multiple publics, encouraging deliberation, championing local knowledge, empowering communities, and negotiating change. Politics and power may dominate in such localized negotiations about heritage; the conservation process serves to mediate these relationships in an effort to find a common vision for the future through a collective past. In doing so, there is what Uffe Jensen refers to as a ‘deference to an ideal of human flourishing’ that transcends the particular and the local (2003, 43). It is precisely this ideal that epitomizes the universality of conservation: through difference and deliberation we seek shared understanding.

Preservation is not merely an act of stewardship that privileges the past over the present; it is a creative destruction of alternative futures. A successful and sustainable vision for the future hinges on motivating human agency through broad public participation and accessible discourse. Historic preservation has the potential to provide a means to such ends, not simply because of the resources it safeguards, but because of the civic engagement it can engender. These political dynamics of preservation can promote social equity when deliberation is inclusive and underpinned by the fundamental principles of freedom, equality, and agency. Thus it may be that one essential aim in promoting a shift in the preservation paradigm is to democratize the structures and processes of preservation so as to ensure these principles.

But the field is still faced with the challenges of devising methods for measuring the benefits – and costs -- to society that these processes incur. While preservation seeks to tell stories about the past, it must also find effective ways to communicate and qualify how that its processes and products are a unique contribution to a sustainable built environment. While economic and environmental rationales help to bolster the cause of preservation, we do not preserve a place simply because it makes money or saves energy. At the end of day, a very significant historic structure may not be the most energy-efficient, or represent the best land use, or generate the most revenue. Its fundamental value is in the social benefits it and its preservation provide. A critical step in aligning preservation's aims with that of the broader system of sustainability and the built environment will be to develop tools and methodologies for measuring the social effects of these processes and creating feedback loops that continue to inform the system.

7. CONCLUSIONS

As discussed in previous chapters, a *systems thinking* approach (based on the work of Donella Meadows) underpins this research, the idea being that sustainability concerns and the ability to continue to support life on the Earth compel us to better understand and manage the impacts of human activity. With its high levels of resource and energy consumption, landscape destruction, and waste generation, the built environment creates some of the most negative environmental impacts, but also profoundly shapes the human experience. Between changes in climate and demographics, one can confidently say that there is a need to look differently at how we plan, design, and construct the built environment if we are to meet future challenges. Preservation can play an important role in that transformation. And while a sustainability rubric is not the only means of framing preservation, it serves as a timely tool for mapping and understanding the role of preservation within society and the built environment.

Preservation is a vital and influential tool used to manage the built environment, but one premised on a paradigm that is under challenge. While the enterprise of preservation has a predominantly social function, the failure to contextualize its work within a broader perspective cum system of social, economic, and environmental factors has created unintended consequences. By looking too narrowly at what – and who – the field includes, the externalities and social costs of the preservation enterprise are not fully understood. Likewise the field is not able to fully capitalize on the social, environmental, and economic benefits it engenders.

Understanding the Built Environment as a System

As explored in Chapter 2, the built environment is not merely an agglomeration of buildings and places. It is a complicated system of relationships that involves not only the products of design, planning, and construction, but the complex processes associated with their creation and management. A systems approach affords a lens that helps to show the ways in which those relationships influence the system as a whole as well as its components. The goal of the built environment system, in this light, is to maintain a sustainable -- environmentally, economically, and socially -- habitat for humanity within the planet's overall (and finite) eco-system.

In systems modeling speak, places – buildings to cultural landscapes – can be viewed as *stock*. The dynamics of society and nature create behavior flux within the system and *inflows* and *outflows* of stock. System management helps to control stocks as well as ensure resilience, or the “ability to recover from perturbation” (Meadows 2008, 78); in the context of the built environment, that means the capacity to adapt to changing conditions be they environmental or social.

Feedback loops influence system flows and stocks. Population growth as well as changes in the way people occupy space (i.e. increased per capita land use) create a *reinforcing feedback loop* that causes inflows to exceed outflows, meaning the stock keeps increasing and the built environment keeps growing. Market conditions that encourage real estate speculation and development as a profit-generating enterprise can likewise create a reinforcing feedback loop, increasing inflows and stocks.

Balancing feedback loops are “equilibrating or goal-seeking structures in systems and are both sources of stability and sources of resistance to change” (Meadows 2008,

30). Land use regulations, building and demolition codes, zoning, and the like are all balancing feedback loops intended to control stocks within a given range of values, that is to say they serve as tools for managing the built environment. However, given that current land and resource consumption rates now exceed the carrying capacity of the planet, these traditional tools are not sufficient to equilibrate the system. New information flows regarding the resource consumption and energy efficiency of buildings, land use, and waste generation are helping to create additional balancing feedback loops that will further help to manage and modify the built environment so as to ensure environmental sustainability.

Within this model, historic preservation likewise serves as a feedback loop, by helping to determine which places should not be demolished or significantly altered because of the meanings and values ascribed to them by society. It effectively red flags or prohibits, depending on the regulatory framework, the outflow of particular places from the built environment stock. The preservation community views this as a *balancing* feedback loop, in that it prevents the loss of irreplaceable stock and helps to stabilize the built environment system by providing social, economic, and environmental benefits to communities. However, some regard it as a *reinforcing* feedback loop that simply forces new construction (increased stock) elsewhere and limits economic vitality:

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs argued that “cities need old buildings” because “if a city area has only new buildings, the enterprises that can exist there are automatically limited to those that can support the high costs of new construction.” Jacobs was surely correct that cities benefit from having some less expensive real estate—but restricting the construction of new buildings [*in historic districts*] doesn’t achieve that end. Prices stay low not when the building stock is frozen but when it increases to meet demand (Glaeser 2010).

Determining whether historic preservation is a *reinforcing* or *balancing* feedback loop – or both – requires us to look more closely at preservation as a subsystem vis à vis the built environment system.

Historic Preservation as a Subsystem

There are no separate systems. The world is a continuum (Meadows 2008, 190).

The theoretical goal of the preservation subsystem is to identify and manage those places that have the highest potential for incurring social benefits, by providing a physical canvas for storytelling and narratives about the past as well as a process for engaging communities in that dialogue. Historic preservation may likewise have added environmental benefits through the reuse of existing structures as well as positive economic impacts. While these environmental and economic gains may help to bolster the cause of preservation, they are neither its primary rationale nor the goal of the system. Preservation theoretically seeks to create a socially-differentiated stock and set of processes that fundamentally contribute to social well-being. This dynamic *sometimes* contributes to economic vitality and/or environmental protection, but can also work against one or both. To understand this on a systemic level, let us examine the process of listing, which is a nearly universal policy and primary function of preservation.

The process of listing, landmarking, or designating sites creates the preservation stocks, or the cadre of historic structures, sites, and landscapes that constitute built heritage. Listing is, in effect, a *reinforcing* feedback loop in that it creates an endless inflow that constantly increases stock (the US national register is 1.4 million and growing, the World Heritage List is 936 and growing). In the case of the National

Register “delistings occur relatively rarely, usually when the historic integrity of a site has been lost by demolition, fire, vandalism, or other causes. There are about 1500 such instances in total.”²³ Only two World Heritage Sites have been de-designated. Thus, delisting serves as a very weak balancing feedback loop for the system.

Preservationists might argue that there is no need for balancing feedback loops, because a goal of the preservation subsystem is to keep increasing heritage stocks. This argument derives largely from a notion of intergenerational equity. By continually adding to the stock of built heritage resources, preservation sees itself as saving resources for future generations.

Much like the concept of biodiversity and the protection of endangered species, preservation is viewed as a means of maintaining diversity. As more time passes, there is more history, there are more stories to tell through built heritage. The more places that are designated, the greater the possibility that their uniqueness can be experienced, that their layered narratives can be made more robust. However, quantity alone does not guarantee diversity or the preservation of difference in ways that truly benefit society. Of the more than 2400 National Historic Landmarks in the United States, 25% are concentrated in three states: New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Nearly 50% of all World Heritage sites are located in Europe; despite policy efforts in the past fifteen years to diversify representation of non-European countries on the World Heritage List, the number keeps increasing.

The fundamental policy of listing, in fact, creates a dialectic tension between the untidy differences of pluralist society and the shared platform of universality. As discussed in Chapter 3, the generalization resulting from the listing of heritage at global,

²³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_delisted_National_Register_of_Historic_Places_properties#cite_note-1

national, and municipal levels has helped to inspire collective agency and promote ideas of common values and shared stewardship. At the same time, in creating universal narratives preservation steps away from the messy, multiplicity of stories and stakeholders at the heart of the heritage-creating process. As Minnich suggests, such universality is useful, as long as it is indeed understood as inspiration rather than certainty (1990, 115). But the structure of the modern preservation system is largely derived from dominant ideologies that have promoted conviction about the immutable, intrinsic value of designated places. So while the field does indeed aspire to preserve cultural diversity and physical difference, its primary tool of listing – as it is currently designed -- is not effectively achieving that end.

The immutable value ascribed by listing presents other issues as well. The common presence of heritage across space and time suggests that preservation is a ubiquitous process, which implies a certain universal and inherent value to heritage. However, as examined in Chapter 3, preservation is a socially constructed process through which values are ascribed by people to a place. Those values are not absolute; they are relative to the context, the society, the culture. The values ascribed to a site by one stakeholder can be in conflict with those of another; values can change over time. While no one wants to make preservation a hostage of relativism, there are no provisions within the system to accommodate changing values given its focus on preserving the physical fabric across generations.

The intergenerational equity argument is also underpinned by the notion that built heritage is a nonrenewable resource, as discussed in Chapter 5. Borrowing from the natural resources realm, nonrenewable means that the resource cannot be recovered or

replenished at a rate that exceeds consumption. However, as discussed at length in Chapter 3, heritage is a social construction. New heritage is invented everyday; cultural attachments to historic places and the social values ascribed to them are always in flux. The extraordinary growth of listed or designated places -- from New York City Landmarks to World Heritage Sites -- underscores the fact that there is always more heritage to be made. The nonrenewable argument is based largely on an historical -- and flawed -- concept of heritage as things that we discover and steward for the benefit of future generations. More recent scholarship (and hopefully this dissertation) has clearly demonstrated the social processes through which heritage is created and recreated. It is precisely the renewability of this process -- the capacity to always ascribe new values and craft new stories within the built environment -- that makes the system of preservation resilient and socially relevant.

That said, individual sites and landscapes, because of the materials, forms, and techniques used in their original construction or the conditions under which they were created, may be irreplaceable. Machu Picchu and the Taj Mahal would be difficult to replicate; today's Penn Station, tucked in the bowels of Madison Square Garden, is certainly not the same experience as the McKim, Meade, and White Penn Station of the past. But that speaks to notions of substitutability rather than renewability. The way in which particular stories are spatialized in particular places may be inimitable, but this has more to do with the quality of preservation rather than the quantity of heritage sites.

Through cumulative, ongoing designation of heritage, places are protected as bequests for the benefit of future generations. However, they likewise create burdens and limit options. That is not to say that the process of listing heritage is inherently flawed or

bad for society. Rather, *unchecked* listing is problematic in the long-term, because “in physical, exponentially growing systems, there must be at least one reinforcing loop driving the growth *and* at least one balancing loop constraining the growth, because no system can grow forever in a finite environment” (Meadows 2008, 190).

The system of the built environment cannot grow endlessly because the planet cannot support it. Sustainability-focused balancing feedback loops will more and more control the overall growth of the built environment, impelling many buildings to be replaced or renovated to accommodate higher density and spurring infill development in urban areas. If historic preservation has virtually no outflow, meaning it just keeps expanding its stock, this stock escalation will only create conflict with the larger built environment system and sustainability interests in the future, and tensions are already mounting (as discussed in Chapter 6). The long-term viability of preservation hinges on its ability to achieve dynamic equilibrium, such that its goals do not usurp the aims of the larger built management system, thereby creating suboptimization.

In short: we cannot just keep collecting old buildings. The system has to change.

Changing the System

Systems thinking provides a dynamic tool for modeling structures and relationships, and showing how “events accumulate into dynamic patterns of *behavior*” (Meadows 2008, 88). However, Meadows acknowledges forthrightly that while models can help us understand the world, they always fall short. But that is the case with any research methodology, in that data are never complete, some comprehensive reality is never fully represented. The important aim is to question the structure and behavior, to

derive better (not complete) understanding, and to enable agency to make system changes. With this in mind, Meadows suggests leverage points or ways of intervening in systems to change structures and behaviors, ranging from structural changes to stocks, flows and feedback loops, to the paradigms that underpin those structures.

System History

When a systems thinker encounters a problem, the first thing he or she does is look for data, time graphs, the history of the system. That's because long-term behavior provides clues to the underlying system structure. And structure is the key to understanding not just *what* is happening, but *why* (Meadows 2008, 89).

The bulk of this dissertation looks at the existing and historical relationships of preservation to broader issues of built environment planning, management, and sustainability. Applying a systems thinking lens, what one finds emerging in the mid-20th century is the development of a more formal system that purposefully sought to isolate preservation from other land use decision-making. As discussed in Chapter 3, the aesthetics rationale and the growing professionalization of the preservation enterprise were certainly factors that contributed to its separation from a broader landscape-centered vision and practice dating to the 19th-century. However, the mid-century modernist planning policies and practices that were dramatically altering metropolitan landscapes – namely urban renewal and suburbanization – were a driving force. The enterprise of preservation was not borne from battles like that over Penn Station, but the accumulation of these losses of historic urban fabric spurred a mindset and discourse that positioned preservation as a counter movement:

The history of the movement suggests that preservationists' natural (if not always comfortable) allies are the environmentalists, tenants' organization, civil rights groups, neighborhood conservationists, unions, public housing activists, and others working for large-scale social change. For historic preservation, like these

others, is a reform movement: it goes against the grain of the dominant culture (Wallace 1986, 198).

Preservation was pitted as the David against the Goliath of public and private interests focused on ill-conceived social progress through a rationally planned built environment. Preservationists rallied a citizenry in its struggle against economic interests and government forces too powerful to be challenged by individuals on their own. The government-sponsored reinforcing loop of redevelopment needed balancing, and the system that emerged was one that pointedly sought to remove heritage from the broader land use planning purview and to keep government action from negatively impacting these resources. This conflict helped to create institutional structures and an ongoing discourse set in opposition to and in isolation from the dominant forces of change.

This has established the preservation rubric as a constant battle against change and has profoundly limited the field's capacity to compromise and look beyond the goals of its immediate interests. Whereas preservation should be a dialogue about managing change, it has set itself against development and created a limited toolbox of policies and practices that centers on its ability to designate heritage and thus put it beyond the reach of "progress." Ironically, preservation's curatorial approach toward stockpiling and safeguarding the fabric of history suggests that it clings, to some extent, to the same modernist paradigms of controlling the built environment that it fought just decades ago. If the field is to adapt and effectively contribute to the next wave of potentially dramatic changes -- those driven by sustainability concerns -- there is a need to reassess its foundations and behavior, so as to alter the system.

Realigning and Reestablishing Goals

It may help us to remember human agency (and so responsibility) by focusing our attention not on static things, products, abstraction but, rather, on the processes, histories, and complexly interrelating systems that create and sustain so much of our world (Minnich 1990, 11).

As discussed in Chapter 5, much of the focus of the preservation enterprise has been to protect heritage resources. But these places – these buildings, archaeological sites, historic districts, cultural landscapes and more -- are as much a social construction as a physical construction. They are derived from dynamics among people and their environment, creating a process of heritage – not simply a set of products.

In recent years, the field has begun to grapple with these processes and the way in which they relate to broader social, environmental, and economic concerns. To some extent, this has prompted an identity crisis:

In facing the future, our problem is as much internal as it is external. We are still confronted by major issues about the changing nature of the preservation movement itself, the rapid growth of specialized preservation professionals and institutions, demographic change, the uncertain direction of future urban development and suburban settlement – to say nothing of the technological revolution and the ultimate consequences of the environmental movement. An emerging issue of similar importance is how we define ourselves. Much of what we are has been serendipitous, the result of a historical accretion of traditional ways of thinking about our mission – doing more of the same, as it were. (Stipe 2003, 488).

As noted in the previous section and underscored by other researchers, improved understanding of the history of preservation can help provide a basis for such analyses of the mission and evolution of the field. However, it is not enough to change behavior dramatically. One of the most poignant lessons learned from the postmodern shift in planning and the self-awareness in the field regarding past modernist paradigms was that critical analyses do not in and of themselves promote the agency needed for change. As

discussed in Chapter 4, with a clearer understanding of its past mistakes, planning as a field of study and professional practice is now somewhat inhibited to act in profound ways. Large scale, top down planning connotes the rational paradigms of modernism; bottom up, localized planning prevails in most contemporary theoretical discourse. But some of the most challenging issues facing today's society transcend the local in light of sustainability concerns. Striking a balance between localized and large-scale action poses significant challenges.

While critical theory and historical analyses can inform improved system behavior, they do not necessarily inspire the potential for a different or brighter future. The goals of the preservation system still need to be rethought and realigned with the broader system of the built environment, so as to prompt agency and effect positive change. That means both thinking and acting beyond the heritage resources themselves and more toward the role of the preservation process within society, to more clearly qualify the benefits – and negative impacts – it has on communities.

Ned Kaufman has lamented that “once upon a time, historic preservation was a passionate protest. Now it's a prudent profession” (2004, 313). In many respects, the field has premised its scope of endeavor on this identity as a counter movement. When urban renewal was devastating cities, this protest was certainly germane. And many a preservationist might argue that while government is no longer leading the redevelopment charge today, its proxy of private developers – enabled through tax incentives and other neoliberal economic policies – has simply taken over the role. But in many urban areas, redevelopment efforts are doing exactly what should be done in light of sustainability concerns: densifying to accommodate increased populations,

making existing buildings more energy efficient through retrofits, creating more mass transit. Ironically, as the dominant culture becomes more environmentally conscious, preservation continues to wage battles against it. This era of sustainability provides a new opportunity for preservation to forge common ground and shared aims, but it must be willing to redefine its own goals and functions in light of these broader concerns.

Feedback Loops and Information Flows

There is a systematic tendency on the part of human beings to avoid accountability for their own decisions. That's why there are so many missing feedback loops...(Meadows 2008, 157).

As noted above, the core policy tool of listing is a reinforcing feedback loop in the preservation system. More and more sites get listed, and there are few and weak balancing feedback loops to stabilize that growth or to make the designation process more rigorous. Improving the dynamic equilibrium of the system can be achieved through two avenues: strengthening the balancing loops and/or limiting the reinforcing loop.

As noted in Chapter 6, faced with the increasing need to justify investment – public and private – in preservation, the field has co-opted the tools and language of economics, environmental science, and industrial ecology to quantify its benefits to society. Most of that research has sought to measure impacts or avoided impacts in service to preservation, meaning they are advocacy studies commissioned and undertaken with positivist intent to make the case for heritage. However, the research is growing more sophisticated and helping to create important balancing feedback loops. By providing data on how preservation can save energy, or raise property values, or provide

a positive return on investment, these studies help to demonstrate how the enterprise of preservation can contribute to environmental and economic sustainability.

Yet while these assessments help to rationalize why historic preservation makes financial and ecological sense, there has been only limited scholarship advancing the traditional mainstay of conservation: the social benefits it engenders. We do not preserve a place simply because it makes money or saves energy. As noted previously, at the end of day, a very significant historic structure may not be the most energy-efficient, or represent the best land use, or generate the most revenue. The future of the field hinges on the ability to contribute to all three areas of the sustainability tripartite, but to also demonstrate why social concerns must *sometimes* trump economic and environmental ones in the overall sustainability balance.

Making that case means more rigorously assessing the social functions and impacts – positive and negative – of heritage and its preservation. This kind of information can create new knowledges with regard to what processes work well within the preservation enterprise, how participation might be enhanced, how communities might reap more benefits. Yet despite the advances in economic and environmental research regarding preservation, as well as the longstanding historical and technical analyses that are used to inform practice, the field has failed to establish, or even prioritize, any systematic rigor with regard to the assessment of its social impacts. The legal precedents are a protective perch for the field, providing an effective weapon against “highest and best use” through a largely aesthetics-based rationale. There is a profound assumption that preservation is good for society and limited vehicles to account for that claim precisely because of the legislative protections. What if, for example, the National

Historic Preservation Act were subject to requirements similar to those of the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments, which call for an analysis every twenty years to quantify the costs and benefits of the legislation to the American public? While this seems like a daunting task, imagine how useful that data would be to improve the process of preserving and its service to humanity and the ecosystem. To stabilize the preservation system and ensure that its goals do not run counter to those of the broader built environment, it is imperative that this kind of information is integrated within the system.

Concomitant to the strengthening of these balancing feedbacks, there is likewise a need to limit the reinforcing loop of listing. But finding an effective leverage point poses significant challenges. As part of an assessment leading up to the fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, the idea was posed to possibly close the list – at least for a period of time – because its growth was seen to be undermining both the legitimacy of World Heritage status itself and the capacity of the World Heritage Centre to manage the program. The option was readily dismissed by States Parties. A similar attempt to limit listing in the United States would likely meet opposition as well.

That said, many have suggested that the National Register might be more effective if listing were hierarchical, as it is in the United Kingdom and many other countries. In these cases heritage is graded, whereby it is more difficult to make changes to or impact higher graded structures, while lower graded structures provide for more flexibility with regard to alterations. After all, is each and every one of the 1.4 million buildings and sites on the National Register equally pregnant with history and cultural significance such that preservation of their original form should take precedence over other environmental, economic, and social concerns? Surely not, but while a hierarchical

system might improve balance and stability by allowing for flexibility, it is not likely to forestall listing significantly, as those countries with graded designations still face the same challenges of growing stocks.

What if, instead, listing were provisional? After a probationary period of say ten, twenty, or more years, the social, economic, and environmental impacts might be assessed to inform a decision regarding permanent listing. This would entirely change the set of values against which heritage processes are measured, creating an imperative for agency and ensuring that preservation ultimately serves the greater good of the population and the planet. It would compel the field to look beyond the simple physical rescue of a place and contextualize preservation within a broader built environment and societal dynamic.

Or what if listing were temporary or term-based, requiring renewal every quarter century or more using similar social, economic, and environmental assessments? If indeed preservation is premised on notions of intergenerational equity, it seems a fairer course of action would be to allow future generations to decide if they want to continue to steward some heritage resources or not, rather than simply burdening them with a growing stock. This would more fully acknowledge the concept of heritage as a social construction influenced by time, values, and other contextual factors. It would also shift the focus of the preservation enterprise from simply saving places to generating information flows and feedback loops that foster accountability for designation across generations. While these are hypothetical suggestions, they speak to the important need to revisit the values ascribed to a place, to ensure that its preservation is serving society

by improving quality of life, building community cohesion, providing for inclusion and diversity, and/or transmitting knowledge effectively.

Certainly one would question the need to revisit the listing of the Statue of Liberty or Mount Rushmore, compared to a row of early twentieth century townhouses, for example. It may be that a combined system of hierarchy and term assessment could allow for the time lags that often prevent the heritage process from being fully realized. For example, Monticello, though preserved as an interpreted historic site since 1923, did not interpret slavery as part of Jefferson's household and plantation until decades later. The controversy surrounding the Smithsonian and its proposed exhibition of the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 Superfortress that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, also provides a poignant illustration. The National Air and Space Museum attempted to mount a balanced but multi-perspective exhibition for the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII. The intent was to promote dialogue and discourse about the historical use of the bomb, nuclear policy, and weapons proliferations. With a public not ready or willing to look reflectively at that atomic history, strong political forces halted the exhibition. Instead just the forward fuselage and some basic information about the plane were presented.

Just as it takes time for society to appreciate certain styles of architecture or the historical importance of certain events, it likewise takes time to fully realize the social potential of a place and its preservation. But it is precisely because of such time lags that revisiting the listing or social values ascribed to heritage may be warranted. If indeed those properties designated as landmarks or given similar status are the places with the most significance and potential to tell stories about the past, should not listing provide an iterative process for both promoting and assessing their effectiveness in this regard?

Revisiting actual listings or the listing process in general would provide an important opportunity for checks and balances within the system. If indeed preservation aims to serve the social good, it must contextualize its work within a framework that speaks more robustly to social concerns – which are inextricably linked to economics and the environment. That is not to say that preservation must take on new imperatives to ensure economical vitality or environmental sustainability. Rather it must be prepared to recognize the consequences – positive and negative – it has on these realms. And when the consequences are indeed negative, it should be willing and able to make trade-offs that might achieve better balance and outcomes, such as allowing a dense infill development in an historic district or the installation of more energy efficient replacement windows or even delisting.

Or alternatively, preservation should be prepared to assert a rationale for why social considerations might trump economic and environmental ones. Take, for example, home ownership policy here in the United States. The economic benefits of homeownership – particularly to those on the lower end of the income scale -- have been challenged, particularly in the aftermath of the mortgage crisis. Yet the social benefits of homeownership, manifested through improved neighborhoods and civic behavior, consistently trump economic ones. That is why the feedback loops and information flows regarding the social impacts are so critical. If indeed there are strong social benefits to preservation with regard to community building, social justice, and the like, they must be better qualified, and possibly quantified. In the changing environment and demographics of the twenty-first century, aesthetics alone will not carry the day.

Whether through simply slowing listing rates, making listing more stringent or hierarchical, or creating improved information flows and tools for measuring the social efficacy of preservation, the system needs a balancing feedback loop. An unchecked process of listing will ultimately make preservation an unwieldy and evermore contentious enterprise, jeopardizing not only the sustainability of the broader built environment, but also its own survival.

System Rules and Organization

Improving the effectiveness of the balancing and reinforcing feedback loops of preservation in the ways suggested above would incur substantial changes to the rules and organization of the system as a whole. In effect, it would allow the system to self-evolve, to be more dynamic and flexible, to respond to changing environmental, social, and economic conditions. Rather than focusing on the criteria for what sites should be saved and the design of interventions, it would instead establish rules that provide for “experimentation, for selecting and testing new patterns” (Meadows 2009, 160).

Providing for this flexibility and self-evolution, however, means relinquishing control.

And given its command and control nature, does the system of preservation have the capacity for this degree of change and loss of control?

At the beginning of the twentieth century, preservation was pressed to demonstrate its relevance in a competitive urban milieu buffeted by national and international economic competition, the continual conflict of urban politics, a cultural scene rocked by immigration and new communications technology, and an urban environment at once enlivened and threatened by both new construction and by obsolescence...The contemporary preservation field is challenged in many of these same fundamental ways – competing as an economic development strategy, ever morphing to resonate with the latest cultural stresses, seeking relevance in the most pressing issues of public consciousness and policy (such as sustainability and environmental conservation). The signal difference between preservation challenges in the early twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is

that today's preservation leaders have a deep foundation to build upon. The historic sites, preservation institutions, and public debates of the last century have embedded the sense, idea, and reality of preservation in the urban scene. (Mason 2009, 247-8).

As Mason notes, the existing preservation system is, in many respects, a tremendous asset. It has forged a public dialogue and social convention around heritage and its preservation. It has established strong legal foundations and institutional arrangements to undertake its mission. However, it is precisely the strength of the existing system and its dominant culture that may prevent the possibility of change. The policies and practices of today's preservation system are formalized and embedded within a weighty infrastructure of institutions and legislation. Once a disparate grassroots advocacy movement, the institutionalization and professionalization of preservation have given birth to a new generation of experts and agencies. These authorities offer educated opinions about to what places to preserve and how to preserve them, prescribed through typified building inventories, stringent codes, and an endless supply of professional charters. While many valuable sites and structures have been saved from the wrecking ball, one could argue that the creative practice of preservation in the US prior to the mid-20th century has been effectively squelched by this infrastructure.

In practical terms, what might a self-evolving, flexible system look like? The primary policy tools of preservation are listing and regulation through design review. Incentives, such as federal- and state-level historic tax credits, are also important, but as discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, they are very much contingent upon listing and design regulation (with the exception of the 10% Federal HTC). Listing, because of its gatekeeper function, is the crux of the system in that it triggers legal protections, design

review, incentive eligibility, code waivers, and more. Changing listing dynamics is the type of leverage point that would affect the entire system.

The current structure is one in which municipal-level designation is independent, providing some of the highest levels of legal protection through local laws. The primary state and federal vehicles are the State and National Registers, which do not in and of themselves provide for protection from demolition or change unless federal monies are involved, thereby triggering section 106 review. National Historic Landmarks are the highest level of designation in terms of significance, but are regulated in the same way as the National Register. Protection from demolition or alterations, barring the involvement of federal financing, is generally achieved through municipal level designation. Thus the various levels can work in tandem so that access to federal benefits and local protections are effectively secured. From a structural perspective, this is not a bad system. In theory, it decentralizes the toughest regulatory powers to local communities who have primary responsibility for managing their built environments, plus provides procedural checks and balances for federal intervention that might negatively impact those communities. This layered approach also means that municipalities without local laws have some, if only minimal, protections through state and federal programs.

The problem fundamentally lies with the unchecked capacity for aesthetics- and historical association-driven rationales to continually add more and more heritage to the rosters, without effectively analyzing the other factors and externalities involved. In effect this means establishing new criteria for listing that at least takes under review the range of social, economic, and environmental consequences of protection while also requiring demonstrated measures of success based on such things as quality of life,

community building, and knowledge transfer. It also means involving more diverse disciplines in the listing and design review process and most importantly embedding preservation functions within a framework of broader land use management, whether through connecting them directly with or subsuming functions under planning commissions.

While this has viability at the local level, it poses more challenges at the national level given the role of the National Park Service as, literally, the “keeper” of the National Register. While the ACHP provides for a council of representatives that includes a range of federal agencies (HUD, DOT, etc.) who can weigh in when federal monies are affecting a register-eligible property, the NPS is the one that ultimately and independently decides what can be on the register or deemed an NHL. Organizational change at the NPS level would be daunting. But two key rule changes could have profound effects: more stringent requirements for listing and less stringent standards for rehabilitation of non-NHL properties. The former could be achieved by the additional social assessments and environmental and economic reviews noted previously, and the establishment of more robust measures of success, creating the ability to self-evolve as societal conditions and values change. The latter could be informed by the same assessments and reviews and would provide more flexibility adapting historic properties to evolving community needs. This could serve as an important model for local systems as well. But changing the rules of the system means challenging the conceptual underpinnings of the infrastructure and the modern preservation movement itself.

Research Needs and Opportunities

Changing thinking and creating new ways of assessing the social effectiveness of preservation is no small task. It must be underpinned by solid research that builds both a rationale and toolbox for change. This fundamentally begins with a more rigorous analysis of the externalities of core preservation functions.

A robust examination of listing policies, building on the work of Schuster, Benhamou, and others, is needed to fully represent the outcomes and impacts – positive and negative – of current practices, and the costs and benefits to society in the long-term. If indeed listing presents a critical leverage point in the system, the dynamics must be better understood before any intervention is designed or implemented

Likewise, there is a need to move beyond the advocacy-driven impact studies and look more rigorously at the broader trade-offs – costs and benefits -- of the preservation position at the local and national levels. For example, the closing of St. Vincent's Hospital, a 160-year old charitable institution and the only emergency room on Manhattan's lower Westside, was largely due to financial issues and health care politics. But preservation played a role in its demise, as the hospital's attempts to upgrade, modernize, and expand its facilities and operations were consistently thwarted by preservation advocates. The relative social value of a local hospital versus a better preserved Greenwich Village is certainly debatable. These kinds of unintended consequences and trade-offs warrant further analysis so that the work of preservation can better serve society.

Tied to this, of course, is the development of improved qualitative and quantitative methods for analyzing the social impacts of preservation and metrics that

better integrate them with economic and environmental analyses. What this systems-based approach to preservation has proffered are some key themes and common ground for shaping methodological development and improved interdisciplinary relationships. By elaborating and testing tools that seek to measure more robustly the ways in which preservation contributes to quality of life, community building, just participation and inclusion, and knowledge transfer, the field will ultimately be able to build a stronger rationale for its work, rather than relying so heavily on economic and environmental rationales that often do not effectively support its case. Such research could happen at the project or community level, aggregating data to a regional, national, international purview over time. The last of these – the international perspective -- is particularly germane, given the discussions of Chapter 6 and the very diverse nature of the world's regions and sustainability concerns. Another important aspect, given the inherent enduring quality of heritage and its preservation, is the need for longitudinal as well as latitudinal approaches.

A final important area is the proactive engagement of the public in fostering a vision for heritage. After all, we all own heritage. While it has evolved into a field that is largely dominated by experts focused on fabric, preservation -- in its most unadorned form -- starts and ends with people. Action research that brings community views to bear on some of these very questions about the future of the field is warranted. Whether through experimental public programs to revisit listing, polls about whether an historic building should be preserved or replaced with a new development, surveys about how preservation ranks among other social policies, or voting about which preservation activities or heritage places are the highest priority, such action research would enable

new avenues for participation while also informing the work of the field and its social relevance.

What a systems approach to preservation affords is a wider lens, a means of peering over the fence at the terrain around the traditional core of the field that largely affects and is affected by preservation. Combined with a sustainability rubric that accounts for social, economic, and environmental issues, it can provide a map for navigating those relationships and finding ways of working that can integrate concerns and provide greater benefits to society and the planet. Ultimately, a systems approach – by contextualizing the work of preservation – can help to ensure the success and survival of the enterprise.

A New Paradigm

So how do you change paradigms?...You keep pointing at the anomalies and failures in the old paradigm. You keep speaking and acting, loudly and with assurance, from the new one. You insert people with the new paradigm in places of public visibility and power. You don't waste time with reactionaries; rather, you work with active change agents and with the vast middle ground of people who are open-minded...There is yet one leverage point that is even higher than changing a paradigm. That is to keep oneself unattached in the arena of paradigms, to stay flexible, to realize that *no* paradigm is "true," that every one...is a tremendously limited understanding of an immense and amazing universe that is far beyond human comprehension (Meadows 2008, 164).

Preservation, by privileging the past, essentially precludes alternative futures. In contrast, sustainability compels the creation of alternative futures. While this dichotomy may never be completely resolved, re-envisioning the role and work of preservation can mitigate tensions and establish shared aims.

The heritage field must continue to plug away at environmental, economic, and social research, and strive to devise metrics for analyzing and amalgamating these

quantitative and qualitative data into feedback loops and integrative frameworks for decision-making. It must likewise place more emphasis on social research itself, to ensure that the core values of heritage conservation have credibility when weighed against environmental and economic concerns. However, one of the most difficult challenges in achieving this will be re-examining and re-establishing those core values and the methodologies they engender in light of the global changes that are afoot. Given the realities of our present world and the dire need for an environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable built environment, the following are important considerations as the field begins to transcend existing paradigms:

Think beyond the building – While making individual buildings more energy efficient aggregates to a significant reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, sustainability of the built environment cannot be achieved on a building-by-building basis. The broader land use and urban community issues are equally if not more critical to an integrated approach to mitigation. It is important that historic buildings be retrofitted for energy efficiency and analytical research continue to better inform lifecycle assessments and design decisions. However, the preservation field must move beyond its traditional site-by-site approaches to ensure that it is grappling with sustainability at city- and region-wide levels.

Among the most substantive contributions the heritage field can make to sustainability is its work with communities. By focusing on cultural contexts and social relationships, preservation has developed effective tools for engaging a plurality of stakeholders in value-driven planning processes that help to shape collective visions for communities and their environments. These processes help to foster civic participation,

identify diverse and shared views about quality of life, and ensure long-term sustainability by responding to local conditions. As the environmental field shifts away from past paradigms of protecting nature from man and more toward engaging communities in stewardship, these cultural heritage methodologies become increasingly germane. Whether through incorporating energy-saving vernacular traditions into sustainable design, determining what buildings are most important to reuse in a redevelopment district, or prioritizing what and how to preserve cultural resources after devastating climate events, preservation offers methodologies to better plan and negotiate resilience in the built environment, so as to ensure balance among ecological, social, and economic concerns.

At the end of day, a very significant historic structure may not be the most energy-efficient, or represent the best land use, or generate the most revenue. Its fundamental value is in the social benefits it and its preservation provide. So while it is important for preservation to play a contributing role in environmental and economic sustainability, its social contributions are the linchpin. It is its work with people, memories, and their codification in places that differentiates heritage conservation within the broader realm of managing the built environment. However, the social tools and benefits that the process of conservation engenders are not well articulated or substantiated. Though intuitive to all who believe in the value of heritage and its protection, much depends on the field's ability to widely communicate and effectively demonstrate -- through interdisciplinary research, integrative practice, and an updated policy agenda -- its utility in promoting social sustainability and to adapt to evolving conditions.

Reinforce local-global connections – If nothing else, the climate change dialogue has demonstrated the profound correlation between local action and global effect. Heritage researchers and practitioners are compelled to contextualize their very localized work with places and communities within increasingly international and cross-cultural frameworks. Thus, the preservation has an acute understanding of how traditional built environments are a direct product of local culture, climate, and resources. It likewise has well established global networks for information sharing about vernacular knowledge and new technology, and how innovative solutions might be achieved by merging the two. Thus the heritage field has an extremely important role to play in bridging the divide between industrialized and lesser developed regions, and generating new knowledge from their respective sustainability weaknesses and strengths.

Engage in the creative process – The heritage field too often views and positions itself as stewards of the historic built environment, rather than as creative contributors to it. Decision about what places to preserve have profound effects on the shaping of landscapes and the development of communities. Embracing that role means more proactively engaging in design and planning, whether through the development of new construction hybrids combining vernacular and new technology or through regional planning analyses to determine areas where redevelopment and densification would be acceptable. The preservation community has important knowledge that should be integrated into those processes so as to better inform sustainability decision-making, and that can only happen through collaboration.

Focus on quality not quantity – A significant focus of the heritage field is on inventorying and documenting historic properties – the listing policies discussed at length

in this dissertation. However, a bigger heritage inventory does not necessarily translate to a better built environment, or to a more sustainable one. A difficult challenge on preservation's horizon will be the need to prioritize and compromise with regard to what is preserved and what is not, and what is acceptable in terms of alterations, additions, and infill development. The capacity to discern between what should change and what truly should not – and why – will be crucial to legitimizing preservation's role in sustainability planning. Focusing more on the quality of heritage preservation – its positive effects on communities and the benefits derived – rather than on the quantity and condition of protected sites will go a long way toward better aligning heritage concerns with sustainability.

Now more than ever before, the heritage field is faced with the growing need to better qualify and quantify its fundamental contributions to society and sustainability. When the Athens Charter was adopted in 1931, world population was 2 billion. By the drafting of the Venice Charter in 1964, that number had increased to 3 billion. Today, there are 7 billion people in the world, and more than half of the population lives in urban areas. It's a changing world and a changing built environment. The heritage field must adapt if it is to ensure self-preservation and the continued benefits its processes afford society.

There will always be limits to growth. They can be self-imposed. If they aren't, they will be system-imposed. No physical entity can grow forever. If company managers, city governments, the human population do not choose and enforce their own limits to keep growth within the capacity of the supporting environment, then the environment will choose and enforce limits (Meadows 2008, 103).

Preservation can choose to be an agent of change or can continue to hold fast to its existing paradigm, but change will happen regardless. If, indeed, preservation's core strengths are in its pioneering history as an impassioned social protest and reform movement, then let those assets serve society now. Harness that agency by leading the charge for a more sustainable built environment. Realign the goals of preservation with that of the broader system, develop tools and methodologies for measuring the effects of preservation processes and creating feedback loops that continue to inform the system, and focus on preservation's role in ensuring quality of life for communities and serving the greater good. Tap the emotional energy that has fought the battles to save buildings from the wrecking ball; use it to envision a better world and inspire change within preservation and beyond.

We do not know where we are going. We only know that history has brought us to this point and...why. However, one thing is plain. If humanity is to have a recognizable future, it cannot be by prolonging the past and or the present. If we try to build the third millennium on that basis, we shall fail. And the price of failure, that is to say, the alternative to a changed society, is darkness. (Hobsbawm 1994, 585).

APPENDIX I

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND THE SOCIAL AGENDA: EXPLORING STUDENT ATTITUDES

Erica C. Avrami

ABSTRACT *The field of historic preservation has great potential for informing broader social issues and public policy endeavors. However, opportunities for moving preservation in this direction have not been effectively seized. To understand the barriers to and opportunities for engagement in these realms, there is a need to explore the culture of the field so as to understand attitudes about the nature of historic preservation, to examine dynamics within the academy and the profession, and to identify external factors that influence the potential to cross these boundaries. This research focuses on an aspect of the first, specifically: What are the attitudes of novices to the field (namely first-year US graduate students) about the needs and trends in historic preservation research, and how do these potentially intersect with other issues on the social agenda?*

INTRODUCTION

Charged with the stewardship of cultural heritage (as manifested in the built environment), historic preservation involves a range of social, political, cultural, technical, and economic issues. The field of historic preservation has traditionally been allied with architecture and the arts. However, professional and scholarly advancements over the past forty years have afforded preservation a possible seat in the public policy arena. Historic preservation has the potential to inform many aspects of the social

agenda; areas of interface that have been suggested by the literature include the following:

- Ecologically-sustainable development (green building, energy conservation, waste reduction)
- Culturally-sustainable development (livable communities, “cultural capital,” architectural acculturation, international aid policy, post-conflict/disaster reconstruction)
- Public health (effects of urban design on health of communities, role of cultural heritage/built environment in environmental psychology)
- Housing (vernacular architecture and development, refugee relocation, urban migration)
- Social capital (bonds between people/generations, reinforcement of collective identity, increased tolerance, empowerment of communities)
- Community & economic development (neighborhood stabilization, enhanced property values, tourism, related employment opportunities, tax revenues)

Despite the wealth of research opportunities suggested above, the preservation community has been slow to meet the challenge. One exception has been the area of community and economic development, where some advantages of historic preservation have been researched, though more often with an aim toward justifying preservation rather than toward exploring its potential.

This failure to engage in the social research agenda may be a result of institutional policies, education, politics, lack of resources, etc., and any combination thereof.

Academics and other researchers looking to draw upon the preservation experience and/or advance common research agendas have been puzzled by the inertia, and have attributed it to “the preservation field’s myopia.”²⁴ Some point to its misguided attempts at political neutrality, the lack of vested interest on the part of preservation’s patrons, and

²⁴ Randall Mason, email correspondence author, July 27, 2004.

the failure of preservation professionals to “demonstrate an interest in measuring the social impacts of their work.” (Calame and Sechler 2004, 61). Others suggest that “...just when the preservation movement might be most in need of new blood and new partnerships, the movement might become more exclusive and parochial in an attempt to sustain the commitment of the remaining stalwarts” (Tepper, 2002, 4-5). One historian makes the fundamental observation that the “United States preservation system...is viewed by many as an essentially non-scholarly endeavor” (Lee 2004, 119).

This is harsh criticism, and the issue deserves judicious analysis. There is a fundamental need to explore how the culture and attitudes of the preservation community itself influence the problem. Furthermore, in order to move toward a solution, it is necessary to identify what role others (institutions, politicians, etc.) play, to examine how issues of expertise and funding (or a lack thereof) impact the situation, and to explore strategies for better engaging preservationists in public policy. This paper seeks to provide some insight into this dynamic by exploring student attitudes regarding preservation practice and its connections to broader social issues.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

To begin to build an understanding of the aforementioned issues, this research focused on a specific population within the US preservation community, namely first-year graduate students. The rationale behind selection of this study population was that -- because these students are just entering the field -- they have not yet been shaped by the “academy.” The discipline of historic preservation was established nearly 40 years ago, when the first university program devoted to the field was launched at Columbia. There are now some twenty-one graduate and eleven undergraduate programs in the United

States, along with twenty-six programs in allied fields offering historic preservation specializations. The historic preservation academy has grown tremendously, and its role is a critical one vis à vis the profession.

This exploratory study had two fundamental aims: grounded theory building and action research. Exploring the attitudes of these students at the onset of their studies laid some initial groundwork for constructing theories as to why the historic preservation field has not effectively seized upon its connections to the broader social agenda. In addition, by engaging students in a dialogue about these potential connections, this study sought to encourage students to explore these research avenues and intersections in their educational and professional pursuits.

The sample population was drawn from two metropolitan East Coast graduate programs in historic preservation. Questionnaires and focus group interviews, along with a review of the relevant literature, were used to glean an understanding of personal and group attitudes about the scope of historic preservation, research needs, and potential intersections with broader social issues amongst the sample population. In the fall of 2004, semi-structured, open-ended questionnaires were distributed to all first-year students in the two programs (*see Attachment A for a sample questionnaire*). Fifty-five students from the two programs (23 and 22 respectively) completed the questionnaires, constituting more than a 75% response rate. The purpose of the questionnaire was to explore predilections with regard to historic preservation, professional directions, and anticipated involvement in research. This provided some baseline data about the individual attitudes of students. A focus group discussion was subsequently held at each of the schools. Nineteen students in total participated in the focus groups (12 and 7

respectively). The ninety-minute focus groups built upon preliminary themes suggested by the questionnaires and provided an opportunity for participants to form opinions through dialogue about the field of historic preservation and its potential engagement with the social sciences and public policy. Completion of the questionnaires and participation in the focus groups were voluntary.

These two methods, combined, can provide introductory data about individual predilections in the field and a collective examination of future needs and trends in historic preservation research. The combination can potentially speak to the initial attitudes of the incoming generation of preservationists and lay the groundwork for a more critical assessment of the field vis à vis the social research agenda. In the long-term, this research will hopefully expand and build to include follow-up of said students (to chart changes in attitudes at different junctures in their training/career), as well as a more comprehensive assessment of the research opportunities and barriers that exist.

EMERGING THEMES

This study did not seek to determine why more junctures between the preservation field and other social agenda issues do not occur. Rather, it sought to explore attitudinal factors that may be shaping that dynamic. Following are the theme that emerged from the student questionnaire responses and their dialogues during the focus groups.

Scope of the Field: Beyond the Buildings

Historic preservation is fundamentally about the built environment. The early years of the discipline were characterized by a synoptic curriculum that was building-oriented (Tomlan 1986, 57). However, the evolutionary trajectory of the field, along with the rise

of postmodernist theories, has created a preservation consciousness that extends beyond the buildings themselves.

Preservation as a “cause”

An underlying theme that came out clearly in the research was the passion of those who enter the field. In describing what drew them to historic preservation, students resoundingly expressed “a love of old buildings,” “a love of history,” “a love of old architecture.” Their attachment to and engagement with the built environment was a strong motivator for pursuing preservation studies. Historic preservation is a field with a lack of resources, few career opportunities, and limited financial rewards. Student enthusiasm is largely derived from their passion for and commitment to the “cause” of historic preservation. After “field,” “cause” was the expression used most often to characterize the domain of preservation; students less frequently used such terms as “discipline” or “profession.” They believe the field to be broadly defined, encompassing a range of issues and subject matter that is not necessarily commensurate with existing academic rubrics.

Fabric vs. process

The scope of the “cause” has considerable range, as reflected in the students’ research interests and discussions. Some are focusing their studies on the physical aspects of structures and their performance, such as “water dynamics...bugs, rot, and mold,” and many are very interested in “adaptive reuse”²⁵ and historic buildings within a broader landscape cum social context. Some seek to address issues of preservation and poverty (“preservation in low income areas,” “what this work means to lower income bracket”),

²⁵ “Adaptive reuse” refers to the rehabilitation of a building for purposes other than the original intent of its design.

while a few are interested in the complex role preservation plays in communities and “how preservation benefits society, both economically and culturally.” The diversity of interests brought out a fundamental dichotomy in the field: valuing the fabric versus valuing the process. Students resoundingly affirmed that it is not “just about the buildings,” and recognized that there is a broader social agenda to which the preservation field needs to respond. There was a clear, underlying conviction that preservation is a social “good,” that promoting collective stewardship of our heritage builds social capital. In fact, many of the legal arguments for US regulatory protection of historic sites, buildings, and districts speak to the community-building nature of the preservation process as a justification for what many claim is an infringement on property rights (Rose 1981). However, while there is recognition that the work of the field is about “preserving the building *and* the community,” much of preservation rhetoric -- and that of the students as well -- is still bound up in “saving buildings” and “preventing loss” of historic resources, connoting more fabric-oriented attitudes rather than community-driven processes.

Priorities vs. purview

While the language of preservation may still favor fabric, there is a growing dialogue about its intersections with broader social issues. Expressing their views on research needs in the field, a number of students maintained their concentration on the built environment as an important resource and driving element, in particular noting the need to increase study on preserving the architecture of the Modern Movement and “integrating historic structures in a more active way in the lives of the public.” However, the majority of students indicated priorities beyond their own individual interests, with a

focus on the vitality of communities rather than on fabric. Lines of inquiry related to “what the built environment tells us about our society and others” and the “effects of preservation projects on communities,” while “neighborhood revitalization,” “urban renewal” and “post-war reconstruction” were repeated in their responses. Some also noted the limitations of their own particular interests vis à vis the needs of the field. (One student acknowledged that, “raising awareness *is* more important than bugs, rot, mold, and humidity.”) An interesting irony was that, although students had strong social commitments and saw their intersection with preservation, a fair number did not necessarily feel that these fell within *their* purview:

“I have a professional interest in fabric and in preserving fabric...but personally...I have an interest in things like preserving historical view sheds, and I'll file those issues, and...look at the dynamics of what goes behind them.”

“Some of us just really are... interested in historic details and all that stuff. We can think about the later social issues, but I don't really feel the calling in that respect. I want to leave that to other people. Maybe that's a dangerous attitude, but I'm working under the assumption that that's all been worked out.”

This appeared to be in part a matter of choice, and in part a matter of consequence. Many of the students feel that the current orientation and structure of university programs in historic preservation do not afford adequate opportunities for branching out in these directions.

Perceptions of the Field

Pioneers and Elites

The notion of the early professional preservationists as “pioneers” in a progressive social movement is rife in the literature:

“And far from being a form of nostalgia, as an interest in old buildings is frequently seen to be, it was – even in its beginnings, even in its most primitive, inarticulate form – a pioneering, heroically revolutionary, and completely avant-garde activity.” (Chatfield-Taylor 1986, 27)

“In...the 1970s and 1980s, many preservationists regarded their work as pioneering. They approached historic properties surveys with an almost missionary-zeal” (Lee 2004, 131).

However, much has changed in the past forty years. As Ned Kaufman notes, “Once upon a time, historic preservation was a passionate protest. Now it’s a prudent profession” (2004, 313).

Students entering the field do not perceive themselves as pioneers or protesters – quite the opposite in fact. They feel “privileged” to be preserving heritage when there are so many greater issues plaguing society. One noted the dilemma of advocating the preservation of historic school buildings when the students did not have adequate textbooks. Others raised the issue of heritage conservation in lesser developed countries, where poverty, hunger, and other social ills overshadow the need to preserve the built environment. This guilt is intensified by their perceptions of preservation as an elitist endeavor:

“It always comes back to the issue of preservation being...this upper class sort of thing.”

“We're all privileged...we're all approaching this from a totally different place than people...in neighborhoods where the buildings are old and deteriorating. We see beautiful buildings... they just want to make it work for what they need...We're all very privileged, and we have to try somehow to find a balance between those people and what we want to do.

They do not see the field as being accessible to the general public. One student noted that a research priority is to develop “strategies for making the field more inclusive –

abolishing its position as an ‘elite’ activity,” while another suggested the need for “strategies for transforming the field by making it more accessible/popular/pertinent.”

Public Perceptions

These observations about the field feed into, and are fed by, public perceptions of preservation. The general public, as well as many allied professionals, regard preservationists as “anti-development.” In the media, preservation only makes a headline if there is “a fight or imminent loss.” One student suggested that the label -- “historic preservation” -- was part of the problem.²⁶ It connotes a very limited notion of preservation rather than reflecting the broad, complex scope of the field. Students echoed the need to better convey the world of preservation through more effective communication and public education, not only to correct misperceptions, but also to bolster support for the cause:

“Most people still have no clue as to the fragile state of our collective immovable cultural heritage”

There is a need to communicate to the public why “we have this responsibility to take care of our past. Otherwise it's going to be gone.”

“It's not just educating them about the buildings... in a community, maybe it needs to be educating them about their past.”

“I think it's important, too, to make the public aware of why we're preserving. I think there's a lot of misconceptions about it...The only way we are ever going to be able to be successful at that process is if we make people aware of what it

²⁶ “Historic preservation” is a term used in the United States and has a fairly narrow connotation of saving old buildings, sites, and historic districts, though it encompasses much more. “Cultural heritage conservation” is the internationally recognized term for the preservation of cultural property and processes. With regard to built heritage, this includes the time-honored vestiges of construction -- such as monuments, buildings, archaeological remains -- but has expanded in past decades to include cultural landscapes, design methods, construction techniques, vernacular traditions, and more.

means.”

“I think it's necessary for there to be a widespread attitude where people value their heritage, and if they don't, it is really incumbent upon us to educate them.”

The Political Nature of Preservation

Students see a clear need to educate the public, but they are well aware that preservation is bound up in values and politics. Thus, it is not only a matter of educating, but also negotiating. Students in both focus groups offered up examples of communities where preservation became a contentious issue that polarized groups and individuals. They fully recognized that heritage has multiple meanings for multiple stakeholders. So while students felt that public perceptions of preservation need to change, they acknowledge that navigating the politics and finding common goals was no easy feat:

Student 1: “It's hard to please everyone...affected by one building or one piece of land...because a lot of times it's about more than just one culture. So how do you do that?”

Student 2: “I think you should be honest about it.”

Student 1: “I think that's just easier said than done.”

“People need to see themselves in preservation, no matter who you are.”

“It's also a matter of changing people's value systems, and who's to say who's right? I obviously have some strong views, but then I am kind of nervous about telling people [what] they should preserve.”

“I think it comes down to a factor of how you delineate value.”

Given current situations in various parts of the world, there was some discussion about heritage in a time of conflict cum war. Many expressed concern about how heritage can become a medium for imposing values on another group, as well as source of contention within communities. Two students questioned international conservation work,

suggesting that it treads delicate ground with regard to respecting cultural differences. However, despite the potentially divisive role heritage can sometimes play, students also acknowledged the capacity of heritage to build tolerance, forge bonds, and solidify communities: “It can be very unifying...that we can be at war with a country, but they have things that are important historically and we have things that are important historically and it's something that can unify countries that maybe don't have a lot in common.”

Spanning Boundaries

The literature of public policy development refers to “boundary spanners” as organizations or individuals that bridge the divide between research and policy-making, experts and the decision-making public. Heritage is an academically- and publicly-constructed phenomenon; it is essentially produced through the interaction across these boundaries. Preservationists play many roles – from historians to technicians to managers. They act as boundary spanners, negotiating between scholarship and public sentiment as well as between disciplines, and balancing the multiplicity of values that are ascribed by all. This implicit role is becoming increasingly important in the preservation field. If preservation is to serve as a tool for managing change and contributing to broader social well-being, connections across boundaries are imperative.

Interdisciplinary links

The preservationists of the 1960s and 70s were fighting back against the urban renewal schemes that were decimating traditional neighborhoods and architectural resources to make way for the infrastructure and development patterns that have fostered suburban

sprawl (Strom 2001, 26). Today's students are not battling those conditions, but rather struggling to find a role for preservation amidst the theories and practices of New Urbanism, Smart Growth, and sustainable development.

“There's a luxury we have in our country that we can concentrate on preservation, because for the most part we have a very high standard of living here ...I got interested in this field [through] architecture, but as I understand more about it and I become more conscious just of the world, it seems it's not so much a luxury anymore, I think it's more of a necessity, and in that sense it needs to be together with public policy and planning, and issues of sustainability.”

Many students felt that it is precisely the link to sustainability that is critical to preservation. They see their generation as having greater environmental awareness than previous ones, and that this will serve the cause of preservation in the near future.

Whereas traditional arguments have been that *renovating* a building costs more than *constructing new*, analytical tools developed in the environmental and green building fields (such as full-cost accounting and life-cycle assessment) can often prove otherwise. Students noted that re-use of existing buildings can conserve energy, reduce waste, and minimize impact on resources and infrastructure – helping to enhance the economic, as well as the ecological, argument for preservation. While issues of economics have formerly polarized debate in the preservation field, these students today want to tackle it head on:

“We've had two lectures so far that I think have actually addressed economic issues with any substance, and they were both guest speakers. Everybody was so happy to finally hear somebody mention the word ‘money’ in class.”

But while students are very interested in crossing disciplinary divides, it is easier said than done. Students noted how tough it is to access fellow students and professors in the planning departments of their institutions, let alone begin to conceptualize common

ground for collaboration. And the other disciplines beyond those traditionally associated with the built environment are even harder to approach (such as sociology, geography, anthropology, economics, etc.). Students in these historic preservation programs feel “isolated,” and struggle to find ways to cross the disciplinary divides, both in the academy and beyond.

Community engagement

Similarly, preservationists are faced with trying to bridge the gap between the profession and the public. While students spoke extensively about public education needs, they also see their engagement with communities as two-way. As historian Antoinette Lee notes:

As the preservation field matured in the 1990s and early 21st century, many preservation agencies and organizations are attempting to bridge the “values” gap between “yuppie preservationists and the actual cultural heritage needs of overlooked communities. Rather than telling the public what is important and worth saving, there is now a greater emphasis on consultation with these communities to determine what is important to them” (2004, 131).

Several students indicated that this is a fundamental aspect of preservation work, but they are frustrated by its lack of presence in academic preparation or in the literature of the field. One student offered:

“I have been researching the topic of ethics in historic preservation and it's indicative of... the situation in the field at large...I find articles about...these new ways that you treat the building, these are the ways that you treat your fellow professionals, but there's very little that deals with the way that you treat the people you're doing it for.”

Rationale for a New Generation

During the focus group discussions, students were asked to articulate what they felt was the fundamental rationale for preservation – i.e. Why is preservation important? This

sparked interesting debate in both groups, and views sometime varied significantly.

Some felt that this was a resolved issue in the field that didn't warrant additional investigation:

"I think it's been proven already that preservation of buildings helps communities."

"I think that this is old news. They figured that out already, that people work on their neighborhoods and...feel more a part of it and...work harder to...make sure that it goes the right way."

Others felt that the case had not been adequately made, and that this was a priority for the field because, "it compounds the problem if [we] don't all speak in the same voice."

Existing rationales were characterized as "emotional, not factual," and one student admitted, "I can't imagine standing up and arguing to some Congressional panel...why heritage is good. I mean, that's so intangible, so hard to really find evidence."

Despite these differences of opinion, most of these students see promise in their own generation with regard to the future of preservation. "To push preservation to another level...you can't just only focus on the older people that have the power." Many see their peers (primarily those in their late 20s and 30s) as their primary constituency. They contend that their generation has greater "moral" reasons to preserve because of the insights gained from ecology and environmental conservation. They are global citizens, having grown up in a world increasingly connected. And they believe in their power to make a difference:

"Every discipline reaches a point where the reaction to it becomes negative...because it's just natural that the people who started maintain the ideas that they started it with, and then you reach a point [where] something has to shift, something has to change, and maybe we're at that point. Maybe it's our responsibility right now to change."

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

As mentioned previously, this research was an initial step in 1) laying a foundation from which to build theories about this dynamic, and 2) engaging students in a dialogue about preservation and its connection to the broader social agenda. The study cannot point to specific causes or relationships between the two, but merely suggest some ideas for further exploration based on the data derived.

The sample population of the study was by no means representative of the population of US students, as the number and selection of programs was limited by geography and time. As mentioned previously, this research will hopefully expand to include additional cohorts from other programs, and will likewise follow-up with these students to chart changes in attitudes at different junctures in their training/career. It is hoped that, in the long-term, this study will also be augmented by a more comprehensive assessment of institutional and professional factors, so as to formulated working theories and begin to identify the opportunities for preservation to engage more effectively in social science cum public policy research.

CONCLUSIONS

The pioneer preservationists of the 1960s and 70s forged a movement and fought for the cause, sleeves rolled up and hands dirty, in the face of renewal projects that have spawned a whole new genre of preservation challenges. At the start of the 21st century, Ned Kaufman asks, “Could this careful, practical, well-organized profession of historic preservation once again give rise to a *movement* – a passionate effort to change, in profound ways, how society imagines, preserves, and inhabits its heritage?” (2004, 313).

The preservationists of tomorrow do not perceive themselves as pioneers of this movement; the frontier has been settled. As they struggle against the past of their profession, they do not seek to do battle nor take up the call to arms of a previous generation. Rather they are searching for creative ways to integrate the cause of preservation – *their* cause – into the social consciousness and public agenda of their future. While the buildings remain central and the passion strong, these students already find connections with sustainability, economic and community development, environmental equity, and social justice. They seem willing to venture across the disciplinary divides, to make forays into these common grounds. The question is: will our generation of preservationists help pave their way?

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Attachment A**SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. What drew you to the field of historic preservation?
2. What is your intended area/sector of specialization/concentration?

___ History/Theory ___ Conservation ___ Planning ___ Design
3. In what areas of historic preservation research are you interested?
4. Do you hope/expect to be involved in the above indicated research after completing graduate school in historic preservation?

___ Yes ___ No
5. Do you intend to pursue formal studies beyond your master's degree in historic preservation?

___ Yes ___ No If yes, please indicate:
6. After graduation/completion of further studies, in what area(s) do you intend to work?

___ Private sector
___ Not-for-profit sector
___ Governmental sector
___ Academia
___ Other, please indicate:
7. What do you believe to be the most important area of future research for the field of historic preservation?

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MS in Historic Preservation, May 1993	
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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

August 2008 - present	WORLD MONUMENTS FUND (WMF) Director of Research and Education	New York, New York
	Developing WMF programmatic activities in the areas of education, research, disaster response, and field projects. Managing the World Monuments Watch, a biannual list of historic buildings, sites, landscapes, and cities in need of timely action.	
1994 - 2006	THE GETTY CONSERVATION INSTITUTE (GCI), J. PAUL GETTY TRUST Consultant (2002 - 6), Project Specialist (1997 -2001), Training Program Coordinator (1994-7)	Los Angeles, California
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