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By studying the impact of vacant textile mill buildings on communities, the researcher showed how historic preservation played a role in combating the effects of vacancy. Using a framework of community indicators, quality of life and economic conditions during the last two decades of the twentieth century were measured in three Carolina Piedmont textile towns: Albemarle, North Carolina, Morganton, North Carolina and Spartanburg, South Carolina. Through these case studies, the researcher sought to illustrate the effects that the textile industry's decline had on mill communities in the areas of economic viability, stability, heritage value, educational attainment and standard of living. She then explored how the rehabilitation of the large mill complexes that the industry left behind can help to reverse the effects of abandonment.

This thesis provides concrete evidence of the impacts that the decline of the Southern textile industry had on the communities that it once sustained. The case studies of three communities with rehabilitated textile mill complexes can help communities who are faced with the same circumstances generate ideas and plans to use the historic built environment as a catalyst for community change.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION = COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION:
NEW BEGINNINGS FOR CAROLINA PIEDMONT
TEXTILE TOWNS

by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the researcher studies the impact that the vacancy of textile mill buildings has on communities and shows how historic preservation can play a role in combating the effects of abandonment. Using a framework of community indicators, quality of life and economic conditions during the last two decades of the twentieth century were measured in three Carolina Piedmont textile towns: Albemarle, North Carolina, Morganton, North Carolina and Spartanburg, South Carolina. Through these case studies, the researcher illustrates the effects that the textile industry's decline had on mill communities in the areas of economic viability, stability, heritage value, educational attainment and standard of living. It then explores how the rehabilitation of the large mill complexes that the industry left behind can help to reverse the effects of vacancy.

This work is motivated not only by an academic interest in the textile industry and its role in southern communities, but also by personal experience of growing up in a South Carolina textile town grappling to find its identity in the unfamiliar territory beyond textile manufacturing. Helping communities like this one understand the value of the heritage that the textile industry left and learning to capitalize on this heritage as a way of moving forward is an important aspect of this research.

Historical Role of the Textile Industry in the South

Although the textile industry was based in the New England states before the Civil War, its center began to shift to the South around 1880 when the number of active southern cotton spindles, especially in the states of Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, began to expand rapidly (Galenson, 1985). One of the factors that prompted this shift was the fact that cotton was grown locally in the South, allowing finished textiles to be produced without transporting cotton long distances for manufacture. By 1900, half of the cotton grown in both North and South Carolina was spun in mills located in those states (Stanwood, 1900). The southern states also boasted cheap labor rates, making production costs lower (Gaventa & Smith, 1990). Despite the rapid growth of southern textile production during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the industry remained concentrated in northern states where it continued to flourish (Galenson, 1985 & Stanwood, 1900). By the 1920s, however, the number of spindles in southern states surpassed those in the North, prompting many northern mills to close or start branches in the South (Galenson, 1985). This first wave of northern textile migration was followed by a second at the close of World War II. Almost 300,000 jobs in northern textile mills were lost between 1950 and 1970 as the numbers employed by southern textile mills continued to grow (Gaventa & Smith, 1990). By 1970, North Carolina became the top textile-producing state, employing over 30% of the textile workers in the nation (Gaventa & Smith, 1990).

The shift of the textile industry to the southern states had a significant effect on the economy in the region as it moved from being almost solely agrarian to an

industrialized economy. By 1900, the manufacture of cotton goods was the most important industry in both North and South Carolina, employing 62.7% of South Carolina's total manufacturing labor force and 42.9% of North Carolina's (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900). In a 1907 report on cotton mills in the state, the South Carolina Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration asserts the effect that the textile industry had on property values.

It is entirely safe to say that real estate in the immediate vicinity of cotton mills has enhanced at least double the original values. Of course the general prosperity of the State, the ever increasing industrial movement and the increased prices of cotton have had their influence, but it is admitted on all sides that nothing has done more towards bringing about the increased values of land than the location of cotton mills (Kohn, 1975, p. 184).

These employment and property value effects of the southern textile industry also had significant secondary effects on communities.

When it is considered that the cotton mills in this State pay out annually in the neighborhood of \$12,000,000 for labor alone, it must be appreciated that this money has to go into circulation, and it is certain as a simple economic proposition to have a considerable tendency towards the development of the communities where this money is expended (Kohn, 1907, p. 187).

The textile industry did more for communities than improve the economy, however. It also had a significant effect on quality of life in these areas. Because many of the early cotton mills in the South were built in remote places, mill villages were also constructed to provide housing for workers (Simpson, 1948). These villages surrounded

the mill buildings themselves and also included churches, hotels, schools and company stores. Jacobs comments on life these communities, saying that although

One might think that in such a businesslike atmosphere as an industrial village that all is hustle and work and precision and compulsion... life in mill communities is usually happy, healthy and carefree, and there are more social and recreational activities than in the non-industrial communities near by, and there is much finer community spirit (Simpson, 1948, p. 8).

Mill companies usually provided water, electricity, coal and wood to residents of the village free of charge or at a significantly reduced rate, and some even provided free or reduced-price medicines, milk and bus transportation (Simpson, 1948).

The density of the population of mill villages, combined with lack of support from local governments, necessitated that mills provide schools for village children, usually built at the same time the mill was constructed (Simpson, 1948). Mill companies paid all school expenses, including teachers' salaries, books and supplies, and many required families to send children under the age of 12 to the mill school. In 1920, the state supervisor of mill schools in South Carolina reported, "...some of our best teachers of the state are found in our mill villages" (Simpson, 1948, pg. 48), where teachers were afforded high quality living quarters and supplemented salaries and sometimes attended summer school free of charge. Mill companies even began to establish night schools for the education of adults employed by the textile mill. Adult education programs offered basic elementary-level subjects, such as reading, writing, history and mathematics, as well as vocational courses (Simpson, 1948). These adult education programs made labor

in the mills more efficient and created promotion opportunities with higher wages for those who took advantage of the educational opportunities (Simpson, 1948).

Textile mills also sponsored a variety of athletic and social activities. Most mill companies provided a community center or Y.M.C.A. that housed many of these activities. These buildings could include everything from reading rooms, chapels and auditoriums to swimming pools, gymnasiums and bowling alleys. Company Christmas parties were held in these community centers, as well as exercise and lifesaving courses, prayer groups, league athletic games and summer camps for children. Some mill villages even included libraries and movie theaters. A variety of clubs were made available to residents, including Boy and Girl Scout troops and clubs for home economics, bridge, photography, gardening and square dancing, to name a few. Mill villages also provided cultural activities for residents, including music festivals and recitals as well as amateur dramatic productions (Simpson, 1948).

While the textile industry stood as a symbol of prosperity in southern communities for many years, as the twentieth century came to a close, the same industry had become a major source of decline. 155,000 textile jobs were lost between the years of 1970 and 1985, and it is estimated that 231 plants closed between 1981 and 1984 (Gaventa & Smith, 1990). Although the South once boasted the lowest production prices, cheaper rates could now be found overseas, causing companies to either go out of business or move their production out of the country. By 1990, one-third of textile products consumed in the United States were imported (Gaventa & Smith, 1990). The industry that had sustained both the economy and community life in rural mill

communities across the South was now abandoning them, taking with it jobs, investment and a way of life.

As the American South was faced with the loss of the textile manufacturing industry, mill towns across the region were devastated. Not only had they lost their primary source of income but also the basis of their community life. The vacant mill complexes that the industry left behind, once beacons of life, were now blighted and deteriorating. This abandonment had a significant effect on the health of mill towns, threatening their survival and leaving them to find a new source of vitality. In this study, the researcher explored to what extent abandoned textile mill complexes affected communities and investigated the ways in which historic preservation can contribute to the renewal of struggling textile mill towns.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter provides a general knowledge of the negative impacts that a large, abandoned industrial property can have on the surrounding community and how historic preservation can be used as an economic tool to bring new life to a vacant building and, consequently, to the community. Understanding the negative impact that abandoned buildings have on communities, as well as the ways in which historic preservation can combat this depression, is crucial to understanding the impact that a rehabilitated textile mill building can have on Carolina Piedmont towns. The multiple layers of value that mill buildings contribute to these communities in terms of sustaining sense of place and sense of community have a significant correlation with the quality of community life and the health of the local economy. By taking advantage of financial incentives from both the federal and state governments, these buildings can be sensitively rehabilitated for new uses while retaining character-defining historic elements. By improving the condition of the historic built environment in Carolina Piedmont textile towns, the quality of life, and, simultaneously, the economy in these towns will improve. All of these principles were used in evaluating the case study communities chosen for this research investigation to discover how community conditions were affected by the condition of the historic textile mill building.

Negative Impact of Vacant Properties

A vacant property is defined by the National Vacant Properties Campaign as any building, residential, commercial or industrial, or empty lot that threatens public safety or is neglected by its owners in terms of failing to carry out the basic duties of property ownership, such as paying taxes, mortgages or utility bills (National Vacant Properties Campaign [NVPC], 2005). Communities across the United States recognize these abandoned properties as blights and safety hazards that weaken the overall well being of an area. Such properties not only pose a serious threat to the stability of the neighborhoods surrounding them, but also impose significant financial costs to a community as a whole. Vacant properties strain municipal police and fire departments and also become a burden to local building and health departments. They cause the properties around them to depreciate in value and therefore reduce the amount of property tax revenue generated for the city. They are known to attract crime, becoming public nuisances and blights and deteriorating the overall quality of life in the community. In many cases, these communities are already depressed and cannot afford the further strain that vacant properties become to city resources and finances (NVPC, 2005).

Local police forces and fire departments are especially burdened by vacant properties because abandonment often leads to increased levels of crime and arson. In Richmond, Virginia, a study found that of all of the economic and demographic factors, proximity to vacant and abandoned properties correlated most closely to neighborhood criminal activity (NVPC, 2005). Crime rates in Austin, Texas, were found to double in blocks that included abandoned buildings when compared to similar blocks without

vacant properties. Even when abandoned buildings are not actually the sites of crimes, they often become meeting places where illegal activities take place and crimes are planned because they are outside of the public eye and pose little risk of discovery (Spelman, 1993).

According to the National Fire Protection Agency, vacant properties account for an average of 11,400 fires and \$71.6 million of direct property damage per year (Ahrens, 2003). Fires are likely in these buildings for a number of reasons, including poor maintenance, large amounts of debris and the prevalence of homeless inhabitants. However, the most common cause of fire in abandoned buildings is arson, accounting for 51% of fires with known causes in abandoned buildings in 2004 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2008). Fighting these fires obviously poses a financial threat to cities, but also a high risk of injury for firefighters because of the structural dangers they often present.

As vacant properties become havens of criminal and illegal activity, they simultaneously become increased maintenance burdens to a city. Because of physical deterioration of the building, illegal dumping on the site and unlawful occupancy of the building, abandoned buildings quickly accumulate trash and debris. This not only causes the building to further blight a neighborhood, it also necessitates a substantial amount of maintenance on the part of the city. In most cities, local ordinances require vacant properties that pose a threat to public safety to be cleaned, secured and, in some cases, demolished by the city. While this requirement helps to abate the health and safety issues that vacant buildings pose, it drains city finances and overwhelms municipal departments

and employees (NVPC, 2005). In the city of St. Louis, \$15.5 million has been spent over the past five years to demolish 2,700 condemned vacant buildings even though vacant buildings represent only four percent of the building stock in the city (City of St. Louis). A study in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, found that while demolishing a vacant building saved the city \$4,697 in maintenance costs, rehabilitating the property would save an estimated \$7,141 over a twenty-year period (Goetz, 1998).

While vacant properties drain city funds in terms of police and fire department responses and maintenance costs, they also decrease tax base for the city. This loss of tax revenue occurs in three ways. First, vacant properties are often tax delinquent or have unpaid taxes from previous years, generally because the taxes on the property exceed its value. Unpaid taxes can result in tax forfeiture, whereby the municipality becomes the owner of the property and attempts to sell it to recoup the unpaid tax revenue. This process, however, is time consuming and can be draining to community resources without any guarantee of recouping the full amount owed. The results of one study showed that cities lose 83% of what is owed through this process (NVPC, 2005). Second, because of their poor physical condition, property values are lower on vacant properties, and therefore cause them to generate less tax revenue. Lower property values for abandoned sites also lower property values for buildings in the surrounding neighborhood, further decreasing the tax base for the city. A Philadelphia study documented that proximity to an abandoned property had a direct relationship to property values. In the study, homes within 150 feet of a vacant property experienced an estimated \$7,627 loss in property value, those more than 150 feet away but less than 300

feet lost \$6,819 in value and properties more than 300 feet from an abandoned property but less than 450 feet were devalued by \$3,542. The study also concluded that houses on blocks with a vacant property sold for \$6,715 less than homes on blocks that had all of the same characteristics except the presence of an abandoned property (Research for Democracy, 2001). Because property taxes are based on the value of a property, lower property values translate into lower tax revenues for a city. Property taxes are the largest source of tax revenue under local control, and the drastic reduction in tax base caused by abandonment is extremely harmful to a community (Alexander, 2000).

The presence of vacant properties also poses financial difficulties to the residents of a community. In addition to the reduction of their property values, homeowners can also see higher insurance premiums in neighborhoods with abandoned buildings because of the hazards that they present to the surrounding area. In some cases, insurance policies have been cancelled because of a home's proximity to a vacant property (NVPC, 2005).

Abandoned buildings also have a negative impact on the quality of life of a community. One of the most significant effects of property abandonment on quality of life is its impact on the perceived value of a building by the community and, consequently, the perception of the community at large. In their "Broken-Window Theory," Wilson and Kelling (1989) contend that the nature of a physical environment has a direct effect on the way that it is perceived psychologically. The perception of the building leads, in turn, to an effect on the perception of the community as a whole. The theory states "If the first broken window in a building is not repaired, then people who like breaking windows will assume that no one cares about the building and more

windows will be broken...The disorder escalates, possibly to serious crime.” (Wilson & Kelling, 1989). The theory holds just as true in well-kept neighborhoods as it does in rundown ones. Window-breaking does not occur because the inhabitants of an area are particularly inclined to break windows; it occurs because a broken window, no matter the building’s location, signals to residents that no one cares, leading to a perception that breaking one more window will have no effect. Abandoned property, therefore, becomes subject to vandalism by people who may not necessarily participate in criminal activity normally (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). “Vandalism can occur anywhere once communal barriers—the sense of mutual regard and the obligations of civility—are lowered by actions that seem to signal that ‘no one cares’” (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Abandoned buildings are perceived as manifestations of indifference towards the community, causing an area to decline further. Such decline is contagious and spreads quickly through an area (NVPC, 2005).

Through interviews and observations made in Newark, New Jersey, Wilson and Kelling (1982) found that people “assign a high value to public order.” Conversely, therefore, the citizens of a community associate a low value with lack of order, in this case manifested in the deteriorated appearance of abandoned buildings. As a result, the presence of abandoned buildings causes residents to consider their own community as having little value, increasing indifference towards it and resulting in the further spread of decline.

The Broken-Window Theory also has application to the sense of community found in areas with abandoned buildings. As buildings are left to deteriorate and

vandalism begins to occur, residents start to feel increasingly insecure about the safety of the neighborhood and adjust their behavior accordingly. They begin to walk less, and when they do choose to walk, they avoid others on the street. As this trend continues, the community becomes increasingly disconnected, no longer a home but simply a place to live (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Detachment within the community leaves residents feeling isolated. Each abandoned property becomes another incentive for residents to move elsewhere and businesses to choose other locations for their operations (NVPC, 2005). As a result, the sense of community rapidly breaks down and the possibility of serious crime becomes more likely as residents become detached from each other, losing any sense of public accountability or regulation. The proliferation of crime in areas where behavior is unchecked is analogous to the Broken-Window Theory; once a minor crime is allowed to successfully occur without repercussion, more serious crimes follow because of the indication that no one is watching and no one cares (Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Positive Impact of Historic Preservation

Although historic preservation is oftentimes viewed as beneficial only to individuals, such as developers, banks and homeowners, its most significant outcome is in fact the positive effect that it has on greater neighborhoods and cities (Rypkema, 2001). Preservation has often been cited as a useful tool in reversing the spiral of community decline caused by vacancy and abandonment by both strengthening the economy and improving quality of life. These two go hand in hand when it comes to

revitalizing depressed communities. Because historic preservation sustains both, many communities have begun successfully incorporating preservation into their development schemes (Griffith & Wiatr, 2005).

When choosing to locate to an area, both businesses and individuals make quality of life a high priority, looking for livability, attractive housing, vibrant downtowns, stable neighborhoods and diverse entertainment opportunities, to name a few (Griffith & Wiatr, 2005). As a result, quality of life is “the most significant variable in economic development decisions,” (p. 4) making it crucial for communities to first gain an understanding of quality of life in order to effect positive economic change (Rypkema, 1996). In his “Five Senses of Quality Communities,” Rypkema (1999) defines quality of life by breaking it into five elements: sense of place, sense of community, sense of ownership, sense of evolution and sense of identity.

Historic properties sustain these five senses because of the multiple layers of value that they have in a community. Rather than having one singular value, the historic built environment can have social value, cultural value, architectural value and historical value (Rypkema, 1994). Two current theories in preservation define how this value and significance should be assessed: curatorial preservation and values-centered preservation. The more traditional approach is known as curatorial preservation. It bases decisions on technical knowledge of professionals in the preservation field and does not collaborate with other disciplines. It is an inward-looking approach that tries to distinguish preservation as a separate entity. This approach is not concerned with the effects of preservation on society but instead embarks on preservation for its own sake.

By contrast, the values-centered approach deals holistically with a site to create a comprehensive understanding of it. While it is concerned with historic fabric and its integrity, this approach prioritizes why the fabric is valuable. It involves collaboration of preservation professionals, professionals from other disciplines and community members in order to account for the different perspectives on the value of a structure. In this way, it merges traditional concerns of integrity and history with the effects of broad cultural patterns (Mason, 2006).

Because of its concern with collaboration, values-centered preservation helps to foster the sense of community that Rypkema argues is crucial to quality of life and therefore local economic health. It is the multiple layers of value in historic properties and their contribution to the five senses that make the strongest argument for historic preservation. Having a positive community image is one of the best ways to both retain existing economic investment and attract new activity to the community (Griffith & Wiatr, 2005). In this way, the strength of a community is directly related to the condition of its historic character (Rypkema, 1994). Therefore, by preserving and protecting its historic character, the quality of a community is improved and allows economic development to occur (Rypkema, 2001). This economic effect is manifested in several ways, including job creation, increased household income, larger tax revenues, more tourism and the creation of an incentive for further community investment.

Oldenburg (1999) argues that a crucial part of a healthy society is a strong informal public life that allows association with others. This public life revolves around “Great Good Places” within a community. Great Good Places, according to Oldenburg,

are “third places,” the first being the home and the second the workplace, that allow for informal public gathering. Two important criteria for these “third places” are that they are inclusive and local. These are places that unite a community because they provide a place for residents from all walks of life to meet and socialize and therefore create an environment where everyone knows everyone else. Third places can also serve as areas for new members of the community to become acquainted with established residents and find their niche within the workings of local society. Third places, such as bars, coffee shops and general stores, become neutral ground where everyone is always welcome, and people are free to come and go as they please. Because they allow residents to connect with one another, third places facilitate an important aspect of true communities in the form of collective action. A result of everyone getting to know everyone else is that individual interests, skills and abilities are also learned. This knowledge allows the community to collectively take action because it sorts community members according to their particular strengths and talents. Third places cross generational, socio-economic and ethnic boundaries and allow true communion to occur among the residents of an area. Oldenburg argues that

...nothing contributes as much to one’s sense of belonging to a community as much as ‘membership’ in a third place. It does more than membership in a dozen formal organizations...It has to do with surviving and, indeed, thriving in a ‘fair game’ atmosphere” (Oldenburg, 1999, p. xxiii).

Modern society has moved away from the idea of collectiveness and unity in favor of private and detached lives. Post-World War II subdivisions, therefore, were built

around the principle of privacy. “Third places” are not as easy to come by in these areas. They are instead most likely found in the older buildings of historic neighborhoods and towns. These areas were built to foster sense of community by incorporating places to sit, human-scaled buildings and ample space to walk as well as inviting any and everyone to participate in community activity (Oldenburg, 1999 & Rypkema, 1996).

Rypkema holds that the sense of community fostered by Oldenburg’s third places is inextricably linked to the concept of place, saying,

‘Place’ is the vessel within which the ‘spirit’ of community is stored; ‘Community’ is the catalyst that imbues a location with a ‘sense’ of place. The two are not divisible. You cannot have community without place; and a place without community is only a location (Rypkema, 1996, p. 2).

The built environment as a whole, but especially the historic sector, is the point at which these two concepts meet. Restoring the historic built environment is central to both community and place because it also simultaneously restores the social fabric of a community by not allowing its past to be forgotten. The economic climate of any town or city is most impacted by these two fundamental concepts of place and community because “economic growth will only take place on a sustainable basis where there is a high quality of life” (Rypkema, 1996, p. 4). Because historic preservation sustains quality of life, it has a significant positive impact on local economies.

The first way that preservation impacts a local economy is in terms of job creation. Rehabilitating historic structures is more labor intensive than new construction and therefore requires more time on the part of workers to complete. A new construction project in the United States is generally divided equally between labor and material costs.

A rehabilitation project, on the other hand, spends 60 to 70% of the total cost on labor and the rest on materials, resulting in more local jobs and therefore increased household income. For example, \$1 million spent on rehabilitation in Ohio adds eight more jobs and \$153,000 more household income than the same amount spent on new construction. The significant impact that rehabilitation work has on the local community is because the labor force is most likely drawn from within the community, whereas materials often come from outside it. A higher percentage of labor versus materials, therefore, means more revenue for a community. While this obvious positive direct effect is significant, there are also important secondary impacts. Because workers live in the community, they spend a majority of their wages in it on items ranging from groceries to new cars. This results in more revenue for local businesses not necessarily connected to the construction industry, an impact that is significantly greater than that of materials. The jobs created by historic preservation projects are also significant because they do not vanish after one construction project has been completed. Because the life cycles of building components are generally between 30 and 50 years, a community can rehabilitate two to three percent of its existing building stock each year and always have construction jobs (Rypkema, 2001).

Not only does preservation create jobs through construction; it also plays a significant part in creating jobs through sustaining small businesses. About 85% of new jobs created in the United States are in firms that employ less than 20 people. Historic buildings are often an attractive location option for businesses of this size because the rents tend not to be cost-prohibitive as they are in most new office buildings. The size of

space in historic buildings is also more appropriate for small businesses as they tend to offer smaller spaces. Generally, an office requires 200 square feet per employee. Businesses in the 20 fastest growing United States sectors have an average of 11 employees and therefore require around 2,200 square feet of space. The average size of a historic downtown building is 25 feet by 100 feet, a perfect fit for a small business. High-tech industries are a profitable and desirable choice for many cities. However, 70% of these firms employ less than 10 people. One of the most common places for them to locate is in rehabilitated industrial or retail complexes because of their adaptability. The quality of historic buildings is also another benefit for small businesses. Almost all of the high-quality commercial buildings constructed today are large in size, presenting both a cost issue and a size incompatibility for small businesses. It is virtually impossible for them to find a quality built new rental space for their operations. Rehabilitated historic properties, however, offer high quality construction at the right scale and a feasible price for small businesses (Rypkema, 2001).

Community Indicators

While many agree that historic preservation is directly related to quality of life, measuring this relationship can be difficult because of its intangible nature. Improved quality of life is often assumed to be an outcome of historic preservation, but this relationship is rarely measured in ways that provide explicit data solidifying their

correlation. The community indicators methodology provides a way to measure the impact of preservation on quality of life by integrating social, cultural and environmental aspects with economic impact (McLendon, 2006). Community indicators are defined as “bits of information that, when combined, generate a picture of what is happening in a local system” (Phillips 2003, p. 2). By integrating a variety of information, the community indicators system reflects the collective values of a community and becomes a way to measure change across a full spectrum of outcomes. The indicators framework provides information on past conditions, as well as current and future ones, painting a more comprehensive picture of the trends and changes of a community in a variety of areas over time (McLendon, 2006).

Because quality of life reflects the inherent values of a community, measuring quality of life requires that the collective values of that community are understood (Phillips, 2003). In this way, the community indicators system is tied to the values-centered approach to preservation because it brings a variety of stakeholders together to determine what is valuable about a community and what goals it should have for improvement. Phillips (2003) argues that the involvement of citizens and general community participation are the strengths of using a community indicators measuring system. The system not only provides a well-rounded understanding of the values of a community, but also fosters a sense of belonging amongst residents. The level of citizen participation can in itself become an indicator because low participation rates reflect low quality of life (Phillips, 2003).

From collaboration between business professionals, public officials, laborers and other citizens, indicators are developed that measure the well-being of a community against itself. Some examples of indicator categories are education, economy, public safety, natural environment, health, social environment, government and politics, culture and recreation, mobility and transportation (Phillips, 2003). While specific indicators will vary based on the uniqueness of each community, there are several common criteria for selecting indicators, including validity, relevance, consistency and reliability, measurability, clarity, comprehensiveness and comparability (Phillips, 2003). These criteria ensure that the indicators are representative of a community and meaningful to stakeholders and that the required data is available and accurate.

In 1989, indicators were developed to understand and examine the County of Spartanburg, South Carolina. Since that time, six publications have been released that report the data gathered using these indicators. The Spartanburg County Community Indicators Project is well-known throughout the United States and has been used as a model for other communities to develop similar projects. The indicators were developed to reflect a list of collective community goals. These goals are academic success, education and training, elderly independence, stable and nurturing families, healthy families, economic means, economic viability, community safety, civic engagement and the management of natural resources. Each of these goals is then broken into a variety of measurable indicators that are combined to reflect the condition of that particular goal. For example, the first goal is that “Our children will excel academically through the provision of quality education.” To gauge this goal, test scores, school attendance,

graduation rates and teacher credentials, among others, are used (Strategic Spartanburg, 2009). All of these indicators combine to form a more well-rounded picture of the county's current academic success that can then be compared to previous reports to reflect progress, or lack thereof, in this area.

Table 1. Spartanburg County Community Indicators Project		
CATEGORIES	GOALS	INDICATORS
People	Our children and youth will excel academically.	<i>Palmetto Achievement Challenge Test (PACT) Scores</i>
		<i>High School Retention Rates</i>
		<i>Gifted & Talented Eligible Students</i>
		<i>Advanced Placement Exams</i>
	Our citizens will have access to the education and training needed to compete in a global business environment.	<i>High School Exit Exams</i>
		<i>SAT Scores</i>
		<i>ACT Scores</i>
		<i>GED Certificates</i>
		<i>High School Graduates</i>
		<i>Spartanburg Technical College Enrollment</i>
	Our elderly citizens will receive support to enable them to live as independently as possible in their homes and connected to their communities.	<i>Educational Attainment</i>
		<i>Teachers with Advanced Degrees</i>
		<i>Population Age 65 and Above</i>
<i>Elderly Citizens Living in Poverty</i>		
Family	Our families will be stable and nurturing.	<i>Household Income</i>
		<i>Services for Seniors: Emergency Room Visits</i>
		<i>Teen Pregnancy Rates</i>
		<i>Children in Single Parent Families</i>
		<i>Children Under 18 Living in Poverty</i>
		<i>Medicaid Eligibility</i>
	Our families will be healthy.	<i>Food Stamp Recipients</i>
		<i>Domestic Violence</i>
		<i>Child Abuse and Neglect</i>
		<i>Low Birth Weight</i>
		<i>Very Low Birth Weight</i>
		<i>Immunizations (at age 2)</i>
		<i>Infant Mortality</i>

		<i>Hospitalization Rates (Heart Disease, Cancer, Stroke, Diabetes)</i>	
		<i>HIV/AIDS Frequency Rates</i>	
		<i>Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI) Rates</i>	
		<i>Oral Health</i>	
		<i>Drug & Alcohol Admissions</i>	
		<i>Teen Risk Behaviors</i>	
		<i>Mental Health</i>	
		<i>Overweight and Obesity</i>	
Community	Our citizens will have the economic means to steadily improve their standard of living.	<i>Poverty by Census Tract</i>	
		<i>Median Family Income</i>	
		<i>Housing Costs</i>	
		<i>Home Ownership</i>	
		<i>Unsound Housing</i>	
		<i>Availability for Full-Time Work</i>	
		<i>Per Capita Income</i>	
	Our communities will be economically viable places for our citizens to live.	<i>Cost of Living</i>	
		<i>Job Creation</i>	
		<i>Unemployment Rates</i>	
		<i>Employment by Sector</i>	
	Our communities will be increasingly safe.	<i>Wages by Sector</i>	
		<i>Adult Crime Index</i>	
		<i>Juvenile Cases & Commitments</i>	
		<i>Commitments to South Carolina Department of Correction</i>	
	Our citizens will have opportunities for civic engagement that promotes well-being and a higher quality of life.	<i>Traffic Incidents</i>	
		<i>Voter Registration Turnout</i>	
		<i>Charitable Giving</i>	
	Place	Our citizens will manage our natural resources in a way that will support current and future generations.	<i>Attendance at Cultural Events</i>
			<i>Population Density</i>
<i>Vehicle Miles</i>			
<i>Farmland Use: Cropland</i>			
<i>Solid Waste/Recycling</i>			
<i>Air Quality</i>			
		<i>Water Quality</i>	

The indicators developed by the University of Florida for its report on the *Contributions of Historic Preservation to Quality of Life of Floridians* (McLendon, 2006) are geared specifically towards preservation. These indicators focus on aspects of a community that are specifically related to preservation efforts. As a result, they are

organized differently from the Spartanburg model and provide a somewhat different perspective. The indicator framework used for the Florida study is broken into four categories: Gauging, Protecting, Enhancing and Interfacing. Each of these categories reflects a different aspect of historic preservation. For example, the indicators in the Gauging category are related to the amount and type of historic resources that the community possesses while the Interfacing indicators reflect uses of property. Examples of some indicators used in this study are the number of distressed historic neighborhoods, the presence of a historic preservation commission and design guidelines, neighborhood participation and housing affordability (McLendon, 2006).

CATEGORIES	INDICATORS
Gauging – related to the amount and type of historic resources in the community	Historic fabric
	Districts, structures, landmarks
	Distressed historic neighborhoods
	Rehabilitation/certified tax credits
	Assessed property value trends
	Historic district/property reinvestment
Protecting – ordinances and regulations	Historic preservation element or plan integration
	Design guidelines
	Historic preservation commission
	Preservation ordinances
	Historic preservation survey
	Historic preservation staff
Enhancing – related to partnerships and incentives	Certificates and enforcement actions
	Main Street program
	Certified Local Government
	Participation in other state/federal programs
	Historic preservation non-profits
	Neighborhood participation
	Civic/museum partnerships
Tax exemptions	

	Other incentive programs
Interfacing – related to the uses of property	Housing affordability
	Business use
	Community draw factors
	Community use factors
	Heritage/cultural interactions

Historic Preservation Tax Incentives

Tax credits have become an important part of the preservation field in the United States as they provide an economic incentive for private sector investment in the rehabilitation of historic structures. Unlike a tax deduction that only reduces the amount of taxable income, a tax credit is a dollar for dollar reduction in the amount of taxes owed and, as a result, is much preferred over a deduction because a credit provides a more significant tax reduction.

Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentive Program

Tax credits were first introduced as incentives for historic preservation in 1976 by the United States federal government. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program is currently the most successful and cost-effective federal program to promote both urban and rural revitalization and encourage private investment in the rehabilitation of historic structures (United States, 2009). The National Park Service, in conjunction with the Internal Revenue Service and State Historic Preservation Offices, administers the program. The 20% federal tax credit applies specifically to income-producing historic properties, or properties that generate revenue, and must be used as such for at least five years after the rehabilitation has been completed. Potential income-producing

uses include commercial, industrial, agricultural or rental residential. Rehabilitations of non-income-producing properties, such as private residences, do not qualify for the 20% federal credit. Since the program's inception, 36,481 properties have been rehabilitated in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico with \$55.51 billion of private investment. In the year 2009, 1,044 proposed projects were approved, continuing the ten-year trend of over 1,000 projects per year. These projects will use an estimated \$4.69 billion of private investment and average \$4.49 million of expenditures per project. Each project will generate an average of 68 local jobs and create a total of 70,992 total local jobs across the country (United States, 2010).

In order to be eligible for a federal historic tax credit, a project must meet several requirements through either a two- or three-part application process. Eligible buildings must either be listed individually on the National Register of Historic Places or listed as a contributing structure to a National Register historic district. A building can also be certified if it is part of a local or state designated district not on the National Register but certified by the National Park Service. The Part 1 application form, "Evaluation of Significance of the Property," is not required for single buildings individually listed on the Register, as these buildings are automatically deemed certified historic structures. Completing the Part 1 application is required, however, for all other eligible properties. In order to be designated as a "certified historic structure" through the Part 1 application, a building must possess sufficient historic fabric whose integrity has not been compromised by significant deterioration, damage or previous alteration.

Once a building is certified, the National Park Service must approve proposed rehabilitation work in the Part 2 application, “Description of Rehabilitation Work.” The work must meet the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation (see Appendix A), which ensure that the historic fabric is protected and preserved in the new design. Although the Standards were initially developed as guidelines for reviewing projects receiving grants from the federal Historic Preservation Fund, after the codification of the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives Program, they began to be used most commonly to determine eligibility for receiving the tax credit. The Standards apply to both the interior and exterior of all historic buildings, as well as any related new construction, and seek to maintain the significance and value of a historic property as it is being adapted to support a contemporary use. They promote a philosophy of retaining original material and prioritize repairing historic fabric over replacing whenever possible. The Standards take into account that changes will be made in the process; they simply ensure that these alterations do not destroy or damage the historic character or any character-defining features of the building.

If the proposed work is found to meet these Standards, the National Park Service issues preliminary approval. Conditional approval outlining specific necessary modifications may also be issued if certain parts of the proposed work are found to not meet the Standards. After the work has been completed, the finished project must be certified through the Part 3 application, “Request for Certification of Completed Work,” before the owner can take the 20% tax credit. In this phase of the process, the completed project is compared to the proposed work to ensure that it followed the Secretary’s

Standards. If projects are found not to have followed the approved Part 2 application, the National Park Service will deny certification and the Internal Revenue Service will disallow the tax credit (United States, 2009).

Once the credit has been approved, it can only be claimed towards certain rehabilitation expenditures. These eligible items include walls, floors and ceilings, as well as heating, ventilation and air conditioning systems, plumbing and electrical wiring. Some items that are ineligible for the credit include demolition or new construction costs, furnishings, landscaping, signage and parking lots. The credit can be claimed for a 24-month period chosen by the taxpayer during which the property was “substantially rehabilitated.” This means that rehabilitation expenditures exceeded the assessed value of the building before the start of this two-year period. For projects completed in phases, the substantial rehabilitation period increases from 24 to 60 months of the taxpayers choosing (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000).

Tax credit projects reinforce a sense of place in communities through reinvestment in significant buildings that retain their historic character and original fabric. By providing such a significant financial incentive for rehabilitation, preservation tax credit projects strengthen communities by protecting the historic built environment and prioritizing its original fabric. In the year 2009, North Carolina had 72 proposed projects approved and 59 completed projects certified. The expenses totaled \$124,890,527, with an average of \$2,116,788 spent per project. South Carolina had 3 projects approved and 8 certified, accounting for \$66,214,918 in expenditures and averaging \$8,276,864 per project (United States, 2010).

State Preservation Tax Credits

Because of their success in encouraging the rehabilitation of historic buildings, federal historic preservation tax credits have helped to revitalize communities by preserving sense of place, attracting investment, generating jobs and creating revenue. These positive outcomes have prompted many states to also adopt legislation that provides tax credits for historic rehabilitations on the state level, many of which can be combined with federal tax credits.

In 1998, the state of North Carolina enacted a 20% tax credit for projects that had been approved to receive the federal credit, providing taxpayers with a 40% total credit on qualified rehabilitation expenditures. The state also adopted a 30% credit towards expenditures for those projects which are non-income-producing, including private residences (North Carolina). The state of South Carolina also offers historic preservation tax incentives for rehabilitation projects. Buildings that are approved for the federal credit also qualify for a 10% state historic rehabilitation tax credit. Additionally, a 25% credit towards allowable rehabilitation expenses is available for non-income-producing properties. In order to qualify for this credit, the building must be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, allowable expenses must exceed \$15,000 in 36 months and the plans must be approved by the State Historic Preservation Office before work can begin (South Carolina b).

Industrial Rehabilitation Tax Credits

In order to combat the community decline caused by vacant mill buildings, both the North and South Carolina state legislatures have passed additional tax credits in recent years that provide an economic incentive for their rehabilitation. The General Assembly of North Carolina enacted the Mill Rehabilitation Tax Credit in 2006. As of March 2010, ten projects have been completed using this incentive, and 11 more are proposed or currently underway (North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office [NCSHPO], 2008b). To target the communities that were most impacted by mill closings, the bill includes a three-tiered ranking system to classify county development. Tier one counties are the most distressed and tier three are the least. Divisions are also made between income-producing and non-income-producing structures. Income-producing properties are those that create revenue and include offices, industries or rental housing. Non-income-producing structures do not create revenue and can include condominiums or other private residences. In counties classified as development tier one or two, the state tax credit for both income- and non-income-producing properties is 40%. In tier three counties, income-producing properties are eligible for a 30% state tax credit, but non-income-producing structures in these counties are not eligible. Before the rehabilitation begins, the State Historic Preservation Officer or SHPO must declare the building an eligible site. Part of this eligibility is that the building has been used as a manufacturing facility in some respect and that it has been at least 80% vacant for two years. After the rehab is complete, it is reviewed by the SHPO to ensure that it is in keeping with the property's historic nature and that changes did not compromise any

features that help to define this character. Qualified expenditures for the rehab must exceed \$3 million (NCSHPO, 2008a).

In 2004, the South Carolina General Assembly passed the Textile Communities Rehabilitation Act to help combat deterioration caused by abandoned textile mills. It has some similarities to North Carolina's Mill Rehabilitation Tax Credit, but also some important differences. First, it specifically targets textile mill buildings while North Carolina's law includes any industrial building. In South Carolina, the site must be at least 80% vacant for only one year to be eligible instead of the two years that are required in North Carolina. Another important difference is that the site's eligibility is not determined by the State Historic Preservation Officer, but by the local government. As a result, there is no review of project work after the rehab has been completed. However, oftentimes this credit is combined with other state or federal credits that do require a review. The South Carolina law offers two options: a 25% credit against property taxes or a 25% state income tax credit. No distinction is made based on county development or whether the property is income or non-income producing. Unlike North Carolina's credit, the South Carolina mill tax credit can be combined with other state level preservation tax credits (South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office [SCSHPO]).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this research investigation was to demonstrate the important role that historic preservation can play in the recovery of former textile towns by improving both the economy and quality of life in these communities. The research used a purposeful sample of three case study communities to understand the impact that abandoned textile mill buildings have on local economic development and quality of life and then examined the series of events that encouraged their redevelopment. This data, along with more current statistics from one of the three communities, was used to make projections about the future impact of mill building rehabilitation on communities.

Sample Selection

In the investigation, the researcher used a purposeful sample of case studies, with the sample pool for the study generated from textile mill buildings that used state-level tax credits in both North and South Carolina that are specific to mill and industrial rehabilitation. Use of these tax credits requires that rehabilitation work follow the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and therefore ensures that the rehabilitated mill buildings retain their historic character. This historic character is what gives a building its multiple layers of value and allows it to sustain a community's social fabric through preserving its past. Projects that use the mill rehabilitation tax credits are

also required to have been vacant for a period of time before the rehabilitation occurred. Vacancy over time makes it highly likely that the buildings have become blights and nuisances to a community and have created a decline in the quality of life of the community. From the projects that took advantage of these tax credits in both states, the case study field was narrowed to include only mill buildings located in towns smaller than 70,000 in population. Limiting the size of towns chosen for the case study helped to rule out other factors that might have an effect on the economic development and quality of life in the community. The case study pool was also restricted to rehabilitations that had been completed by the end of the year 2008 to allow enough time for the project to begin to have an effect on the community. The seven remaining possibilities were then narrowed further to eliminate projects located in the same town, projects in towns with higher levels of development from other factors and projects that were completed too recently for their effects on the community to be manifested. The three case study sites chosen by this process were the Lillian Knitting Mill in Albemarle, North Carolina, the Premier Hosiery Mill in Morganton, North Carolina, and the Mayfair-Baily Mill in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Community Indicator Framework

To measure quality of life and economic development in these three selected communities, the community indicators methodology was used. Community indicators were selected to measure the effects of mill building abandonment on the economy and quality of life in the communities. Because the towns are similar in size, history and

development, the same set of indicators was used for each community. Spartanburg County, South Carolina, the location of one of the case study mill buildings, had already developed community indicators used to measure local well-being. Because the Spartanburg Community Indicators Project measures an entire county rather than one specific community, it was used as a model for this project but required modification to measure well-being on a smaller, community-based scale. This framework of indicators was combined with the University of Florida study *Contributions of Historic Preservation to the Quality of Life of Floridians* (McLendon, 2006) to develop the set of indicators for this research project. As with the Spartanburg model, the Florida framework required modification for use in this study. However, it provided a basis for the types of indicators that measure community qualities and values which are most related to historic preservation. Combining these two frameworks allowed the goals and values of local citizens to be reflected in indicators that have previously been correlated with historic preservation. Development of the indicators also followed Phillips' (2003) criteria for indicator selection of validity, relevance, consistency and reliability, measurability, clarity, comprehensiveness and comparability.

The indicators were broken into two main categories: People and Community. Within those categories were five goals measured by a set of indicators that gauge the community's health in that area. The goals and indicators used in this study are as follows:

Table 3. Marion Indicator Framework		
Categories	Goals	Indicators
Community	The community is an economically viable place for citizens to live	Employment by sector
		Place of work
		Travel time to work
	The community is a stable place to live	Residence five years prior to Census recording
		Median property values
		Crime rates
		Housing vacancy and occupancy rates
	The community values heritage	Number of listings on the National Register of Historic Places
		Median year residences were constructed
Number of residences constructed before 1940		
People	Citizens value education	Educational attainment
	Citizens will have the economic means to improve their standard of living	Number of residents living below the poverty level
		Median household income
		Per capita income

These indicators were selected to create, when combined, a well-rounded picture of each community in terms of its economic health and quality of life at the times of the Census recording. These selected goals and measures were thought to best represent the areas likely to be affected by the collapse of the textile industry in the late 20th century. Data relating to the value of heritage was incorporated to help to gauge the correlation between community well-being and the condition of the historic built environment.

Data Collection

Using the framework of community indicators developed from both the Spartanburg Community Indicators Project and the *Contributions of Historic Preservation to Quality of Life of Floridians*, data was gathered for each of the three case

study communities. With the exception of crime rates and the number of listings on the National Register of Historic Places, data for each indicator was drawn from the United States Census Bureau. Census data was gathered for the county, place, Census tract and Census block in which each mill building was located in order to understand how the area in the immediate vicinity of the mill compared with the larger community. Both the 1990 and 2000 decennial Censuses were used because of the decline that occurred in the southern textile industry at the close of the 20th century. Apart from the Census data, crime rates were gathered from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for each year from 1995 to 2008 in the categories of violent crime, murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, property crime, burglary and larceny or theft. The number of Listings on the National Register of Historic Places was accessed from the State Historic Preservation Offices in North and South Carolina and organized by date of listing.

To supplement the decennial Census data and help make projections about the impact of the rehabilitated mill on the community, data for Spartanburg was also gathered from the American Community Survey. This data is a three-year estimate encompassing the years from 2006 to 2008 and is the most current data available for any of the case study communities. Because Spartanburg has a slightly larger population than the other two case study communities, it is the only town for which this more current data is available. Using the same indicator framework, this data was gathered to provide a more current view of the community for use as a comparison with the decennial data.

Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher then organized it for analysis. First, spreadsheets were created to compare each community with itself (See Appendices B, C, and D). Each community spreadsheet included the data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, as well as from the four geographies measured for each community. Percents of change in individual indicators from 1990 to 2000 were also calculated for each geography and included in the spreadsheet as a comparison tool. Graphic charts were then created using tract data for each community to compare the three communities and look for emerging patterns across the three. The data was then analyzed in these two formats to show the effects of abandonment on the economic development and quality of life of the communities through the goals of the indicator framework. The data from the two Censuses was compared for each individual community to determine if any changes had occurred in the community and in which areas these changes occurred. The data from all three towns was then compared to determine if any commonalities appeared and to look for emerging patterns in the goal categories.

After analyzing the data gathered from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, the Spartanburg American Community Survey data was evaluated and compared with the decennial data to make projections as to the future impact of the mill building rehabilitation. Further projections were also made based on property values, occupancy of the rehabilitated mills and community investment as to the impact on quality of life and economic development that the projects have.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

In order to gain an understanding of the general effects of vacant textile mill buildings on the surrounding neighborhoods, tract level data from the three case study communities was compared, revealing several emerging patterns. Although the communities maintained some stability despite the deterioration of the textile industry, the decline resulting from the deindustrialization process is obvious.

Comparing the tract indicator data between communities from 1990 to 2000 revealed the following patterns:

- Goal 1: The community is an economically viable place for citizens to live.
 - Drastically reduced employment by the manufacturing sector.
 - Increased employment outside the county of residence.
 - Decreased employment within the county of residence.
 - Increased travel time to work.
- Goal 2: The community is a stable place to live.
 - Extreme stability in residence as compared to residence five years prior to the Census recording.
 - Increased property values.
- Goal 3: The community values heritage.
 - Increase in the median year that housing units were constructed.

- Goal 4: Educational attainment
 - Decrease in the number of people age 25 and over with less than a high school education.
 - Increase in the number of residents over 25 with high school and college degrees.
- Goal 5: Citizens will have the economic means to improve their standard of living.
 - Increased median household income.
 - Increased per capita income.
 - Increase in the number of residents living below the poverty level.

Carolina Piedmont Textile Towns - Case Study Communities

For each of the three Carolina Piedmont communities chosen by the researcher for use in this investigation, the textile industry played a critical role in the development of the town. In order to understand how the decline of the southern textile industry affected these communities, the central place that textile manufacturing had in each town must also be understood.

Mayfair-Baily Mill (Arcadia Mill No. 2), Spartanburg, S.C.

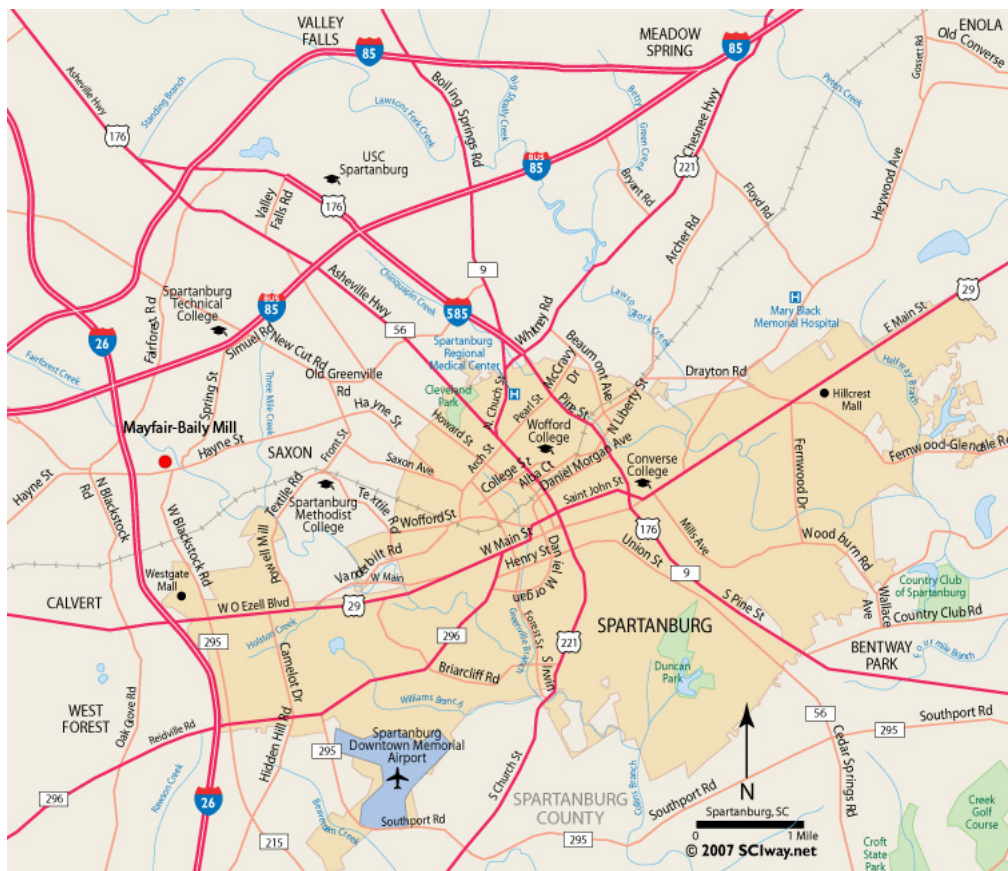


Figure 1. Map of Spartanburg, South Carolina

Spartanburg, South Carolina, has a strong textile heritage, with the industry employing over 100,000 people in the county over the course of two centuries. The first spinning mill in Spartanburg was built in 1816 by two brothers from Rhode Island looking to take advantage of new cotton manufacturing opportunities in the South. Spartanburg offered the Weaver brothers local raw materials, lower taxes, cheaper property costs and lower labor rates than the New England states (Willis, 2002). While the early efforts to establish cotton manufacture in Spartanburg struggled, by 1880 Spartanburg was the most industrialized county in the southern Piedmont (Willis, 2002). A cotton mill building boom began in 1881 and lasted until 1910, resulting in the construction of at least 37 mills across the county (Racine, 2002). One of the mill companies organized during this time was Arcadia Cotton Mills, started by Spartanburg pharmacist and banker Dr. Henry A. Ligon. Construction for the first Arcadia Mill was completed in 1902 and was surrounded by a village also called Arcadia. By the 1920s, Arcadia had expanded its spindles and looms to almost triple its original capacity. Construction began in 1922 to erect Arcadia Mill No. 2 on a site located only a few hundred yards away from the original mill. In 1923, the three story, 250,000 square foot building was completed, costing \$750,000 to construct. In 1934, Arcadia Cotton Mills was sold to a new company organized by New York cotton agent Joshua L. Baily and Company called Mayfair Mills, Inc. At this time Arcadia Mill No. 2 was renamed Baily Mill. In 2001, after almost 70 years of operating the two Spartanburg mills, Mayfair Mills was forced to declare bankruptcy and closed the Baily Mill, taking with it 270 jobs (Randall, 2005 & Winston, 2001). In 2005, the Baily Mill was purchased by Georgia

developer Pace Burt who converted it into a 111-unit loft apartment complex that opened in September of 2007 (Morse, 2008).

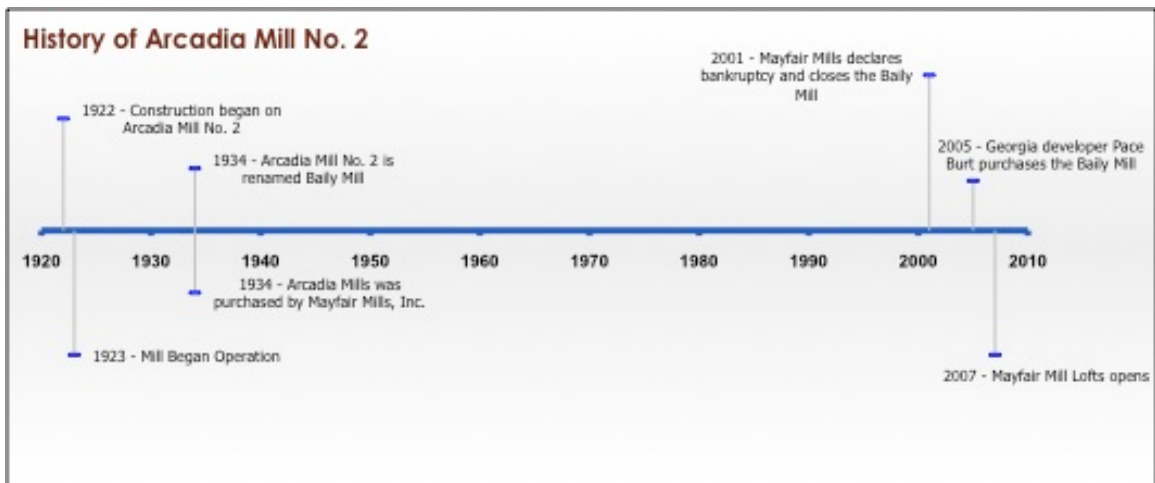


Figure 2. History of Arcadia Mill No. 2

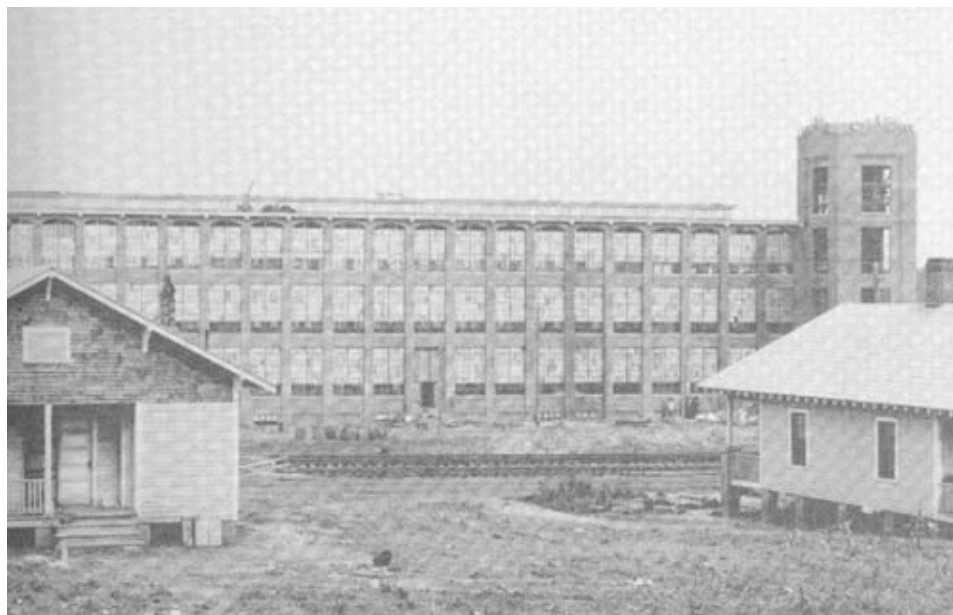


Figure 3. Arcadia Mill at its opening in 1923

Premier Hosiery Mill, Morganton, NC

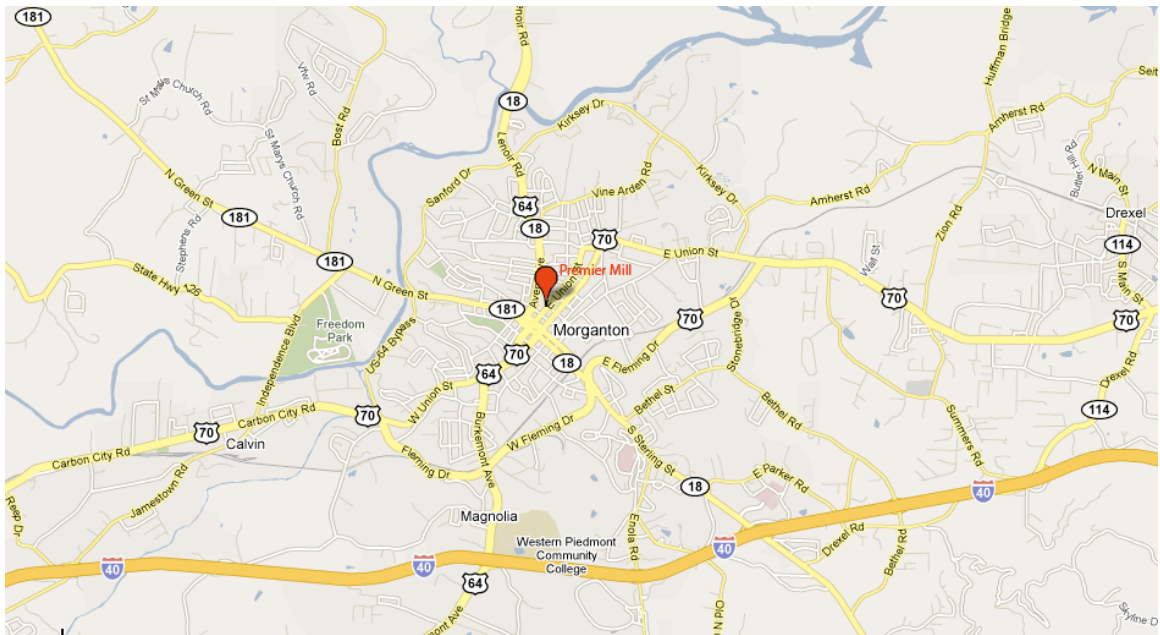


Figure 4. Map of Morganton, North Carolina

Although North Carolina's first textile mill opened in 1813 in Lincoln County, the industry was slower to move to the counties in the western part of the state.

Nevertheless, the first textile mill in Burke County, Dunavant Cotton Mill, opened in 1888 near the Morganton railroad depot (Clark, 2007). In 1901, the Garrou brothers founded Waldensian Hosiery Mills and opened several mills in the county. In 1917, the family founded Garrou Knitting Mills and refurbished the former Morganton Manufacturing & Trading Company building, located on the fringe of downtown Morganton, to house their textile operations. The one-story brick building was originally constructed in 1882 and had been occupied by local furniture and building supply manufacturer Morganton Manufacturing & Trading Company. The company produced wooden doors, windows and moldings in the building until 1907, after which it was used

only for storage (Preservation North Carolina [PNC]). In 1927, a three-story Art Moderne structure was constructed adjacent to the original mill to house Morganton Full-Fashioned Hosiery (Morganton, 2008). The two firms merged in 1960 and formed Premier Manufacturing Knitting Company, which operated in the mill until 1995 when it declared bankruptcy and closed the mill (PNC).



Figure 5. Archival Photo of the Morganton Manufacturing & Trading Company



Figure 6. Archival Photo of the three story Art Moderne structure

Upon the closing of the mill, the City of Morganton established the Redevelopment Commission of Morganton, who purchased the mill for \$250,000 from the bankruptcy court in 1997. In 1999, the first phase of redevelopment began, and in 2001, the City of Morganton moved its City Hall into the South wing of the complex. The second phase of the project began in 2005, and in early 2007, 43 residential units were opened on the second and third floors of the 1927 structure, followed by almost 18,000 square feet of commercial space on the ground level.

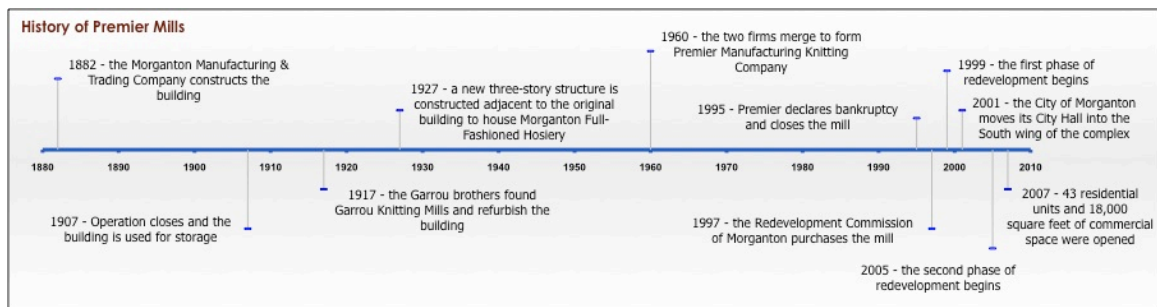


Figure 7. History of the Premier Mills building

Lillian Knitting Mills, Albemarle, NC

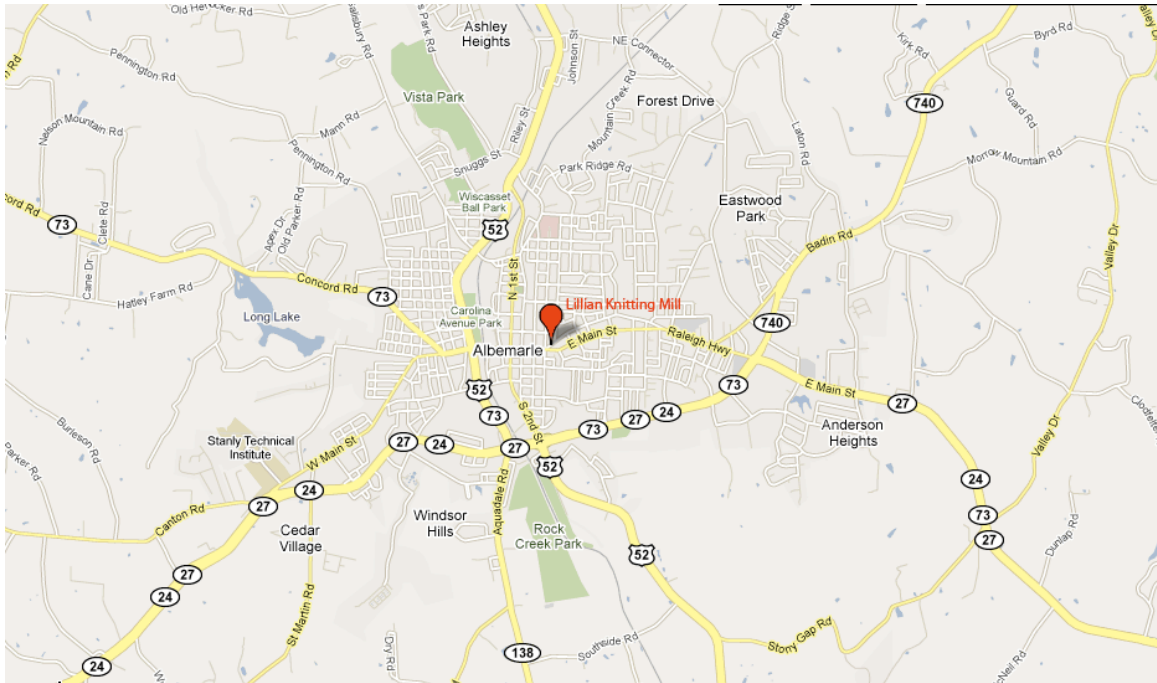


Figure 8. Map of Albemarle, North Carolina

Cotton had been the primary crop in Albemarle, North Carolina, and it was therefore a natural location for the establishment of cotton mills as the textile industry migrated to the South. The first cotton mill in Albemarle, the Efirid Manufacturing Company, opened in 1896 and was followed by several other factories (Davis, 2009). The Lillian Knitting Mills Company was founded in 1905 by Arthur L. Patterson and named for his wife Lillian (Knitting Mill, 1905 & Buchanan, 2000). The original Lillian Knitting Mill measured 50 by 100 feet and housed 100 knitting machines for the manufacture of hosiery (Mill news, 1905). The building was located at the heart of the Five Points District adjacent to the downtown center. Lillian Knitting Mills closed in the

early 1970s and was vacant for the remaining decades of the 20th century, causing it to fall into severe disrepair. In 2001, it was purchased by Lillian Mill Group, LLC who redeveloped it into a mix of commercial and residential space that opened in May of 2008. It offers six apartment housing units and is home to the administrative offices of Monarch NC, a nonprofit organization that supports people with disabilities, mental illness and substance abuse problems.



Figure 9. Archival Photo of Lillian Knitting Mill in 1905

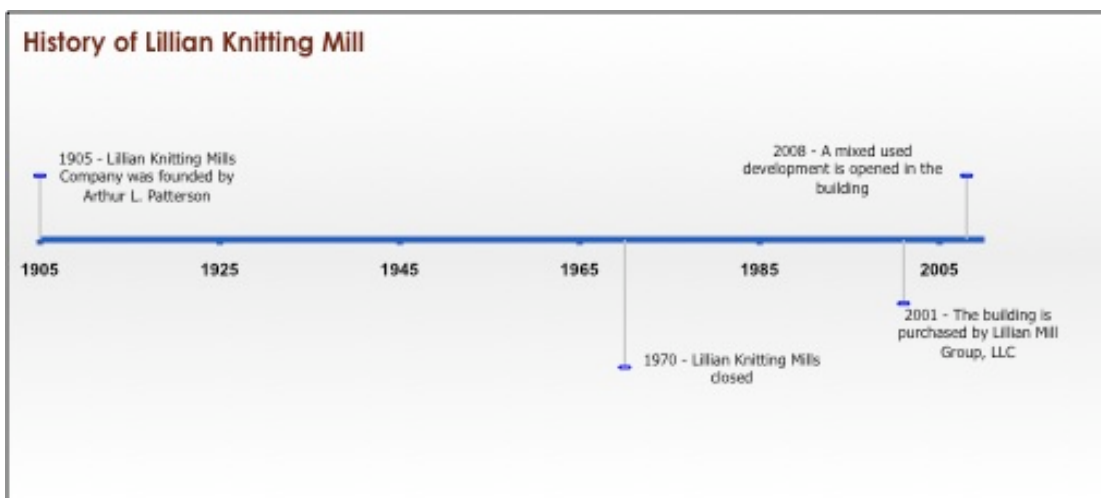


Figure 10. History of Lillian Knitting Mill

Goal 1: The Community is an Economically Viable Place for Citizens to Live

Indicator A: Employment by Sector

In comparing the tract data for all three communities from 1990 to 2000, the first trend that can be observed is that employment by the manufacturing sector decreased greatly during this time period. In 1990, the manufacturing sector employed close to half of the population in the tracts where each mill is located. When compared to national and statewide totals, the manufacturing labor force in these three communities represents a grossly disproportionate number of manufacturing jobs, making the job loss that had occurred by 2000 even more ruinous to these communities. As opposed to the between 40 and 50% of manufacturing employees in the three case study communities in 1990, manufacturing only accounted for 17% of jobs in the United States and employed 26.7% of North Carolinians and 25.7% of South Carolinians. Although the manufacturing sector still accounted for the largest percentage of jobs in all three communities by 2000, the loss of manufacturing jobs between 1990 and 2000 represented a devastating loss of jobs for these textile-based communities. Although these jobs were not recovered by a single industry in each tract, overall gains were made in the Entertainment and Recreation Services sector as well as the construction industry.

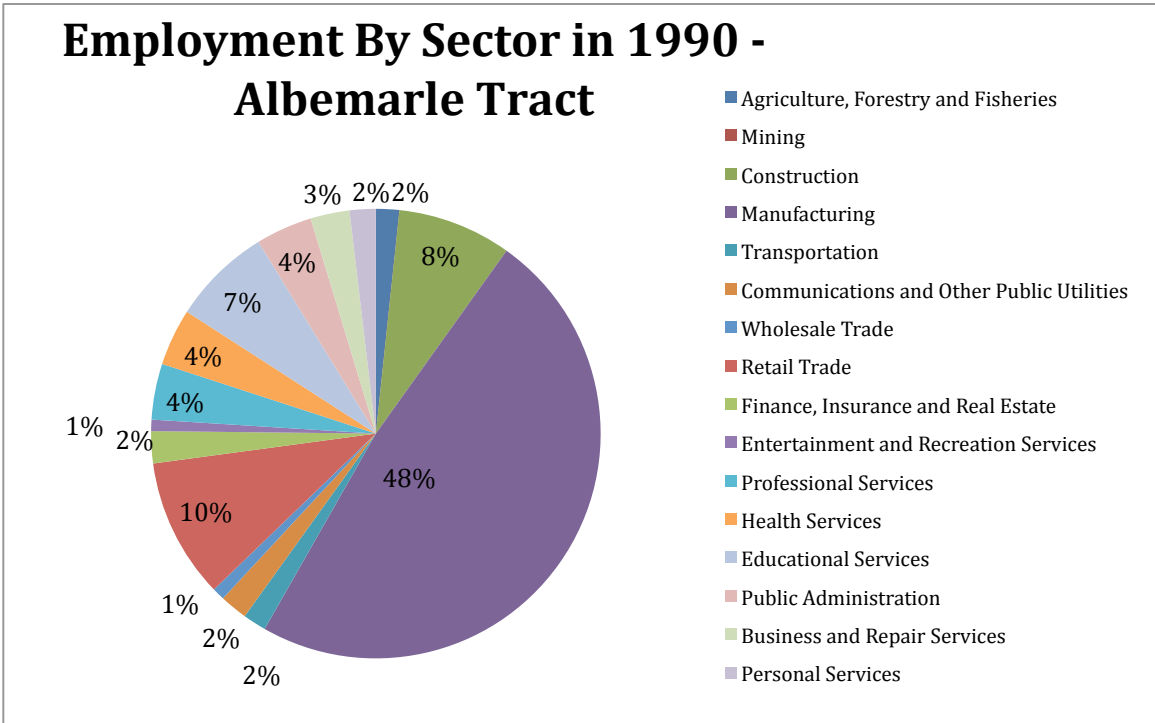


Figure 11. Employment by Sector in the Lillian Mill tract of Albemarle in 1990

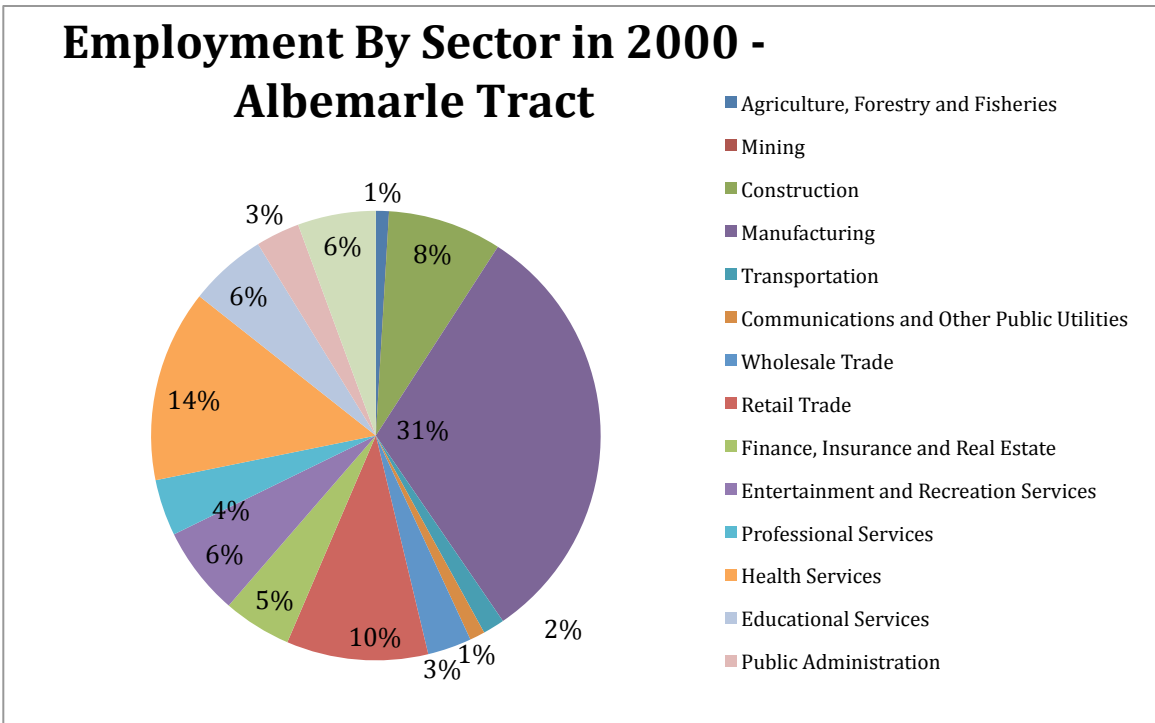


Figure 12. Employment by Sector in the Lillian Mill tract of Albemarle in 2000

Employment By Sector in 1990 - Morganton Tract

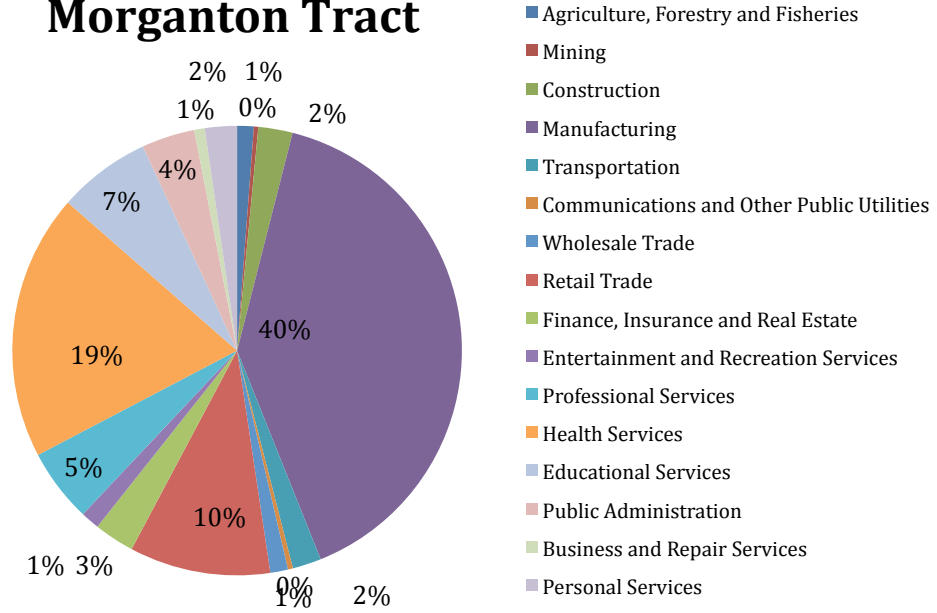


Figure 13. Employment by Sector in the Premier Mills tract of Morganton in 1990

Employment By Sector in 2000 - Morganton Tract

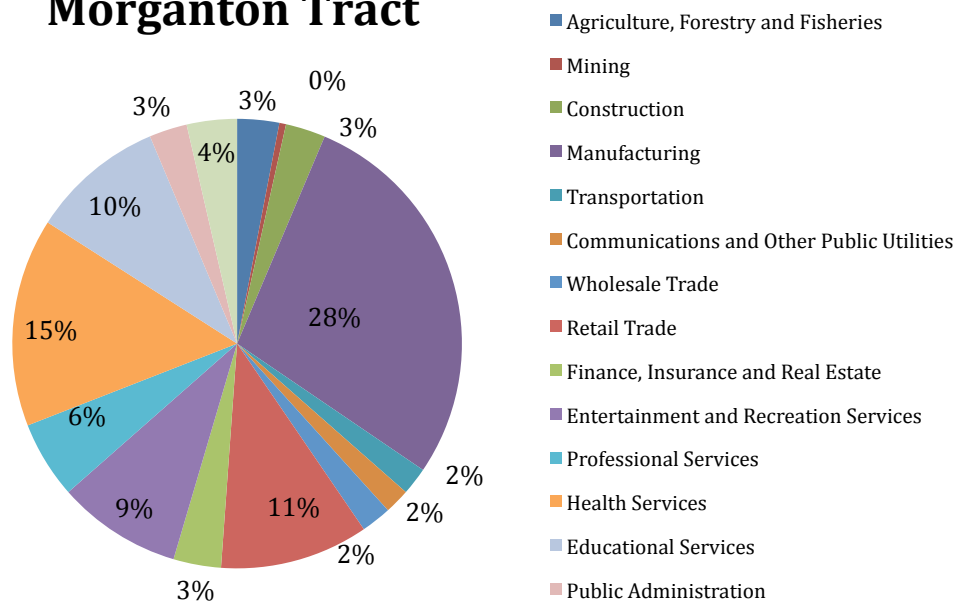


Figure 14. Employment by Sector in the Premier Mills tract of Morganton in 2000

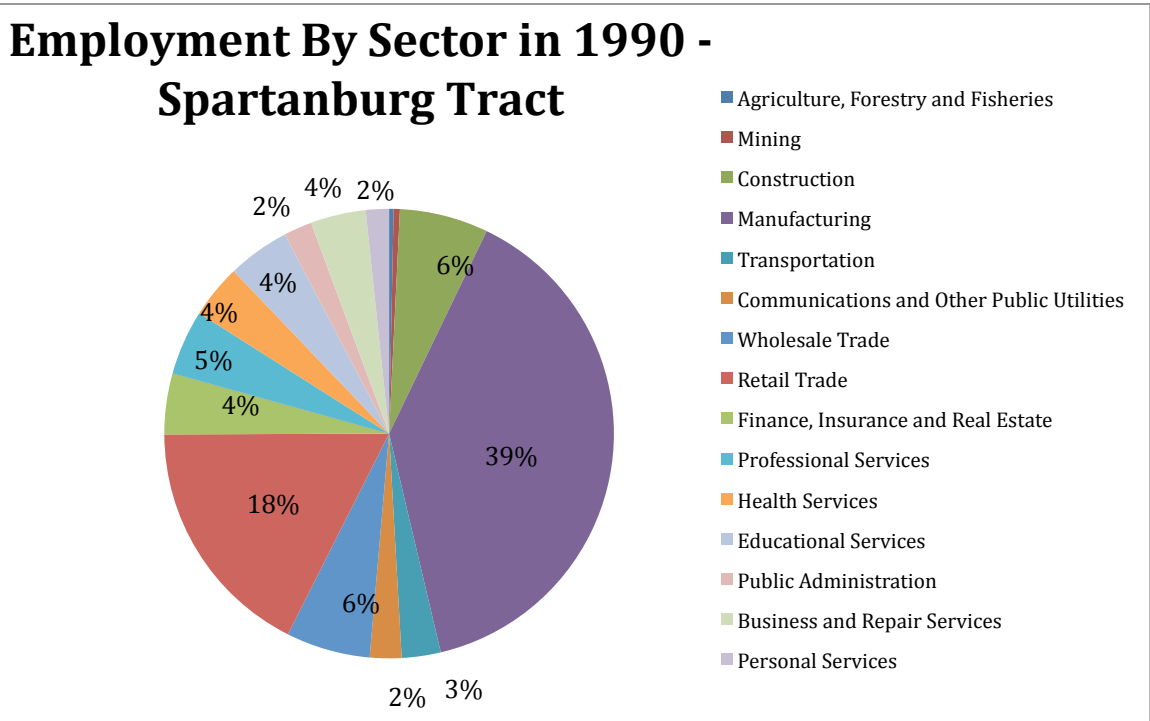


Figure 15. Employment by Sector in the Arcadia Mill tract of Spartanburg in 1990

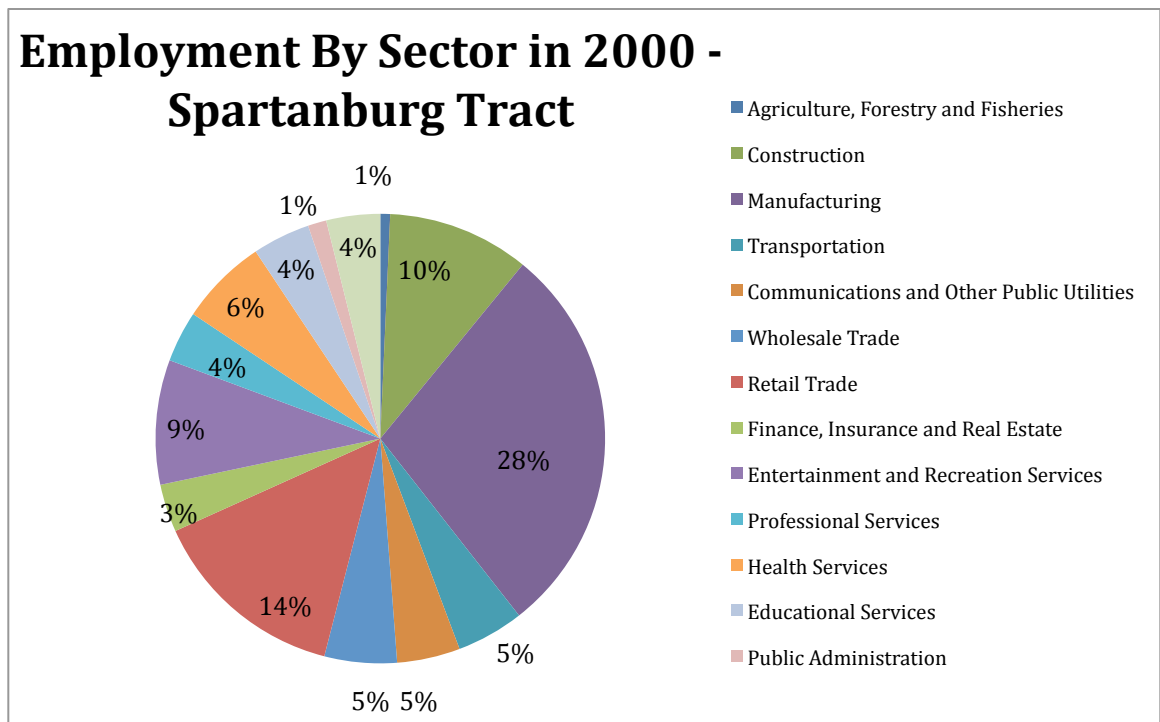


Figure 16. Employment in By Sector in the Arcadia Mill tract of Spartanburg in 2000

Indicator B: Place of Work

By 2000, each tract had also seen an increase in the number of workers traveling outside the borders of their county of residence to work, and contrarily, a decrease in the number of workers employed in the same county of residence. Albemarle and Morganton saw the greatest changes in this area, with the differences in Spartanburg being less drastic. This may be the result of the larger size of Spartanburg when compared to the other two communities, making it easier to find other employment while remaining inside the county.

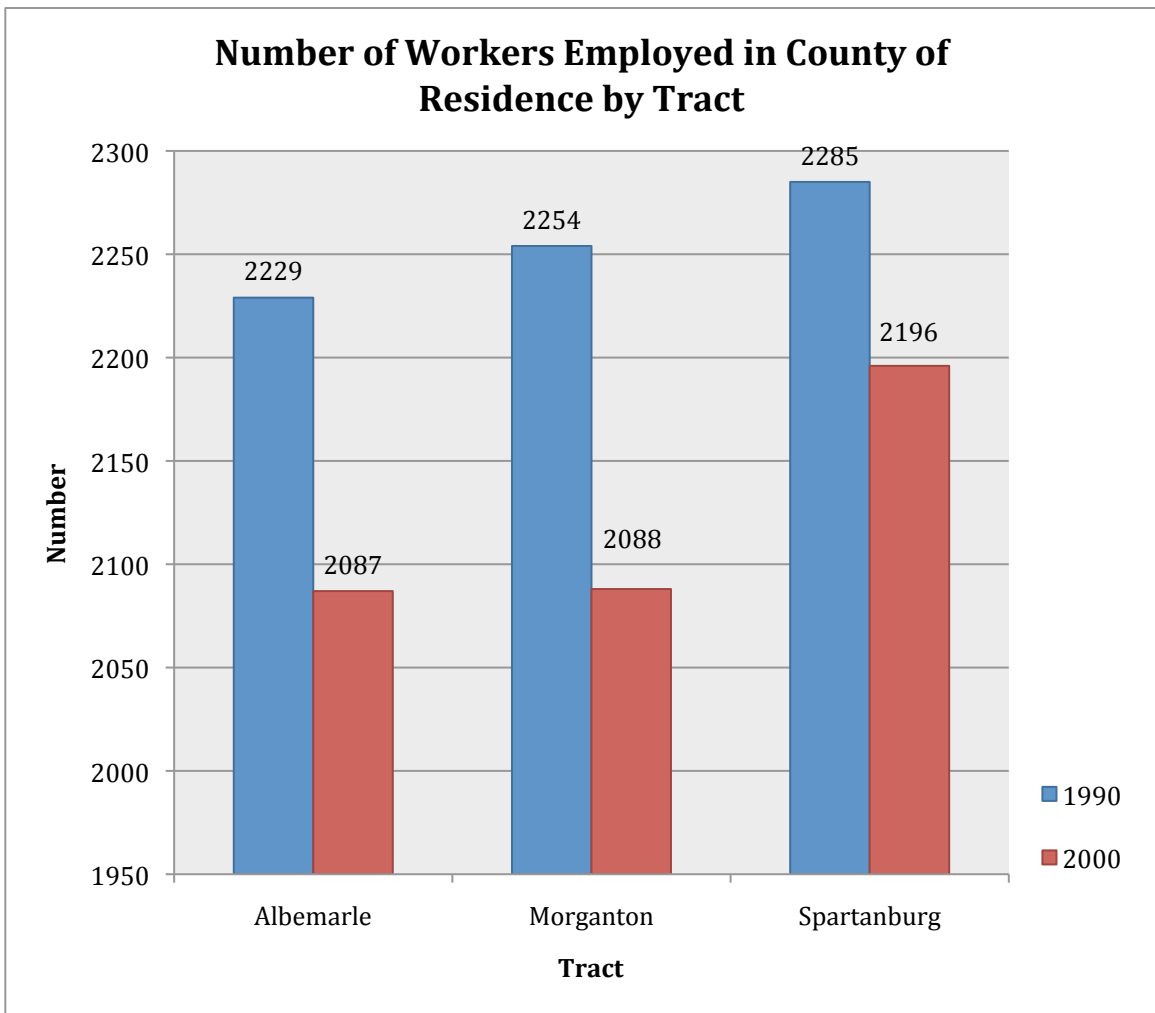


Figure 17. Number of Workers Employed in County of Residence by Tract

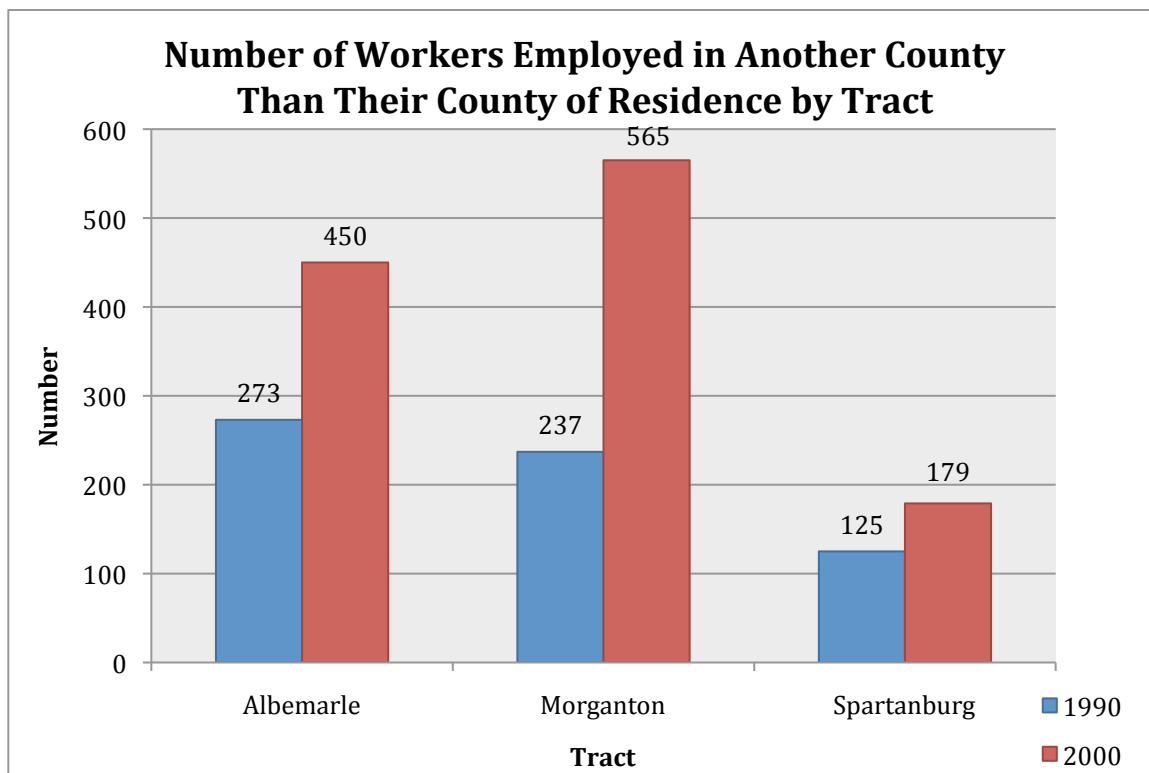


Figure 18. Number of Workers Employed in Another County Than Their County of Residence by Tract

Indicator C: Travel Time to Work

In congruence with the place of work indicator, the aggregate amount of travel time to work increased in each tract as well, as residents were going farther from home to find work. Morganton saw the largest increase in this area and Albemarle the least.

Although the two communities had an almost identical number of workers employed within the county in 2000, the number of workers outside the county for the Morganton tract far exceeded that of Albemarle. This larger number of workers crossing the county border to get to work accounted in part to the greater increase in aggregate travel time experienced in Morganton.

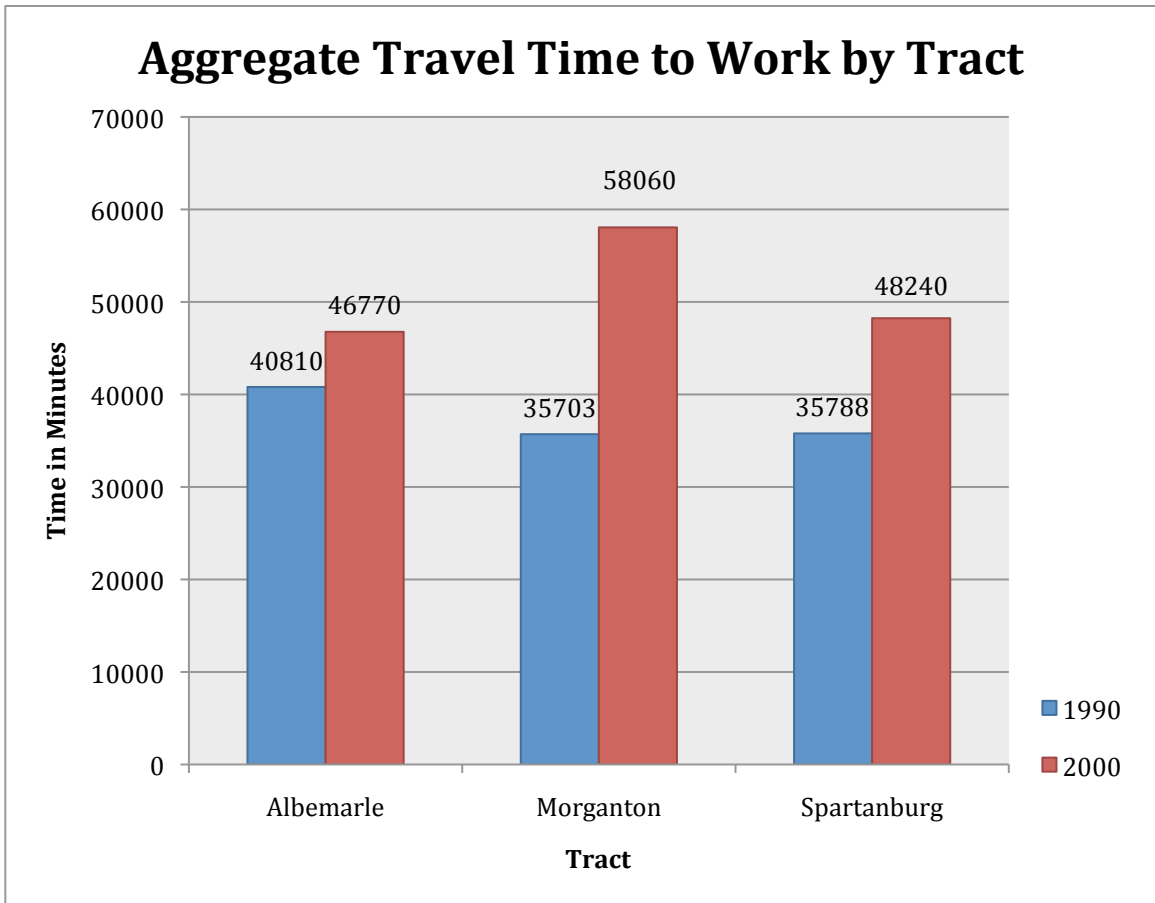


Figure 19. Aggregate Travel Time to Work by Tract

Goal 2: The Community is a Stable Place to Live

Indicator A: Residence Five Years Prior to Census Recording

When comparing residency in the census year with residency five years prior, each tract remained fairly stable. The percentage of residents living in the same home in 1985 as they did in 1990 compared with the percentage from 1995 to 2000 remained almost identical for each tract with slight increases occurring if any change. For each tract, the number of people living in a different home in the same county where they

previously resided decreased for each tract between the two Census recordings. Instead, residents who moved seemed to be coming from within the same state but from a different county, as this percentage increased for all tracts.

The stability of the mill neighborhoods despite the decline of the textile industry may be due in part to the age of residents when the mill closed. In 2000, the median age for all three mill tracts was between 30 and 40 years old, suggesting that mill neighborhoods were made up of older residents. These residents had probably spent the majority of their lives living in the mill villages and working in the mill. Perhaps their age made them less likely to move away from their homes when textile jobs were lost. Instead, they were willing to travel farther from home to find employment and continue to live in the neighborhood.

Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Albemarle Tract

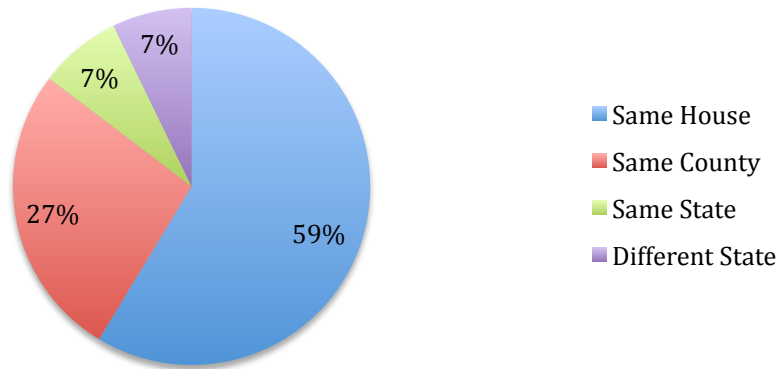


Figure 20. Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Lillian Mill tract, Albemarle

Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Albemarle Tract

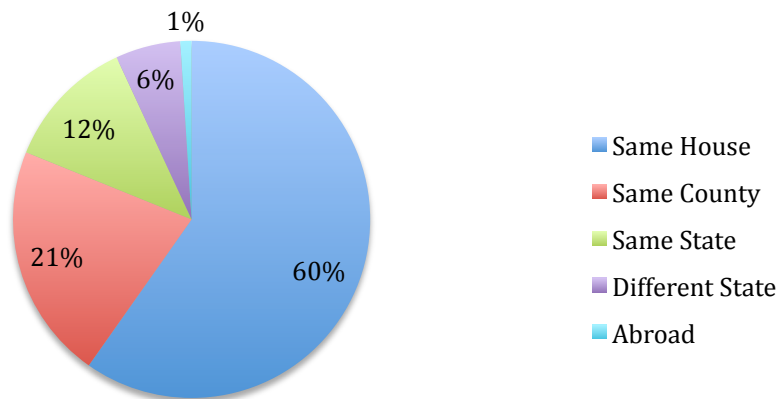


Figure 21. Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Lillian Mill tract, Albemarle

Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Morganton Tract

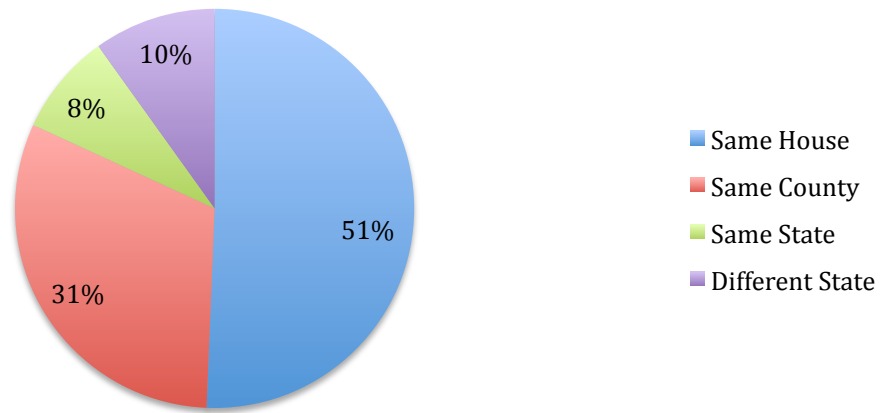


Figure 22. Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Premier Mills tract, Morganton

Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Morganton Tract

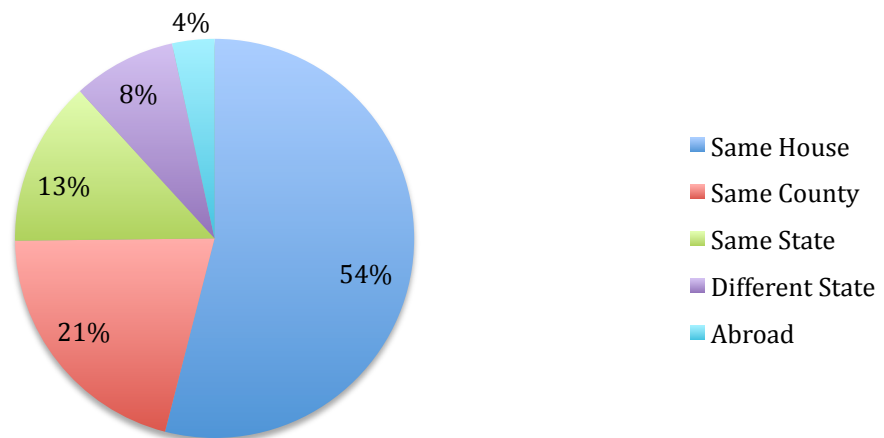


Figure 23. Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Premier Mills tract, Morganton

Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Spartanburg Tract

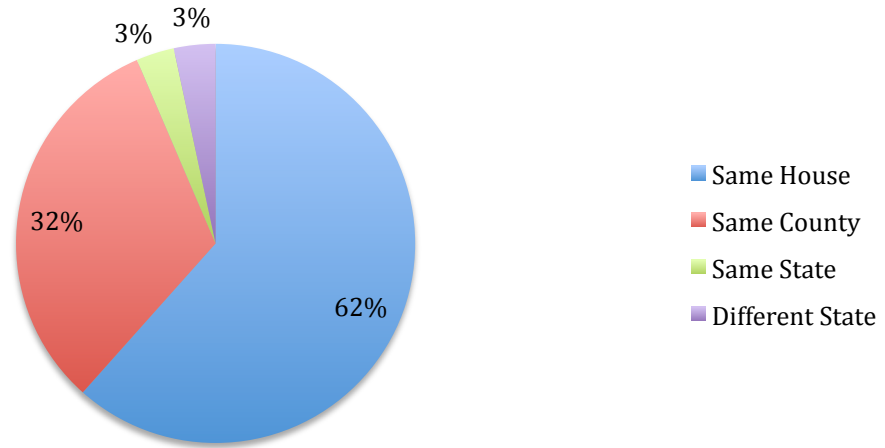


Figure 24. Residence in 1990 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Arcadia Mill tract, Spartanburg

Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior - Spartanburg Tract

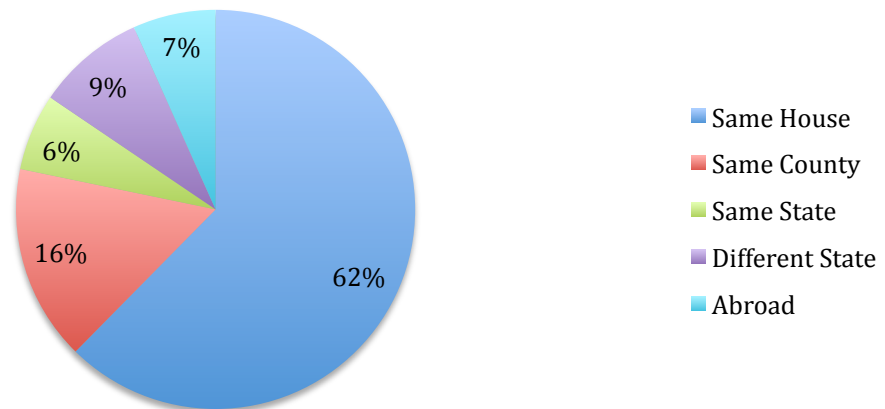


Figure 25. Residence in 2000 as Compared to Residence 5 Years Prior, Arcadia Mill tract, Spartanburg

Indicator B: Median Property Values

Another indicator of the stability goal is median property values. Overall, property values increased in the mill tracts in all three towns. However, the amount of gain varied between tracts. Morganton had the highest property values in both 1990 and 2000, but experienced an almost identical percentage increase as Spartanburg. Property values in Albemarle increased the most, gaining by 72.6%, but this increase only made the median value in 2000 slightly higher than the value in Spartanburg.

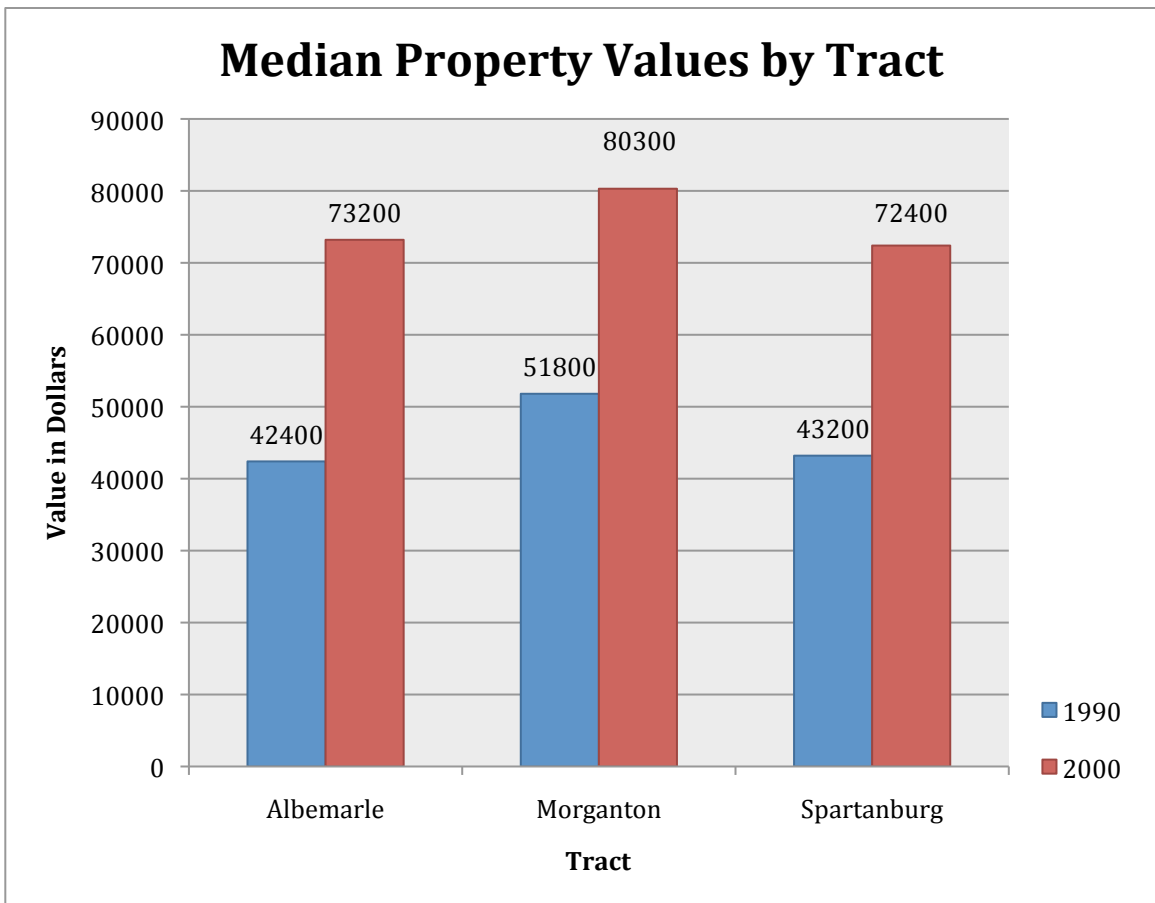


Figure 26. Median Property Values by Tract

Indicator C: Crime Rates

Crime rates were also used to gauge stability in each town. In all three locations, property crimes and larceny or theft were the most prevalent in terms of number of crimes committed. The other types of crimes measured included murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary and motor vehicle theft. All of these crime types remained mostly unchanged between 1995 and 2008. Overall, this indicator did not provide strong evidence for the health of the mill communities.

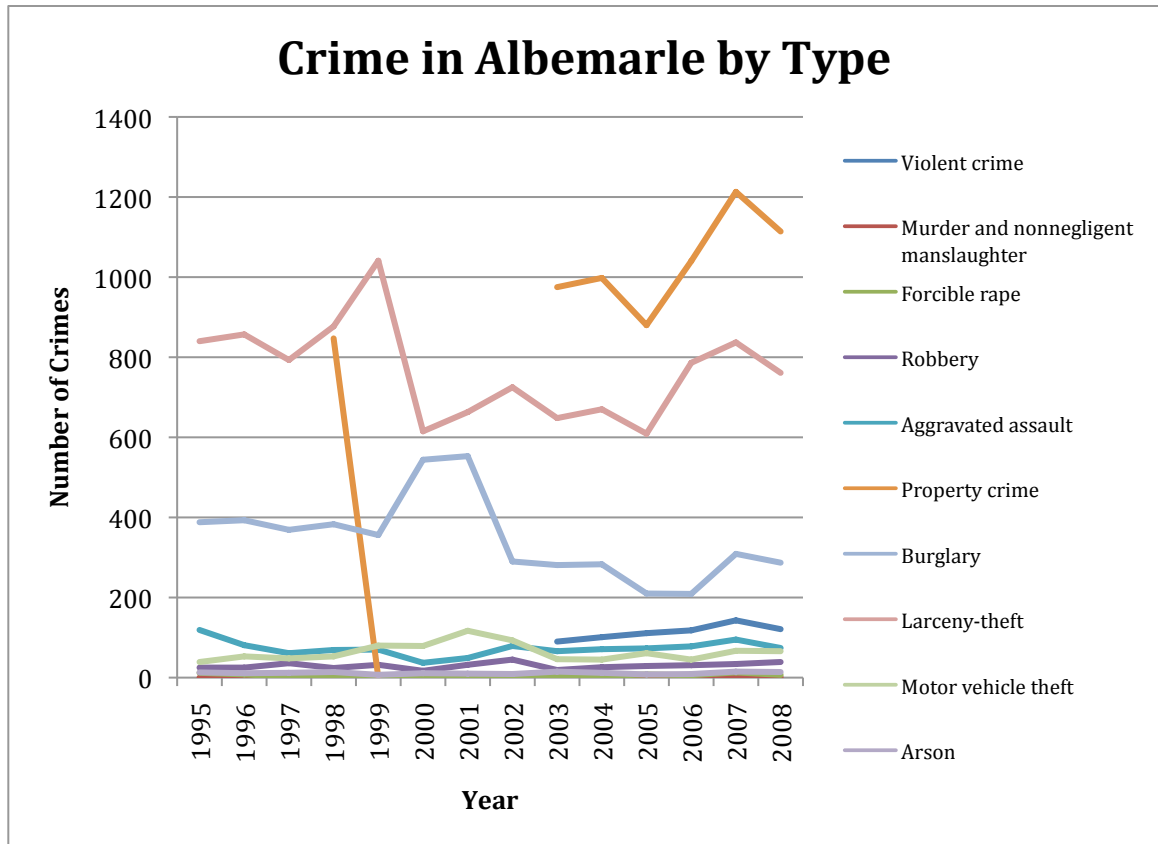


Figure 27. Crime in Albemarle by Type

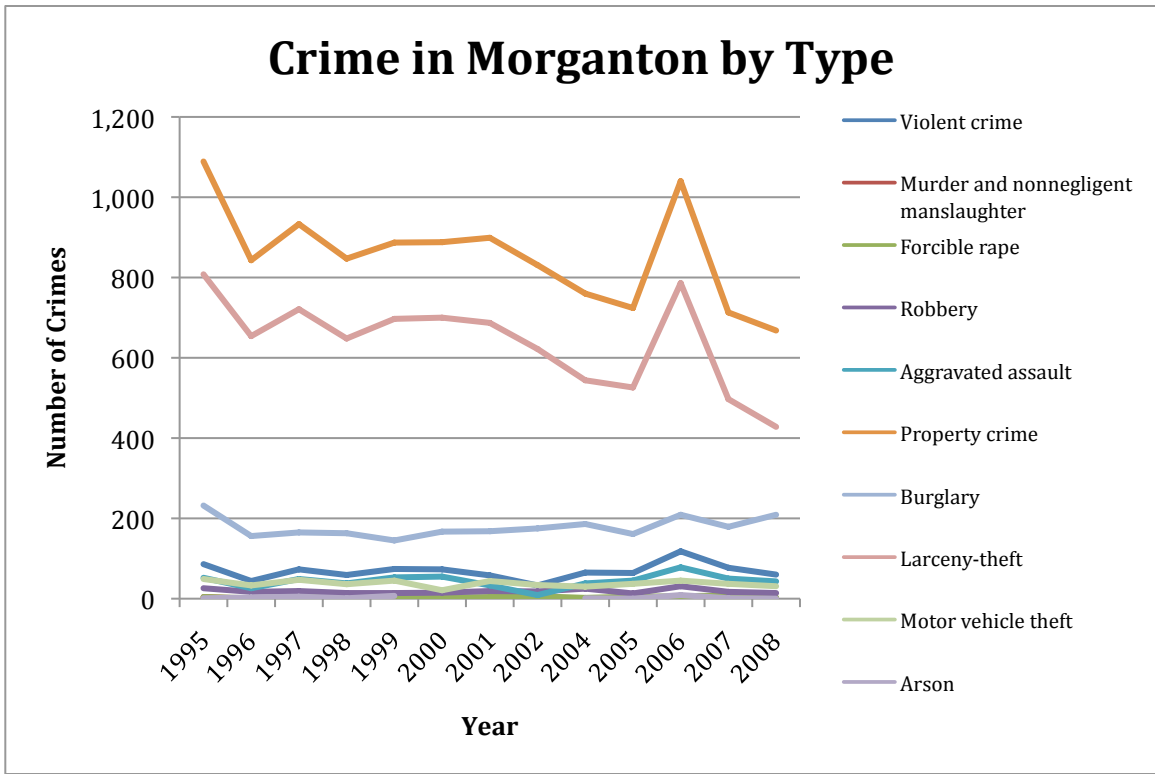


Figure 28. Crime in Morganton by Type

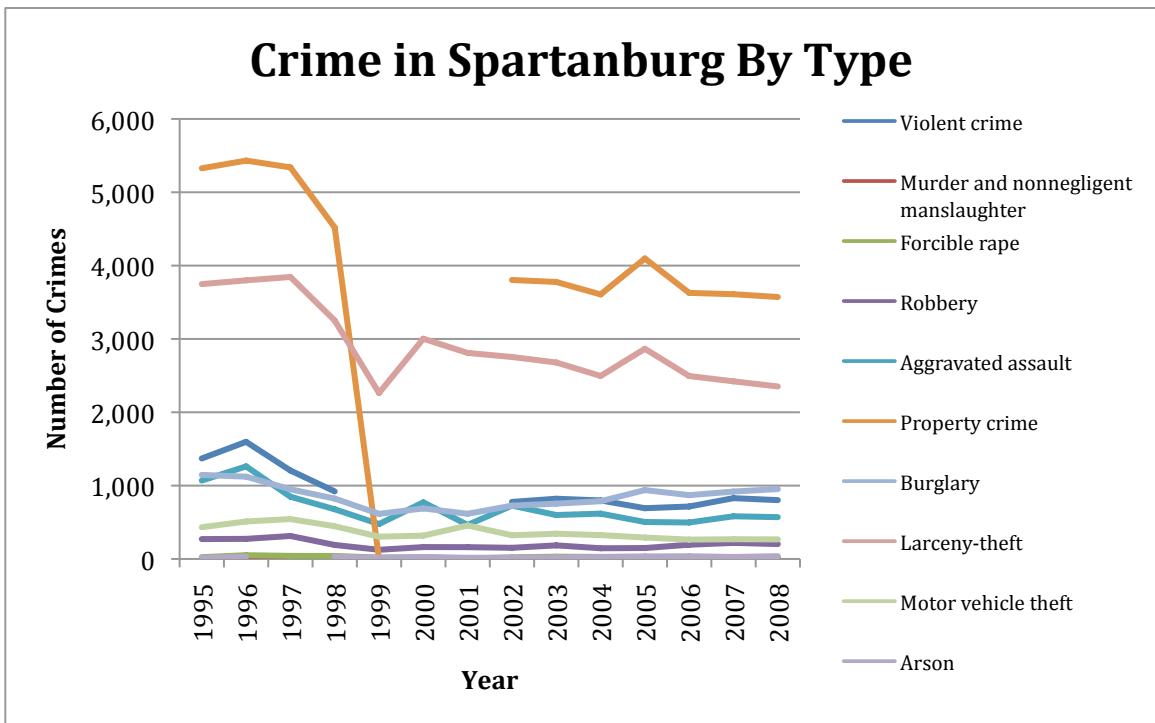


Figure 29. Crime in Spartanburg by Type

Indicator D: Housing Vacancy and Occupancy Rates

Housing vacancy was also used as an indicator in the area of stability. Although vacancy increased in the two out of the three tracts, it decreased in one and was therefore not a clear indicator for mill communities as a whole. Spartanburg and Albemarle, the two communities that experienced increased vacancy between 1990 and 2000, experienced consistent gains. Morganton, on the other hand, saw a decrease in vacancy, going from 11.2% of housing units vacant in 1990 to only 6.1% in 2000. This can most likely be attributed to the fact that the Premier Mills building had been purchased for redevelopment in 1997 and the first phase of work had started in 1999. Although the project was nowhere near completion at the time of the Census recording, the promise that it offered for revitalizing the area may have prompted people to begin moving back to the area.

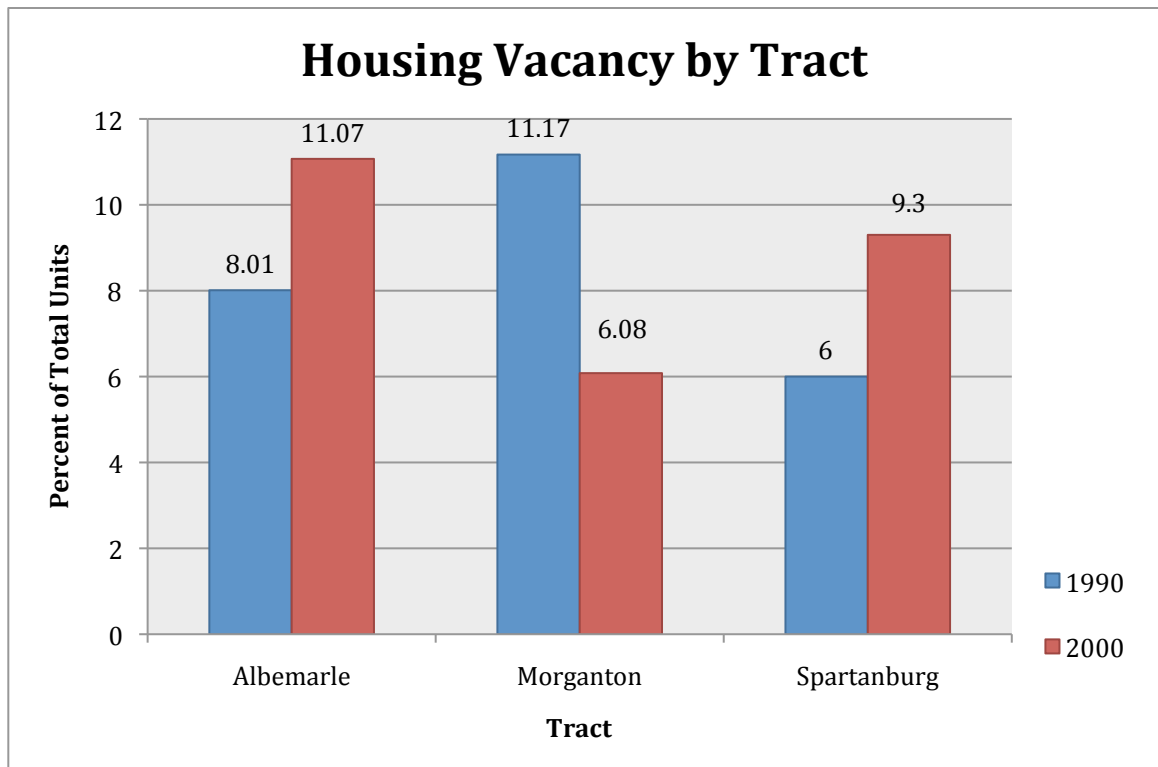


Figure 30. Housing Vacancy by Tract

Goal 3: The Community Values Heritage

Indicator A: Number of Listings on the National Register of Historic Places

One means of gauging heritage value in these communities is to look at the number of listings that each community has on the National Register of Historic Places. Spartanburg County has the largest number of properties on the Register with 61, followed by Burke County with 38 and Stanly County with 13. These totals include both districts of multiple property listings and individual listings throughout the county. Although there appears to be great disparity in the number of listings, the totals do not include the number of properties in each district. If this number were included, the totals would probably be quite different. Because of the mix of individual properties and districts, the indicator did not provide conclusive evidence for the value of heritage in the three textile communities.

Indicator B: Median Year Residences were Constructed

The median year that housing structures were built increased in all three tracts, signaling that new construction was occurring between 1990 and 2000, and possibly that older housing was being torn down in the process. Morganton saw the least amount of increase in the area, with the median year only increasing by three years. Spartanburg and Albemarle saw similar increases in terms of the number of years separating the median values in 1990 and 2000. However, Albemarle had a much lower median year in 1990 than Spartanburg did. This leads the researcher to believe that new housing

construction had begun in the Spartanburg tract before 1990. It could also be a sign that more historic housing had been torn down in this area before the 1990 Census recording, leading to an increase in the median year that housing structures in the area had been built.

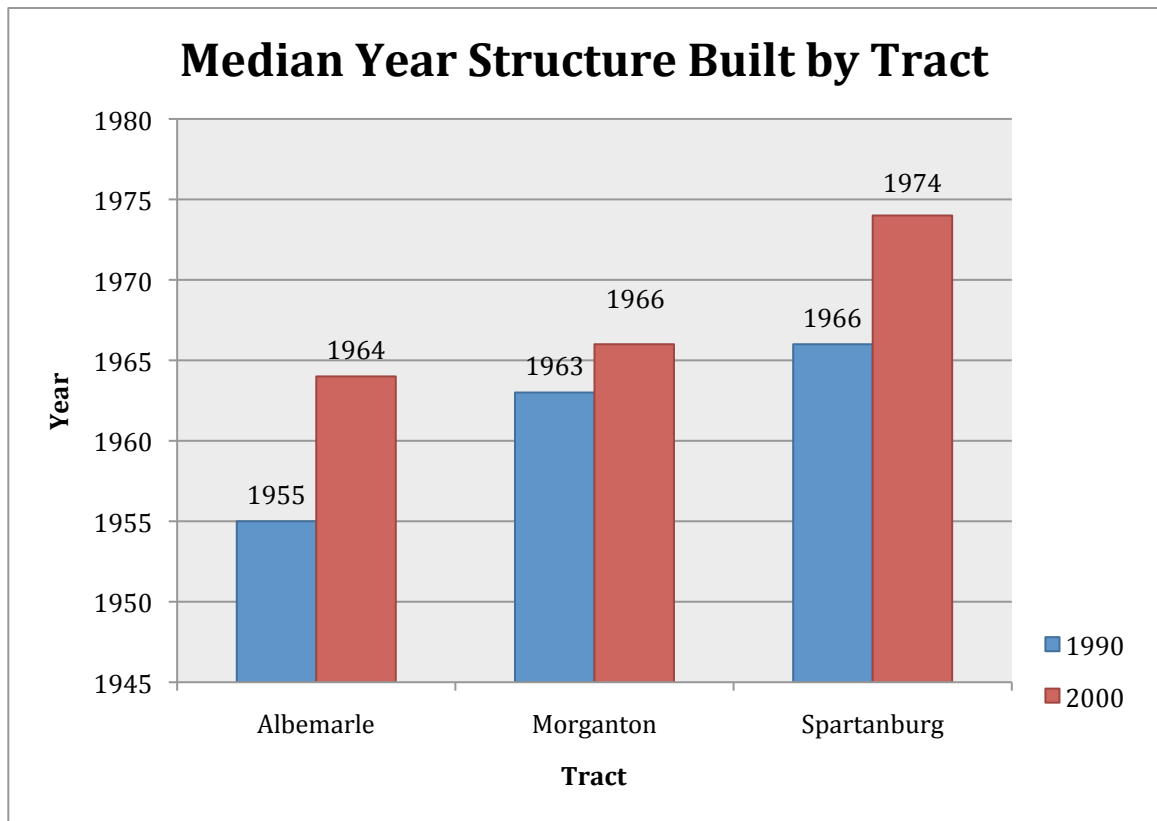


Figure 31. Median Year Structure Built by Tract

Indicator C: Number of Residences Constructed Before 1940

The number of structures built before 1940 did not communicate a clear understanding of the value of heritage in the mill tracts. While the number of pre-1940 residences decreased in Albemarle and Morganton, the data for the Spartanburg tract

seems to incorporate a miscalculation, as the number increased from 1990 to 2000. Apart from this error, the decreases seen in Albemarle and Morganton were not consistent with one another. Albemarle saw an extreme drop in the number of houses constructed before 1940, decreasing by 57%. Morganton, on the other hand, only experienced a slight decrease in this area, with only a 4.25% difference between 1990 and 2000. These inconsistencies could be the result of differences in make up of the neighborhoods surrounding the mill in terms of residential versus commercial properties. Because the data for this indicator only includes housing structures, it is not representative of other properties found in the area and may cause inconsistencies to arise based on the number of housing units found in each tract.

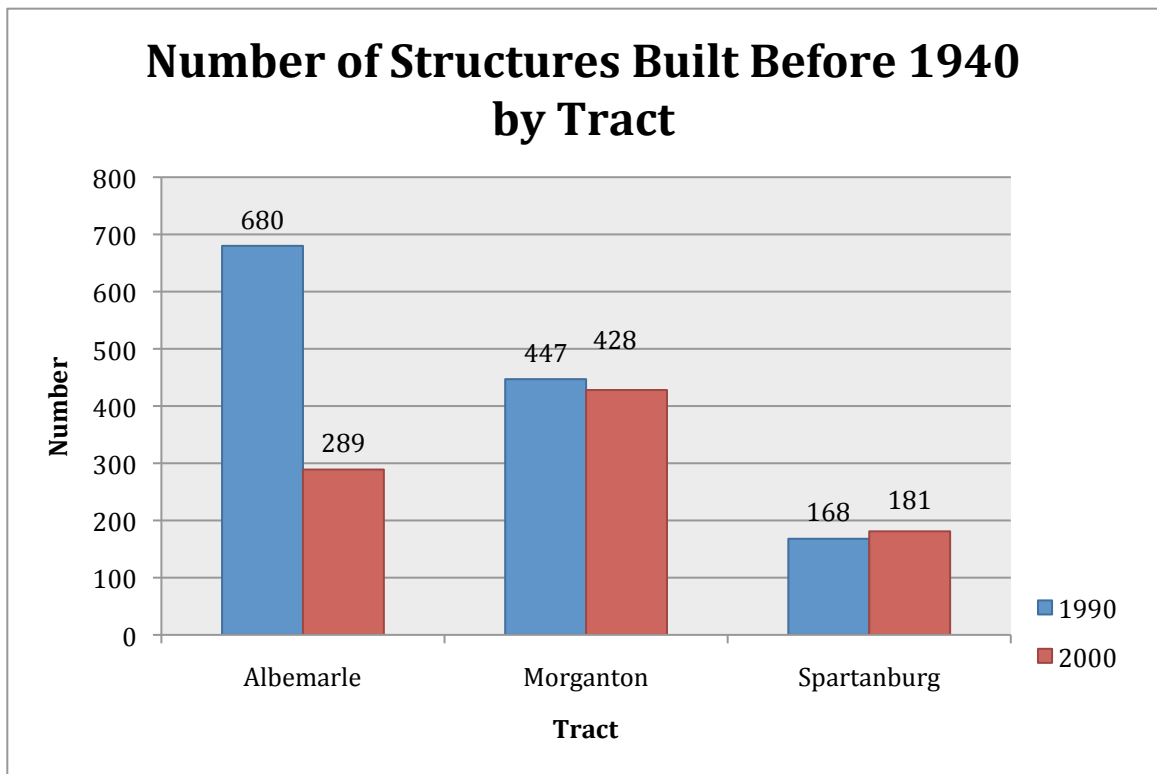


Figure 32. Number of Structures Built Before 1940 by Tract

Goal 4: Citizens Value Education

Indicator A: Educational Attainment

Between the years of 1990 and 2000, all of the tracts used in this study improved in the area of educational attainment. The number of people age 25 and over who had less than a high school education decreased in all areas, while those with high school and college degrees increased. Albemarle saw the greatest increase in high school graduates as well as the most decrease in the number of residents with less than a ninth grade education. Interestingly enough, the number of people with some college education but no degree remained almost identical for all three tracts between 1990 and 2000. The number of college graduates, however, increased consistently in all three.

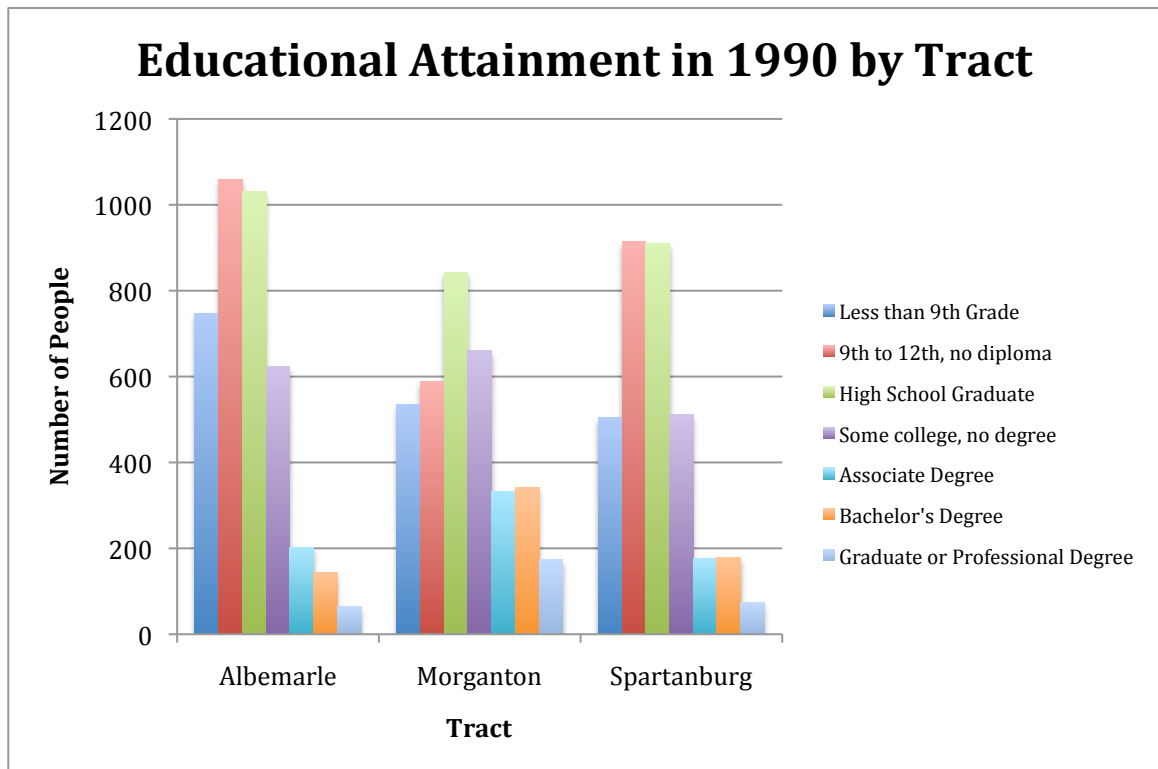


Figure 33. Educational Attainment in 1990 by Tract

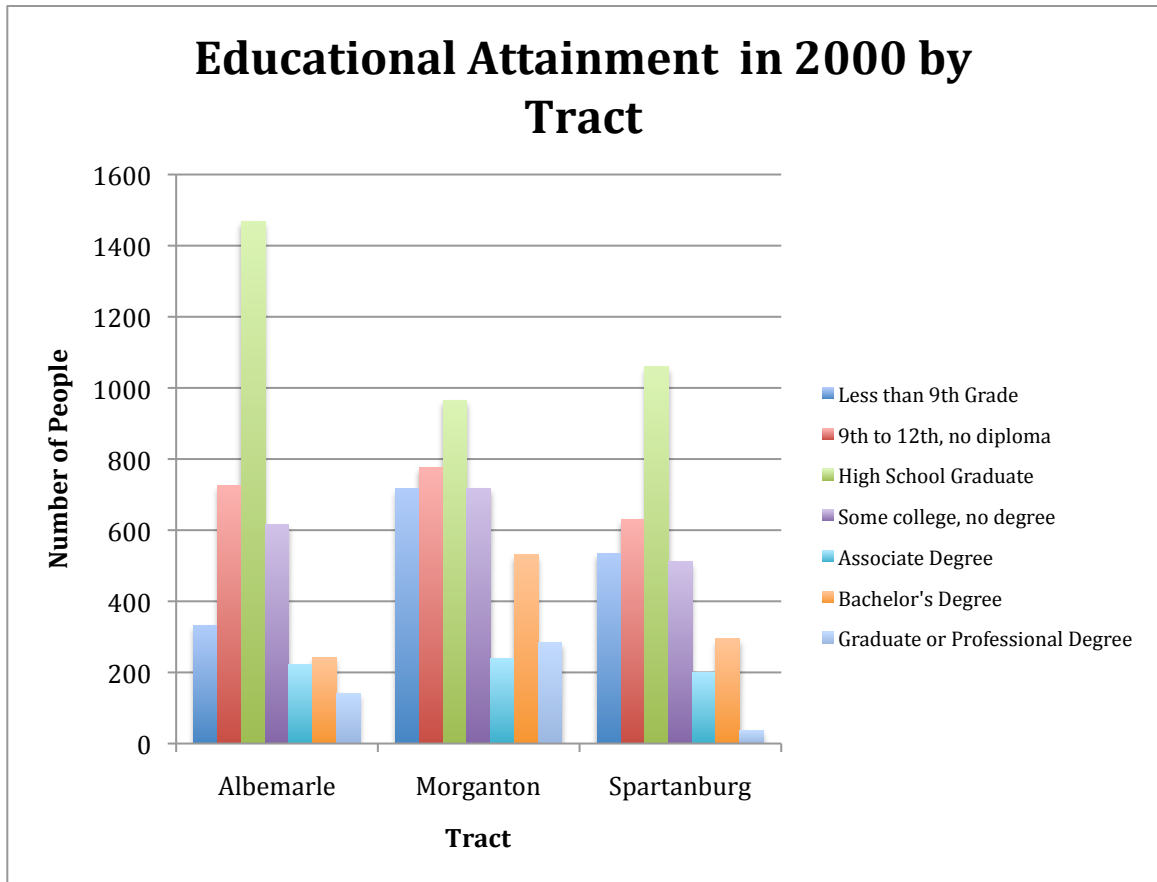


Figure 34. Educational Attainment in 2000 by Tract

Goal 5: Citizens Will Have the Economic Means to Improve their Standard of Living

Indicator A: Number of Residents Living Below the Poverty Level

In Albemarle and Morganton, increases occurred in the number of people living below the poverty level. While this increase was only slight in Albemarle, it was more significant in Morganton. However, the number living below the poverty level in Albemarle was more than double that of Morganton in 1990. The larger number of individuals living in poverty in Albemarle in 1990 may be attributed to the fact that the textile mill closed in the mid-1970s. Premier Mills in Morganton did not close until

1995, accounting for the larger percentage increase of poverty between 1990 and 2000. Spartanburg, on the other hand, saw a decrease in the number of individuals living in poverty between 1990 and 2000. This may be due to the fact that although Mayfair Mills had begun to decline, it did not close completely until 2001. Because of the inconsistencies represented by this indicator, it did not provide conclusive evidence for the standard of living in textile communities.

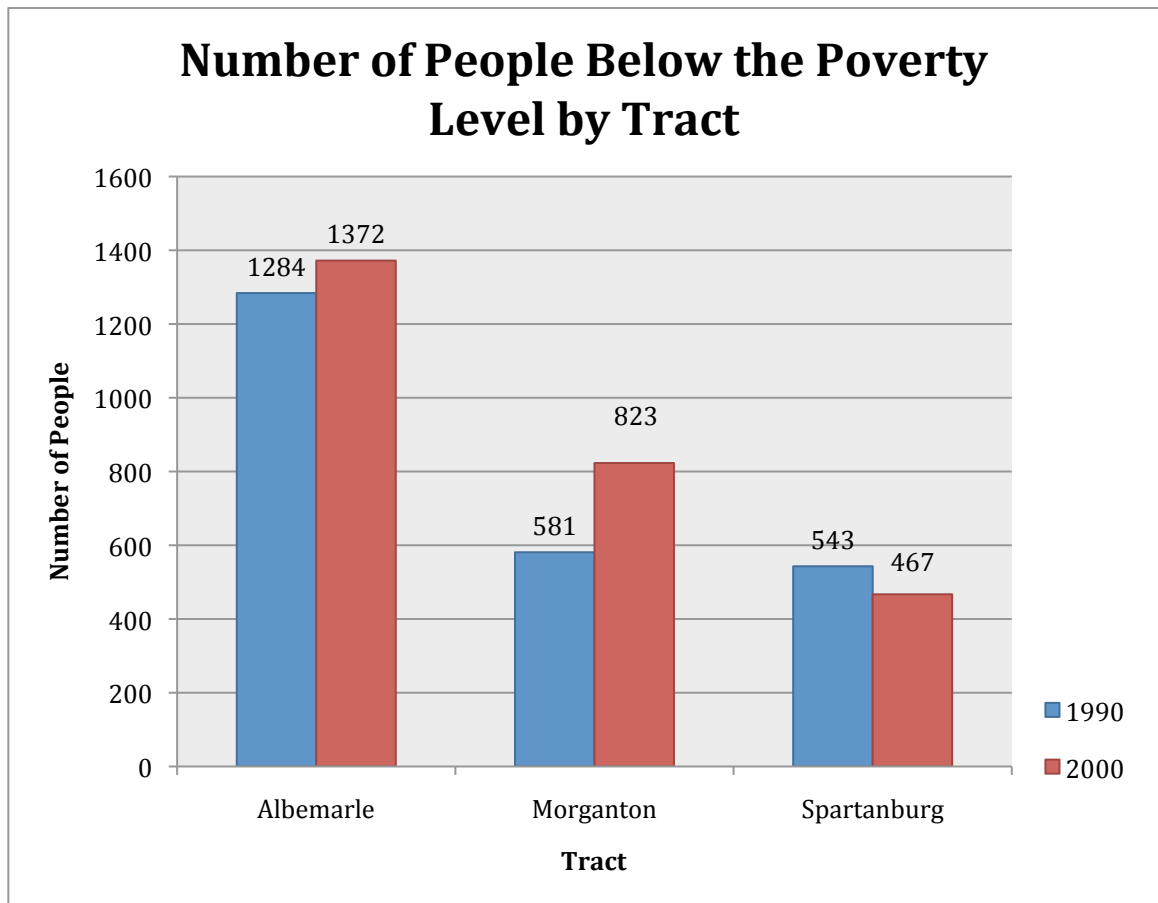


Figure 35. Number of People Below the Poverty Level by Tract

Indicator B: Median Household Income

Despite the increase in poverty in Albemarle and Morganton between 1990 and 2000, median household income increased across all three tracts. Although Spartanburg experienced a slightly greater percentage of increase than the other two communities, all three had fairly consistent gains.

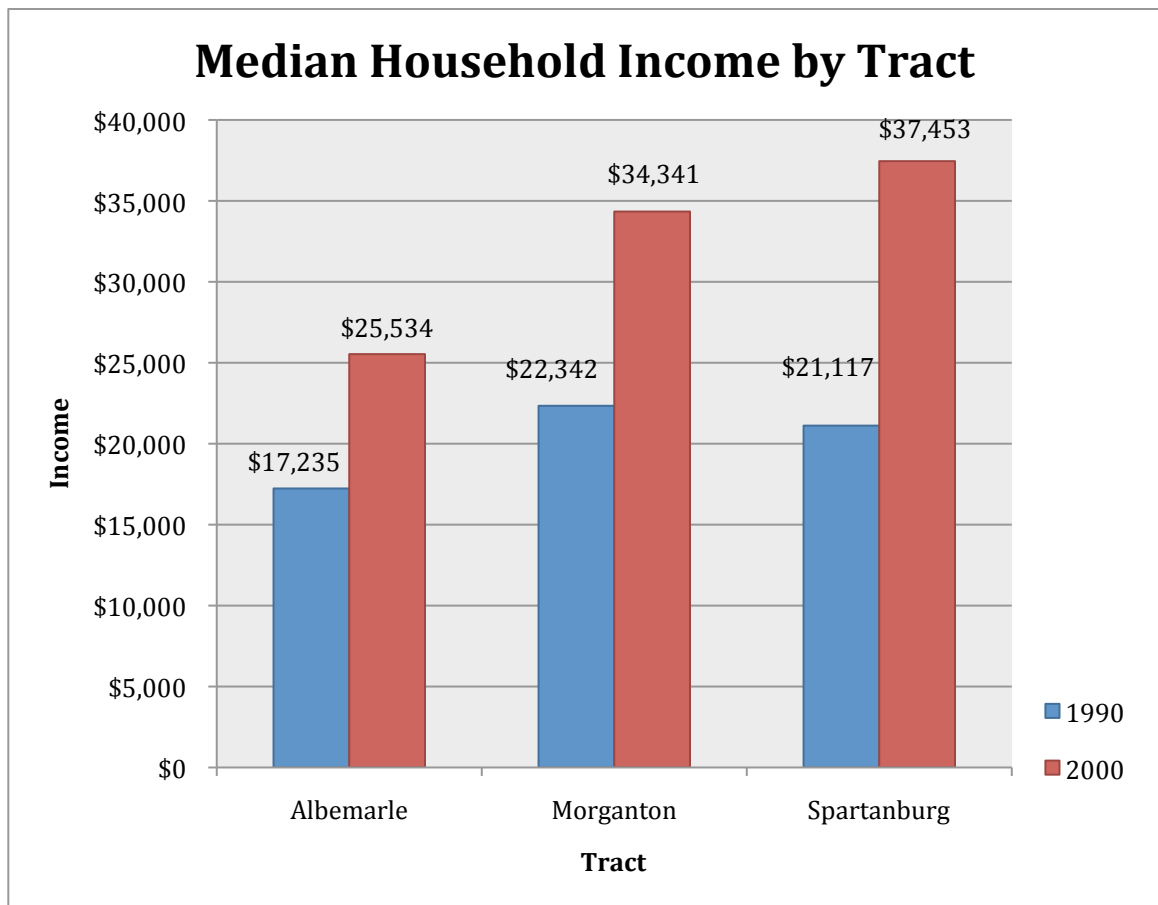


Figure 36. Median Household Income by Tract

Indicator C: Per Capita Income

In addition to increases in median household income, all three communities also saw gains in per capita income of close to 50%. Although Morganton saw the most increase in poverty, it had the highest per capita income of any of the communities. This discrepancy must represent great disparities in income between citizens. The per capita income in 2000 for Spartanburg and Albemarle was almost identical even though Albemarle had a lower income level in 1990.

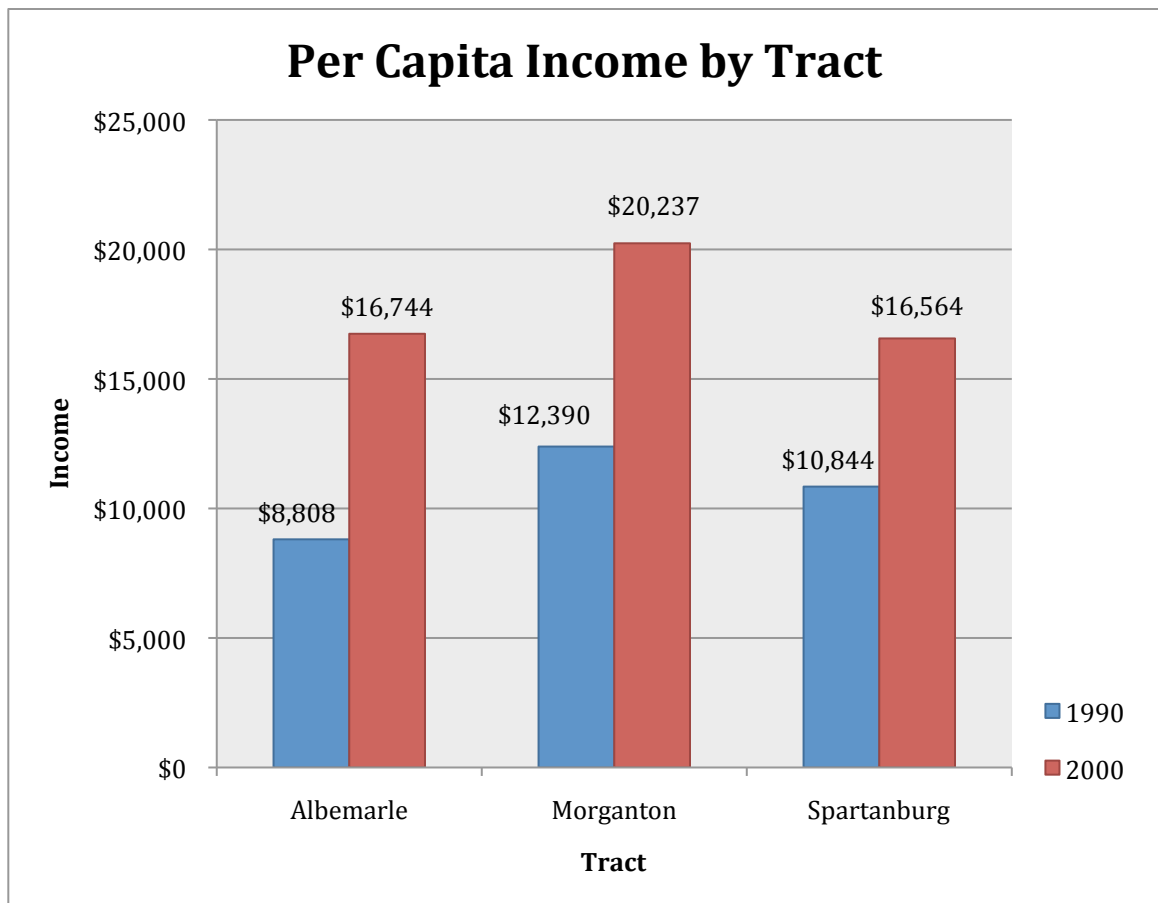


Figure 37. Per Capita Income by Tract

Comparisons Within Communities

These overall emerging patterns for the three communities represent the community devastation that occurred as the textile manufacturing industry moved away from the American South. The same indicator framework can also be used to understand patterns occurring within each individual community by comparing the geographic areas closest to the mill building with the larger city and county.

Albemarle

Between the years of 1990 and 2000, Stanly County, the city of Albemarle and both the tract and block group in which Lillian Mill is located experienced population growth. In the goal of economic viability, all geographies measured saw a decline between 1990 and 2000. Manufacturing went from employing 1239 workers in the tract to employing 802 in 2000, a decrease of 35.3%. Workers began traveling farther to work and the number of residents employed in the county decreased. In the area closest to Lillian Knitting Mill, population grew 21.7%, but travel time to work increased by 45.8%. While 89.1% of residents in this area were worked in Stanly County in 1990, by 2000, only 82.3%, with 17.7% traveling to other North Carolina counties to work.

The data shows that, overall, the Albemarle area is fairly stable in terms of migration of residents, property values, and vacancy. Residential property values increased significantly in the ten year period from 1990 to 2000 and experienced particular gains in the block group where the mill building is located, increasing from a median value of \$25,000 to \$93,300. More than half of the residents of all geographies

measured lived in the same house five years prior to both the 1990 and 2000 censuses. However, the block group experienced more of a change in this area of measure than the other geographies, declining from 59.8% of residents living in the same home in 1990 as they did in 1985 to 51.5% maintaining the same residence from 1995 to 2000. Crime rates in Albemarle between 1995 and 2008 remained fairly stable in the areas of robbery, arson, motor vehicle theft and aggravated assault. Property crimes showed a fair increase, especially in recent years, while murder and burglary experienced somewhat of a decrease.

Currently, Stanly County has 13 listings in the National Register of Historic Places, with 5 of those being historic districts. Seven of those total listings are located in Albemarle, including four of the five historic districts. Two of those districts were listed after the Lillian Mill had been purchased for redevelopment and another was expanded. The number of houses built before 1940 declined in the period between the decennial census, especially in the Census Tract surrounding the mill, which lost 57.5% of its pre-1940 housing stock and saw a nine year jump in the median year of construction.

Educational attainment made significant gains between 1990 and 2000 in all geographies, with decreases in the percentage of population who had not attended high school and increases in high school, college and graduate degrees. In the Lillian Mills block group, the percentage of the population 25 years and over whose highest level of education was less than ninth grade dropped from 26% in 1990 to only 5% in 2000. Those with high school diplomas increased from 22.2% in this area to 35.1%. In the

larger tract, high school graduates went from representing 26.6% of the over 25 population in this area to comprising 39.1%.

Although both per capita and median household incomes saw increases between 1990 and 2000, those living below the poverty level increased during this time, especially in the block group in which the mill is located where a 36% rise occurred. Interestingly, this area also saw the most drastic change in median household income, with an 89% increase from \$12,708 in 1990 to \$24,000 in 2000. The median income in this area in 1990 was significantly less than in the other geographies, however, which accounts for the large increase.

Although the Albemarle area saw gains in population as well as improvements in educational attainment during the ten year period between 1990 and 2000, it was also marked with increased poverty, more travel time to work and less employees both living and working in the county. While neighborhoods remained fairly stable, there did not seem to be a high value placed on heritage by the community.

Morganton

As in Albemarle, all geographies measured in the Albemarle area experience population growth between 1990 and 2000, the most significant of which occurred in the block group where the Premiere Mill building is located. In terms of economic viability however, this period was marked by decline. Employment by the manufacturing sector declined by 31.6% in the Premier block group between 1990 and 2000. Residents of the Premier Mills census tract spent 66.6% more time getting to work in 2000 than they had

in 1990 and 19% of workers were traveling to another county to work as compared to 9.4% in 1990.

Despite this decline, the community remained fairly stable from 1990 to 2000. Overall, residential property values increased. However this increase was not as marked in the area closest to the mill, which experienced a 55% increase in the tract and a 42.8% increase in the block group as compared to the 64.5% increase enjoyed by both Burke County and the city of Morganton. General stability was also maintained in terms of migration, with improvements occurring in tract of the mill building. The block group however, dropped from 56.8% of residents living in the same home from 1985 to 1990 to 49.6% maintaining their residence from 1995 to 2000. Occupancy levels were also maintained in the area during this time with all geographies reporting over 90% housing occupancy by 2000. Rates of crime for the majority of categories saw little change from 1995 to 2008. However, a decline in both larceny and property crimes did occur overall.

There are 38 National Register listings in Burke County, with 35 of those located in Morganton. Only 2 of these 38 listings were added after 2000, with the majority of the listings occurring in the 1980s. Although most of the geographies saw little to no change in the percentage of pre-1940s housing structures, the block group saw a 46.7% decrease in this area, a drastic change as compared to the 0.7% decrease in Morganton as a whole. Despite this change, the median year of construction saw only a minor increase overall.

Although the gains in terms of educational attainment were not drastic, overall, Morganton did improve in this area from 1990 to 2000. Those with Bachelor's degrees increased from 12.1% of the over 25 population in 1990 to 13.5% in 2000. Those with

high school diplomas also increased from 22% in 1990 to 24.5% in 2000. In the Premiere Mills tract, the percentage with only high school diplomas dropped, but those with Bachelor's degrees grew from 9.8% in 1990 to 12.6% in 2000. The block group also saw an increase in residents with Bachelor's degrees, a shift from 9.72% in 1990 to 14.4% in 2000.

In the area as a whole median and per capita incomes saw increases in the 1990 to 2000 period. However, the block group experienced very slight changes in this area, with median household income increasing by only 0.7% and per capita income by 4.5% as compared to much higher percentages in both the county and city. These income increases, however, did not prevent poverty from rising, as all geographies saw growth in the number of people living below the poverty level. The block group went from having only 16 people living below the poverty level in 1990 to 355 in 2000, a number that multiplied over 20 times in the 10 year period.

The Morganton community experienced decline in almost all of the indicator goals during the period for which data was collected. The community did see slight gains in terms of education, as well as increases in property values and income levels. The poverty level continued to rise, however, and people began traveling longer distances and out of the county to find employment. Based on the number of listings in the National Register of Historic Places and their relatively early listing date, however, the community does seem to associate a fairly high value with heritage. This may have contributed to the early redevelopment of the Premiere Hosiery Mill with relation to the enactment of the Mills Bill and in comparison to the other two case study projects used in this study.

Spartanburg

While Spartanburg County experienced a relatively significant gain in population between 1990 and 2000, the other geographies saw insignificant population growth during this time, with the block group surrounding the mill actually declining in population by 5.5%. The percentage of workers employed by the manufacturing sector, declined on all levels. The time that workers spent traveling to work increased as much as 41.2% in the block group and 4.3% of workers even traveled out of the state to work. In general, however, the area maintained around 90% of workers both living and working in the county for all geographies.

Community stability maintained fairly well in terms of migration. The percentage of people living in the Arcadia mill block group who had lived in the same home in 1995 as they did in 2000 even increased to 60.8 % from the previous census number of 53.1%. Property values also increased, with the most drastic increase of 157.65% occurring in the block group. This increase to \$72,000 still did not, however, bring it to the median value in the county of \$91,100, which saw a 69.3% increase from 1990 values. Crime rates remained fairly steady from 1995 to 2008, with both larceny and property crimes decreasing slightly by 2008.

There are 61 National Register of Historic Places listings located in Spartanburg County, and 17 of these listings are located in Spartanburg. The earliest of these listings was placed on the Register in 1969. However, listings have continued into the twenty-first century, with 19 being listed in 2000 or after. The median year of housing built

increased slightly in the period between 1990 and 2000, but the increase was less pronounced in the mill block group in which it only changed by one year. Between 1990 and 2000, the county lost 12.3% of the homes built before 1940, while the Arcadia block group maintained the same number as it had in 1990.

The county as a whole improved its levels of education attainment between 1990 and 2000. While 16.39% of the population over 25 years of age had less than ninth grade educations in 1990, by 2000, this number had improved to 9.78%. High school graduates now made up 30.9% of the over 25 population, an improvement over the 28.1% in 1990, while those with Bachelor's degrees represented 11.7% as opposed to 9.6% in 1990. Improvements were also made in the mill tract and block group. 8.99% of the population in the tract and 16.38% in the block group had earned a Bachelor's degree in 2000, improving their 5.5% and 1.64% 1990 rates, respectively.

Per capita and median incomes improved in the Spartanburg geography overall, with drastic improvements occurring in the block group. In this area, the per capita income increased from \$8,522 in 1990 to \$19,801 in 2000, a 132.4% increase. The increases that occurred in both per capita and median incomes placed the block group in line with the incomes found in the other geographies. Those living below the poverty level in the county increased by 16.7% from 1990 to 2000. However, in both the block group and the census tract, the number of people living in poverty decreased, by 14% in the tract and 60.7% in the block group.

Although Spartanburg's manufacturing sector declined between 1990 and 2000 and people were forced to spend more time getting to work, the community maintained

well and even saw improvements in some areas. Heritage seems to be an important factor in the community, based on the number of National Register listings and their continued addition over the past decade. Median and per capita incomes have improved, and although the poverty level has increased in the county as a whole, the area closest to the mill has actually seen an improvement in this area.

Projections

Although individual conditions in each of the case study communities varied, the general climate in terms of economic and quality of life conditions by 2000 was one of decline from 1990. Each community had been supported heavily by textile manufacture in the past, and as it declined so did the community. Historic building stock was being lost, poverty levels were increasing and people were traveling farther from home to find employment. As these factors became more apparent, individuals in each community became concerned about how to combat them. In each community, the solution was to redevelop the abandoned historic textile mill building to stimulate renewal in the area by capitalizing on heritage and historic fabric, and the initial impacts appear promising.

Using the more current data available for Spartanburg from the American community survey, projections about the effects of rehabilitation on the community could be made. By 2008, the manufacturing sector had experienced further decline, employing only 20% of the population as opposed to the 25% employed in manufacturing in 2000. Although this shows a decrease for Spartanburg, the manufacturing sector still represented a disproportionate amount of employment when compared to the value for

the state or the nation. In 2008, only 15% of South Carolinians and 11% of Americans were employed by the manufacturing industry. This suggests that Spartanburg is still in the midst of deindustrialization, despite the decline it had experienced earlier.

The community maintained its stability at a fairly strong level. In 2008, 78% of people were living in the same residence as they had occupied one year earlier. Because the decennial census measures this indicator for 5 years prior to the recording, it is difficult to compare the American Community Survey and decennial data for this particular indicator. However, this relatively high percentage of people occupying the same residence indicates that the community is stable because it has a fairly low migration rate. The median value of owner-occupied residences also experienced increases from the 2000 data, rising from \$89,500 to \$105,400.

In 2008, pre-1940 homes represented 14% of housing units in Spartanburg, increasing from 12.4% in 2000. Homes built between 2005 and 2008 only represented 0.2% of the total housing units, showing that new housing construction is slowing.

Only 24% of Spartanburg residents over the age of 25 had less education than a high school diploma in 2008. This shows great improvement from 2000 when 32.5% of residents were dropouts. The number of people whose highest level of education was a high school diploma also increased, as did the number of people with Bachelor's degrees. In 2000, 26.3% of the population was high school graduates and 14.62% of residents held Bachelor's degrees. By 2008, high school graduates represented 28% of the population while college graduates made up 17% of residents. Graduate and professional degree holders increased slightly between 2000 and 2008, representing 9.3% instead of 8.47%.

Income levels also increased between 2000 and 2008. Median household income rose from \$28,735 in 2000 to \$32,235 in 2008, while per capita income increased from \$18,136 to \$21,269. Despite these gains, 25% of people were still in poverty, a slight increase from the 23% of people living below the poverty level in 2000.

The comparisons made between the 2008 and 2000 data for Spartanburg show that the community is still undergoing deindustrialization, as the manufacturing sector still represents a large percentage of total employment. However, the data also shows that the community is maintaining stability in terms of migration rates and property values. Another interesting observation is the apparent halt of new construction that occurred. Homes built before 1940 represent a slightly larger percentage of the total housing stock of Spartanburg, indicating that the community is placing more value on the historic built environment. Educational attainment rates continued to improve through the year 2008, with high school dropouts representing a lesser portion of the population and high school and college graduates representing a larger one. Despite the community's gains in these areas, a quarter of the population is living below the poverty level. Both median household income and per capita income increased, but the gains were not enough to combat poverty levels in the community.

From this analysis of the Spartanburg data, projections can be made about the climate of the other two case study communities. Because all three communities had such disproportionately large numbers of manufacturing workers in both 1990 and 2000, the deindustrialization process has stretched across a wider time period. The Spartanburg data indicates that this process was ongoing as of 2008. However, all of the data shows

that despite this deindustrialization, communities have been able to maintain stability in terms of migration rates and property values. Gains have also been made in terms of education, with the population becoming more likely to have at least a high school, if not a college, diploma. Poverty is still an issue in these communities. However, income levels are rising and the percentage of change between 2000 and 2008 is far less than that of 1990 to 2000. This hopefully indicates that poverty is being combated by the revitalization efforts in each community.

Community Impacts

Morganton



Figure 38. Morganton Trading Company before Rehabilitation, 1999



Figure 39. Morganton Trading Company After Rehabilitation, 2010

In Morganton, the city government was a champion for redevelopment of the former Premier Hosiery Mill and recentralized the community around the mill in a significant way: by relocating the city hall to the south wing of the building. Although this was not the original intention, City of Morganton Director of Development & Design Lee Anderson says that the choice was made to show that the city was not going to turn its back on this building. Now that the rehabilitation is complete, the mill draws people from around the city to the area to pay city taxes, attend public meetings and file building permits, among other activities. The building is also home to several small businesses, including a law office, an investment firm, a café and a hair salon, as well as 43 residential units, all but one of which is currently leased. According to a study by Preservation North Carolina, the project, whose rehabilitation costs totaled \$10,878,602, has stimulated over \$35 million of other investment in the area. The property is now valued at \$1,356,409.

Spartanburg



Figure 40. Arcadia Mill No. 2 Before Rehabilitation



Figure 41. Arcadia Mill No. 2 After Rehabilitation, 2010

The area of Spartanburg known as Arcadia was devastated when Mayfair Mills closed two plants in the area, located just yards from one another. Spartanburg has a strong textile heritage, and its residents have a keen interest in historic preservation. The Mayfair-Baily Mill was a prime location for redevelopment because of its proximity to the shopping hub on the western side of town. The 111 apartment units now located in the once abandoned mill are at almost full capacity and are helping to change the area for the better. The neighborhood, which was once regarded as run down, is now home to both students and professionals who are helping to change this perception. The building, which was valued at only \$280,000 in 2002, is now worth \$1,055,000. This investment in such an integral part of the neighborhood is helping to stimulate other investment in the area and bring new businesses as the west side grows.

Albemarle



Figure 42. Lillian Knitting Mill Before Rehabilitation



Figure 43. Lillian Knitting Mill After Rehabilitation, 2010

The Lillian Knitting Mill in Albemarle is located in the area of town known as Five Points, directly adjacent to the downtown center, and is the focus of this area. The mill's main tenant is a non-profit called Monarch that was able to consolidate offices from all over Stanly County into one main administrative office on the first floor of Lillian Mill. This allows Albemarle to continue providing jobs for its residents, hopefully reducing their travel times to work and the need to leave the county to find jobs. The building also offers several apartment units and smaller commercial spaces. Although the developers are still recruiting tenants for the smaller spaces, the project has already shown promise in contributing to the redevelopment of the area. The tax value of the building itself has risen from \$168,426 to \$4,540,000, and it is estimated the new investment in the area since the mill's redevelopment is over \$1 million. The rehabilitation expenditures for the project totaled \$5,589,047.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The textile industry was crucial to the development of Morganton, Albemarle and Spartanburg. Textile mill companies not only established physical communities but also created a sense of community in the villages surrounding the textile mill building. While the mill operation generated jobs for residents, the social, recreational and educational opportunities provided by mill companies for village residents sustained community life. By the last decades of the twentieth century, however, the American textile industry had declined and vacated these communities. A community indicators framework was used to gather data that helped create an understanding of how the resulting deindustrialization affected the well-being of textile mill towns. The results of the data analysis show that although some aspects of the community remained stable as the presence of textile manufacturing in these towns disappeared, many areas of the community declined. In recent years, each of these three communities has witnessed the rehabilitation of a vacant textile industrial complex. By retaining historic fabric and capitalizing on textile heritage, the rehabilitation of these abandoned textile mill buildings allows the textile industry to provide revitalization for the community in a new way. By all accounts, property values are rising, investment is growing and jobs are being provided.

The historic built environment contributes to the overall well-being of a community through the layers of value that it represents. Rehabilitation projects sustain

this value by safeguarding the historic character of a building while making it relevant to current needs and uses. Throughout the Carolina Piedmont, the textile industry has a fundamental place in the history and development of towns in the region. Textile mill buildings in these communities stood not only as signs of economic prosperity, but also represented a vibrant community life that accompanied the mill. As mill operations closed and mill buildings were left vacant and blighted, they began to instead symbolize decline and desperation. By sensitively rehabilitating vacant mill complexes for new uses, historic preservation allows these buildings to reclaim their place as icons of prosperity and progress. Although the buildings may have new uses, they allow communities to remember and value the important place that textile manufacturing had in the community's history. This process can help generate a positive community image by reversing the blight and decline caused by vacancy, which spurs improved quality of life and increased economic development.

Although ample data was available to measure the communities in the last decades of the twentieth century, data closest to the time that the mill building rehabilitations occurred was less readily available. This challenge made the study somewhat difficult in terms of making comparisons of the community before and after the textile mill rehabilitation. Instead, the researcher relied on property values, community investment and occupancy of the rehabilitated mills to make projections about the future impact of the rehabilitation on the community.

In using the indicator framework, the researcher found that some indicators were more helpful than others in terms of yielding evidence that showed how the textile mill closing and the subsequent vacant mill building affected communities. Crime rates and the number of listings on the National Register of Historic Places were two indicators that did not contribute to the overall picture of well-being in these communities. In hindsight, the researcher might have used the existence of a Main Street program, a local preservation group or new local historic districts instead to gauge heritage value, as all of these initiatives advocate for historic preservation as a means of spurring revitalization.

Future Research

This study provides several opportunities for future research endeavors. As the 2010 Census data becomes available, the same indicator framework used to measure community decline in the last decades of the 20th century could be used to investigate the well-being of the community after the rehabilitation occurred. Comparing this data with the statistics gathered from the 1990 and 2000 decennial Censuses would yield further information about the role of the textile mill building in the community. This process would also provide further understanding of the patterns occurring across the communities before and after the rehabilitation occurred.

The findings of this research could be useful to other small, former textile towns looking for ways to combat blight and decline caused by a vacant textile mill complex. The study provides scholarly information about the effects of abandonment on a community and how historic preservation can help to combat these effects, as well as

evidence of the decline through the case studies. By gathering the 2010 data, these case studies could be expanded to show the changes that have occurred in the communities since 2000, during which each experienced the rehabilitation of a major vacant textile complex.

A more qualitative study could also be conducted using the same selected case study towns to complement the quantitative research gathered through the indicators methodology. This study could investigate the role of the textile mill building in the community through interviews with residents and other community stakeholders.

Although there are certainly opportunities for further investigation of this topic, this thesis provides concrete evidence of the impacts that the decline of the Southern textile industry had on the communities that it once sustained. The case studies of three communities with rehabilitated textile mill complexes can help communities who are faced with the same circumstances generate ideas and plans to use the historic built environment as a catalyst for community change.

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APPENDIX A

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR REHABILITATION

1. A property shall be used for its historic purpose or be placed in a new use that requires minimal change to the defining characteristics of the building and its site and environment.
2. The historic character of a property shall be retained and preserved. The removal of historic materials or alteration of features and spaces that characterize a property shall be avoided.
3. Each property shall be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or architectural elements from other buildings, shall not be undertaken.
4. Most properties change over time; those changes that have acquired historic significance in their own right shall be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property shall be preserved.
6. Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature shall match the old in design, color, texture, and other visual qualities and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary, physical, or pictorial evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatments, such as sandblasting, that cause damage to historic materials shall not be used. The surface cleaning of structures, if appropriate, shall be undertaken using the gentlest means possible.
8. Significant archeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction shall not destroy historic materials that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible with the massing, size, scale, and architectural features to protect the historic integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction shall be undertaken in such a manner that if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

APPENDIX D

DATA SPREADSHEET FOR SPARTANBURG

	Spartanburg County			Spartanburg			Tract 219.01			Block Group 2		
	1990	2000	% change	1990	2000	% change	1990	2000	% change	1990	2000	% change
Population	226800	253,791	11.9	110002	111,486	1.3	4858	5,034	3.6	800	756	5.5
Place of Work												
In County	91259 (83.5%)	95496 (81.6%)		47469 (90.8%)	44601 (89%)		2285 (94.1%)	2196 (88.7%)		363 (100%)	389 (93%)	
Outside County	15749 (14.4%)	19388 (16.6%)		4024 (7.7%)	4646 (9.3%)		125 (3.2%)	179 (7.2%)		0 (0%)	11 (2.8%)	
In Other State	2222 (2%)	2212 (1.9%)		775 (1.5%)	832 (1.7%)		17 (0.7%)	102 (4.1%)		0 (0%)	18 (4.5%)	
Aggregate Travel Time to Work	1988460	2,581,230	29.8	868260	978,810	12.7	35788	48,240	34.8	4920	6,945	41.2
Number employed by manufacturing	39072	33,163	15.1	16114	12,710	21.1	964	728	24.5	134	116	13.4
Median Household Income	26941	37,579	39.5	26466	34,853	31.7	21117	37,453	77.4	16800	36,250	92.8
Per capita income	12218	18,738	53.4	12948	19,341	49.4	10844	16,564	52.7	8522	19,801	132.4
# Below poverty level	26053	30,394	16.7	14488	15,541	7.3	543	467	14	89	35	60.7
Residence 5 Years Prior												
Same House	123175 (58.2%)	133337 (56.3%)		54846 (53.5%)	55983 (53.7%)		2817 (61.6%)	2917 (62.3%)		395 (53.1%)	452 (60.8%)	
Same County	58200 (27.5%)	64136 (27.1%)		30439 (29.7%)	30409 (29.2%)		1462 (32%)	742 (15.9%)		288 (38.7%)	98 (13.2%)	
Same State	12346 (5.8%)	15837 (6.7%)		6028 (5.9%)	6070 (5.8%)		141 (3.1%)	291 (6.2%)		26 (3.5%)	79 (10.6%)	
Different State	16975 (8.0%)	20167 (8.5%)		10228 (10.2%)	9847 (9.4%)		134 (3.4%)	412 (8.8%)		35 (4.7%)	98 (13.2%)	
Abroad	871 (0.4%)	3334 (1.4%)		706 (0.7%)	1977 (1.9%)		0 (0%)	312 (6.7%)		0 (0%)	16 (2.2%)	
Units Occupancy Status												
Occupied	84503 (94%)	97735 (91.4%)		41755 (93.6%)	43852 (90.6%)		1943 (94%)	1989 (90.7%)		294 (93.9%)	312 (91.2%)	
Vacant	5424 (6%)	9251 (8.6%)		2868 (6.4%)	4528 (9.4%)		125 (6%)	203 (9.3%)		19 (6.1%)	30 (8.8%)	
Median Year Structure Built	1969	1975		1968	1972		1966	1974		1963	1964	
Number of Structures Built Before 1940	10227	8,972	12.27%	4618	3,719	19.47%	168	181	7.74%	59	60	1.69%
Median Year Householder Moved into Unit												
Renter		1994			1995			1994			1995	
Owner-Occupied		1998			1998			1998			1999	
Owner-Occupied		1990			1988			1988			1978	
Median Property Value	53,800	91,100	69.33%	57,800	89,500	54.84%	43,200	72,400	67.59%	28,100	72,400	157.65%
Educational Attainment												
Less than 9th Grade	20927	16,396	35.16	9,786	10,127	14.1%	642	655	305	154	117	20.38%
9th-11th Grade	30216	21,644	28.64	15,276	12,724	16.12%	2099	1,636	635	1,306	77	20.32%
High School graduates	41144	28,106	52.33	30,944	17,910	25.51%	19127	26,316	911	27,856	1059	21.60%
Some college, no degree	21410	14,626	30.676	18,176	11,216	15.98%	13101	18,026	511	15,626	512	22.47%
Associate Degree	8733	5,976	112.64	6,676	4,284	6.10%	4,645	6,396	176	5,386	201	6.45%
Bachelor's Degree	13991	9,566	198.03	11,736	9,121	12.99%	10,627	14,626	179	5,476	294	16.38%
Graduate or Professional	6912	4,726	168.82	6,336	4,823	6.87%	6,158	8,476	75	38	0	0.00%
Total:	146403	168820		70205	72691		3271			3270	574	