
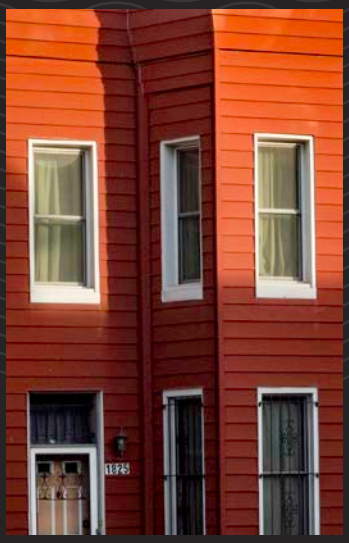


PRESERVING AFRICAN AMERICAN PLACES

Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity

NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

A report of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund

OCTOBER 2020

National Trust *for* Historic Preservation
African American
Cultural Heritage Action Fund

ABOUT THE **NATIONAL TRUST**

National Trust *for* Historic Preservation®
Save the past. Enrich the future.

The **National Trust for Historic Preservation** is a private, non-profit organization dedicated to protecting significant places representing our diverse cultural experiences by taking direct action and inspiring broad public support. For decades, the National Trust has been committed to the goal of ensuring that the full American story is represented in the places we save. As the leading advocate for the protection of significant places and cultural landscapes, we help Americans protect and reuse irreplaceable historic resources; model best practices in stewardship and interpretation through our network of National Trust Historic Sites; and promote investment in historic urban neighborhoods and Main Streets to build stronger communities.

National Trust *for* Historic Preservation
African American
Cultural Heritage Action Fund

The **African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund** is a multi-year initiative led by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in partnership with the Ford Foundation, The JPB Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and other partners, working to make an important and lasting contribution to our cultural landscape by elevating the stories and places of African American achievement and activism.

ABOUT THE **PROJECT SUPPORTERS**

FORDFOUNDATION

The **Ford Foundation** is an independent, nonprofit grant-making organization. For more than 80 years it has worked with courageous people on the frontlines of social change worldwide, guided by its mission to strengthen democratic values, reduce poverty and injustice, promote international cooperation, and advance human achievement. With headquarters in New York, the foundation has offices in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

THE JPB FOUNDATION

The **JPB Foundation** is a private foundation whose mission is to advance opportunity in the United States through transformational initiatives that empower those living in poverty, enrich and sustain our environment, and enable pioneering medical research.

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD

BY KATHERINE MALONE-FRANCE
Chief Preservation Officer, National Trust for Historic Preservation

The work leading to this report, ***Preserving African American Places: Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity***, began as an early project under the auspices of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund at the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and it has been a lengthy process, with shifts in goals, format, and purpose. Additionally, the period of extensive community outreach related to its final version has occurred during a global pandemic and a long overdue national reckoning on racial justice and equity, both of which are ongoing as this report is being finalized for publication. During the long incubation of this report, the National Trust itself has confronted both its own limitations in how to approach and study the issues of displacement and gentrification and, even more broadly, our own place in the structural racism and inequity inherent in historic preservation, both as a cultural movement and a professional practice. In the midst of our work on this report, the National Trust issued the following statement in June 2020:

> *Today, the National Trust for Historic Preservation asserts without equivocation:*
>
> *Black Lives Matter.*
>
> *Black History Matters.*
>
> *Historic places of all types and periods should be places of truth-telling and inclusivity.*
>
> *Historic preservation must actively advance justice and equity for all people.*
>
> *Historic preservation organizations have an obligation to confront and address structural racism within our own institutions.*
>
> *We have much to do at the National Trust and in the preservation movement to align our work with these facts, and we must do it—and we will do it—with a sense of urgency.*

This report—and the conversations and collaborations that we hope it seeds—are an important aspect of supporting these assertions with actions.

As a long-standing and central member in the historic preservation establishment in the United States, the National Trust acknowledges that structural inequities and racism are imbedded in *what* we identify as worthy of preservation and protection and *how* we do that work, from historic sites to preservation commissions to the National Register of Historic Places. Furthermore, historic preservation has not done enough to actively address this systemic deficiency, and to recognize and combat cultural and physical displacement in communities around the country through our own tools, policies, and programs.

However, it is also important to acknowledge that, across the preservation movement, there is a strong desire to do things differently and to harness the power of historic places to create a more equitable and just society. In 2019, the National Trust surveyed people engaged in preservation in a wide variety of ways, all across the country, and we learned that out of more than 1,000 respondents:

- **85% agreed** that greater innovation is needed in preservation practices.
- **88% agreed** that preservation practices should help enable residents to live, work and play in historic neighborhoods if they choose regardless of wealth and income.
- **96% agreed** that preservation should strive to tell the multi-layered narratives of our history.

Preservation efforts succeed because of persistence and partnerships. If we will bring both of those to bear in moving these statements from aspirations to realities, then we can bring about positive change.

I've been asked several times when the work of this report should wrap up, and my answer is the same each time: Never. Historic places that reflect the full history of our country must continue to be identified, revered, and activated because they are powerful primary sources that tell us the truth about ourselves. And, in doing so, they hold the potential for us to expand our shared narrative into something that is a firmer foundation for our national identity. Furthermore, the stewardship of our historic places is a tangible way in which we can and must demonstrate that we honor and respect each other's dignity, contributions, and heritage. As the case studies in this report demonstrate, working together to allow our historic buildings and landscapes to evolve in ways that both serve their communities and honor their legacies is a profoundly effective tool in empowering communities and advancing equity and justice.

In this context, we offer ***Preserving African American Places: Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity*** with deep humility and respect borne of the realities of our past and our present, as well as with gratitude for the work of organizations and individuals around the country already working to expand the narrative, practice, and benefits of preserving historic places. And we offer it with a strong institutional commitment to and hope for a more just and equitable future in which historic places and their preservation bring us together and bind us together in ever deeper and more meaningful ways.

INTRODUCTION

BY BRENT LEGGS
Executive Director of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund

Before we delve into this study, the need for it, and its best practices, let's begin with a central question: Why preserve the past at all? If African American historian and sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois were alive, he might give us the best concise answer: the culture and souls of Black folk embody the historic places we preserve.

That is why, in November 2017, the National Trust for Historic Preservation launched its African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, a $25 million campaign to build a true national identity that reflects America's diversity. We preserve landscapes, buildings and neighborhoods that show the richness of African American life, history and architecture. Through preservation practice, we expose our nation to the culture, ideals, politics, art and the hope of America. We tell overlooked stories embodied in these places: ones of African American resilience, activism and achievement that are fundamental to the nation itself.

There is another compelling reason for this necessary work. Hence, too often, systems of injustice and the entities that perpetuate them have rendered the historic imprint of Black people invisible in American cities because of systemic racism, segregation, disinvestment, displacement, and more. When years of divestment and poor maintenance leave primarily African American neighborhoods with vacant and dilapidated buildings, public officials and citizens often seek a quick solution by razing the deteriorated structures and destroying the neighborhood's soul. As historic structures age, the challenges of preserving them and the neighborhoods they anchor multiply.

The best way to support vitality and livability in the historic urban environment is to build on its strengths by saving and enhancing the assets, character, and ambience that make each neighborhood unique. The human scale and mixed-use properties that typically define the urban fabric of these neighborhoods foster intimate social connection and belonging. The purpose of preservation practice is not to stop change in American cities, but to offer tools that help a society manage change in ways that do not disconnect it from the legacy of its past. Done right, historic assets can foster validation of the Black experience.

The African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund works to facilitate the physical survival of these assets and promote responsible and inclusive development. Having witnessed the wonders of this work across America, we recognize the power of preservation as an effective tool for sustainable and equitable revitalization. To put it simply, older buildings provide residents with more affordable commercial space and housing options—key assets for African Americans and communities of color.

With urgency and intention, the public must discuss these issues—ways in which preservation can strengthen its potential to fight for social justice—and investigate the full consequential impacts these complex issues have on the present. Every preservationist and social impact leader must join forces to develop a preservation-based vision and plan to invest in and restore more assets that hold cultural and financial value, and perhaps most importantly, remain accessible to diverse communities. By preserving the stories, beauty, uniqueness, and significance of historic African American places, we stimulate revitalization and foster interest in neighborhoods that today seem to exist without history or meaning. Preserving this tapestry of our shared legacy is an act of social justice and should be viewed as a civil right.

Therefore, this report argues that historic preservation, even in the face of urbanization, is an essential path toward achieving a more just urban future. To keep our cities equitable, accessible and prosperous, with opportunities for all, we must work to reuse older buildings to create more jobs and walkable neighborhoods, supporting more minority- and women-owned businesses and addressing urban issues of affordability and displacement—issues that disproportionally impact African Americans. In short, cities need old buildings and new solutions for revitalization. The time is now for our nation to examine and reduce place-based inequities and to pursue ideas yet to be seen that scale up and fast-track the preservation of and investment in African American landmarks and neighborhoods.

In support of a future where the souls of historic Black communities are reborn as thriving centers of culture and economic justice, the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, with humility, acts in service of Americans whose overlooked and undervalued assets and history are worthy of recognition and funding. On behalf of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, I want to thank our altruistic colleagues and each justice-driven student, advisor, and partner for helping us stretch our intellectual muscles and for expanding our culture of learning to increase the fund's relevancy and impact. Let's start the conversation.

ABOUT
THIS REPORT

This report explores the challenges and opportunities of preservation in the context of change in African American neighborhoods. This exploration is animated by a central question: **How can preservation be a force for advancing equitable development and social justice in African American neighborhoods and other communities of color?**

This report seeks to unpack some of the multidimensional and intersectional issues stemming from place-based structural inequities that continue to impact communities today. Our goal is two-fold: first, to understand the implications of different forms of place-based injustice and their impact on the preservation of African American cultural heritage; and second, to identify preservation-based strategies for equitable growth that respect the historical and present-day realities and conditions of African American neighborhoods.

Our approach to these topics entailed reviews of prevailing literature and perspectives, synthesizing information from over 100 advisors, partners, and stakeholders across the country, and GIS research and analysis of publicly available data in 10 cities where the National Trust is currently engaged and/or has longstanding partnerships. As a result, this report offers a reflection of past and current progress to advocate for expanding the role that preservation can and should play in fostering equitable growth in our communities. We consider this effort an incremental step toward deepening our understanding of neighborhood change and the practice of reducing place-based inequities.

Engaged community residents and activists stand in front of the "Wall of Heroes" mural in the Mantua neighborhood of West Philadelphia. For more insight into what is happening in this community, see the research essay featuring Mantua in *Perspectives of Neighborhood Change*. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

ABOUT THIS REPORT

It is our intent that the contents of this report be shared, discussed, and refined collaboratively. This report is not a definitive research study or a comprehensive analysis. Instead, we seek to elevate emerging ideas, research, observations, and questions to catalyze meaningful dialogue and inspire further action and collaboration across the national preservation movement and allied fields.

In reading this report, it is critical that readers consider local variability in on-the-ground factors such as real estate market dynamics and the regulatory context in which preservation activity operates. Further, it is important to note that while this initial report is focused on cities to drill deeper into our understanding of the unique strategies and uses of preservation in urban African American neighborhoods, many suburban and rural communities face similar and interconnected issues which warrant future study. Additionally, the primary research and analysis included in the ***Exploring Neighborhood Change Today*** section is focused on residential patterns and trends, though we hope to expand this exploration to include commercial data and patterns in the future. We humbly recognize that much work remains to be done.

Historical marker in the Russell neighborhood of Louisville notes the home of the pioneering civil rights activist and African American newspaper publisher, I. Willis Cole. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

Preserving African American Places *is arranged as follows to provide context for our ongoing discussions and future work:*

Developing a Shared Lexicon:

This section offers definitions of key concepts relevant to place-based discussions on equity and justice.

Historical Overview:

This section provides a summary of significant policies and practices that in part formed predominately African American neighborhoods, a discussion of the structural racism encoded into these practices, and the history of displacement and why it remains predominantly an issue that disrupts communities of color.

Exploring Neighborhood Change Today:

This section provides a summary of analysis on demographic trends in the historically African American neighborhoods of 10 cities, as well as a summary of commonly identified barriers to equity through preservation.

Building a More Inclusive Preservation Practice Together:

This section highlights strategies and case studies of preservation-based equitable development from around the country.

Insights from Research:

This conclusion summarizes insights and takeaways from this exploration and offers ideas for how we can continue this conversation.

Additional resources include a compendium of essays entitled, ***Perspectives of Neighborhood Change***, to be published on **Preservation Leadership Forum**, a network and content sharing platform of preservation professionals, along with **10 interactive maps** to explore the data the National Trust examined in our initial demographic analysis, and an appendix to this report with supplemental information related to the demographic analysis provided in the ***Exploring Neighborhood Change Today*** chapter.

DEVELOPING A SHARED LEXICON

DEVELOPING A SHARED LEXICON

Establishing a common language among allies, partners, and diverse groups who share a vision for a more equitable future is a critical tool for effective collaboration.

As we engaged practitioners from fields ranging from housing, real estate, and economic development to grassroots advocates and residents of different cities and neighborhoods, we found that certain terms are nearly ubiquitous in discussions on neighborhood change, such as "preservation," "equity," and "displacement." Yet few people share the same definitions of these fundamental concepts. Each place and practice has its own history, experience, and associations. The vocabulary used to discuss neighborhood change can inspire hope for some while the same words can evoke trauma and painful histories for others. It is critical that we understand that the words used in these discussions hold different meanings for different people. This is especially true when planning processes have excluded community voices in the past. Without proper care, how we talk about neighborhood change and the ways we frame our challenges can shut down conversations before they even begin. We must also acknowledge the need to further explore the extent to which we must achieve consensus and where it is okay to agree to disagree. Drawing on our literature review, engagement with different communities across the country, and urbanist thought leaders, we offer the following definitions of common terms to start this conversation:

PICTURED ABOVE Mark Stephenson, a local Louisvillian, who has lived his entire life a few doors down the street from the childhood home of Muhammad Ali in the West End of Louisville. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

AFFORDABLE HOUSING: Any type of housing that does not cause financial burden to households and individuals. In this context, financial burden is typically defined as housing costs not exceeding 30 percent or more of household income, based on local median household income and daily expenses. Types of housing may include subsidized housing, restricted-income housing, and/or market-rate housing that does not exceed income thresholds.

BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN: The political context of these terms has evolved since the 1960s and there are supporters and detractors for each. The Census Bureau uses the self-identified racial category of "Black or African American" in reference to census data, which is used in the research and analysis presented in *Chapter 3: Exploring Neighborhood Change* to show demographic changes in predominately African American neighborhoods. Throughout this report, we use the terms Black and African American interchangeably in reference to the history, culture, and communities of Americans of African ancestry, which may include but are not limited to groups that identify as Black, African American, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Latino and African immigrants living in the United States. Decisions to capitalize Black (as well as White) and leave African American unhyphenated throughout this document are intentional.[1]

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS (CDO): We reference CDOs interchangeably with community development corporations (CDCs) in this document, in reference to not-for-profit organizations that are created to support communities, especially those that are impoverished or struggling. Many CDOs were born out of the civil rights movement to fight against redlining and disinvestment in cities and commonly focused on affordable housing. Today, CDOs can be involved in a wide range of community services that meet local needs such as education, job training, healthcare, economic development, preservation, and other social programs. While CDOs/CDCs may work closely with local government, they are not government entities, and their work is often place based.[2]

CULTURAL DISPLACEMENT: As neighborhoods change, and shops and services shift to focus on new residents, those residents who have lived in the area for a longer time may feel a sense of exclusion and isolation despite physically remaining in the neighborhood. Cultural displacement can also include the erosion of longstanding cultural norms and practices, closure of long-operating businesses and institutions, and demolition of important historic places resulting in the loss of neighborhood and cultural identity felt by longtime neighborhood residents.

One of two housing structures remaining on this stretch of South Calumet Avenue in the Washington Park neighborhood on the South Side of Chicago, showing the extent of neighborhood vacancy. [Photo by Jacob Hand, April 2019]

DESIGNATION: Properties or places that meet a set of criteria for integrity and historical significance may be listed in any of three types of historic property registers: The National Register of Historic Places, a state register of historic places, or local historic landmarks and districts.[3]

DISINVESTMENT: A key driver of neighborhood decline, disinvestment is a process driven by systemic practices in urban planning, policy and regulation, and development and redevelopment where governments, financial services providers, organizations, and investors intentionally abandon and neglect an area and its inhabitants leading to poor conditions and cyclical poverty.

DISPLACEMENT: The involuntary movement of households out of their current residence due to reasons they could not reasonably control such as rising rents, property tax burden, insurance redlining, predatory lending, lack of affordable housing, large-scale development, and natural disasters.

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE: According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, the premise of distributive justice is based on the fact that, "The economic, political, and social frameworks that each society has—its laws, institutions, policies, etc.—result in different distributions of benefits and burdens across members of the society." Distributive justice is the practice of providing moral guidance for the structures and frameworks that affect the fair distribution of benefits and burdens in societies.[4]

EQUALITY: The right for different groups to receive equal or equivalent standing, treatment, and life opportunities, including equal recognition of places of historic and cultural significance.

EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT: A process of sharing authority in decision-making to deliver place-based public and private investments, programs, and policies that meet the needs of residents and reduce racial disparities, while considering past history and existing conditions. This process should result in inclusive quality of life outcomes including affordable housing, access to quality education,

Lively commercial strip in the Mantua neighborhood of West Philadelphia. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

living wage employment, equitable pay standards, healthy environments, and comprehensive transportation alternatives, equitable access to incentives, regulations, and resources, for people currently living and working in a neighborhood and new people moving in.[5]

EQUITY: Equity refers to the intentional reduction of inequality among groups of people to reach more just and fair conditions, whether groups are defined socially, ethnically, racially, economically, geographically, or any other affiliation. Promoting equity means supporting policies and actions that explicitly reduce inequality both in the process of decision-making and implementation, and in terms of positive community outcomes such as ownership of financial assets and real property.

GENTRIFICATION: The term gentrification was first used more than 50 years ago and is today commonly understood as the changes to a historically disinvested neighborhood, characterized by the influx of residents of higher socioeconomic status, rising home values and rents, and corresponding cultural shifts.[6] While new investment can bring positive change, gentrification is often associated with displacement, which occurs when long-time residents can no longer stay in their neighborhoods to benefit from the prosperity that gentrification brings.

Mural on Muhammad Ali Boulevard in Louisville. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

HERITAGE CONSERVATION: Intentional actions that protect and elevate culturally significant markers, both non-physical and physical, to understand a place and the past, present, and future of its people.[7]

PRESERVATION: Preservation is primarily concerned with protecting and supporting the continued use of physical places and understanding and sharing the reasons why these sites are significant. A project might be as focused as restoring a single historic theater marquee or modest cottage, for example, or as broad as adapting a massive industrial site into mixed-use development.[8] Historically, preservation has been focused more on protecting particular styles of architecture and perpetuating the narratives of White wealth and privilege. Recently, the movement has begun to move beyond focusing on architecture to recognize and protect a broader range of places with cultural and historic significance, that support a truer and more inclusive narrative. More attention is also being placed on how buildings are used and who they are serving. The current preservation toolkit includes regulations, incentives and other resources like landmarking and designation, demolition delay, low-interest loan funds, and Historic Tax Credits. Preservation can also include strategies and techniques to re-imagine historic sites, reuse historic buildings, and promote neighborhood preservation and revitalization. In this discussion, we reference preservation in the broadest sense possible—an effort that is rooted in physical place, but is fundamentally people-centered and holds significant potential for advancing equity and justice.

PRESERVATION-BASED EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT: Place-based interventions that address the physical and cultural needs of existing and new residents, particularly of underrepresented groups. These interventions support investment in, and the continued use and interpretation of physical places to enhance sustainable health outcomes, accessibility, and vitality. This is a form of development that empowers communities to direct and manage change in the physical landscape, and protect their history, while ensuring that the use and activation of historic structures continues to benefit the futures of communities. Examples may include ensuring that historic designation and historic tax credit programs are effective for historically marginalized communities that seek fair representation and recognition. Examples may also include preservation interventions that promote the accessibility and affordability of historic buildings and neighborhoods, such as providing financial support for low-income homeowners.

One of six mosaic gateway signs created by community members for the Russell Neighborhood in Louisville. For more perspective on how the West End neighborhoods of Louisville are changing, see the essay focused on cultural displacement in Louisville in *Perspectives of Neighborhood Change.* [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: An individual's awareness and experience of being a member of a racial and ethnic group; the racial and ethnic categories that an individual chooses to describe themselves based on such factors as biological heritage, physical appearance, cultural affiliation, early socialization, and personal experience.[9]

RACIAL EQUITY / RACIAL JUSTICE: The Center for Social Inclusion states that racial equity is achieved when concepts of "race" no longer shape one's socioeconomic outcomes, and when all people have access to what they need to succeed, regardless of where they live. It is also a process that ensures those most impacted by structural racism are contributing to the creation and implementation of the institutional policies and practices that impact their lives.[10] We take the following definition of racial justice, articulated by Race Forward, which states that, "Racial justice [is defined] as the proactive reinforcement of policies, practices, attitudes and actions that produce equitable power, access, opportunities, treatment, impacts and outcomes for all." Racial justice is not just the absence of discrimination and inequities, but also the presence of deliberate systems and supports to achieve and sustain racial equity through proactive and preventative measures.[11]

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HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Advancing place-based solutions and equity-driven outcomes in African American neighborhoods requires a deep consideration of the historical context that created and shaped the places we know and observe today. In the important words of Darren Walker, president of the Ford Foundation and leader in the social justice sector,

> "Our present is deeply rooted in historical inequalities that must methodically be rectified," and that, "Without a thorough reckoning with the complex and difficult history of our country, especially when it comes to race, we will not be able to overcome intolerance, injustice, and inequality."[12]

PICTURED ABOVE The Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial in Southeast Washington D.C. was the first statue erected on public land in the city to honor an African American and a woman. [Photo by Mel Isidor, Jan 2016]

Tracing the roots and evolution of African American communities takes us back to 1619, when the Atlantic Slave Trade first landed on the shores of the British colony of Virginia. The ensuing 400 years—from slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, decades of activism for hard-fought civil rights, to immigration and beyond—have brought a continuum of historical policies and practices that continue to shape the development of African American neighborhoods and of cities today. The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive history of African American experience in the U.S.; there are many reputable sources that do so deftly with nuance and care. Rather, it is to highlight significant policies and trends that shaped the development of African American neighborhoods nationwide as important context for understanding neighborhood change.

It is also critical to acknowledge that predominantly African American neighborhoods are not necessarily "enclaves" formed by individuals' preferences to live near people of similar racial and ethnic identity.[13] Residential patterns are deeply inscribed and prescribed by histories of Black-White segregation that created unprecedented racially homogenous urban neighborhoods. While this report focuses on African American neighborhoods, it is important to note that the policies restricting African American communities applied to other racial and ethnic groups as well. This system of nationwide segregation was not the work of a single law or sector, but the result of, "...scores of racially explicit laws, regulations, and government practices combined to a create a nationwide system of urban ghettos, surrounded by White suburbs."[14] Actions of the private sector and individuals contributed to this system, along with federal, state, and local governments that amplified and codified segregation through discriminatory housing, zoning, and land use policies and practices.[15] This context illuminates the fact that the challenges facing African American neighborhoods are not merely the result of a broken system, or solely of individual prejudices, but instead are the result of unjust laws and policies that were intentionally designed to enforce racial inequality.

Acknowledging this history requires the preservation movement to ask an uncomfortable yet important question:

> **What is the role of preservation as an advocate for justice when it is called upon to preserve built environments, particularly those that were intentionally designed to enforce White supremacy and racial segregation?**

A first response may be a firm commitment to denounce injustice wherever we encounter it, including within our own movement. This may entail continuing to adapt our tools, including how they are applied, practiced, and enforced, to ensure that preservation is intentionally working to reduce racial disparities.

A second and equally important response to the question of the role of preservation as an advocate for justice is that preservation practice and activism must be more broadly defined to acknowledge and support the work of all communities to preserve and interpret what is important to them about their histories and allow these places to evolve in ways that meet their needs.

Preservation is uniquely positioned to strengthen our national culture and identity through the protection, conservation, and recognition of the places and cultural assets that speak to centuries of Black life and activism. Throughout this history, African American communities have demonstrated long-held practices of resilience in the face of discrimination and segregation. Since the 1890s, African American urban scholars and public figures like W.E.B. Dubois have been committed to ameliorating the social consequences of

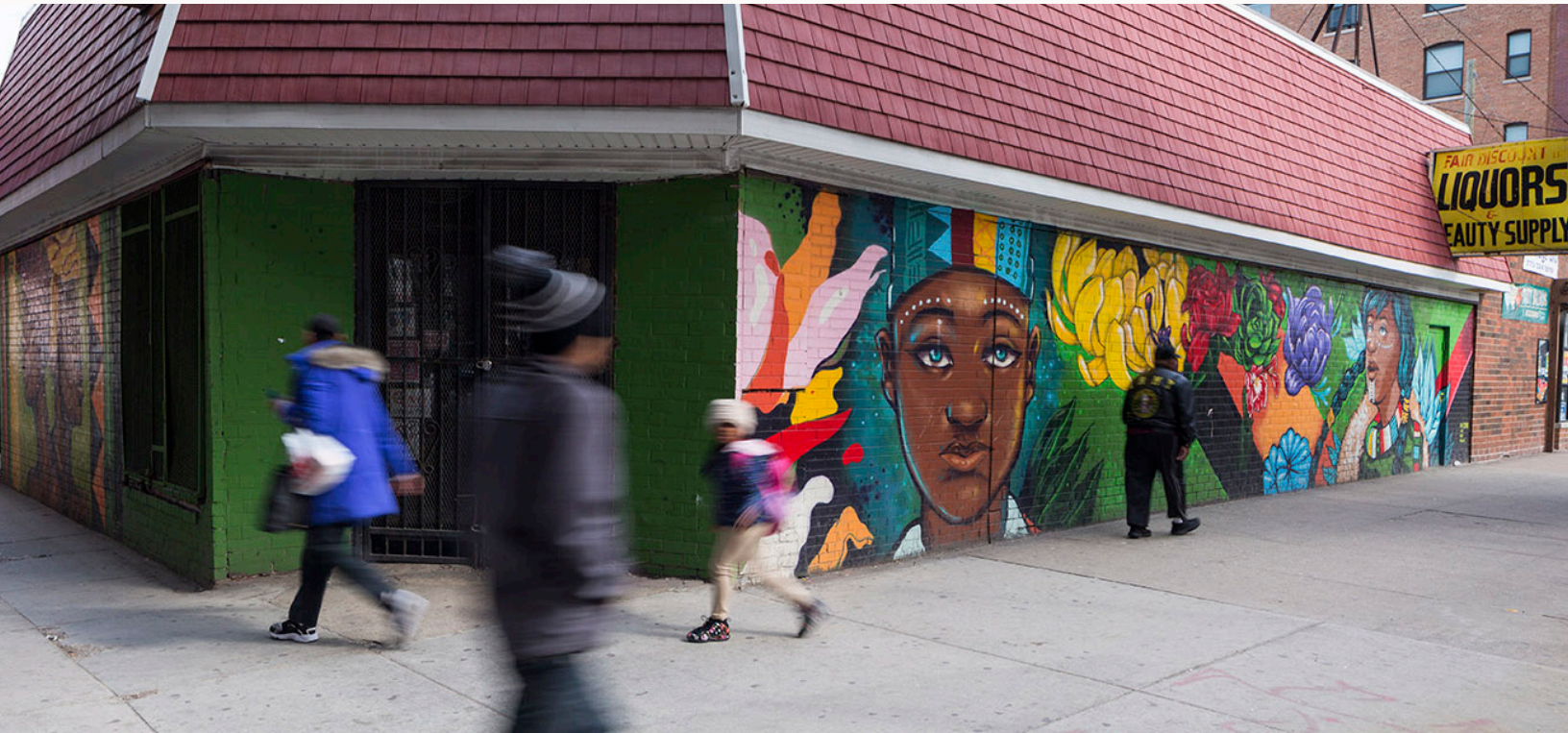
segregation.[16] African American leadership in the civil rights movement brought a courageous and tumultuous wave of protests that led to legislation and court decisions that supported equal voting rights, institutional and educational desegregation, fair employment, and equal housing opportunities. Locally, Black Power activists, churches, and community-based organizations also intervened to support African American neighborhoods and propose alternative paths to create more just and fair cities.[17] In the following section, we offer more context around this legacy of resilience, as well as a summary of policies and practices that shaped the development of African American neighborhoods nationwide. These factors are essential to developing a firmer understanding of neighborhood change and the need for equitable development.

URBAN POLICY AND THE FORMATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Reflecting on urban policy through a racial equity lens illuminates why displacement and the need for equitable development remain prominent issues in many African American neighborhoods today. While every city is unique, there are consistent historical precedents of African Americans being forced to move through involuntary relocation or market-driven displacement—often in the name of urban progress.

> Decades of systemic and institutionalized racism in both policy and practice, counterbalanced by stories of community resilience, innovation, and advancements in civil rights, have shaped and reshaped our urban landscape.

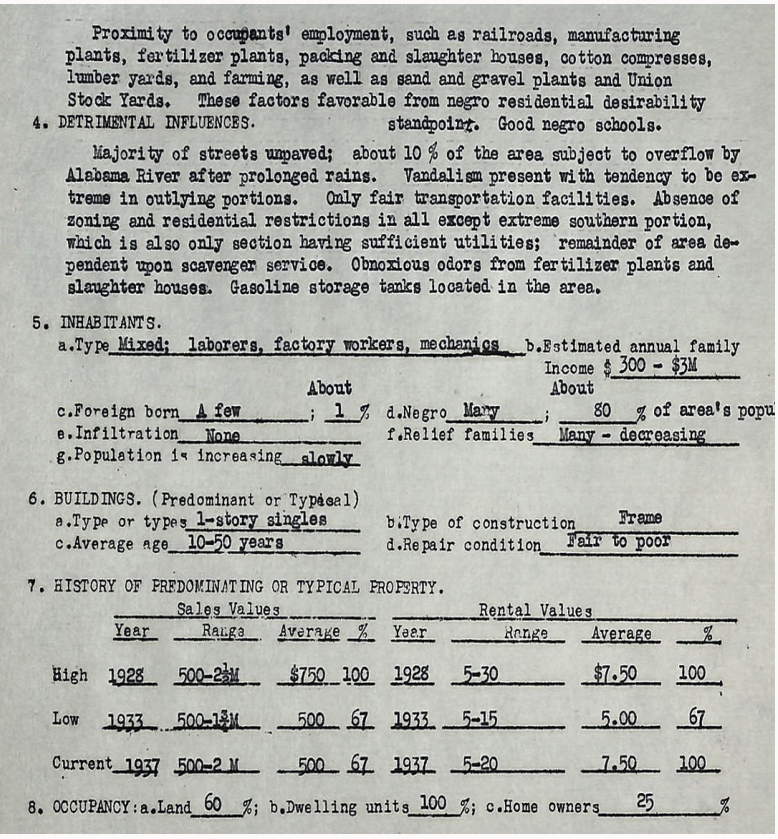
Commercial corner in Woodlawn, on the South Side of Chicago. [Photo by Jacob Hand, April 2019]



From the long history of urban African American neighborhoods, we have chosen to highlight the following trends, policies, and practices as important context for this discussion:

Industrial expansion beginning in the late 19th century led to the creation of modern urban African American neighborhoods. Industrialization attracted millions of workers and families to American cities, including European immigrants as well as African Americans from the rural South who moved to northern, midwestern, and western cities to escape discrimination and seek employment—creating what became known as the Great Migration.[18] Although these destination cities and towns initially offered African Americans more opportunities for social mobility and autonomy than the rural South, laws and other regulations were enacted to constrain opportunities on the basis of race as more African Americans arrived in cities.

A scan of a typical area description used in the grading of HOLC residential security maps, this one in Birmingham, Alabama, demonstrates race as a factor in classifying neighborhoods for credit-worthiness. Image scan National Archives via Mapping Inequality (https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58&text=downloads)



Proximity to occupants' employment, such as railroads, manufacturing plants, fertilizer plants, packing and slaughter houses, cotton compresses, lumber yards, and farming, as well as sand and gravel plants and Union Stock Yards. These factors favorable from negro residential desirability standpoint. Good negro schools.

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES.

Majority of streets unpaved; about 10 % of the area subject to overflow by Alabama River after prolonged rains. Vandalism present with tendency to be extreme in outlying portions. Only fair transportation facilities. Absence of zoning and residential restrictions in all except extreme southern portion, which is also only section having sufficient utilities; remainder of area dependent upon scavenger service. Obnoxious odors from fertilizer plants and slaughter houses. Gasoline storage tanks located in the area.

5. INHABITANTS.

a.Type Mixed; laborers, factory workers, mechanics b.Estimated annual family Income $ 300 - $3M

c.Foreign born A few ; About 1 % d.Negro Many ; About 80 % of area's popu

e.Infiltration None f.Relief families Many - decreasing

g.Population is increasing slowly

6. BUILDINGS. (Predominant or Typical)

a.Type or types 1-story singles b.Type of construction Frame

c.Average age 10-50 years d.Repair condition Fair to poor

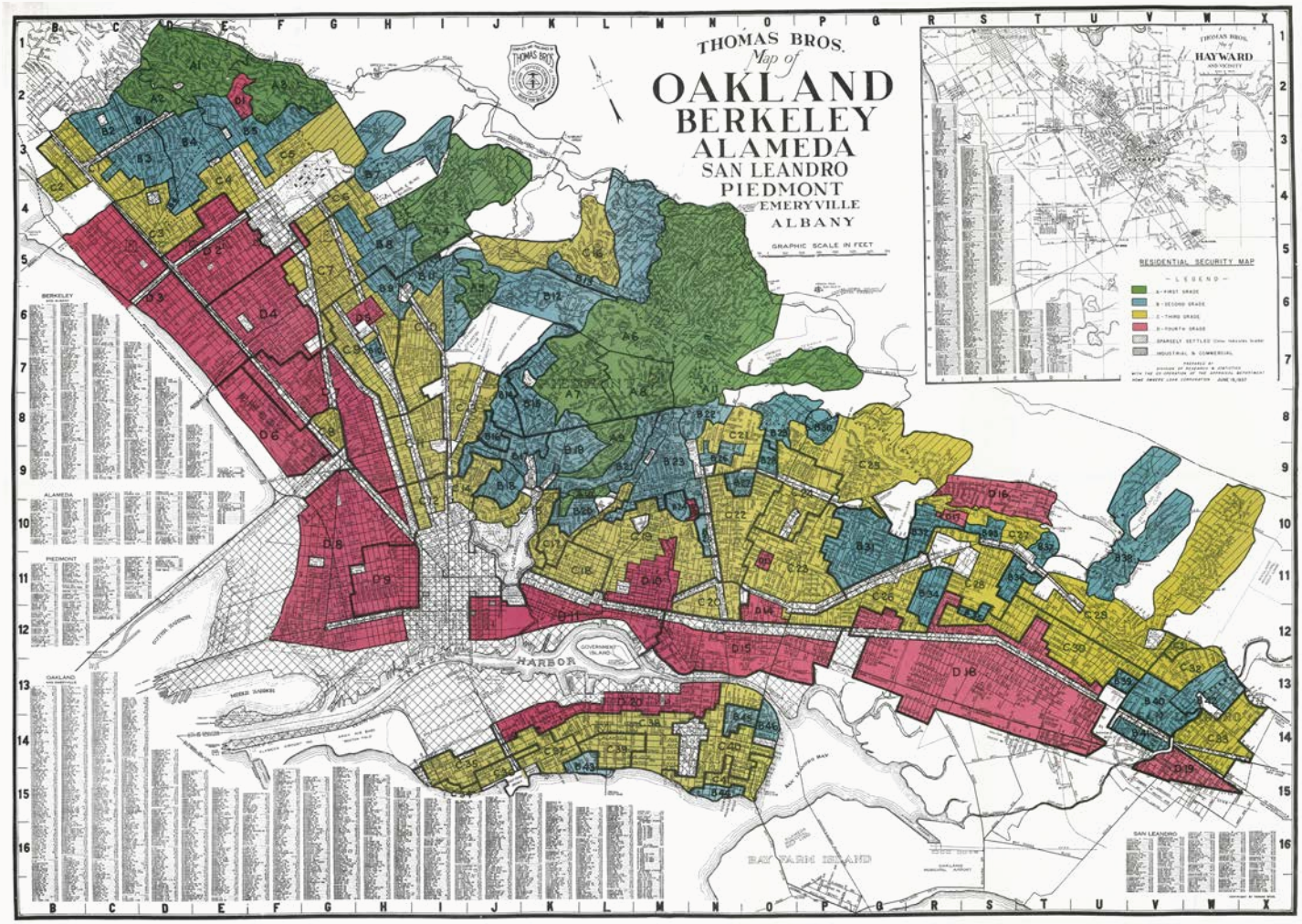
7. HISTORY OF PREDOMINATING OR TYPICAL PROPERTY.

	Sales Values				Rental Values			
	Year	Range	Average	%	Year	Range	Average	%
High	1928	500-2½M	$750	100	1928	5-30	$7.50	100
Low	1933	500-1½M	500	67	1933	5-15	5.00	67
Current	1937	500-2 M	500	67	1937	5-20	7.50	100

8. OCCUPANCY: a.Land 60 %; b.Dwelling units 100 %; c.Home owners 25 %

Municipalities harnessed zoning and land use policies to enforce segregation. As Jim Crow intensified at the turn of the 20th century, towns across the country began enacting policies that restricted where African Americans could reside. Soon, local governments of major urban areas began to segregate residents through racial zoning. Baltimore adopted the first racial zoning ordinance in 1910, and other cities with sizeable African American populations including Atlanta, Birmingham, St. Louis, and Louisville soon followed. These zoning laws prohibited African Americans from moving into predominantly White areas, and vice versa, sometimes evicting residents from blocks and neighborhoods that were previously integrated. After the Supreme Court ruled (Buchanan vs. Warley in Louisville, Kentucky) that racial zoning is unconstitutional in 1917 on account of violating property rights, other exclusionary practices emerged to circumvent this ruling.[19] Use of racial covenants—legal agreements that prohibited the purchase, lease, or occupation of property by certain racial groups—became widespread and enforced and promoted by all levels of government beginning in the 1920s as an alternative to racial zoning.

For example, Leimert Park, today a predominately African American neighborhood in Los Angeles, was originally built as a White middle-class suburban neighborhood in the 1920s. Racial covenants prohibited Black and Asian American residents from moving into Leimert Park until 1948, when racial covenants were outlawed.[21] Some cities also used single-family zoning to exclude lower-income Black families from middle-class neighborhoods by barring apartment construction. Elsewhere, local governments rezoned neighborhoods from residential to industrial after Black families moved in, which allowed uses that were banned in White neighborhoods including, but not limited to, polluting industries, taverns, liquor stores, and rooming houses. This industrial zoning was used to exclude marginalized populations from White, affluent areas, while concentrating environmentally harmful uses in communities of color. The colocation of these uses was included in redlining criteria to disqualify residents from subsidized and conventional mortgage programs, highlighting the systemic and reinforcing nature of these policies.[22]



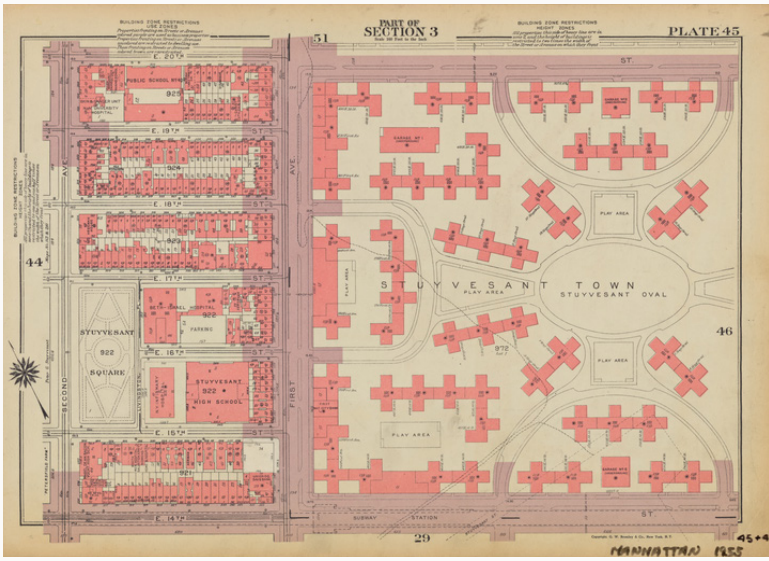
HOLC's redlining practices made it nearly impossible for people in African American and immigrant neighborhoods to obtain mortgage financing and become homeowners. [Image scan **National Archives via Mapping Inequality;** https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58&text=downloads]

New Deal era federal policy excluded African American residents from pathways to homeownership through a practice commonly known as "redlining." The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) were formed in the 1930s to address the nation's housing crisis. The HOLC was designed to rescue homeowners from impending default by refinancing troubled mortgages with more patient loan terms, while the FHA insured mortgages to enable working and middle-class families to purchase homes. But the "worthiness" of the loan recipients was in large part determined by race. In every metropolitan area in the country, African American neighborhoods—even solidly middle-class areas of single-family homes—were painted red on HOLC's neighborhood risk assessment maps or "redlined" as grade "D-hazardous." These guidelines and the FHA's "White-only" appraisal requirements codified in the agency's Underwriting Manual, precluded African Americans from accessing public and private mortgage services and discouraged banks from issuing loans in older, urban neighborhoods through the 1960s. These policies effectively barred African American residents from homeownership, neighborhood investment, opportunities to build wealth, and relegated many families to the cities' oldest and lowest-quality apartments for generations.[23] Redlining, as well as labor market discrimination, and exclusive application of G.I. Bill benefits, among other factors, financially empowered White households while excluding Black residents, creating a racial wealth gap and housing instability that policy and capital and labor markets have not sufficiently addressed nearly a century later.[24]

Public housing policy, in part, fueled the degree of segregation in American cities today. Public housing emerged during World War I, but became institutionalized in the 1930s to address the nationwide housing shortage, replace dilapidated housing, and create jobs under the Public Works Administration (PWA).[25] Early on, the PWA implemented the "neighborhood composition rule," which mandated that public housing projects reflect the racial composition of the neighborhoods they were located in.

Public housing was initially built to serve both White and African American middle-class and lower-income residents. At its inception, many African American communities and local officials welcomed the arrival of modern housing to replace dilapidated slum dwellings and informal settlements.[26] While the public housing program was designed to and continues to address a market failure to provide decent housing to low-income citizens, it also served to deepen segregation in urban neighborhoods. The PWA chose to designate integrated neighborhoods as either White or Black, and made these designations a reality by evicting residents of the other race and establishing White-only or Black-only housing projects in these previously integrated neighborhoods.[27] Displaced African American households crowded into other Black neighborhoods, which exacerbated poor conditions. The Housing Act of 1949 expanded the public housing program and upheld segregation while linking housing production to "slum" clearance and broader urban renewal initiatives, resulting in the concentration of public housing almost exclusively in communities of color. By 1950, real estate interests lobbied successfully for federal and local legislation restricting public housing to the lowest income families, which forced middle-class families out, accelerated deterioration in the system, and damaged the image of public housing in the public eye.

Continued use of racially restrictive covenants further excluded African American residents from fair access to post war housing developments. Despite the 1948 Supreme Court ruling that racial covenants were no longer legally enforceable, discriminatory practices persisted.[28] For example, in the wake of nationwide urban decline and housing shortages in the 1950s, the Housing Act of 1949 spurred mass production of new, single-family homes in suburban subdivisions, from Levittown, New York to Daly City, California, particularly for families of returning WWII veterans. Racially restrictive covenants overwhelmingly denied middle-class African American families' access to housing and other benefits for returning veterans. Furthermore, public and private mortgage service providers often required restrictive deed language prohibiting resale of suburban homes to African American households. In major urban areas, large-scale public-private housing developments like the Parkchester and Stuyvesant Town projects in New York City excluded Black residents with the support of local governments. Even though racial covenants were technically unenforceable in court, property owners, developers, real estate agents, and lenders continued to use them to intentionally discriminate against Black and other non-White residents. Residential patterns shaped by these covenants persist to this day, as does the racial wealth gap created when lending institutions and regulatory agencies denied Black families opportunities to build financial equity through homeownership.



A historic building zoning map of Stuyvesant Town on the East Side of Manhattan. Originally planned as post-war housing for returning World War II veterans, the owners of Stuyvesant Town, with support from the City, put in place racial restrictions that prohibited Black residents from living there, galvanizing community opposition and inspiring a broader national movement against housing discrimination. [Photo courtesy of the NYPL Digital Collections; https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/41dea770-468b-0132-6a52-58d385a7bbd0]

Urban renewal projects targeted African American neighborhoods and resulted in mass displacement of communities of color. Beginning in the late 1930s and continuing into the 1960s, urban renewal programs razed African American communities because they were considered "slums" and "blight" to be removed by government clearance programs.[29] Entire Black neighborhoods, like Mill Creek in St. Louis, were destroyed by large infrastructure projects, most prominently including the interstate highway system, as well as the construction of institutions, hospitals, middle-class housing, government complexes, and toxic waste sites and polluting industries. Middle-class White families accessed new suburban developments via the highways built at the expense of Black neighborhoods. Urban renewal displaced hundreds of thousands of predominantly Black residents and businesses along with their homes and neighborhoods, and frequently resulted in overcrowding and concentrated poverty in remaining Black neighborhoods.[30]

Private market interests, including the real estate and insurance industries, also played a significant role in enforcing segregation. Before passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, policymakers and real estate lobbyists often justified segregationist policies in terms of the threat racial integration would have on property values.[31] Other discriminatory real estate industry practices throughout the 20th Century, such as blockbusting, accelerated neighborhood change. Blockbusting refers to a practice where speculators scared White homeowners into selling their homes for below market values by telling them that impending racial transition would reduce their home values. The same speculators then marketed and sold these homes to African American homebuyers who, lacking alternatives, were forced to pay excessive prices for the same housing stock, usually through predatory contract sales arrangements. Redlining ensured that Black homeowners were unable to obtain conventional mortgages, leaving them no other choice but to pay inflated prices for housing, which in turn led to neighborhood deterioration and higher rates of eviction.[32]

It is important to acknowledge the role of the public and private sectors in shaping urban neighborhood conditions today through devaluation and perpetuating disinvestment.

Civil rights era legislation set precedents for more equitable housing and development practices. As a direct result of the civil rights movement, between 1957–1968, Congress adopted a suite of policies prohibiting discriminatory treatment of African American residents in housing, transportation, employment, and voting.[33] The Fair Housing Act of 1968, for the first time in 85 years, allowed Black residents to choose where they lived as long as they could afford it and established legal grounding for prosecution of racial discrimination in housing matters. During this time, the federal government sowed seeds of change not only in prohibiting discrimination, but also in shaping how decisions about community development were made. A new generation of historic preservationists were among those who joined mixed-race coalitions that pressured the federal government to fund the rehabilitation of older, but still vibrant neighborhoods rather than the wholesale clearance of them as "slums."[34]

The 1964 War on Poverty (including the Economic Opportunity Act and Community Action Program) shifted funding directly to bottom-up community-based organizations working against poverty and structural racism, heralding a few years of increased community organizing and political participation in federally-supported neighborhood redevelopment initiatives.[35] Today, professional CDOs that leverage private investment have grown increasingly important to neighborhood activism in African American communities. Place-based revitalization policies are still funded and/or supported by federal, state and local government policies, such as Community Development Block Grants, various tax credit programs, and most recently Opportunity Zones. The journey toward equitable development is hard-fought and non-linear, and questions continue to emerge about the true impact of revitalization policies and whether they benefit communities equitably. The intended and unintended consequences of imperfect policies and the challenges of how to rectify decades of racist housing policy continue to stoke vigorous debate today.

The Louisville Metro Housing Authority received Choice Neighborhood Initiative Implementation grant funding from HUD to demolish the distressed Beecher Terrace housing complex, built in 1939, and redevelop it as mixed-income housing. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

Movements to dismantle public housing morphed into large-scale demolition in the 1990s and led to further displacement in African American communities. Scholars have argued that while public housing has succeeded in providing functional and affordable housing to a significant number of low-income residents nationwide for the better part of a century, these successes are often overshadowed by the high-profile failures of concentrated poverty, segregation, underfunding, and mismanagement. Legislative concessions made to the real estate lobby and political opponents, including rigid cost controls, severely compromised the effectiveness of the federal program.[36]

Beginning in the 1990s, planners and city leaders in primarily East Coast, midwestern, and southern regions, pursued wholesale demolition of high-rise public housing to create new mixed-income communities that could be integrated into surrounding urban neighborhoods. The amount of public housing removed varied greatly by city. Chicago removed far more units than other cities (more than 16,000 units) between 1990 and 2007 in terms of absolute number of units, but kept more than half of its total stock. Philadelphia and Atlanta removed the second and third highest number of units (each over 7,000 units), while New York City, by contrast, removed less than one percent of its total public housing stock (around 500 units). Atlanta would later go on to be the first city to demolish all of its public housing units, after being the first city to pioneer public housing in the 1930s.[37] In Los Angeles, the Housing Authority has similarly demolished hundreds of low-scale garden style public housing units to replace them with fewer units of mixed-income housing.[38] Nationwide, more than 250,000 public housing units have been demolished and/or sold off and converted, with many more slated for demolition. Federal programs, including HOPE VI and the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, have not replaced demolished units one-to-one, further aggravating housing shortages and displacement.[39] The impacts of public housing policy on displacement and residential patterns varies by city and are important factors in this discussion.

Nearly fifty years after the Fair Housing Act, racial discrimination in lending continues to constrict housing choices. A more recent practice known as "reverse redlining," where lenders and insurers steered subprime loans to African American communities, was a major cause of the 2008 financial collapse. In the aftermath of the subprime mortgage lending crisis, African American neighborhoods bore the brunt of housing foreclosures. This resulted in widespread displacement of predominantly African American residents and the devastation of entire neighborhoods. Nationwide, African American homeowners at various income levels were three to four times more likely to have subprime loans than White borrowers of the same income levels. A study conducted by the Center for Responsible Lending found that, in total, over 240,000 African American residents nationwide lost homes they had previously owned.[40] Despite clear evidence of statistically proven racial discrimination, lending institutions and regulators failed to act. Strong middle-class African American neighborhoods from Oakland, CA, to Cleveland, to New York saw decades of family wealth gains reversed in months.[41] Lending institutions are still much less likely to approve African American and Latino residents for mortgages than White residents, even after controlling for income and loan amounts.[42] As we move toward equitable development, we must maintain a clear-eyed view of ongoing forms of redlining, discrimination, and other barriers to capital and wealth creation—both formal and informal—that perpetuate the racial wealth gap today. We must work to ensure that preservation programs and policies are sensitive to these dynamics and work to address existing forms of economic injustice.

[Photo by Michael Premo on Flickr, CC BY-ND 2.0]

Population shifts from northern and western regions to the South have dramatically reshaped the landscape of African American neighborhoods today. Since 1970, there has been a proliferation of Black-majority cities, predominantly in the South. Between 2000 – 2010, the nationwide African American population grew from approximately 35 million to 39 million residents.[43] Between 2000-2010, there was a 75 percent increase in the Black population in southern states and today nearly 57 percent of the nationwide Black population live in the South.[44] Many northern and western regions are losing African American residents, particularly in the metropolitan areas of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia.[45] This movement to the South has been explained as the "reversal" of the Great Migration or the "New Great Migration." Factors driving reverse migration and increased suburbanization trends range from the decline of industry, lack of opportunity and urban decline, as well as the increasingly high cost of living in some northern coastal areas and city centers.[46] People moving south are often college-educated professionals pulled by new employment opportunities, and middle-class families and retirees drawn by lower costs of living. Many are also driven by desires to reinvigorate family and cultural ties in the places left behind by earlier generations.[47] To put these shifts in greater context, neighborhood change can be viewed as part of a broader continuum of racial and socioeconomic change, characterized by periods of Black and other people of color settling in predominantly White neighborhoods in some areas, and vice versa in others.[48]

These factors are among many that have influenced the long and layered history of African American neighborhoods. What we have consistently found, is that Black and other historically marginalized people could not own, build, or occupy space freely. Further, the places that tell the story of resilience in these communities have been systematically undervalued, underinvested, demolished, and erased from our physical landscape for far too long. BlackSpace, a collective of professional urbanists, observes and truthfully asserts that, "No landscape is neutral."[49] Accordingly, preservation must further contend with and unpack how the traditional methods and standards of preserving buildings may be perpetuating systems of injustice. Practitioners must also continue to explore approaches to preservation practice that proactively address racial biases in order to empower more African American and other historically marginalized communities are empowered to leverage preservation and benefit from the protection and interpretation of their heritage. For preservation to remain relevant and inclusive, its tools, frameworks, and the places it is designed to keep and protect, must work for a more diverse cross-section of Americans than it does today.

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EXPLORING NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE TODAY

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UNDERSTANDING DISPLACEMENT

Decades of discriminatory policies and practices created the preconditions that make many African American and other historically marginalized communities more vulnerable to displacement today.

As we explore throughout this report, displacement occurs in pockets of concentrated poverty as well as areas undergoing gentrification. Although they may appear to be very different, gentrification and disinvestment are two sides of the same coin. For example, historically, many residents with financial means who lived in urban areas during periods of decline in the 1960-70s were compelled to move because their neighborhoods were no longer economically viable and were in poor physical condition, blurring the lines between voluntary and involuntary migration.

PICTURED ABOVE Rowhouses in Shaw, Washington, D.C. [Photo by Mel Isidor, Jan 2017]

Intentional disinvestment reduced property values in African American neighborhoods, which in turn translated into less funding for schools, less access to loans and other forms of capital, and fewer essential neighborhood services.[50] Systemic ramifications including poorer health outcomes, increased rates of foreclosure, and heightened crime reinforced pockets of concentrated poverty as residents with means left to seek opportunity elsewhere. Residents who did remain contended with isolation, limited political agency, fewer retail and grocery stores, and less access to well-funded high-quality education.

After decades of disinvestment in the urban core and suburbanization, development interests shifted back to some city centers in the 1980s, spurred by economic development initiatives and reduced land costs. Revitalization initiatives including investment in central business districts, open space, transit, large-scale entertainment venues, and rezoning efforts further accelerated change in neighborhoods close to these investments. These neighborhoods, in turn, grew more attractive to new middle-class residents and investors seeking to capitalize on relative affordability, historic building stock, and proximity to job centers.[51] In some cases, this brought vital resources to long neglected neighborhoods. In others, it has resulted in physical and cultural displacement of longtime and lower-income residents. In communities of color, which have disproportionately suffered disinvestment, residents with children, lower-incomes, aging relatives, and/or health conditions became vulnerable to displacement by gentrification. Therefore, displacement is considered one manifestation of injustice that disproportionately disrupts long-term communities of color.[52]

Decisions to leave a neighborhood, gentrifying or otherwise, are driven by many different factors, making the study of displacement inherently complex. For privacy reasons, most publicly available data does not closely track the reason that households move; nor do they track households' previous residences if entering a neighborhood, or new residences if leaving.[53] Anecdotally, we have noted that drivers of neighborhood change in residential communities are wide ranging. We have seen instances where new investment and rising property values have compelled long-time residents to move out of their neighborhoods due to diminishing affordability. Some property owners age-out and/or willingly cash out on their properties, making a conscious decision to leave gentrifying neighborhoods to capitalize on their equity and start new lives with their wealth.[54]

Passerby walks past 'For Rent' signs in the Mantua / Powelton Village section of West Philadelphia. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

Historic properties along West Broadway in Louisville.
[Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

Many more residents have been forced to leave due to lack of safety and opportunity, quality schools, and basic services, as evidenced by the middle-class exodus from neighborhoods impacted by disinvestment. According to a study on the 50 largest metro-regions nationwide, since 2000, increased poverty concentration remains by far the most common form of neighborhood change, while low-income displacement due to gentrification has been confined to a limited set of major coastal cities.[55] These findings are consistent with other studies.[56] Another nationwide study finds that neighborhood change driven by gentrification leads to a modest increase in the likelihood of being displaced. Gentrification mainly affects neighborhoods by changing who moves into a neighborhood.[57] Renters, compared to homeowners, are often considered more vulnerable to changes in local market conditions, policies, and the availability of affordable housing stock.[58] Other studies have found that renters are more likely to be displaced than homeowners, and homeowners with significant property tax burdens are more likely to move involuntarily.[59]

National studies of displacement account for variations in local context differently, driving inconsistent results. They are further complicated by variations in state and local legislation and incentive programs that influence the cost of owning, rehabbing, or maintaining property.

Policies that regulate tax payments, the number of rent controlled units, tenant protections, housing code enforcement, and zoning issues are all important factors that influence residents' ability or choice to stay in a neighborhood. Market-driven trends such as conversions of multi-family buildings into luxury single-family homes, speculative land-clearing, or incentivized development in distressed neighborhoods without ample anti-displacement measures, are other examples of forces that influence neighborhood stability. Additionally, cities with growing multi-cultural populations like in California compel us to develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the implications of neighborhood change in communities that are racially and ethnically mixed, and how these forces impact various ethnic and cultural groups, beyond Black and White dynamics.

The mixed results across studies that seek to measure neighborhood change underscore the importance of in-depth, city-specific approaches to studying this complex locally driven phenomenon. Understanding the drivers of change requires taking into account a variety of local factors like real estate market conditions, development pressure, regulatory context, that are difficult to capture using quantitative data alone.

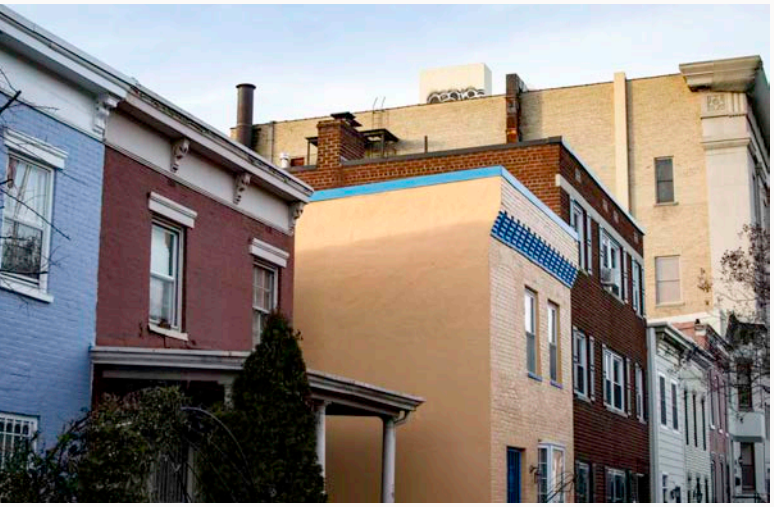
(For more discussion on current literature related to understanding the drivers of displacement, see *Appendix A*.)

Beyond economic displacement, cultural displacement can impact social cohesion and community health. Urban planning theorist Peter Marcuse famously identified multiple types of displacement beyond physical displacement fueled by economic changes, which may be just as disruptive and damaging.[60] Marcuse writes:

> "When a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe.[61]"

Cultural displacement occurs through changes in the neighborhood qualities that have provided existing residents with a sense of belonging and a familiar way of life. As neighborhoods change, cultural displacement impacts the mental and physical health of residents who are losing the places and social ties they value while keeping a foothold in their homes.[62] The impact of cultural displacement is distinct from that of economic and physical displacement because it can result in a reduced sense of belonging among remaining residents, despite not physically being forced to depart. The impacts are often felt when historic buildings, community centers, stores, places of worship, parks, street corners, and public services shift "in line with the needs of a different kind of tenant or owner, often mediated by developers and landlords…who appear to be wallpapering over the kind of place that tenants remember."[63] These changes are often met with resentment, anger, or feelings of inadequacy.[64]

A construction team renovates historic rowhomes in Powelton Village in West Philadelphia into student housing near Drexel University and the University of Pennsylvania. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

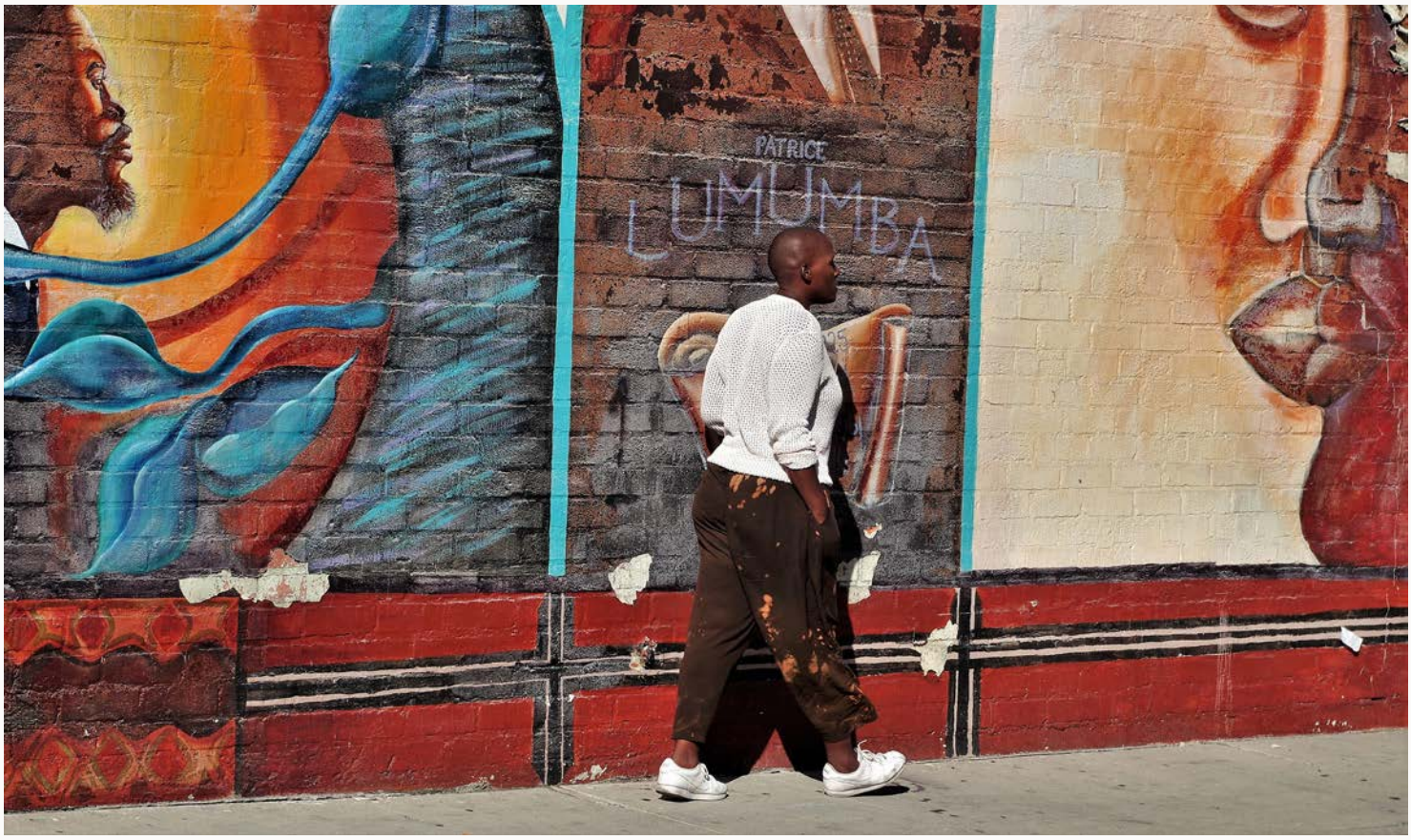


Scenes of Shaw neighborhood in Washington, D.C.
TOP [Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid at English Wikipedia, CC BY-SA 3.0]
MIDDLE & BOTTOM [Photos by Mel Isidor, Jan 2017]

As one example of how cultural displacementf can manifest, real estate interests in gentrifying neighborhoods have been known to rename and rebrand long-standing neighborhoods to attract new residents.[65] In the context of African American neighborhoods, renaming long-standing communities has sparked outrage and inflamed past traumas, a practice that has been reproached as erasing Black heritage, and is often perceived as a painful harbinger of displacement of existing residents and their cultural identity. Attempts to rename Harlem in Manhattan as "SoHa" by developers, or "SOLA" for South Los Angeles are but two high-profile examples of this.[66]

While change is inevitable, it is necessary to consider the scale and pace of changes, as well as the constraints of lower-income groups with limited housing options and ability to adapt to higher price points.[67] The Shaw neighborhood of Washington, D.C., for example, is experiencing both cultural and economic forms of displacement driven primarily by market forces. Shaw has one of the highest displacement rates of low-income residents in the country due to accelerated gentrification, with many lower-income renters being forced out to make way for more affluent residents.[68] Landlords attracted by higher market returns are converting apartment buildings to luxury condos, increasing rents dramatically, and displacing renters who cannot afford to move into other buildings in the neighborhood. In Shaw, there is little evidence that preservation incentives or regulations are facilitating these conversions—over the past 25 years, there have been only three historic tax credit projects, and only two homeowners have used the historic homeowner grant program since the program's inception.[69]

For residents who own their homes and/or do manage to stay, the arrival of newcomers with significantly higher incomes can disrupt social norms and erode support systems existing residents enjoyed with their old neighbors and through community institutions. The loss of historically Black institutions, such as Shaw's Lincoln Temple United Church of Christ, coupled with a changing retail landscape that evolves to cater to more affluent patrons with different tastes, further contributes to this sense of cultural displacement.



A woman walks by a mural dedicated to Patrice Lumumba in L.A.'s Leimert Park [Photo by Joey Zanotti on Flickr, CC BY 2.0]

Cultural displacement has also erupted into conflicts between long-time residents and newcomers over cultural and lifestyle preferences.[70] Media reports have tapped into a public outcry, covering stories like that of Donald Campbell, a store owner in the Shaw neighborhood, who has been playing go-go music from the speakers of his corner store for 25 years, a music genre rooted in the area's cultural history, identity, and public venues. A tenant in a newly constructed luxury building threatened Mr. Campbell with a lawsuit if he did not stop playing this music.[71] This is representative of a common pattern, where longtime Black residents in gentrifying neighborhoods become subject to increased policing while socializing outside their homes or in public space. This dynamic often creates resentment and tension, particularly when a neighborhood's social, cultural, and political identity was homegrown by residents in response to racial injustice and negative neighborhood stereotypes.[72] When newcomers project their own cultural norms and expectations for acceptable behavior upon an existing community, one which has operated with its own cultural norms for decades, it most often supports an unfair advantage of recent arrivals. While signs of cultural displacement are often the most visible aspect of neighborhood change and anecdotes are widely reported and sensationalized, its impact and pervasiveness has not been thoroughly researched.

Meanwhile, cities are taking more proactive stances against cultural displacement. Some notable examples from the West Coast include Destination Crenshaw, for example, a community-led initiative celebrating "creative place-keeping" of Black Los Angeles, through the creation of an outdoor public art and cultural space celebrating two hundred years of Black activism in L.A. The City of Oakland recently released a cultural equity plan to enhance equity and belonging. This phenomenon warrants deeper exploration, particularly with respect to the role that preservation can play in mitigating cultural displacement and amplifying cultural heritage in communities of color.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE NATIONAL TRUST'S DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Working with a research advisory committee that provided thought leadership and guidance at the outset of this project, the National Trust explored neighborhood change in African American neighborhoods identified in 10 study cities.

This assessment focused primarily on cities with significant African American populations and where the National Trust had staff capacity, funding, and/or long-standing partnerships. These cities are **Atlanta; Birmingham, Alabama; Chicago; Los Angeles; Louisville, Kentucky; New York; Oakland, California; Philadelphia; St. Louis; and Washington, D.C.**

Using U.S. Census Bureau and American Community Survey 5-Year data, we approximated and identified historically African American neighborhoods using census tracts (CTs) with majority African American populations in four of the last five decennial census counts (1970-2010). While census tracts are frequently used as proxies in neighborhood level analysis, we recognize that census tract boundaries do not necessarily align with community perceptions of neighborhood boundaries and readers must consider these discrepancies as they interpret the findings. In this chapter, we reference predominately African American census tracts of the last fifty years as Historically African American Neighborhoods (HAANs) and focus primarily on residential and housing-based aspects of neighborhood change due to limited available data. Using these criteria, we identified 1,102 HAANs across the 10 cities to analyze demographic changes in HAANs between 2009–2016.

This sample of HAANs includes communities with up to 150 years of African American history, including former freedmen's towns like Weeksville in present-day Crown Heights, Brooklyn, to turn of the century middle-class Black neighborhoods like Smithfield in Birmingham, or Bronzeville on the South Side of Chicago, as well as neighborhoods that became predominantly African American during the latter half of the 20th century. This diversity reveals different stories of growth and development across the 10 cities. To further explore this data, we included detailed tables in the Appendix of this report, and have made this data available at the census tract level on our digital mapping platform online.

We found several insights from across the 10 cities, which are summarized below. Due to the short timeframe and the multi-city scope of this analysis, we acknowledge the need to build on these insights, which only reveal a partial snapshot of neighborhood change in each of these cities.[73] Readers should consider the range of local factors as discussed in the Understanding Displacement section of this report when considering these findings.

- **About seventy percent of HAANs in the 10 cities were majority African American in every decennial census count between 1970 and 2010**, including portions of the Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Crown Heights, and Jamaica areas of New York City; West and North Philadelphia; the West End neighborhoods of Louisville; the Westside neighborhoods of Atlanta; West Oakland; Southeast and Northeast Washington, D.C.; the South Side, Lawndale, and Garfield Park portions of the West Side of Chicago; West End and Northside and North Birmingham, and the North Side of St. Louis among others.

- **Twenty percent of HAANs identified in the 10 cities became majority Black neighborhoods in the last 40 years.** These neighborhoods transitioned to a majority Black population in the 1980 census (from a non-majority Black population in 1970). Many of these neighborhoods appear to be adjacent to tracts that have been majority Black since 1970 and could be associated with White flight and suburbanization. Examples include the Southside of Atlanta; additional sections of the South and West side of Chicago; East Flatbush in Brooklyn and northeast sections of the Bronx; additional sections of West and North Philadelphia; and additional sections of the North Side of St. Louis. More in depth local analysis is required to put these findings into proper context based on local development patterns.

- **About 10 percent of sampled neighborhoods were no longer majority African American in the 2010 census.** These neighborhoods were majority Black in decennial counts between 1970 and 2000 but not in the 2010 count. Many of these areas experiencing influxes of residents of other ethnicities could be indicative of overall population growth, or displacement pressure due to gentrification or disinvestment and changing preferences. Examples include Southwest Center City and tracts near Drexel University, Temple University, and Girard College in Philadelphia; sections of West Oakland in California; sections of South Los Angeles, sections of Prospect Heights, Crown Heights, Clinton Hill, and Bushwick in Brooklyn; additional sections of Harlem; and many of the westernmost historically African American tracts in Washington, D.C.

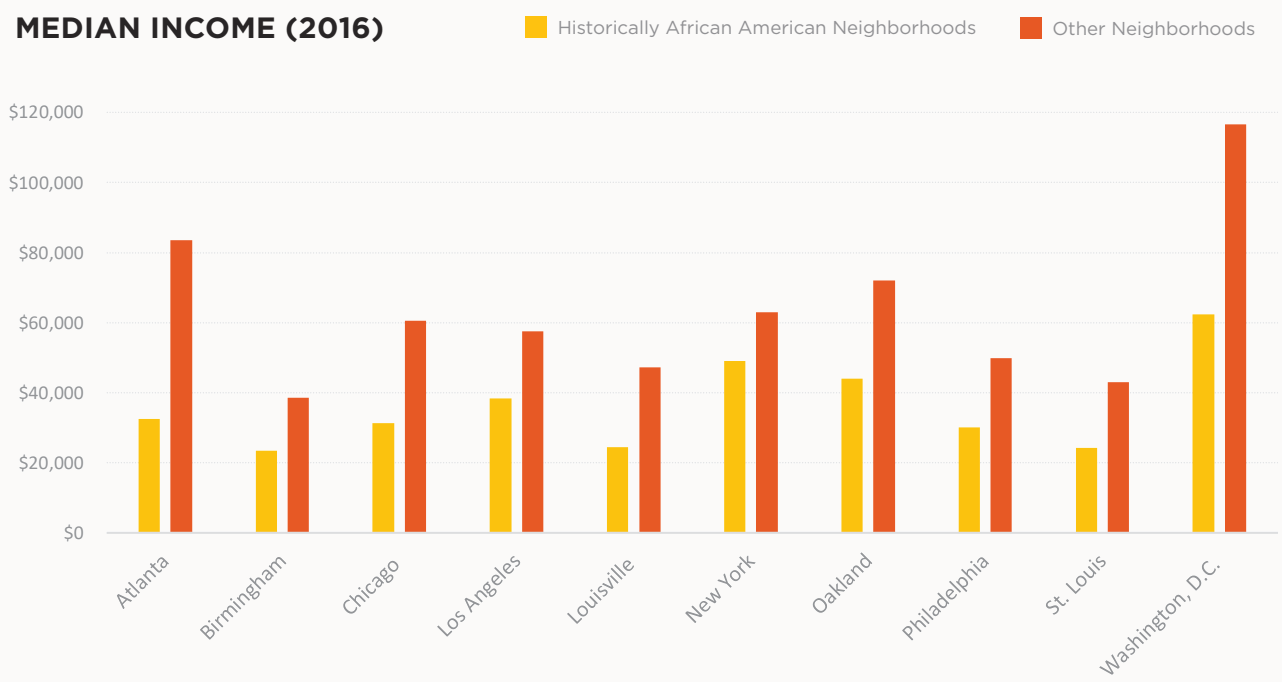
- **HAANs had a net increase of about 12,000 residents of all ethnicities, but lost more than 220,000 African American residents between 2009 and 2016.** Based on the population count of African American residents at the beginning and end of the time period, we found a net outmigration of African American residents from HAANs in nine out of the 10 cities between 2009 and 2016. While some changes in cities' African American populations can be explained by the Reverse Great Migration concept referenced earlier, the drivers in each city appear to be unique. For example, Oakland is losing African American residents due to rising rents throughout the city, fueled by the Silicon Valley growth and San Francisco's competitive housing market.[74] St. Louis is also losing Black residents to nearby suburbs like Ferguson, Missouri, accompanied by an increase in White residents within the city limits.[75] St. Louis presents a unique situation in the Midwest given that most Rust Belt cities are losing population overall. Many Black residents in St. Louis are moving to the suburbs in response to the systematic disinvestment and neglect of African American neighborhoods in the northern parts of the city.[76]

Conversely, out of the 10 cities studied, four gained Black residents: Louisville, Philadelphia, Birmingham, and Atlanta. The number of Black residents living in Louisville overall has grown steadily since the 1970s and Louisville was the only city in our study where we found increased Black populations in its HAANs.[77] Philadelphia's Black population gains have been attributed to recent increases in immigrant populations from Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.[78] In Birmingham, the city's Black population rose, while non-Black populations decreased.[79] Atlanta, St. Louis, and Washington D.C are unique in the 10-city sample in that they are now trending towards the movement of Black residents to the cities' inner-ring suburbs.[80]

TOP Section of the 3600 block of S Martin Luther King Drive on the South Side of Chicago. [Photo by Jacob Hand, April 2019]

BOTTOM New build luxury apartments in Mantua near Lancaster Avenue stand out on a street full of historic rowhouses. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

FIGURE 1 U.S. Census Bureau, "Income in the Past 12 Months (In 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars)," 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates



- **Median incomes in HAANs are consistently lower than in other neighborhoods in the 10 cities surveyed.** This disparity is least pronounced in New York, where median income in HAANs was 22 percent lower than other neighborhoods throughout the city. The disparity was greatest in Atlanta (Atlanta HAANs had 61 percent lower median income than other neighborhoods) along with Chicago (48 percent lower), Louisville (48 percent lower), and Washington, D.C. (47 percent lower). [81]

- **HAANs identified had lower homeownership rates than other neighborhoods in nine out of 10 cities**, with Louisville and Atlanta having the greatest disparities. Los Angeles is the exception of the sample with a homeownership rate in HAANs at 4 percent greater than that of other neighborhoods. This data should be considered in a broader context of racial disparities in homeownership nationally. Presence of local policies that limit property tax increases, such as Proposition 13 in California, should also be considered. An Urban Institute study of 100 cities found that Black homeownership rates lag behind White households in every city studied, though some regions have wider gaps than others. A variety of factors have accelerated and impeded progress over time. Atlanta previously achieved significant gains in Black homeownership peaking in 2008; however, the 2008 housing crisis eroded these gains and has made it more difficult for many Black households to regain ownership.[82] Oakland was similarly hit hard by the housing crisis. Los Angeles and Washington D.C. have relatively low gaps between homeownership in terms of White and Black families, but elevated home prices still put homeownership out of reach for most people.[83]

- **In aggregate across the 10 cities, HAANs had greater rates of demolition, roughly equivalent rates of new construction, and lesser rates of permitted building rehabilitation projects.** Across the study cities with available permit data, African American neighborhoods had about 35 percent more demolitions per census tract and about 25 percent fewer building rehabilitation projects per census tract than in other neighborhoods. In St. Louis, identified African American census tracts averaged more than twice the number of demolitions and fewer than half the number of new construction and building rehabilitation projects per census tract compared to other neighborhoods.

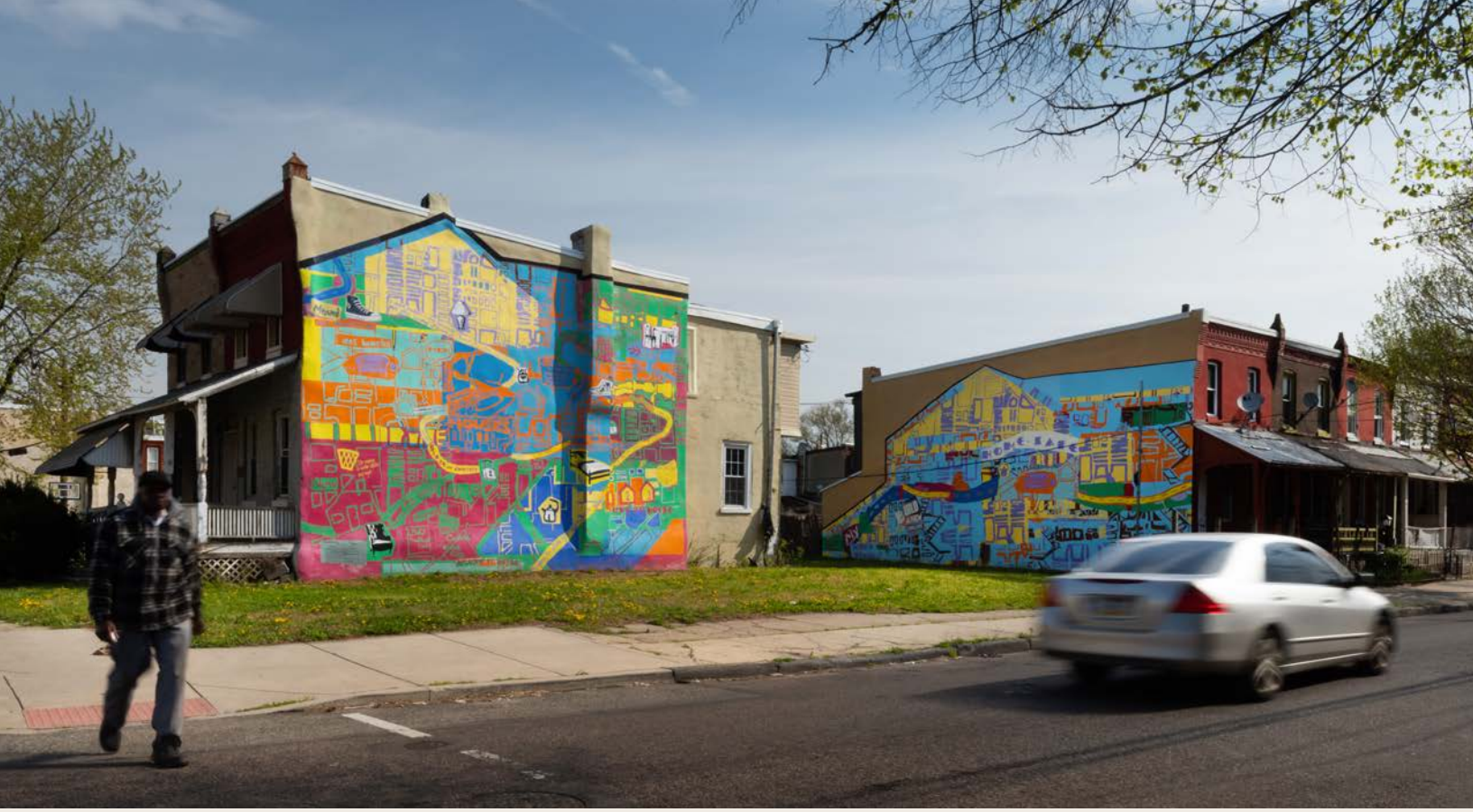
- **Across HAANs in the 10 cities, we found more than 5,700 properties locally designated, more than 600 properties individually listed on the National Register, more than 100 locally designated historic districts, and more than 200 National Register historic districts.** Rates of designation vary by city and state. To put this into a nationwide context,

> Out of nearly two million sites that have been identified to be included on the National Register, only a very small percent speak directly to the African American experience.[84]

Carnegie Library in Louisville at 1718 West Jefferson Street that ceased library function in 1975, with plans underway to rehab and transform the space into a community workspace to support residents and local entrepreneurs. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019].

Current estimates place the combined representation of African American, American Latino, Asian American, Native American, and Native Hawaiian sites on the National Register of Historic Places and among National Historic Landmarks at less than 8 percent of total listings, although this estimate is disputed due to lack of data and the limitations of the current protocol for tracking ethnic associations.[85] In the majority of the 10 cities we examined, our initial analysis also suggests that HAANs appear to be underrepresented in terms of local historic designation when compared to non-African American neighborhoods as higher proportions of non-African American neighborhoods were included in local historic districts in our sample size.

While every neighborhood is unique, we found evidence that, in aggregate, historically African American neighborhoods experienced significant demographic changes between 2009-2016. As discussed here and in the Understanding Displacement section, change is driven by a complex array of factors. Displacement is but one form of change that possibly took place. We also found disparities in terms of economic indicators and other place-based factors such as demolition rates and historic designation in most of the study cities. Through this exploration, it was difficult to find up-to-date data on the state of diversity in the preservation movement, both in terms of who is practicing preservation and what is being preserved. We plan to build on these findings in our future work in the service of uncovering how preservation can continue to grow its potential to empower more communities as a tool for equitable development.



BARRIERS TO EQUITY IN PRESERVATION

Many preservation practitioners agree that the movement is growing more inclusive, but there is still much work to be done. Through our work, we have seen how preservation can benefit and stabilize communities, and how our national identity is enriched by places that tell a fuller, truer story of our shared history. Yet, a growing number of practitioners have found that our existing tools are limited in supporting heritage protection in many African American communities. While incremental progress has been made, many barriers remain and limit our ability to protect more places of significance to Black and other underrepresented communities. Mary Anthony, the executive director of the 1772 Foundation, a longstanding supporter of people-centered preservation, eloquently and frankly summarizes the tension between where we are as a movement, and where we want to go:

PICTURED ABOVE Vacant lots and murals in the Mantua neighborhood in Philadelphia. [Photo by Kat Kendon, 2019]

Preservation should be **locally driven,**
but is **programmed from the top down**

Preservation should be **proactive,**
but is **reactive**

Preservation should be **for everyone,**
but is perceived as **elitist**

Preservation should be **collaborative,**
but is **isolated from other fields**

Preservation should be **people-centered,**
but is **building-centered**

Preservation should be **for the future,**
but is **fixed in the past**

Preservation should be **leading in the climate crisis,**
but is **perceived as an impediment**[86]

We have heard many of these points echoed through our own work with communities across the country and in discussions with state and local partners on the role of preservation in the context of equity and neighborhood change. Additionally, we have observed several common barriers to equity in preservation in African American neighborhoods that the preservation movement is positioned to address. Commonly cited barriers to preservation-based equitable development include the following observations:

- **City policies and development practices continue to result in unnecessary demolition of buildings that can be feasibly and functionally reused.** Surveyed cities such as St. Louis, Birmingham, Louisville, Atlanta, and Philadelphia continue to lose built fabric through city-led demolition programs and speculative development practices. This is exacerbated by inequitable investment, lack of access to preservation resources, and a lack of understanding of preservation values, benefits, and principles, among other factors. Intact historic building stock is labeled as "blighted" and presumed not worthy of preservation. While the pace of demolition has slowed somewhat, many viable older structures that hold cultural and historical significance to communities continue to be lost, eliminating the potential to return these buildings to productive uses such as housing, community space, and small business centers, among other community serving functions.

Vacant historic home in the English Avenue neighborhood of Atlanta's Westside. [Photo by Leslie Canaan September 2019].

- **Integrity standards and survey practices continue to perpetuate exclusion of Black heritage.** The criteria and processes for assessing architectural significance and integrity are frequently cited barriers to historic designation in African American neighborhoods. Traditional interpretations of the criteria for architectural integrity, survey and assessment practices, and methods of defining eligible district boundaries can contribute to inequitable determinations of what is considered "historic." These criteria have also overlooked the contributions of Black architects and builders throughout history and have historically been used to deny historic status to Black and other historically marginalized neighborhoods. While there have been recent attempts to address these biases, there have not been coordinated evaluations and adjustments to local, state, and national designation policies to meaningfully account for inequities in the built environment. Places that speak to the Black experience have been routinely and disproportionately undervalued, underinvested, and demolished. A growing number of practitioners are advocating that preservation policies must become more flexible to account for change over time and loss of form and material integrity, while elevating cultural and historical significance. We are seeing innovations occurring at the municipal level where landmarking decisions are focusing more on cultural significance instead of exclusively on architectural integrity. The notable case of 227 Duffield Place–a rare piece of abolitionist history in downtown Brooklyn—is just one example where the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and the local preservation community have taken steps toward designating the site for its cultural significance.[87] Preservation must continue to commit to telling the full African American story and adapting its tools and standards as needed.

- **Nominations and designations are expensive and resource intensive.** The amount of time, money, and expertise needed to survey and designate historic resources is a barrier for many property owners and communities. For potential tax credit projects, National Register listing can be a significant pre-development expense with no guarantee of a tangible return. Overall, the complexity and expense of neighborhood-scale historic resource surveys is daunting, and the review process for both individual and district listings is often lengthy.

- **Historic tax credit incentives are difficult to use for smaller, locally driven projects.** In addition to the challenges of determining eligibility and completing Part 1 forms (National Register listing or eligibility), historic tax credit (HTC) projects often involve greater complexity and higher transaction costs than traditional developments. Many historic structures that qualify for HTCs, particularly those located in African American neighborhoods, do not come close to the minimum rehabilitation cost required to outweigh the transaction cost of a tax credit deal. This can constitute a major barrier for would-be small developers. Yet small, locally driven projects are widely recognized as important elements of equitable neighborhood development.

- **Lack of fair access to capital restricts opportunities for equitable development.** Many African American communities, where residents, businesses, and property owners have been denied access to the same financial resources as other communities for generations, lack access to institutional, individual, and family capital. Traditional lending sources are often not readily available and properties in Black neighborhoods are routinely undervalued. This limits the potential for community-driven revitalization and for residents and local owners and investors to participate in historic preservation activity. Additionally, greater displacement pressure is created when local CDCs, community development financial institutions, and resident developers who are more likely to pursue redevelopment through a lens of cultural sensitivity and awareness of local customs do not have access to capital and capital flows into the neighborhood through outside entities. Equitable access to capital is essential to wealth-building and long-term stability. Financial institutions have an opportunity to catalyze more equitable development in African American neighborhoods by going beyond standard lending practices that have failed to respond to the untapped demand for resources in African American and other historically marginalized communities.

English Avenue streetscape in Atlanta's Westside including the facade of St. Mark AME Church. [Photo by Leslie Canaan September 2019]

- **Lack of outreach and education on available preservation programs and resources prevents communities from seeing preservation as relevant to long-term community needs and desires.** While cities may have a wide range of preservation tools available, awareness of these resources is often lacking. Many local leaders and stakeholders we have engaged with weren't aware that preservation tools and incentives exist or that they have the potential to benefit their communities. Information can be difficult to find and understand. Programs may be run by multiple city departments and not coordinated or centrally located, making it difficult for residents, business owners, or developers to combine incentives and programs.

- **Existing efforts are not commensurate with the scale of the existing resources or community interest in preserving them.** In the first three years of the National Trust's African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, we received over 1,800 letters of interest for funding for sites across the country, indicating an immense underlying opportunity to invest in the protection of properties related to African American cultural heritage. These structures, houses, institutions, parks, and icons sit in neighborhoods that span diverse market and physical conditions. Some neighborhoods are experiencing overall population loss, while other areas have remained relatively stable. Other communities are on the brink of, or are already experiencing, rapid change due to gentrification. This spectrum of circumstances vividly illustrates that the threats facing these communities and places, from vacancy, deferred maintenance, displacement, speculation, and other factors are wide ranging and interrelated, as are the strategies and tools needed to ensure an inclusive and sustainable future.

Preservation and community leaders across the country are taking steps to address these and other barriers, from greater community involvement in historic resource surveys to tiered designation programs and flexible design standards. These innovations are pointing the way to a more inclusive preservation practice. Following this report, we will continue to engage the field in a more inclusive and rigorous evaluation of effective strategies to inform a national agenda for the preservation movement to address identified barriers. The next section offers a summary of research on the connections between historic preservation and equitable development, followed by a survey of current programs and policies that are doing exemplary work to help fill gaps, address systemic inequities, and build a more inclusive preservation movement.

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BUILDING A MORE INCLUSIVE PRESERVATION PRACTICE

BUILDING A MORE INCLUSIVE PRESERVATION PRACTICE

THE ROLE OF PRESERVATION

> Preservation, as both a process and an outcome, can enhance our collective sense of humanity, agency, belonging, inclusion, stability, and inspiration for a better future.

The preservation and elevation of cultural heritage is essential to creating and keeping healthy neighborhoods, stoking civic pride, and establishing a truer, more inclusive national narrative of our collective identity. Empowering African American communities in the protection and interpretation of their heritage is one important way the preservation movement can help promote a more equitable future.

PICTURED ABOVE Lively streetscape in West Philadelphia. [Photo by Kat Kendon, April 2019]

To make this a reality,

> We must ensure that preservation is accessible, relevant, and beneficial to the future of diverse communities and actively works to reverse longstanding inequities.

The drivers of displacement and other forms of racial injustice are systemic and based on factors that stretch far beyond the traditional scope of historic preservation or any single discipline. Yet, it is our job to continue to examine the tools we harness in our respective practice areas to understand the roles we each play—and how we can adapt—to advance equitable growth.

It is also our job to work across disciplines to identify holistic solutions to systemic challenges. By allying with other sectors including social justice, community development, planning, and real estate, among others, we believe much more can be achieved to strengthen our shared future. This section considers the past and current role of preservation in response to neighborhood change, so we can continue to build towards a more inclusive preservation movement.

Historic preservation has played important roles in managing neighborhood change and influencing communities' futures for decades. The modern historic preservation movement grew through the political revolutions and public protest traditions in the 1950s-60s against urban renewal that threatened to radically transform historic neighborhoods and places.[88] Historic preservationists fought against the razing and rebuilding of neighborhoods by highlighting the psychological benefits of urban character and public history, the value of social connections built over time, as well as the economic benefits of close-knit older neighborhoods.[89] Concurrently, the modern preservation movement arose alongside significant shifts towards community-based empowerment in city decision-making, such as the establishment of community boards in New York City.[90]

Building on efforts throughout the 20th century, historic preservation must continue to self-evaluate and work with communities to address displacement and racial injustice in the built environment. Drawing on the early efforts of city leaders to attract the middle-class back to aging urban cores, particularly in the 1930s-50s, critics have asserted that historic designation has gentrified older cities' historic cores and displaced residents in cities like Charleston, Savannah, Providence, and Philadelphia.[91] While research is mixed, post 1950, disparate voices have continued to argue that historic district designation fuels displacement by stimulating increases in neighborhood property values, taxes, rents, and purchase offers from developers that are difficult for homeowners to decline.[92] On the other hand, through the 1970s and beyond, the preservation field has developed local preservation practices that included strategies to mitigate displacement of residents, including frequently cited examples in Savannah, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C. The movement has also launched educational opportunities and initiatives to raise awareness, and encourage more practitioners to develop principles, policies, and programs to intentionally combat displacement and adverse impacts. Preservationists have also sought to encourage collaboration with the neighborhood conservation movement to address broader social needs.[93] Those working at the intersection of equity and the built environment, including preservationists alongside planners, designers, community development professionals, and housing advocates, are focused on intentionally addressing these issues in earnest today. To effect change at scale, practitioners must take up collaborative and systemic approaches to develop solutions that address structural racism.

Street scene in University City near Drexel University, an area changing from institutional investment and demand for student housing. [Photo by Kat Kendon April 2019]

Divergent views suggest that the path forward for our cities will require multiple approaches, strategies, and tools. Recently, new pro-density arguments have emerged, stating that historic preservation impedes the construction of new housing vital to addressing housing shortages in cities nationwide.[94] This view is not shared by all. Advocates of housing justice groups, working class residents, and communities of color have rallied against blanket pro-density arguments stating that most new development being proposed, including subsidized housing, will only serve to displace vulnerable communities. These arguments fail to acknowledge how unchecked growth and density have historically harmed communities of color.[95]

As cities continue to face critical housing shortages, preserving and creating new housing units remains paramount. Yet debates on how to achieve the level of growth necessary often fall sharply along ideological lines and are riddled with false choices between competing values, presenting residents with the choice between preserving neighborhood character or adding density, adding market-rate housing or building restricted-income units. There is no one size fits all solution. Cities will need to explore multifaceted strategies to produce more housing that is as diverse as the residents they intend to serve.

A recent uptick in the creation of Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs) in Los Angeles, following new California state laws that simplified the approval process, demonstrates an alternative approach to the challenge of density. ADUs are one strategy cities can adopt to add housing without altering neighborhood character. ADU policy allows property owners to add housing units on single-family properties, generally at a lower price point enabling many residents to stay in their communities by providing more flexible housing options and additional revenue. Philadelphia legalized ADUs in 2020 following the recommendations of the Mayor's Historic Preservation Task Force recommendations, on which the National Trust served as technical advisor.

To address our affordable housing crisis, preservationists must join a broad multi-disciplinary coalition to collectively and proactively shape how and where growth can be accommodated and managed equitably.

Several recent studies seek to quantify the effects of historic preservation on neighborhood change using statistical techniques, with a focus on historic district designation. The findings of these studies are mixed and complex. It is difficult to generalize how historic designation impacts neighborhood change because local context is so varied. Differences in market dynamics, broader economic development policy, housing legislation, and mixed ethnic and racial dynamics make it particularly challenging to understand displacement of residents in long-standing African American neighborhoods through quantitative analysis. Relevant findings from our literature review include the following:

- Recent studies have found that historic district designation is linked to negligible change or decreases in property values in Philadelphia, Boston, and Forth Worth, Texas over multiple decades. These studies include important caveats regarding the difficulty of isolating impacts attributed to local historic district designation from other potential drivers, such as heightened displacement pressure when neighborhoods are located near transit, and/or desirable centralized amenities and job centers, and variations in state and local policy. When viewing these findings in contrast to research in other cities and neighborhoods that have linked designation to increased property values, these mixed and seemingly contradictory results underscore the fact that variations in local context—including regulations, incentives, and market conditions must be considered and that generalization can be misleading.[96]

- Quantitative studies of New York City have found mixed results and heterogeneous outcomes across neighborhoods with historic designation. According to one study, after designation, historic neighborhoods experienced increases in household income, in the share of college-educated residents, and in homeownership rates, as well as decreases in poverty. However, this study did not find significant changes in rental prices or racial composition.[97] Another study found that property values in historic districts increased, but only outside of Manhattan.[98]

- Another recent study of how the federal historic rehabilitation tax credit affects neighborhood change in six legacy cities found minimal socioeconomic change as the result of completed projects and increases in lower-income households where the tax credit helped to rehabilitate affordable housing.[99]

The Frederick Douglass Square in Boston is currently facing intense displacement pressure despite its historic designation. Pictured is the oldest building in the district (1860) which was originally a grocery store that also served as a station on the underground railroad. [Photo by Mel Isidor, 2020]

- A recent doctoral dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania analyzed socioeconomic neighborhood change in local historic districts in 42 American cities between 1970 and 2010, finding that designated and non-designated neighborhoods change at similar rates, but the type of change between designated and non-designated differs. This research found that neighborhood decline was more common in non-designated areas, and designated neighborhoods were more likely to experience gentrification, but that overall, there is still more gentrification that takes place in non-designated neighborhoods. This research also found that while locally designated historic districts contained greater proportions of White, wealthy, older, highly educated, homeowners than non-designated areas, local historic districts also contained significantly greater proportions of diverse renters.[100]

- The Los Angeles Conservancy released a study entitled **Preservation Positive Los Angeles** of the impact historic preservation has had on Los Angeles's economic, social and environmental present and future. One key finding is that about 60 percent of local historic districts have greater shares of racial diversity than the rest of the city.

These studies help us understand the planned and unplanned impacts of historic designation on neighborhood change over the last fifty years. In addition to studying designation, there is also a need for research to explore how other preservation tools may impact neighborhoods, such as: conservation districts that have fewer regulatory requirements; inclusive historic resource inventories; and, cultural heritage areas that interpret landscapes of natural, cultural, and historic resources as one. The variation in findings across these studies also underscores the challenges and limitations of quantitative analysis to gauge causality or linkages between specific preservation policies and neighborhood change, given the complexities of local real estate dynamics, and demographic change in relation to the urban environment. More research is needed to understand the impact of preservation and how preservation tools can evolve and be equitably deployed to meet 21st century needs.

LINKING PRESERVATION AND EQUITABLE NEIGHBORHOOD OUTCOMES

Just as historic preservation has expanded beyond a focus on individual landmarks, the movement is also expanding from a "dollars-and-cents" viewpoint of how preservation can affect neighborhoods to a view that accounts for social, political, and organizational aspects of communities.[101] An important body of research has emerged linking preservation to desirable neighborhood outcomes including equitable development, social justice, environmental sustainability, and inclusion. In many instances, the studied outcomes are related to concerns of new development and neighborhood change in marginalized communities. The following is a summary of some important connections made to date that are worthy of further exploration:

Centering equity as a primary goal of preservation

There is an emerging movement within preservation that is reinforcing equity and distributive justice in preservation, by identifying examples where preservation acts "as a force of equity and social good."[102] For example, the Engaged Cornell research team and students at Cornell University's Architecture, Art, and Planning program collaborated with several local and national partners to examine preservation and building reuse in Buffalo, New York. The workshop participants collaborated with city stakeholders to develop a toolkit of 18 different strategies to support equity in preservation and building reuse in Buffalo, and asked preservationists to acknowledge and address the "equitable distribution of access to preservation and its risks and benefits for low-income and minority populations."[103]

Addressing inclusion to strengthen community resilience

More inclusive survey, inventory, and designation practices, such as statements of significance that incorporate more social and cultural meanings of place, are bringing previously underrepresented stakeholders into historic preservation.[104] This is important for increasing diversity and inclusion in the recognition of historic places because statements of significance for historic designations are often "used as a basis for [future] policy, planning and design decisions."[105] Preservation and related cultural activities also require a civic engagement process that has been documented to help community members collaborate and connect on shared goals and relationship building with city government.[106] Research has also established links between preservation and social cohesion, sense of community, and attachment to place—all of which are cited as important components of resilient communities.[107]

Preserving and creating affordable housing

We can all agree that programs to support and increase affordable housing are paramount to resolving our nation's housing crisis. Advocates and researchers continue to build on the connection between historic preservation and its potential to support affordability. These connections should be expanded upon and translated into action. It has been demonstrated that historic neighborhoods are closer to transit, more walkable, and have a greater diversity of housing options than new developments.[108] Researchers have also found that the federal historic tax credit makes strong contributions to the rehabilitation of lower-income housing in legacy cities, in ways that compare favorably to Community Development Block Grants and Low-Income Housing Tax Credits.[109] Research has also documented and analyzed how CDOs are using historic preservation tools, such as combining Historic Tax Credits with other incentive programs and tourism to advance multiple goals of affordable housing and equitable revitalization.[110] A few important studies closely examine how grassroots CDOs adapt historic preservation to local needs in African American and Asian American neighborhoods. These studies find that success largely depends upon processes that allow for collaborative decision-making involving community members, allied organizations, and city officials.[111] The potential for preservation to align its tools proactively with affordability and anti-displacement measures is essential to reaching and being relevant to more communities.

Supporting environmental sustainability

Research shows that reuse of historic buildings is an effective strategy for reduced energy consumption, but there are still many opportunities to adapt preservation policy to align more comprehensively with environmental sustainability goals through increased data collection and measurement of the environmental impacts of older buildings.[112] For example, while energy benefits are part of the rationale for the National Historic Preservation Act, energy consumption is not currently factored into national or local historic designation criteria, suggesting that the preservation field must do more to "substantively realign preservation's goals toward a more sustainable built environment."[113] Decisions and questions about regulating the use of solar panels or other sustainability measures in historic districts also suggest that clearer and more comprehensive alignment of priorities can strengthen the link between older buildings and the path towards sustainable development.[114] A more holistic and coordinated approach to sustainability and historic preservation is necessary to address the multiple, urgent, and at times, seemingly competing priorities of 21st century communities.

Increasing economic vitality

The National Trust's subsidiaries, the **National Main Street Center** (NMSC) and the **National Trust Community Investment Corporation** (NTCIC), have demonstrated success in coupling the preservation of local character with mixed-use development to restabilize under-resourced urban commercial corridors and to promote quality of life. **UrbanMain**, a program of the NMSC, offers a new set of community-driven economic development services that are grounded in the **Main Street Approach**, but are formulated to address the distinct priorities of urban corridors, such as security, transportation, and addressing gentrification. NTCIC pioneered the "twinning" of Historic Tax Credits and New Markets Tax Credits in 2003. Since then, NTCIC has invested more than $575 million in economically distressed communities that traditionally have poor access to debt and equity capital. Amplifying the distinct identity, history, and culture of cities and neighborhoods is also shown to provide a "competitive advantage" or special amenities that can attract residents, jobs, cultural tourism, and other opportunities to areas that are struggling.[115]

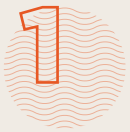
This list is only a sample of how preservationists are making the case for historic preservation in the context of broader societal concerns. In the following section, we delve into some place-based examples that demonstrate how practitioners are innovating, developing impactful strategies, and bringing more ideas into action.

PRESERVATION-BASED STRATEGIES
EXAMPLES FROM THE FIELD

This section explores how the National Trust and historic preservationists around the country can advance equitable development. Historic preservation offers strategies and tools that can be effective as part of multi-disciplinary approaches to producing equitable outcomes through neighborhood change. Through discussions with practitioners in each of the 10 cities and by drawing on our community-based work across the country, we have identified four broad priorities to advance equity both in terms of how we do our work and the impacts we seek to accomplish. In the pages that follow, we highlight some programs, policies, and practices around these four themes:

1. **Shared Authority in Planning and Decision-Making**
2. **Building Equitable Representation in the Preservation Workforce**
3. **Leveraging Preservation Strategies in African American Neighborhoods**
4. **Supporting Equitable Revitalization**

To be clear, this is just a beginning. The strategies highlighted here are not intended to be upheld as definitive solutions to systemic challenges. Rather, we highlight these case studies as examples that may inspire the field and amplify local efforts to advance equitable development through learnings from other places. Some highlighted strategies and programs may have experienced challenges in implementation and execution. We include them in this discussion regardless due to the goals, intentions, and lessons that they offer to help us refine and seek more impactful solutions collectively.



SHARING AUTHORITY IN PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING

A core tenet of equitable development calls for those most impacted by planning interventions to be empowered, active, informed with working knowledge of relevant processes, and to have a seat at the table.

It is critical that decisions about the future of African American communities are made by and in collaboration with neighborhood residents, organizations, and political leaders. This process of sharing authority in planning decisions, of bringing community voices to the table, is strengthened when community members are empowered to lead, engage, and organize for their future. This requires innovative strategies to engage previously excluded voices, foster transparency, and accomplish shared priorities. Having the right mechanisms and processes in place can help communities and decision-makers determine who benefits from neighborhood change and who bears the burdens of these changes. The following are some examples of initiatives and tools that exemplify these values and goals:

ENGAGING STAKEHOLDERS IN EVALUATING THE RACIAL EQUITY IMPACT OF POLICY DECISIONS

LOCATIONS: Seattle and King County, WA and other nationwide examples

INITIATOR: Local governments, nonprofit and grassroots organizations

ENTITIES INVOLVED: City of Seattle, King County government

BACKGROUND: The Racial Equity Impact Assessment (REIA) is a systematic examination comprised of a set of questions designed to investigate the benefits and burdens of a new policy, practice, or project and how various racial and ethnic groups are likely to be impacted by a proposed action or decision. These questions are intended to help communities, local leaders, and decision-makers engage with stakeholders and identify new approaches to address longstanding inequities. Though use of this tool is still somewhat new, usage has been on the rise. Over 125 government bodies across 30 states have adopted this tool to mitigate unintended consequences of planning decisions on communities of color and guide local decision-making.[116] The City of Seattle has been using an adapted racial equity toolkit since 2012, while surrounding King County has its own Equity and Racial Justice Initiative to evaluate county-level policy, development, and funding decisions. Race Forward and the Government Alliance on Race and Equity are two sources that have provided examples of REIAs.

IMPACTS: Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative is the longest running and most comprehensive model of a concerted city effort to achieve racial equity in budgetary and policy decisions. It has tripled the share of city contracting funds that go to women- and minority-owned businesses, and increased the amount of public subsidies awarded to projects in communities of color, which may not have qualified for funding under the city's existing requirements. Further research is required to understand the broader impacts of racial equity assessments including those on the preservation of historic resources.

RELEVANCE: Racial impact assessments create opportunities for relevant groups to have their perspectives and desires for the future weighed in policy decisions. Practitioners benefit because they are provided with a transparent framework to evaluate the impacts that proposed policies, development projects, and initiatives will have on communities of color. This framework can also inform practitioners' next steps towards mitigating persistent forms of institutional racism, that may be invisible or considered unintentional. Providing a mechanism for sharing authority in decision-making with communities that disproportionately bear the negative impacts of change can help build trust and shape more equitable outcomes in neighborhood revitalization.

PRIORITIZING PROJECTS THAT ACHIEVE EQUITY TARGETS THROUGH "EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT SCORECARDS"

LOCATIONS: Cincinnati, OH, St. Paul, MN

INITIATOR: Nonprofits, CDOs, community leaders

ENTITIES INVOLVED: The Alliance for Regional Equity, Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation, West Side Community Organization

BACKGROUND: An "Equitable Development Scorecard" is a tool that communities can use to ensure that equitable development principles and practices are applied to local planning and development projects. Scorecards can help communities navigate planning decisions and determine whether a proposed action meets their shared standards for equity. The Alliance for Regional Equity, a coalition of community-based organizations and advocacy groups advancing work at intersections of racial, economic, environmental, and health justice and equity, created an **Equitable Development Principles & Scorecard** tool. Communities are invited to use and adapt it to their local planning contexts and establish transparent principles to reflect community priorities on equitable engagement, land use, economic development, transportation, and housing, and other key issues. The **Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation** adapted this tool to reflect the priorities of the Walnut Hills neighborhood in Cincinnati, OH, as did the **West Side neighborhood of St. Paul, MN** to mitigate displacement and more intentionally factor in long-term impacts on existing residents.

IMPACTS: Communities are using the scorecard as a tool to center community voices in the development process. In the West Side neighborhood of St. Paul, the **West Side Community Organization** describes how this tool has helped transform the community from victims of decades of displacement caused by centralized top-down planning decisions, to empowered stewards who can protect, heal, and shape future development.

RELEVANCE: This scoring system is just one tool that demonstrates how CDOs, local governments, and communities can inject community voices into the planning process, establish transparent priorities around equity, and direct public support to projects that will most effectively achieve those priorities. Adapting the scorecard to local needs is an exercise in sharing authority through community engagement. This tool sets clear expectations for developers, communicates community values, and allows communities to compare and rank proposals in terms of the equitable outcomes they can deliver.

ENGAGING COMMUNITIES THROUGH CULTURAL EQUITY PLANNING AND MAPPING

LOCATION: Oakland, CA

INITIATOR: Local government, arts-based and cultural nonprofit organizations

ENTITIES INVOLVED: City of Oakland – various offices (Parks, Planning, Transportation etc.), Oakland Creative Neighborhoods Coalition

BACKGROUND: Cultural equity plans are a dynamic planning and public engagement tool that cities can use to redress historic disinvestment in communities of color and ensure that the cultures of diverse racial/ethnic groups are represented in physical spaces, cultural offerings, and investment priorities. The City of Oakland released their first cultural equity plan in 30 years, "Belonging in Oakland: A Cultural Development Plan" with the tagline, "Equity is the driving force. Culture is the frame. Belonging is the goal." The document provides a roadmap to amplify and support the role of culture in a just and equitable city, while aiming to provide every Oaklander access to cultural amenities in their neighborhoods. The main components of a cultural equity plan include data analysis, community engagement, cultural asset mapping, racial equity impact assessment, and implementation planning. Cultural plans help communities take account of their cultural assets, strengthen their economies by leveraging these assets, facilitate deeper social cohesion, and support the vibrancy of communities by focusing on what makes them so great in the first place: culture. Policy Link's Building a Cultural Equity Plan and the National Equity Atlas offer additional cultural equity planning and mapping resources.

IMPACTS: The City of Oakland launched two new pilot programs. One program is called Cultural Strategists-in-Government, which provided funding for five artist-in-residence positions in City departments. The goal of this program is to bring culturally competent thinking and problem-solving to promote civic belonging in City government. The second program, the Neighborhood Voices pilot, has awarded grants to local nonprofits to elevate seldom heard voices of Oakland's neighborhoods and recognize diverse communities. Grant recipients, including Designing Justice + Designing Space, an architecture and real estate firm dedicated to designing spaces to end mass incarceration and structural inequities, do work every day that focuses on the intersection of place, public art and history, and social justice. The city also received funding to complete a racial equity impact analysis. This process resulted in 14 community meetings, a digital cultural asset map, and a survey of Oakland residents.[117]

RELEVANCE: The ethos behind this planning tool recognizes that cultural displacement is "part of a systemic erasure of community."[118] Recommendations in Oakland's cultural equity plan seek to strengthen both tangible and intangible assets, including the creation of "historic cultural districts" and the strategic acquisition of real estate by community organizations.[119] Preservation has a unique role to play in protecting these assets—places and institutions that have served as centers for cultural life—and mitigating cultural displacement as a form of social justice. By building on cultural equity planning and mapping, the preservation community can promote recognition, designation, and protection of the representation and identity of historically underrepresented groups and help create more just and equitable cities and narratives.

NEGOTIATING COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENTS (CBAS) TO SHAPE DEVELOPMENT OUTCOMES

LOCATIONS: Nationwide, specific examples from Los Angeles, New York, Minneapolis

INITIATOR: Nonprofit organizations

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Various (See below)

BACKGROUND: A CBA is a legally binding contract that establishes the commitments that developers must fulfill to meet community priorities in pursuit of a development project. Community priorities may include job creation for residents, affordable housing, public amenities, and small business support. CBAs can also be used to mitigate potentially negative outcomes of large-scale development, including the displacement of existing residents, businesses, and/or loss of cultural heritage. CBAs are flexible enough to adapt to a wide range of projects and activities as well as community needs and concerns. Performance-based CBAs include enforceable outcomes (with a clear mechanism for enforcement), a strong vision, a transparent process for securing buy-in from all parties, and a broad coalition of community interests. Notable CBAs include:

- Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) has negotiated many CBAs that are upheld as national models for inclusivity and affordable housing. . LAANE is said to have pioneered the first CBA in the country in 1998.
- Kingsbridge Armory Redevelopment Alliance (KARA) was established by the Northwest Bronx Community and Clergy Coalition to negotiate a comprehensive landmark CBA around the redevelopment of the historic vacant Kingsbridge Armory.
- Harrison Neighborhood Association in Minneapolis, MN led a community-based planning process to establish guiding principles and a CBA negotiation over the redevelopment of Basset Valley Creek, a predominantly low-income community of color.

IMPACTS: In the case of Kingsbridge Armory, the CBA process halted a redevelopment proposal that was unacceptable to the local community. Subsequently, another proposal to redevelop the armory into an ice rink granted: approximately 52,000 square feet of community space valued at $8 million; subsidized access to the recreational facilities for low-income residents; and, one to two percent of annual revenue dedicated toward community uses.[120]

RELEVANCE: Communities of color have often been left out of decision-making and shouldered the negative impacts of top-down development projects. Communities facing redevelopment pressure can harness this powerful and flexible tool to leverage their negotiating power, and ensure that future development can address past, existing, and potential inequities through a consensus building and collaborative problem-solving process that results in a legally binding agreement.

BUILDING EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION IN THE PRESERVATION WORKFORCE

Meaningful inclusion of racially diverse practitioners in the historic preservation workforce is essential to just and equitable community development.

Inclusion will not be possible without deep collaboration with strong and capable leaders of African American communities. How can we bring more Black and diverse design professionals, contractors, heritage advocates, and developers into the preservation field? Today, African American practitioners are underrepresented in most preservation related professions, accounting for a very small percentage of professional preservationists.[121] More data must be collected for diversity in national, state, and local preservation organizations, but it is clear that we still have work to do in diversifying representation across the movement. Below are some recent efforts to increase diversity and inclusion in preservation:

CULTIVATING PRESERVATION LEADERS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUS)

LOCATIONS: Morgan State University (Maryland) and Tuskegee University (Alabama)

INITIATOR: Public-Private Partnership

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), the National Park Service and the National Trust's Hands-On Preservation Experience (HOPE) Crew and African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund

BACKGROUND: Three national organizations are working together at selected HBCUs on a summer program called "Preservation in Practice" to introduce aspiring African American architects to historic preservation career paths. The pilot programs at Morgan State University and Tuskegee University aim to cross-promote the importance of Black voices in these professions, raise awareness around the cultural legacy of HBCUs, and help cultivate more diverse generations of preservation professionals by raising students' awareness of the importance of preservation work. These pilots also aim to increase the number of historically Black institutions that offer degree programs in preservation disciplines, and complete urgent rehabilitation needs on HBCU campuses. The HOPE Crew component includes a hands-on project to give students experience rehabilitating a historic building on their campus.

IMPACTS: Preservation in Practice is still in the pilot phase. Twenty students participated in the practicums offered at Morgan State University in 2018 and 2019 and at Tuskegee University in 2019. Unfortunately, the typical hands-on program will not be possible this summer. However, the program is being adapted for digital engagement with past years' cohorts. The adapted program will include mentorship, continuing education through PastForward participation, and networking opportunities to create professional opportunities for students in the preservation field.

RELEVANCE: Nearly half of all HBCU buildings need repair, and many HBCU campuses suffer from significant deferred maintenance.[122] Increasing preservation-related degree programs at HBCUs may help address these rehabilitation needs and inspire more students to consider preservation and related fields as careers. According to the National Association of Minority Architects, only 5 percent of graduates of architecture and related services bachelor's degree programs were African American from 2016 -2017, and only 2 percent of licensed architects nationally are African American. Preservation in Practice exemplifie an innovative attempt to enhance equity at multiple touchpoints of the preservation process, from education and training, to diversifying the histories preserved and stories told.

SUPPORTING BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP TO MITIGATE CULTURAL DISPLACEMENT

LOCATION: Cincinnati, Ohio

INITIATOR: Nonprofit CDO

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Walnut Hills Redevelopment Organization WHRF, MORTAR

BACKGROUND: CDOs that work at the intersection of equitable revitalization and preservation can partner with groups that support Black entrepreneurship. One local example is MORTAR, a nonprofit, minority-led organization that helps local minority entrepreneurs access resources and training to launch successful businesses in Cincinnati. Walnut Hills and Over-the-Rhine are two neighborhoods in Cincinnati that have experienced explosive growth in recent years. In response, the local CDO named the WHRF, partnered with MORTAR to empower residents through entrepreneurship to enliven historic commercial spaces. MORTAR provides support through training and education, low-interest small-business loan grants, and affordable pop-up brick-and-mortar retail space. The former executive director of WHRF stated that, "Cultural and racial displacement often comes from retail by and for one type of customer, owned by one type of customer." For communities as diverse as Walnut Hills, it is critical that the retail landscape serves both long-time residents and visitors across the socioeconomic spectrum in terms of price-point, as well as cultural accessibility. When the market begins to support a dominant form of retail that primarily serves newcomers who are typically more affluent, feelings of cultural displacement can erupt. Interventions that support local talent result in retail and public space that respect the soul of the community while empowering minority-led change and place-keeping in historic neighborhoods.

IMPACTS: MORTAR graduates have started new businesses in Walnut Hills including Esoteric Brewing, Cincinnati's first minority owned brewery to open in 2020, and Just Q'in, a restaurant, which opened in 2016. MORTAR has supported more than 200 businesses across Cincinnati and continues to expand.

RELEVANCE: Keeping wealth and ownership within a community is key to mitigating cultural displacement and to fostering community pride and resilience. Groups like MORTAR provide pathways to minority wealth, ownership, and participation in community growth and prosperity. By investing in human capital, supporting affordability in Main Street commercial spaces, and fostering entrepreneurship, CDOs can help provide residents with what they need to strengthen their communities amid rapid change.

BUILDING COALITIONS TO AMPLIFY BLACK AGENCY, DISCOURSE, AND THOUGHT IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION

LOCATION: NYC, Oklahoma, Chicago

INITIATOR: Nonprofit organizations

ENTITIES INVOLVED: BlackSpace Urbanist Collective

BACKGROUND: BlackSpace is a collective of Black professionals in urban planning, architecture, real estate development, urban design, arts, and activism who works together to protect, preserve, and support a thriving future for communities of color. BlackSpace was founded in Brooklyn out of recognition that Black and brown voices were underrepresented in policy discussions impacting African American neighborhoods and other marginalized communities. The collective works to "nurture and support Black people in fields of influence that shape our social and spatial environments while also working to support heritage conservation in Black and marginalized communities." Since forming in 2015, BlackSpace has leveraged cultural, social, and environmental capital to implement projects in Black neighborhoods. From these projects, BlackSpace develops new tools and content enabling continued collaboration between community members to impact the built environment. Additionally, BlackSpace crafts experiences and workshops to inspire design leadership to catalyze new ways of protecting Black culture in public space. As trained professionals in their respective fields, BlackSpace members note that this work requires "unlearning" embedded practices that traditionally exclude marginalized voices. They work to make room for new modes of conserving public heritage and community development practice that centers multiple identities, co-creation, and justice.

IMPACTS: Since 2015, BlackSpace has achieved impact by publishing their thought leadership, developing cultural heritage conservation tools and strategies, and creating space for Black urbanists to restore and inspire one another in a supportive community.

BlackSpace published a handheld playbook entitled, ***Co-Designing Black Neighborhood Heritage Conservation***, to share insights and lessons learned from an exploratory approach to heritage conservation in Brownsville, a historically Black neighborhood in Brooklyn.

BlackSpace developed the developed the **BlackSpace Manifesto** that offers a set of guiding principles for practitioners working with Black communities to document, conserve, and amplify Black cultural heritage—articulating an inclusive vision for heritage conservation.

As a part of the National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA) 47th annual conference, the New York Coalition of Black Architects (NYCOBA) and BlackSpace partnered on a Black heritage conservation and future-making initiative with Brooklyn youth. The event introduced students to the importance of design within our communities and prompted students to create physical designs of their future Black spaces. The partnership demonstrated the value of empowered and diverse design professionals to connect and collaborate.

RELEVANCE: Since launching in New York City, the BlackSpace ecosystem has grown with affiliate groups now formalized in Chicago and Oklahoma in a few short years. This network of cross-disciplinary Black professionals helps to shape a new vision for planning and design strategy, and cultural heritage practice in Black communities that can be replicated and adapted locally. BlackSpace's thought leadership raises an important need to "unlearn" practices that perpetuate unconscious biases within the field and collectively build the future with leadership from Black voices. The preservation movement must continue to explore the creative possibilities of centering the marginalized and how we can re-train our profession to address systemic racism in the short- and long-term.

FOSTERING EQUITABLE COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION THROUGH TRAINING IN LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

LOCATION: Macon, Georgia

INITIATOR: Local nonprofit historic preservation organization

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Historic Macon, Inc., J.W. Fanning Institute for Leadership Development at the University of Georgia, Knight Foundation.

BACKGROUND: Historic Macon is nationally recognized for its preservation-based community development work. Through low-interest loans and strategic property investments, Historic Macon has saved, rehabilitated, and built more than 150 homes, including many in the Beall Hill neighborhood near Mercer University. In 2016, with support from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, Historic Macon launched its Neighborhood Incubator initiative, which promotes resident involvement in neighborhood revitalization efforts. A key element of the initiative is the Neighborhood Leadership Institute (NLI), which provides leadership training and skills development for community leaders. The curriculum was developed with input from neighborhood residents and training is led by staff from the J.W. Fanning Institute for Leadership Development at the University of Georgia.

IMPACTS: The 44 graduates of the NLI included representatives from 26 Macon neighborhoods. Over half of the graduates are African American residents. The next phase of Historic Macon's Neighborhood Incubator will be another NLI, with funding from the Community Foundation of Central Georgia, and the creation of a countywide Neighborhood Council to discuss issues, share best practices, and organize effectively for change.

RELEVANCE: Many communities that have suffered from historic disinvestment lack the resources to navigate complex planning processes and regulations and effectively advocate on behalf of residents, property owners, and other stakeholders. This is especially true in the context of neighborhood change. Historic Macon's Neighborhood Incubator program is a step toward a holistic neighbor-based community revitalization approach focused on building local leadership capacity through training, convenings, networking, and mentoring among residents, who may not identify as "community leaders."

TRAINING RESIDENT DEVELOPERS THROUGH THE COMMUNITY BUILDERS PROGRAM

LOCATION: Atlanta, Georgia

INITIATOR: Public Entity, official municipal economic development authority

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Invest Atlanta

BACKGROUND: The Westside of Atlanta is comprised of several distinct historically African American neighborhoods including Washington Park, Ashview Heights, Vine City, and English Avenue, each with their own unique histories. During its heyday, the historic Westside was home to thriving residential neighborhoods, businesses, recreational spaces, and the largest collection of historically Black colleges and universities in the country. However, many of these places fell into disrepair as a result of disinvestment. The Atlanta Westside Community Builders Program teaches residents and community stakeholders core property redevelopment and rehabilitation skills to empower residents to address the high number of vacant, abandoned, and blighted properties on the Westside. Following this six-month training program, resident developers become eligible for funding assistance in support of their redevelopment project.

IMPACTS: Established in October 2017, this program is still in the pilot phase. In 2018, Invest Atlanta provided $150,000 in critical upfront pre-development capital to support implementation of projects through the Community Builders Program. So far, 18 community members have participated in the pilot program and five have been awarded predevelopment funding.

RELEVANCE: In the Westside neighborhoods, residents lack the necessary tools to protect their historic homes and neighborhood icons from undue demolition as the neighborhood continues to turn over. This program directly responds to community needs and empowers longtime residents as developers to participate in neighborhood transformation. Technical assistance and predevelopment funding are in high demand in similar communities across the country. Providing public support to deliver these resources helps redress systemic disinvestment and enables residents to help strengthen their capacity, maintain stake in their communities, and participate in preservation-based equitable development.

USING ART AND EXPLORATION AS A WINDOW TO PRESERVATION

LOCATION: Gary, Indiana

INITIATOR: Nonprofit organization

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Decay Devils, Inc.

BACKGROUND: Decay Devils, Inc. is a nonprofit organization dedicated to historic building preservation and restoration efforts in Northwest Indiana. Formed in 2011 as a group united by a passion for beauty, architecture, and exploration, the Decay Devils incorporated as a nonprofit in 2015 to restore abandoned buildings. The group's first project was Gary Union Station. Decay Devils received funding from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation Donor Advised Fund from the Legacy Foundation to restore the grounds and exterior of the vacant train station, paint murals, and host events. In June 2018, the group acquired the station and successfully nominated the site to the National Register of Historic Places. Through community engagement, the group is exploring the feasibility of a multi-use development that could house a steel museum, galleries, community center, and restaurant.

IMPACTS: In addition to the exterior restoration of Gary Union Station, Decay Devils has hosted numerous events and initiatives to engage the community and local youth. With the goal of getting the City's youth interested in beautification and preservation, the group established the Art is Life Fellowship. The Fellowship is a youth summer program focused on the intersection of art, building capital, preservation, and learning the basics of preservation and activation. This program is in its first year.

RELEVANCE: These grassroots efforts have gained traction in engaging youth and a broader network of urbanists who share common cause with preservation, but did not previously think of themselves as preservationists. Members of Decay Devils include artists, writers, urban explorers, and photographers, and have shown the power and potential of uniting diverse backgrounds and interests under the umbrella of preservation. This work also demonstrates how restoring cherished yet neglected community assets can elevate the brand of Gary in a way that is sensitive to its past and future. Decay Devils was recognized as the winner of the 2019 American Express Aspire Award, which highlights the promise and potential of the preservation field through its talented emerging leaders.

LEVERAGING PRESERVATION STRATEGIES IN AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Preservation in African American neighborhoods must invest in and protect Black cultural spaces.

Today more work is being done in collaboration with African American communities to amplify diverse heritage. The National Park Service is helping to address these issues at the national level through new theme studies on civil rights and the Underground Railroad. Increased support for the African American Civil Rights Grants Program is funding the rehabilitation and interpretation of sites with significance to African American civil rights history. Many historic sites have reframed their interpretation programs to be inclusive of fuller and more diverse histories. However, while the scope of the historic preservation movement has expanded in terms of cultural diversity since the 1960s, the number of Black and other minority related preservation efforts still constitute a relatively small share of measurable preservation activity.[123]

In addressing common barriers to preservation-based equitable development, practitioners must continue to innovate on current mechanisms for providing financial relief, creating regulatory flexibility, enhancing resident engagement, and identifying properties of cultural significance in African American neighborhoods. Below are some examples of ways established preservation tools and strategies are being leveraged to equip African American neighborhoods to protect their heritage:

EXPANDING DESIGNATION CRITERIA TO BE MORE INCLUSIVE OF DIVERSE HISTORIES

LOCATION: Washington, D.C.

INITIATOR: Community-based Organization

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Barry Farm Tenants and Allies Association, Empower DC, Washington D.C. Historic Preservation Review Board (HPRB)

BACKGROUND: Barry Farms is an African American neighborhood in Southeast Washington D.C. composed primarily of public housing constructed in 1941-43, known as the Barry Farm Dwellings. The World War II-era housing complex was erected on a portion of a post-Civil War residential neighborhood established in 1867 by the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency, to house some of the formerly enslaved individuals who had come to the city during and after the Civil War. Since 2014, the Barry Farm Dwellings has been slated for redevelopment through a public-private partnership, and the Barry Farm Tenants and Allies Association is concerned that the plan to redevelop will drastically cut affordable housing by demolition. The Association is also concerned that demolition will lead to displacement. One of the Association's responses was to apply for historic district designation to serve the dual purposes of protecting the neighborhood's historic context as well as preserving the community by keeping its remaining affordable housing in use. As a public review body, the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Review Board was required to hear and consider public feedback and testimony, but also to base its decision-making on established designation criteria and not public sentiment.

IMPACTS: After several hearings, on December 5, 2019, HPRB adopted a motion stating that the Barry Farm Dwellings is significant to the local community, city, and nation for its history and for the people who lived there. The statement also said that a small grouping of buildings should be chosen for landmark designation. HPRB voted at its January 2020 meeting to designate forty remaining units at Barry Farm Dwellings, allowing the rest of the site to stay undesignated and available for redevelopment.

RELEVANCE: This case study highlights the delicate balance that must be achieved in honoring community heritage while addressing housing needs through redevelopment. It also highlights the need for more inclusive designation criteria that includes intangible heritage and social values to give communities the opportunity to preserve a more diverse range of assets that may not meet stringent integrity requirements for architectural significance. Lastly, the case of Barry Farm Dwellings is an example where the community leveraged historic preservation as a tool to exercise some control over redevelopment and to have their voices and concerns considered through the preservation process.

ADDRESSING DISPARATE TREATMENT UNDER PRESERVATION LAW

LOCATION: Dallas, TX

Initiator: Neighborhood residents association

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Tenth Street Residential Association, City of Dallas Landmark Commission, Preservation Dallas, Independent Communities Project, Legal Aid of Northwest Texas

BACKGROUND: The Tenth Street Neighborhood is part of Dallas' Oak Cliff neighborhood and was designated a local historic landmark district in 1993. Tenth Street is one of the few remaining intact Texas "Freedmen's Towns" – enclaves established by formerly enslaved people after the Civil War. The neighborhood has suffered from a history of redlining, urban renewal, and government disinvestment. As a result, the neighborhood has many vacant and deteriorating structures.

In 2010, the Tenth Street Historic District became the center of controversy after Dallas passed amendments to its local ordinances exempting buildings under 3,000 square feet from demolition review by the Landmark Commission. All historic residential structures in the Tenth Street Historic District are less than 3,000 square feet. Since passage of the 2010 amendments, there have been 32 demolitions in the Tenth Street Historic District and only one demolition in the six residential local historic districts that focus on the preservation of White, Non-Hispanic history, where most structures are over 3,000 square feet.

IMPACTS: The Tenth Street Residential Association filed a federal lawsuit arguing that the 2010 amendments violates federal equal protection laws and raising claims under the federal Fair Housing Act. The federal district court dismissed the case by finding that the Association lacks standing to raise these issues. This decision is currently under appeal. While the court case is still pending, the Association has worked to garner national press attention, including inclusion on the National Trust's annual list of America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places. This recognition helped bring the issue back to the Dallas City Council, which placed a temporary moratorium on expending city funds for demolitions in the neighborhood. However, the 2010 amendments currently remain in place should the moratorium be lifted.

RELEVANCE: As the Tenth Street Residential Association pushes forward, this case demonstrates one way that local landmarks laws can be amended to remove protections against demolitions that can lead to community erasure. It also highlights a new legal approach to challenging laws with potentially discriminatory impacts.

ALLEVIATING FINANCIAL BURDENS ON AFRICAN AMERICAN HOMEOWNERS

LOCATION: New Orleans, Louisiana

INITIATOR: Local preservation nonprofit organization

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Preservation Resource Center (PRC), New Orleans Historic District Landmarks Commission, National Trust for Historic Preservation

Background: Treme is recognized as one of the oldest African American neighborhoods in the United States, as well as one of New Orleans' most historic and culturally rich neighborhoods. The neighborhood was designated as a local historic district in 1988 in recognition of its early population of immigrants and free people of color, and of its architecture of Creole cottages, shotgun homes, shops, and corner stores. The Treme Historic District designation has helped to preserve the neighborhood's unique cultural identity. One of the biggest challenges facing residents is the maintenance of their historic homes' exteriors to meet the city's Historic District Landmark Commission (HDLC) guidelines. The cost of rehabilitations that require special materials and tradespeople are high and home repairs are often unaffordable and thus left undone. Other times, repairs are being made without certificates of appropriateness from the HDLC and, as a result, homeowners accumulate fines from the HDLC for violations.

The Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans (PRC) is a nonprofit organization that has restored more than 1,500 properties citywide since its founding in 1974 and provides technical assistance for rehabilitation efforts. Through assistance from the National Trust's African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, PRC launched its newest program, named Revival Grants. The program provides direct financial assistance to low-to-moderate income homeowners who live in the district to pay for fines from the Landmark Commission.

IMPACTS: Since November 2019, PRC has helped four homeowners with significant renovations to their properties thanks to the National Trust's investment. All the homeowners have lived in Treme for decades, some all their lives; all earn 80 percent Area Media Income or less; and all have had HDLC fines levied against them for years due to the condition of their properties. Using their violations as a work scope, PRC has worked with homeowners to make informed decisions on which contractors to hire. Ultimately, the homeowners choose the contractors to maintain agency over their properties through this process. PRC staff are on site to keep an eye on renovations as they occur. The PRC has leveraged its gift from the National Trust into attracting more funders, and since November 2019, has grown the Trust's initial investment of $75,000 into $200,000. Work is ongoing, and PRC is helping its fifth homeowner with renovations now. The organization will continue to focus its work in the Treme neighborhood throughout 2020. Afterwards, PRC plans to open the program up to other "full control" historic districts in New Orleans as well, such as Holy Cross, Marigny, Bywater and the Irish Channel. All of these neighborhoods are, like Treme, experiencing rapid rises in property values and have long term residents who struggle to stay in their homes as a result.

RELEVANCE: Code enforcement is one of the HDLC's main tools for making sure that historic integrity is not lost in urban historic districts, but they also exacerbate financial burdens for low-income property owners in historically disadvantaged neighborhoods. Property owners are financially responsible for paying outstanding fees and correcting any inappropriate changes that were made to facades. If owners fail to correct changes, then properties may be subject to seizure and sale. PRC's new Revival Grants program is critical not only for preserving architecture and neighborhood character, but for preserving African American homeownership in Treme. This innovative program highlights the need for preservation solutions that are inclusive, adaptive to local policy, and culturally competent by recognizing the disparate impacts historic preservation has in different neighborhoods.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR INCLUSIVE DESIGNATION THROUGH CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

LOCATION: San Francisco, California

INITIATOR: Local government, variety of local stakeholders (see below)

ENTITIES INVOLVED: San Francisco Planning Department's Historic Preservation Program

BACKGROUND: Several municipalities are creating pathways to diverse forms of recognition by developing context statements, through equitable survey and assessment practices. These investments by local governments can help reduce costs for communities seeking to file applications for designation, grants, and other resources. Inclusive historic context statements also serve as community planning tools to prioritize where communities can and should concentrate scarce resources. The city of San Francisco's Historic Preservation Program worked with historians, community groups, and the African American Historical and Cultural Society to develop the African American Historic Context statement, which provided a historical background of the development of the city and the landmarks most important in the city's African American history.[124]

IMPACTS: Completed in 2016, the African American Historic Context makes interpretation of the city's historical and cultural development more inclusive and helps establish equity in policies around what we as preservationists seek to protect and why.

RELEVANCE: The Bay Area's tech boom has made San Francisco one of the most expensive cities in the US and rising housing prices continue to transform the city's physical and demographic landscapes. The city's historic resource survey and San Francisco Citywide Historical and Cultural Context Statements can help lay the groundwork for communities that are under resourced to safeguard the historical, social, and economic values of their culturally diverse neighborhoods. The surveys may enable the incorporation of previously overlooked or undervalued places into the city's long-term planning. Other cities that have created historic context statements for local African American communities include Los Angeles, CA and St. Paul, MN, as well as state-level programs in Louisiana and Georgia.

INTEGRATING PRESERVATION AND COMMUNITY PLANNING USING SURVEY AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

LOCATION: Los Angeles, CA

INITIATOR: Local government

ENTITIES INVOLVED: City of Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute, J. Paul Getty Trust

BACKGROUND: The Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey, SurveyLA, is the first comprehensive survey of historic resources citywide. The survey findings serve as the primary planning tool for identifying, recording, and evaluating historic properties and districts in Los Angeles, and helps guide and inform long-range planning decisions. Between 2010 and 2017 the City, in partnership with the Getty Conservation Institute and Foundation, undertook a campaign to survey the 880,000 legal parcels of Los Angeles. Survey finding are organized by Community Plan Area. There are 35 community plans in total that integrate neighborhood specific goals and implementation strategies. These community plans balance topics including jobs and housing, parks and open space, urban design and mobility, as well as arts, culture, history and health. Community plans lay out a comprehensive land use vision for each neighborhood to guide decision-making that may include legislative decisions such as the adoption of overlay zones. Each community plan involved multiple years of community engagement, and extensive outreach efforts to help identify places of social, cultural, and historical significance. The City is interested in exploring follow-up steps to enhance documentation of cultural significance and is pursuing resources to create greater capacity for the historic designation of culturally significant sites.

IMPACTS: This effort represents the most comprehensive survey completed by an American city. Prior to the eight-year survey effort, only 15 percent of Los Angeles's historic resources had been documented. This effort also represents the first all-digital citywide survey of historic resources through a new city-designed application called the Field Guide Survey System. SurveyLA also completed a citywide African American Historic Context Statement.

RELEVANCE: SurveyLA findings and integration into comprehensive community planning efforts represent an innovative and comprehensive approach to preservation, strengthening the link between preservation and planning. This approach allows the City to understand the holistic composition and context of neighborhoods and their many intersecting and at times competing priorities.

PROMOTING REGULATORY RELIEF TO ALLEVIATE COST BURDENS ON LOW-INCOME HOMEOWNERS

LOCATION: Atlanta, GA

INITIATOR: Local government

ENTITIES INVOLVED: City of Atlanta, Office of Design – Historic Preservation, potential role for grassroots preservation organizations skilled in outreach and education

BACKGROUND: Atlanta's historic preservation ordinance offers flexible designation tiers including local Landmark Districts, Historic Districts, and Conservation Districts with varying degrees of regulatory requirements which apply to alterations of designated properties. Importantly, the ordinance also allows for hardship exemptions in historic districts, to mitigate instances where residents cannot afford historically specified building materials and designs. Hardship exemptions enable residents to use alternative, more affordable options if needed.

IMPACTS: While some communities are actively seeking preservation tools to help stabilize their neighborhoods and preserve their cultural icons, some residents remain concerned that the regulatory impacts of preservation policies will negatively impact property owners. This could be due to misconceptions around regulation requirements. According to former city employees who administrated this program, despite having flexibility built into the ordinance for cost-relief, use of exemptions has been exceedingly rare, suggesting that the problem lies in implementation.

RELEVANCE: This case highlights the need to adequately evaluate barriers to use of existing preservation tools and policies. Model preservation programs with thoughtful and inclusive policies may not be widely understood, suggesting that ramping up education and outreach could address some common concerns. Across the cities in the study, similar sentiments reflected that much local opposition to preservation strategies and initiatives from historically marginalized communities were grounded in the perception that preservation requirements are costly and burdensome. Further case-by-case evaluation is needed to understand the extent preservation requirements are burdensome to low-income homeowners, and how we can more effectively help homeowners maintain their historic properties.

REDEVELOP NON-CONTIGUOUS HISTORIC SITES FOR WORKFORCE TRAINING AS REVITALIZATION

LOCATION: Cincinnati, OH

INITIATOR: Private mission-driven developer

ENTITIES INVOLVED: The Model Group, Corporation for Findlay Market, National Trust Community Investment Corporation

BACKGROUND: The Jobs Café at Findlay Market project is a rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of eight non-contiguous historic buildings located in a three-block area of a Cincinnati neighborhood known as Over-the-Rhine (OTR). Originally built by German immigrants, African Americans began moving into OTR after the U.S. declared war on Germany in 1917, and continued until the Great Depression. More recently, many properties have been purchased by absentee owners and left vacant for decades. Based on 2011-2015 American Community Survey data, OTR had a poverty rate of 71 percent and an unemployment rate that was 4.7 times the national average. Completed in 2018, the project provides space for a food service job training and placement organization, a food business incubator, pop-up retail spaces for incubator graduates, below-market retail and office space, as well as 68 mixed-affordable residential units. The residential units have a minimum of 25 percent set-aside as affordable to households earning less than 80 percent Area Median Income (AMI), with rental rates not exceeding 30 percent of income for an 80 percent AMI household. Total development costs were $27 million for these scattered site buildings. Capital sources included federal and state Historic Tax Credits and New Markets Tax Credits (NMTCs).

IMPACTS: The Jobs Café workforce training program has official hiring partnerships with local restaurants and hospitality operations, all of which provide living wage positions with benefits to graduates. Partnerships with local culinary institutions also provide graduates with opportunities to attend culinary school. The nonprofit food business incubator supports entrepreneurs to start, grow, and scale businesses, by providing affordable access to licensed commercial kitchens, commercial grade equipment and storage space. The program provides necessary training and mentorship, wraparound business support services and provides temporary launch storefronts for incubator graduates to test out their restaurant concepts. The project also works with a variety of local organizations, including MORTAR, for prospecting small, locally- and minority-owned businesses for its retail and office spaces that are offered below market rental rates.

RELEVANCE: This project demonstrates the use of HTCs and NMTCs to return non-contiguous historical properties to productive use. In this case public financing and preservation incentives helped deliver housing and commercial workforce training space, which will be used to reinvest in the human capital of the surrounding community.

COMBINING HISTORIC TAX CREDITS WITH NEW MARKETS TAX CREDITS TO SUPPORT SMALL SCALE NEIGHBORHOOD PROJECTS

LOCATIONS: Atlanta, Georgia

INITIATOR: Nonprofit organization, private developer

ENTITIES INVOLVED: The Creatives Project, development team led by Stryant Investments, LLC and Building Insights, Inc., National Trust Community Investment Corporation, Invest Atlanta

BACKGROUND: Academy Academy Lofts is located at the heart of a historically Black neighborhood, Adair Park, in Atlanta, Georgia. Adair Park transitioned from an exclusively White neighborhood starting in 1955, as a result of "White flight." Along with the transition came disinvestment, resulting in the closure of the neighborhood school in 1973, followed by decades of vacancy. The transformation of the historic school building includes office space for two nonprofit organizations, retail space for a local coffee shop, and 38 residential units, 86 percent of which will be affordable to households earning less than 80 percent AMI and rent restricted. The financing of the project combines a variety of sources including: Housing Opportunity Bond financing from Invest Atlanta; Historic Tax Credits to preserve the existing structure: and, New Markets Tax Credits for commercial uses. This project will benefit the surrounding low-income community which currently has a poverty rate of 47 percent and an unemployment rate that is three times the national average. The Academy Lofts project also includes space for a community hub that will be programmed with live music, art shows, support groups, and training events.

IMPACTS: The two largest tenants at Academy Lofts include The Creatives Project and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The former is a woman- and minority-controlled arts-based education and outreach nonprofit serving at-risk youth and area residents. AFSC supports communities impacted by violence and oppression, focusing on housing assistance for African American residents impacted by housing displacement. AFSC also operates after-school tutoring and provides meeting space for community organizations, and much more.[125] The waitlist of more than 300 creatives to live, work, and participate in this project is another indicator of project impact.

RELEVANCE: This project demonstrates how HTCs in combination with other financing tools, creative partnerships, and community engagement can help transform historic community assets into more inclusive community hubs. Experienced specialists, in this case real estate professionals and a creative workforce nonprofit, can join forces to leverage preservation tools in underserved communities to bring community visions to life.

4 SUPPORTING EQUITABLE REVITALIZATION

Equitable revitalization requires a mix of strategies to address the many dimensions of systemic inequality affecting African American communities.

The following case studies include a wide range of strategies from policies to pilot programs that highlight examples of what preservation-based equitable revitalization could look like. We explore financing mechanisms that return vacant buildings to community-serving functions, models that promote community ownership and build community wealth, as well as arts-based revitalization, among other approaches. All of these examples carry implications for how the preservation field can contribute to a more just future in African American communities:

LAYERING HISTORIC REHAB INCENTIVES WITH OTHER PROGRAMS TO ACHIEVE FEASIBLE AND EQUITABLE REVITALIZATION

LOCATION: St. Louis, MO

INITIATOR: Private developer

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Dominium Partners lead and development team, City of St. Louis, National Trust Community Investment Corporation

BACKGROUND: The Arcade is an adaptive reuse project of two structures, the Wright Building and the Arcade building, located in a predominantly African American neighborhood and adjacent to other historically African American neighborhoods in downtown St. Louis. Dominium Partners, an experienced affordable housing developer, purchased the site for $9 million from the city of St. Louis's Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority. Originally built as a retail center and an office building, the buildings have been adapted to commercial space for Webster University's fine arts department, including an auditorium and an art gallery, as well as 282 mixed-income residential rental units. The project itself will be geared towards artists, with affordable units and workspaces. The $118 million project financing included federal and state Historic Tax Credits, NMTCs, Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC), brownfield tax credits, city funding, and traditional debt. The commercial space and 80 of the residential units are separately titled from the remaining 202 LIHTC residential units, using a condominium structure which enabled the combination of NMTC and LIHTC to be used in the same building structure. The project required effort and resources from multiple stakeholders from tax credit syndicators to City and Missouri agencies and authorities.

IMPACTS: The creative and multilayered deal structure of the successful adaptive reuse project created 202 one- and two-bedroom apartments targeted to households with incomes at 60 percent or less than the AMI, 16 apartments set-aside at 80 percent or less than AMI, along with 64 market rate residential units.

RELEVANCE: This project embodies principles of equitable revitalization by returning a vacant structure to productive use through a combination of financially feasible and mission driven uses. By transforming underutilized space into an asset intended for various income-levels, projects like these demonstrate that, through partnership and collaboration across sectors, equitable revitalization is feasible and does not need to sacrifice affordability, culture and heritage, or exclude preexisting community.

LEVERAGING HISTORIC TAX CREDITS WITH OPPORTUNITY ZONE FUNDING AND OTHER PLACE-BASED INVESTMENT VEHICLES

LOCATION: Newark, New Jersey

INITIATOR: Public-private partnership

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Community Asset Preservation Corporation, Hanini Group, Crawford Street Partners, National Trust Community Investment Corporation

BACKGROUND: Newark Arts Commons is the adaptive reuse of the historic St. Michael's Hospital into an arts-focused destination with permanent affordable office space for nonprofit organizations and affordable housing options. Completed in 1871, the hospital was open to all races. The historic building is part of a larger hospital complex from which it has been subdivided. While the historic building sat vacant for over a decade, the rest of the complex remained functional as a hospital for the Central Ward, a predominantly African American neighborhood that arose during the Great Migration. The Central Ward once boasted a strong Black economic base with many minority-owned businesses. However, the Great Depression, the 1967 race rebellion, and discriminatory real-estate practices resulted in decades of over-crowding and disinvestment in the neighborhood. With a poverty rate of 39 percent and unemployment at over two times the national average, this census tract was designated as a Qualified Opportunity Zone. Financing for the $22.3 million Newark Arts Commons project includes combining Opportunity Zone fund equity, federal Historic Tax Credits, and New Markets Tax Credits.

IMPACTS: The space reserved for arts organizations is available for 60 percent below market rate, enabling these organizations to secure long-term affordable space to help cultivate a vibrant cultural district. GlassRoots, the primary commercial tenant, is a local nonprofit that engages inner city youth through glassmaking. GlassRoots also helps prepare young adults for entry-level jobs in scientific glass manufacturing, and provides inexpensive studio space for artists and makers that will allow entrepreneurs to start and grow their own businesses. The project in total serves 500 low- and moderate-income youth annually, through yearlong academic and entrepreneur programs.

RELEVANCE: Equitable revitalization counts on innovative solutions, deep collaboration and support from multiple stakeholders to achieve a common goal of strengthening communities. Layering historic preservation resources with multiple sources of financing and incentives can help raise the level of subsidy required to achieve multi-faceted community-oriented goals that demonstrate the link between preservation, equitable development, and resilient and healthy communities.

SUPPORTING ETHICAL NEIGHBORHOOD TRANSFORMATION THROUGH ARTS-BASED REVITALIZATION

LOCATION: Chicago, IL

INITIATOR: Nonprofit organization

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Rebuild Foundation, Place Lab, University of Chicago (various schools)

BACKGROUND: Founded by artist, Theaster Gates, the Rebuild Foundation (RF) is an arts, education, and cultural development organization that fosters community and neighborhood revitalization through free arts programming, creating new cultural amenities, and developing affordable housing, studio, and live-work space. The RF has developed an ecosystem of projects on Chicago's South Side that are linked by RF's core values: that Black people, Black spaces, and Black objects matter. A few of these projects, out of many, include the following:

- Dorchester Industries: Grown out of RF's workforce training programs, this initiative connects skilled contractors and craftsmen who work with residents of Chicago's South Side to reimagine and renovate vacant buildings in the area, while training residents in building trades and skilled labor.
- Stony Island Arts Bank: Saved from demolition, a former bank has reopened as a hybrid gallery, media archive, library and community center after sitting vacant for decades.
- Dorchester Art + Housing Collaborative: A rehabilitated public housing project that serves as mixed-income housing for artists and community members, with a public arts center and meeting space.

Theaster Gates also leads Place Lab, a partnership between an initiative of UChicago Arts and the Harris School of Public Policy, which is comprised of a team of professionals trained in urban planning, architecture, law, arts administration, real estate, and community development. Place Lab is focused on a concept called "ethical redevelopment," a term Place Lab defines as "mindful urban transformation." This transformation involves, "Shifting the value system from conventional financial and development practices to conscientious interventions in the urban context."[126] By examining RF's network of arts and reuse-based revitalization projects, Place Lab distilled 9 principles of 'ethical redevelopment' and then held a series of salon sessions on ethical redevelopment at the Stony Island Arts Bank.

IMPACTS: RF has transformed over 30 vacant buildings into affordable living and cultural spaces in Chicago's South Side. Across its sites, RF has hosted tens of thousands of visitors through exhibits, film screenings, classes and workshops, panel discussions, among many other community events. More impacts can be found in RF's 2019 Annual Report.

RELEVANCE: This work has catalyzed a broader movement around ethical redevelopment, seeding like-minded development in places like Detroit.[127] Characterized by a deep respect for history and reuse of neighborhood assets, this form of redevelopment uses spatial and public art to call attention to the value of places that have been abandoned and "discarded." RF also creatively leverages diverse funding and financing sources including the City of Chicago's Neighborhood Opportunity Fund, the national Reimagining the Civic Commons initiative, private funding, and earned revenue. This work embodies the intersectional nature of equitable development through its workforce training, physical preservation projects, heritage and arts-based revitalization, and various community serving initiatives.

RETAINING VULNERABLE RESIDENTS THROUGH NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCE POLICIES

LOCATIONS: San Francisco, CA and Portland, OR

INITIATOR: Local government

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, San Francisco; Portland Housing Bureau

BACKGROUND: In 2015, San Francisco adopted a policy that sets aside a portion of units in city-funded affordable housing developments for current residents of that neighborhood. When San Francisco applied the policy to a housing development receiving HUD funding, HUD ruled that San Francisco's program violated federal fair housing laws, contending that neighborhood preference maintains segregation rather than eradicating it and limits equal access to housing. In September 2016, HUD and San Francisco reached an agreement permitting the city to give preference to residents of neighborhoods facing "extreme displacement pressure." Today, San Francisco offers six different lottery preference programs that support residents who are vulnerable to displacement and bolster their chances of remaining in the City.

Another example in Portland, OR aims to support current and former residents at risk of displacement, as well as their descendants. As part of its N/NE Neighborhood Housing Strategy, the Portland Housing Bureau developed the Affordable Housing Preference Policy as a tool to address the legacy of past urban renewal projects on longtime residents of North and Northeast Portland, the historically African American hub of the City. The Preference Policy applies to households that were displaced, are at risk of displacement, or are the descendants of families that were displaced due to urban renewal in N/NE Portland. It provides support through the development of affordable housing units and homeownership support.

IMPACTS: The impacts of these programs are still controversial, but have provided measurable benefits.[128] San Francisco found that the program increased neighborhood resident occupancy by 150 percent, and has helped to produce and market over 600 units across 31 projects with more in the pipeline.[129] In Portland, what started as a smaller community-led effort, grew into a $70 million commitment for the city-funded housing strategy. Portland's preference policy has helped a few dozen families so far.

RELEVANCE: The notion that current residents of gentrifying neighborhoods or displaced former residents ought to share in the benefits of community revitalization has inspired other similar policies from New York City to Seattle. Several cities have introduced neighborhood preference policies to help retain residents in historic neighborhoods facing displacement and to help residents access important resources.

LEVERAGING DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT MOMENTUM TO SUPPORT EQUITABLE NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

LOCATION: Chicago, Illinois

INITIATOR: Local government

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Chicago Department of Planning and Development, City Council, Landmarks Illinois

BACKGROUND: The City of Chicago's Neighborhood Opportunity Fund (NOF) leverages fees paid by developers for additional development rights downtown to support commercial corridor revitalization in the city's underserved South, Southwest, and West Side communities. Grants of up to $250,000 are awarded to support businesses and cultural projects in designated NOF commercial corridors. Grants are awarded on a matching basis: 50 percent for rehabilitation projects and 30 percent for new construction. Eligible uses for grant funds include property acquisition, building rehabilitation, environmental remediation, mechanical system repairs, façade improvements, demolition, and new construction. A 25 percent "Build Community Wealth Bonus" is provided for awardees who live in the NOF eligible area. An additional 25 percent bonus is added for projects that hire new employees from the NOF area.

IMPACTS: According to available data as of August 2018, nearly $200 million in fees have been collected or committed from downtown development projects since the program began in 2016.[130] The city has awarded $47 million in grants to nearly 200 projects. In the most recent award round (2019), 70 percent of grant recipients were local entrepreneurs of color. However, to date, only about $1 million in grant awards have been paid out for completed projects. One challenge is that NOF grants are awarded as reimbursements. Most small property owners and entrepreneurs lack access to upfront capital for pre-development costs such as business plans, architectural and engineering services, and environmental assessments. The city recently announced changes to allow NOF grant awardees to receive up to $25,000 before construction starts. In addition, Landmarks Illinois, a nonprofit preservation organization based in Chicago, is piloting a new Reinvestment Program to help bridge these financing gaps. Landmarks Illinois is raising funds that may be used by NOF awardees for activities such as pre-development professional services and below-market bridge loans for construction costs.

RELEVANCE: The NOF program uses a "value capture" strategy to transfer benefits from large new developments in high-demand locations to small-scale projects in economically disadvantaged areas of the city. It demonstrates a potential mechanism for generating significant fee revenue through voluntary developer participation. However, the program has also revealed the need for complementary services, including pre-development capital, bridge financing, technical assistance, and community outreach, to ensure that the people and projects most in need are able to access support.

ENSURING LONG-TERM AFFORDABILITY THROUGH COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

LOCATION: Oakland, CA, and Philadelphia, PA

INITIATOR: CDO

ENTITIES INVOLVED: There are approximately 225 Community Land Trusts (CLTs) nationwide.

BACKGROUND: Community land trusts (CLTs) remove land from the speculative market by taking ownership on behalf of a community to ensure that community interests are served in the long-term. CLTs trace their roots to southern Georgia during the 1960s, where civil rights leaders founded the New Communities land trust in Albany to provide Black sharecroppers with decent housing and a path to economic self-sufficiency. In this model, the land is owned by the CLT and leased to residents who purchase their buildings atop the CLT land. This separation reduces the purchase price for buyers because land values drive up homeownership costs rather than the house itself, allowing more families to afford a home and provide the security of traditional homeownership. When real estate prices go up, the CLT maintains affordability through its control of the land, without passing on the full cost of property ownership to families that cannot afford it. CLTs also acquire and manage rental properties for housing, commercial, nonprofit, or mixed use. Examples of CLTs active in neighborhoods that are historically communities of color include:

The **Oakland** Community Land Trust (OakCLT), which formed during the foreclosure crisis in 2009, started acquiring land to prevent tenant displacement by preserving affordable spaces. Today, it has acquired 21 permanently affordable single-family homes, three multi-unit preservation projects, and 10 parcels for community food production and workforce training. OakCLT's bylaws include provisions that at least one-third of its board of directors must be low-income residents, and another third are land trust residents—to ensure those most impacted are part of the decision-making process.

Liberty Community Land Trust (Liberty CLT) in the Crenshaw District of **Los Angeles** is a newly formed organization that was a culmination of community planning efforts. Liberty CLT seeks to acquire apartments and homes to provide permanent affordability through a community ownership model by removing them from the speculative real estate market. This work builds on the T.R.U.S.T. South L.A model, which seeks to increase community control through land ownership and empower residents to lead local planning and development processes in their neighborhoods, which are impacted by displacement pressure.

The Kensington Corridor Trust in Northeast **Philadelphia** formed in 2019 with the goal of acquiring properties along a historic commercial corridor to ensure that future development serves community needs and does not displace existing residents or businesses.

IMPACTS: Nationally, CLTs have created between 10,000 and 15,000 housing units. Eighty percent of residents of CLT properties have incomes below 50 percent of the area median, and 31 percent are non-White. CLTs are a proven way to secure and maintain long-term affordability in urban neighborhoods. While CLTs can help owners build wealth incrementally, gains through resale are modest. The larger goals are to maintain permanently affordable housing stock and support healthy communities.

RELEVANCE: CLTs and other shared equity models tap into an important component of equitable development: community control of local priorities and a seat at the table in planning processes as long-term stewards of their neighborhoods. Success depends on CLTs ability to acquire enough property while land values are sufficiently low, which requires foresight and capital. Early intervention is critical in markets that are beginning to appreciate. Often when the process of gentrification has begun, it is already too late. Dedicated housing funds and tax incentives can help make more land trust acquisitions financially feasible.

PROVIDING PROPERTY TAX RELIEF TO SUPPORT VULNERABLE HOMEOWNERS FACING RAPID GENTRIFICATION

LOCATION: Atlanta, GA

INITIATOR: Public-private partnership

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Westside Future Fund

BACKGROUND: Pervasive concerns of displacement from Westside communities of Atlanta have prompted local public, private, and philanthropic partners to form the Westside Future Fund (WFF), a nonprofit dedicated to equitable development of historic Westside neighborhoods. A wave of new investment in and near the Westside including the new Mercedes-Benz Stadium and a popular open space project, the Atlanta Beltline, has spurred speculative development and driven up land values. It is estimated that over 18 percent of land parcels have become investor-owned, while owner-occupied homeownership rates remain in the single digits.[131] WFF developed a Community Retention Plan, a policy and implementation strategy to ensure that future development does not inadvertently displace existing residents. One of the plan's key initiatives is the creation of a 100 percent philanthropically sourced Anti-Displacement Tax Fund. The initiative seeks to protect homeowners from displacement due to the inability to pay for increases in property taxes spurred by current revitalization efforts. The Tax Fund helps cover the cost of these increases without requiring payback from recipient homeowners. The Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation played a significant role in the establishment of the WFF, and many other major Atlanta-based companies have made significant contributions such as Mercedes-Benz USA, Georgia Power, Equifax, SunTrust Bank, Novelis, AT&T, The Home Depot, American Family Insurance, The Coca-Cola Company, Chick-Fil-A, and NCR.

IMPACTS: Within the first 18 months, the program received over 200 applications and approved over 60 homeowners.

RELEVANCE: Many historically marginalized communities do not have access to tools and resources that could protect them from the adverse impacts of rapid neighborhood change. Programs like the Westside Future Fund aim to intentionally address inequities in the redevelopment and revitalization process by providing financial support to vulnerable residents. While this program addresses risk of displacement posed to homeowners, it is known that most Westside residents are in fact renters. Combining this program with other initiatives as part of a comprehensive strategy for community retention is what makes the potential of this plan more powerful.

PROTECTING NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTER AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING THROUGH PRESERVATION ZONING POLICY

LOCATION: San Francisco, CA

INITIATOR: CDO

ENTITIES INVOLVED: Chinatown Community Development Center (CCDC)

BACKGROUND: In 1977 five grassroots organizations united under a single entity as the Chinatown Resource Center, later renamed the CCDC. The organization has served the Chinatown neighborhood of San Francisco through a holistic range of services that include neighborhood preservation and heritage, youth leadership training, organization and advocacy, planning and housing, and civic engagement. According to a case study by the Urban Displacement Project, Chinatown has been able to remain a low-income ethnic enclave, without succumbing to displacement pressure that has radically transformed other neighborhoods in comparable locations. Between 1970 and 1980, thousands of residential units in Chinatown were being lost through office conversions and the influx of international capital. The CCDC led efforts to pass anti-displacement zoning polices and extensive rent-control measures in the 1980s, including a proposal for the 1986 Rezoning Plan, which sought to downzone the neighborhood aligning allowable building heights with the height of existing buildings.

The 1986 Rezoning Plan, combined with the 1980 citywide Residential Hotel Ordinance and the 1979 San Francisco Rent Control Ordinance, prohibits demolition of existing housing units and the conversion of housing to other land uses. Through the leadership of the CCDC, the community sought a structural solution to address the influx of outside capital and developers who were converting the area's affordable housing into office space. The full case study can be found here.

IMPACTS: The set of rent and zoning policies was developed to protect a "virtually irreplaceable" resource of affordable housing in the neighborhood.[132] Under these policy protections, approximately 92 percent of units are protected under the rent control ordinance, and 50 percent of the core housing stock has remained single room occupancy hotels. The CCDC has also acquired 34 residential structures throughout the neighborhood to preserve as low-income housing. Further, City data found that there have been no incidences of no-fault eviction in Chinatown.

RELEVANCE: While not African American centric, this example draws on lessons from other racial and ethnic communities. This community-led planning process and implementation of anti-displacement policies are important examples of grassroots efforts to preserve the distinctive neighborhood character of communities amidst some of the strongest gentrification and displacement dynamics in the country. Strong coordination, activism, and community ownership has enabled Chinatown to retain its neighborhood identity, relative affordability, existing residents, and culture. CCDC's success helps shed light on how multicultural communities have remained resilient in the wake of historical marginalization.

COORDINATING STRATEGIES THROUGH ANTI-DISPLACEMENT MITIGATION PLANS

LOCATION: Austin, TX

INITIATOR: Local government

ENTITIES INVOLVED: City of Austin, Various

BACKGROUND: Anti-displacement mitigation plans outline a city's comprehensive approach to preventing unintended consequences of neighborhood change and evolving market conditions. Typically, these plans include an analysis of existing conditions, extensive community engagement, a survey of best practices or key strategies used in comparable cities, and city-specific recommendations. The city of Austin has compiled over 300 recommendations for mitigating displacement through community studies, reports, and assessments. To inform its own displacement mitigation planning, the City surveyed key strategies used in gentrifying neighborhoods to identify specific actions that local governments and organizations can take. One neighborhood the City examined is the **Guadalupe Neighborhood of Austin**, a historically Mexican American neighborhood. Local leaders established the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation around 1980 to mitigate displacement. Early on, GNDC strategically acquired parcels when land values were a fraction of what they are today in order to maintain long-term community control. GNDC went on to create Texas's first community land trust to provide permanently affordable homeownership for this population. A full summary of this assessment is available at **Uprooted: Residential Displacement in Austin's Gentrifying Neighborhoods, and What Can Be Done About It**, as well as the City's blueprint **Displacement Mitigation Strategy**.

IMPACTS: Nationwide, the implementation of these strategies has resulted in the creation and preservation of thousands of affordable housing units, provided tenant pathways to homeownership through limited equity cooperatives, dedicated funding to subsidize home repairs through housing trust funds, and cultivated long-term community ownership of land. Many anti-displacement plans are still in early stages and local entities should continue to measure the impacts of these policies.

RELEVANCE: The lessons from gentrifying neighborhoods in Austin and community actions to mitigate displacement underscore the importance of early intervention, site control, neighborhood preference policies, and sustained community oversight and input. More cities are recognizing the value of coordinated, multidisciplinary strategies that address the systemic drivers of displacement. Preservation is an important component in this work. Preservationists should explore the unique role the movement can play in strengthening broader anti-displacement and equity initiatives.

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INSIGHTS FROM RESEARCH

INSIGHTS FROM RESEARCH

Returning to the question of how historic preservation can be a force for advancing equitable development and social justice in African American neighborhoods and other communities of color, we hope that this report has helped to lay some of the groundwork needed to continue answering this important question.

The study of the legacies of place-based injustice, and the opportunities and challenges of preservation within this context, is fundamental to understanding neighborhood change, equitable development, and preservation's role in strengthening communities. We hope that through continued collaboration and knowledge sharing, we can continue to learn and develop innovative practices that push the boundaries of how preservation is defined, perceived, and practiced. Through this research, we gained several high-level insights that we would like to share and carry forward as we continue this work:

PICTURED ABOVE A mural on a vacant building along MLK Boulevard near E 61st Street in Woodlawn on the South Side of Chicago. For more insight into how development pressure and community response are impacting this community, see the research essay featuring Woodlawn and Bronzeville in *Perspectives of Neighborhood Change*. [Photo by Jacob Hand, April 2019]

Equity is not a defined state. It is a process and way of doing things that includes those who are impacted in the decision-making process. In many communities, there is a perception of preservationists being "outsiders" who talk at, and not with, the communities in which they are working. Equitable preservation is not something that should happen to communities, but with them and by them. Empowering and incorporating community voices and leadership in the preservation planning process and adjusting planning timelines to accommodate the deep listening, relationship building, and robust engagement that this work requires is essential. Importantly, by asking questions about who is practicing preservation and why, we can find ways to encourage, equip, and champion more preservationists of color to lead processes in communities they are tied to and to promote equitable outcomes from within.

Truly equitable preservation and development requires long-term, sustained, and coordinated engagement to address the complex and interwoven issues confronting cities today. Absent a concerted and coordinated effort from the public and private sectors, results will be sporadic and piecemeal and fail to address the root problem. Practitioners need to set realistic expectations for the time, resources, and coordination required to partner and develop community-driven interventions capable of addressing systemic challenges in the built environment.

Early intervention is critical. Once gentrification gains momentum, preservation and anti-displacement measures become much more challenging and less effective. Setting the intention from the beginning to counter and mitigate displacement is the first critical step. Lessons from other cities show that anti-displacement initiatives should be accounted for at the same time as initial revitalization plans to ensure preparedness. Preemptive actions local entities can take, such as acquiring land and buildings for the long-term support of existing residents, must happen early before land values skyrocket.

4

Practitioners are focused on effectuating change at scale. Good, impactful work is happening in microcosm at the local level. Yet current resources and impacts are not commensurate with the scale of need and latent opportunity in African American communities, given past and current economic realities. An important challenge for practitioners focused on equitable development is identifying effective and replicable strategies to support inclusive neighborhood preservation and revitalization. Change must happen both at the community level and through central entities with the resources and power to accelerate and achieve impact at scale.

5

Equity work is both place based and people centric. The neighborhood in which an individual grows up has a deep impact on their social mobility. This fact underscores the important role that stewards of the built environment play to ensure that neighborhoods are more equitable and inclusive. Equity work at scale transcends geographic boundaries, but policies, practices, and programs that are place based and adapted locally (often at the neighborhood level) are perceived as more effective. These interventions must be inclusive of varied perspectives and responsive to the diverse economic realities of different communities.

6

Equitable development at the neighborhood-level should be evaluated and approached through a regional lens. Neighborhood-level planning should consider neighborhoods' current and historic relationships to the surrounding region, and how these relationships might impact equitable growth. Neighborhood change is often influenced by regional trends including changes in job opportunities, investment, and migration patterns. Successful neighborhood transformation never occurs in isolation and is impacted by relationships to the downtown and other parts of the city, transit, and connections to opportunities region wide.

7

Anchor institutions are taking on a prominent role in advancing the equity agenda at local and regional levels. Anchor academic institutions are increasingly seeing a role for themselves as leaders in all aspects of the urban ecosystem, beyond just their traditional focus on education and employment. These institutions are forming new partnerships across sectors and developing more holistic approaches to workforce development, recognizing the positive relationship between the health of the neighborhoods and the health of their institutions. Expanding partnerships with HBCUs and other colleges/universities located in African American neighborhoods, such as the Atlanta University Center in the heart of Atlanta's Westside neighborhoods, could significantly increase the impacts of preservation initiatives.

Practitioners are forming innovative partnerships to pool funding and technical resources. Networks and coalitions involving anchor institutions, CDOs, intermediaries, public arts, and trade organizations are forming to tap into diverse funding streams, and share best practices to protect Black cultural spaces, increase community ownership in Black neighborhoods, and achieve broader community benefits.

The right data is important for effective advocacy for equitable development. Our scan of prevailing literature and the exploratory research for this report have revealed that accurate, high quality data is often noticeably lacking in measuring and quantifying the impact and scale of neighborhood change. Yet reliable, relevant data is an important factor in building effective cases to demonstrate the urgent need for policies that support equitable development, promote racial equity, and protect cultural heritage. Lack of data can further disenfranchise communities in gentrifying neighborhoods by inhibiting their ability to make informed planning decisions for collective and long-term well-being. Communities and professionals must collect richer data through community-driven research to strengthen our understanding of the impact of various trends, planning tools, and responding strategies.

Establishing meaningful performance metrics and tracking and reporting progress is key. Local leaders in the field of equitable revitalization measure success through metrics focused on wealth creation, increased mobility, and asset building. Community organizations dedicated to promoting shared prosperity quantify the amount of intergenerational wealth they create for families as their metric for success. To strengthen our relevancy, the preservation movement must explore how to redefine, reframe, and align our success metrics in terms of community needs.

FROM RESEARCH ▷▷▷ TO ACTION

The National Trust and many others within the preservation field are committed to advancing our understanding of the intersection of preservation and equitable development in African American and other historically marginalized communities. Underpinning the broad spectrum of work taking place in this arena is the far-reaching goal of joining our preservation work with allyship for anti-racism. This report is an initial step that highlights two years of scoping, research, outreach, shifting goals and methods, and partnership with local practitioners. It will take new levels of partnership and collaboration to advance equitable development which spans issues in housing, climate change, zoning, and economic development. of which historic preservation is but one component.

Further research is critical to illuminating the path ahead and catalyzing broad and urgent action. This report seeks to elevate the groundswell of voices that are raising difficult yet important questions about preservation's contributions to racial equity and pushing the tools of survey, interpretation, designation, and incentives to be more inclusive and equitable. It is worth acknowledging that the national preservation movement itself is not a monolith, and we do not always agree on how our movement can and should continue to evolve to meet 21st century demands. We can all agree that none of us can do this work alone. Continuing to convene, listen, and engage intentionally on issues of inclusion and anti-racism in historic preservation is essential.

The African American Heritage Foundation opened the Kentucky Center for African American Heritage in 2009 in the former Louisville Street Railway Complex, originally erected in 1876. [Photo by Andy Snow, April 2019]

We also recognize that conversation alone is not enough. The insights gained must inform action. We invite the movement to explore the power and potential of preservation as part of the coalition of professions advancing justice and equity in our communities. Together, we seek to develop a coordinated national agenda for preservation and equity. This will require sharing best practices, drawing on and elevating the expertise of local preservation groups and allies on the frontlines, and empowering a broader constituency to practice preservation and inform decisions about the future of their communities. Most importantly, this must be guided by an inclusive process that elevates those who have historically been excluded. What would a national agenda for equity in the preservation movement look like, developed collaboratively and from the ground up? As a start we can continue to explore:

Banner in the Woodlawn neighborhood on the South Side of Chicago. [Photo by Jacob Hand April 2019]

- How can we expand the practice of preservation to be more inclusive and equitable?
- What barriers remain that prevent the advancement of diversity, equity, and inclusion in preservation practice?
- What data should be gathered to evaluate the long-term outcomes of designation and other forms of preservation protections? How should this impact be evaluated? What role should research play?
- How should we measure the success of preservation initiatives to advance equity in diverse communities?
- How can we expand opportunities for communities of color to widely engage in organizations' preservation and interpretation practices, not only around issues of race, ethnicity, or inequality?
- What are some best practices of allyship with demonstrable impacts in individual communities?
- How can we better adapt preservation tools, guidelines, and frameworks to respond to the goals and priorities of preserving cultural heritage in African American and other historically marginalized communities?
- How can we avoid penalizing residents for being good stewards of their neighborhoods despite not having the same access to resources that White communities had traditionally?
- How can we more equitably balance the merits of economic revitalization while maintaining a culture of inclusion, affordability, and accessibility?

We look forward to developing this vision for action together. In the coming months and years, we will continue these conversations within the National Trust and with the broader movement through virtual convenings, forums, and platforms to develop a national agenda for the preservation movement that rises to the moment we are living in today, together.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

MEASURING RISK OF DISPLACEMENT

Prevailing studies attempting to measure displacement have yielded mixed results. One point of contention is the amount of people who are actually forced to move because of gentrification. Research on displacement and gentrification draws on empirical evidence to quantify the number of households who move because of gentrification and determine what factors are most significantly linked to displacement. This can mean gathering data by interviews and on-the-ground ethnography or by advanced statistical techniques that use confidential or city-specific data on family's characteristics and moves.[133]

These studies find, surprisingly, that displacement does not necessarily occur more often in gentrifying neighborhoods than non-gentrifying neighborhoods. Likewise, there is little evidence that less-educated, renting, minority, and lower-income households are more likely to move from gentrifying neighborhoods.[134] Recently completed studies confirm similar findings. One study found that 6-10 percent of renters experienced displacement each year in NYC between 1993-2002.[135] In another study of New York City, Dragan, Ellen, and Glied (2019) find that between 2009 and 2015, low-income children born into neighborhoods that gentrified, were not more likely to move out than low-income children in neighborhoods that did not gentrify. Further, the study found that children living in gentrified neighborhoods experienced improved residential and life benefits because families stay in place as neighborhoods upgrade around them. A study of Philadelphia in the 2000s finds that disadvantaged residents who live in neighborhoods that gentrify are no more likely to move than disadvantaged residents in other neighborhoods, but when these families do leave a gentrifying neighborhood, they are more likely to move to a lower-income neighborhood.[136]

These studies are not suggesting that concerns of displacement should be minimized, or that displacement due to gentrification is not occurring. Rather, the findings emphasize that low-income households are not residentially stable and experience a high degree of transience in all kinds of neighborhoods. Additionally, these findings suggest that we should investigate more deeply together to untangle the root causes of displacement from gentrification, which in a broad sense can bring many positive outcomes like new job opportunities, improved public services by a stronger tax base, and other factors of neighborhood quality like crime reduction—outcomes from which long-time residents of changing neighborhoods should not be excluded.[137] Additionally, the risk of cultural erasure remains an issue. It is also important to note that even if existing residents may not be displaced at higher rates in gentrifying neighborhoods, areas that are appreciating rapidly can become increasingly exclusive and lower-income African Americans are less likely to move into them.[138] Identifying the real forces driving displacement and housing instability, rather than gentrification more broadly, can help communities address these distinct issues with long-term solutions that build in intentional measures to enhance social equity to preempt adverse effects.

Local governments and institutions have put forth research identifying factors that increase vulnerability to displacement, a phenomenon distinct from gentrification generally defined as the involuntary movement of residents due to factors outside of their control.[139] Relying on publicly available data, these studies are used as predictive models to inform policy decisions and identify areas that show risk factors for displacement in the future.

Like methods used in gentrification studies, vulnerability to displacement is measured by compiling several pre-defined variables that researchers believe are indicators of displacement. City neighborhoods are scored into either an index or typology of low to high displacement pressure. In Chicago for example, a study by DePaul University considers neighborhoods at risk of displacement where there are high concentrations of renters, low- and moderate-income households, cost-burdened households, households with large families, and seniors and evidence of increasing rental and sale prices.[140] The Urban Displacement Project, a research project based out of University of California Berkeley, identifies neighborhoods in San Francisco Bay, New York, and Portland, as vulnerable to displacement if they are low-income, losing low-income households, gaining population, and located in a hot market.[141]

Another distinction in these types of displacement studies is the ways in which the size or share of the African American population is often used as a variable to determine elevated risk of displacement. For example, in a study of the Puget Sound in Washington State, the Puget Sound Regional Council (2016) compiles census data to create a "People and Place" typology used to help determine where risk of change and displacement are the highest. The methodology identifies vulnerable neighborhoods as those with low real estate market strength, reductions in income and educational attainment, and "community risk factors" that include race/ ethnicity as a contribution. The University of California-Berkeley Urban Displacement Project includes percent non-White as an indicator of displacement vulnerability.[142] Conversely, the DePaul University study of Chicago (2018) states that race was left out of its indicators because the legacies of segregation in the city would overpower other important factors related to risk of displacement like share of renters and age.[143]

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APPENDIX B

AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS

	ATL	BIR	CHI	LA	LOU	NYC	OAK	PHL	STL	DC
No. of CTs Identified as African American neighborhoods	31	63	259	43	21	369	28	127	42	119
% CTs Identified as African American neighborhoods	56%	50%	33%	4%	21%	18%	25%	35%	40%	69%
No. of African American Residents in African American neighborhoods (2016)	179,336	76,154	616,631	95,562	51,663	979,256	38,580	394,561	87,782	287,796
% of City's African American Population Residing in African American neighborhoods (2016)	75%	50%	73%	27%	52%	47%	38%	59%	58%	90%

CHANGES IN MEDIAN INCOMES AND MEDIAN RENTS, 2009-2016, AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS VERSUS OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS

	ATL	BIR	CHI	LA	LOU	NYC	OAK	PHL	STL	DC
Percent Change in Average Median Income, African American neighborhoods	-4.4%	-8.6%	-7.1%	+8.0%	+3.3%	+3.7%	+3.0%	+2.9%	-13.8%	+20.3%
Percent Change in Average Median Rent, African American neighborhoods	+3.5%	-7.7%	-2.4%	+5.2%	+0.6%	+13.0%	+6.5%	+6.4%	+3.6%	+24.8%
Percent Change in Average Median Income, Other Neighborhoods	+20.9%	-3.5%	+10.1%	+19.0%	+4.2%	+4.7%	+13.5%	+14.6%	+4.1%	+8.8%
Percent Change in Average Median Rent, Other Neighborhoods	+8.5%	+1.0%	+2.9%	+9.5%	+5.3%	+11.8%	+8.3%	+7.9%	+7.6%	+22.1%

DEMOLITION, NEW CONSTRUCTION, AND PERMITTED BUILDING REHABILITATION PROJECTS PER CENSUS TRACT, 2009-2016, AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS VERSUS OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS

	ATL	BIR	CHI	LA	LOU	NYC	OAK	PHL	STL	DC
Average Count of Building Demolitions, African American neighborhoods	22.4	No data	13.4	8.4	20.0	3.9	No data	17.2	55.3	16.1
Average Count of Building Demolitions, Other Neighborhoods	31.1	No data	8.4	9.8	10.7	6.4	No data	18	23.7	48.9
Average Count of New Construction Projects, African American neighborhoods	29.73	11.2	1.8	1.6	10.6	3.8	4.5	11.4	1.5	14.9
Average Count of New Construction Projects, Other Neighborhoods	62.1	13.1	1.4	8.6	4.5	5.2	6.7	7.8	3.2	7.0
Average Count of Building Rehabilitation Projects, African American neighborhoods	72.6	15.7	52.4	218.6	40.3	32.3	63.2	162.1	146.6	310.0
Average Count of Building Rehabilitation Projects, Other Neighborhoods	279.2	13.5	85.2	211.2	86.8	47.5	87.5	179.3	379.6	682.7

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