

Indicators of Success for Contentious Preservation Campaigns

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ABSTRACT

Title: Markers of Successful for Contentious Preservation Campaigns

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Success of contentious campaigns advocating for the preservation of a threatened building is characterized by six indicators: (1) leadership, (2) conductivity, (3) numinosity, (4) publicity, (5) legal acuity, and (6) capital. This thesis identifies and defines the indicators through three case studies [Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle] and examines their future role in an evolving presimosphere. These six indicators can be used as a checklist, rubric, or quantitative estimator, thus offering campaign leaders additional information to aid in the development of their strategies and communication plans.

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INTRODUCTION

Advocacy is an integral part of the presimosphere in New York City. Since the Landmarks Law was enacted in 1965 over 31,000 buildings have been designated.¹ This success is largely due to the work of preservation advocates.² While literature is abundant on the formal process of designation there are no guides for preservation efforts that face opposition from industries such as the real estate industry.³ With City Council on the verge of passing a seventy-eight block up-zoning in Midtown many preservation efforts underway in the area will likely turn into contentious preservation campaigns.⁴ By examining three case studies, Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle, I identified six indicators that forecast the likelihood of success, or failure, of contentious preservation campaigns that arise as a response to buildings threatened by development.⁵ Those indicators are: (1) leadership, (2) conductivity, (3) numinosity, (4) publicity, (5) legal acuity, and (6) capital.

The indicators are a checklist and quantitative estimator that can be used to determine the likelihood of success of these types of campaigns. This information offers campaign leaders additional information to aid in the development of their campaign strategies. This thesis defines the six indicators, examines their importance through the campaigns to save Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle, and concludes with a comparative analysis of the case studies.

¹ Landmark Preservation Commission. *Commission Approves the Expansion of Bedford-Stuyvesant/Stuyvesant Heights Historic District*. New York: NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, April 16, 2013.

² **ad·vo·ca·cy** *noun* | the act of pleading for, supporting, or recommending; active espousal.

The website for the Landmark Preservation Commission says, “The LPC receives a steady stream of suggestions for designation from interested citizens, property owners, community

groups, public officials, and others.” That “steady stream of suggestions” is a form of advocacy. Furthermore, when the LPC designates any building, by supporting its designation, it is advocating for preservation.

³ There are four resources that have been published that begin to address strategy for preservation advocacy, though none focus on contentious campaigns to save threatened buildings.

Climbing the Advocacy Tree by Mark Caserta is a basic guide concerning park advocacy published by New Yorkers For Parks [NY4P]. It spells out the basics of New York City government, how to define what you want and need, how to contact your local officials, and how to use publicity to instigate change. It is a thorough “watch-dog” advocacy guide on how to protect the city’s parks but does not address preservation campaigns (Caserta 2006).

When Historic Properties are Threatened by J. Randall Cotton is a general list of “points to consider,” when an advocate is considering designation. Cotton summarized the seven considerations as: (1) Know the facts, (2) Set Goals, (3) Realistically Set Challenges, (4) Create Alliances, (5) Engage in Direct Negotiations, (6) Gather Public Support, (7) Be Creative and Be Prepared to Be Flexible (Cotton 2012).

Creating an Historic District, published by the Historic Districts Council, is a practical guide to the Landmarks Law and the process of designation. The guide counsels neighborhood leaders on the realities of the legal and political process. This is a useful “how-to” guide for Historic District designation but does not address advocacy campaign issues for Landmarked buildings threatened by development (Historic Districts Council 2006).

The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action by Anne Ashby Gilbert chronicles the fight for City and Suburban Homes. As an appendix, Gilbert includes “Ten Elements for Effective Community Action” that are derived from the campaign to save City & Suburban Homes. Though the elements come across as lacking in-depth consideration, I realized there was something there that could be explored further. This began my investigation into what makes preservation campaigns successful.

The following is a sampling of major online resources for preservation advocates. While many provide guidance on designation, none provide a guide on how preservation advocates can win contentious campaigns.

National Preservation Organizations: the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, National Trust for Historic Preservation, National Alliance of Preservation Commissions, National Park Service Heritage Preservation Services, National Conference of State Historic Preservation, Preservation Action, National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, The National Preservation Institute;

New York State Preservation Organizations: the Preservation League of New York State, the State Historic Preservation Office, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, American Institute of Architects New York Chapter, Historic Landmarks

Preservation Center, DOCOMOMO New York – Tri State, Real Estate Board of New York; and

Local Preservation Organizations: the Historic District Council, the Historic House Trust of New York City, Abyssinian Development Corporation, Bronx Historical Society, Brooklyn Historical Society, Central Park Conservancy, Friends of the Upper East Side Historic Districts, Neighborhood Preservation Center, Historic Richmond Town, Landmark West!, Gotham Center, Municipal Art Society NYC, Landmark Society of Western New York, Historic Hudson Valley.

⁴ In response to Mayor Bloomberg’s plan for up-zoning the area between 39th and 57th Streets and Fifth and Third Avenues, the Historic District Council, the New York Landmarks Conservancy, and the Municipal Art Society conducted individual studies of the area and recommended forty-nine buildings in total to the Landmark Preservation Commission for designation(Historic Districts Council 2013) (Municipal Art Society 2012) (The New York Landmarks Conservancy 2012). The LPC conducted its own research and determined thirty-one buildings eligible for designation as New York City individual landmarks (New York City 2013). The likelihood for contentious preservation campaigns is high because under the proposed up-zoning the majority of these buildings are underbuilt (Historic Districts Council 2013). This one example of an emerging contentious preservation issue.

⁵ Grand Central Terminal, located at East 42nd Street and Park Avenue in Manhattan, was designed by Reed & Stem and Warren & Wetmore. Construction started in 1903 and the terminal was opened in 1913. It is a New York City Landmark, National Historic Landmark, and listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

City and Suburban York Avenue Estate was designed by James E. Ware, James E. Ware & Sons, and Philip H. Ohm and built between 1901 and 1913. It is bound by East 78th and 79th Streets and York Avenue and Franklin D. Roosevelt East River Drive.

2 Columbus Circle was originally designed by Edward Durrell Stone in 1964. It is located in Midtown Manhattan and underwent a major renovation that started in 2005 and significantly altered its facade.

THE POLITICS OF PRESERVATION

The politics of preservation must be understood in order to successfully advocate for the preservation of threatened buildings.¹ To better understand the political relationships a rudimentary understanding of the Landmarks Law and the Landmark Preservation Commission [LPC] is in order.

The New York City Landmarks Law “was enacted to protect historic landmarks and neighborhoods from precipitate decisions to destroy or fundamentally alter their character [and] the Landmarks Preservation Commission may designate a building to be a ‘landmark’ on a particular ‘landmark site’ or may designate an area to be a ‘historic district’.”² The establishment of the Landmarks Law provided an arena for public participation and preservation advocacy within the formal preservation framework.³ Since the LPC was established in 1965, the institutional bodies governing the regulatory framework have experienced drastic changes; most notably the abolishment of the Board of Estimate [BOE].⁴ The BOE had final say concerning the approval, modification, or disapproval of designations suggested by the LPC.⁵ The BOE has been described by historians as corrupt with a propensity for backroom dealing.⁶ Civil rights and liberties lawyer Richard D. Emery expressly conveyed the extent of this corruption:

Of all the relics in city government, the board [Board of Estimate] and its name conjure an era when county party machines delivered patronage and corruption through the county leaders’ control of the borough presidents’ votes on the board.⁷

Until the BOE was declared unconstitutional in 1989 it experienced power that rivaled that of the mayor.⁸ Abolishing the BOE was a step, in part, towards creating a more transparent landmarking process. Today, LPC designations must be reviewed by the City Planning Commission and subsequently reviewed by the City Council. The City Council can

approve, modify, or disapprove the designation. The mayor has final veto power which can be overturned by the City Council by a two-thirds vote.⁹

New York City mayoral candidates win office largely by garnering support from labor unions and capitalizing on campaign contributions from lobbyist groups.^{10 11 12 13} After being elected to office the mayor is responsible for appointing the LPC Commissioners, and therein lays an exploitable flaw. As recently as February of this year, the largest property service workers union in the country [SEIU 32BJ] teamed with the Real Estate Board of New York [REBNY] to host a joint meeting to screen NYC mayoral candidates for the upcoming election. The topics covered in the screening included zoning policy and reform of the Landmarks Law.¹⁴ Mayoral candidates that will eventually be responsible for appointing the LPC commissioners are being screened by lobbyist groups that have historically opposed the Landmarks Law.¹⁵

This flaw in the legal framework makes the politics of preservation very complicated. Successful preservation campaigns are led by advocacy organizations that understand the intricacies of the politics involved and more importantly, can use the imperfect system to their advantage.¹⁶

¹ Anthony Wood, author of *Preserving New York: Winning the Right to Protect a City's Landmarks*, succinctly articulates this point: "...if you don't understand the politics it doesn't matter how good all the research is, you'll never get the building saved" (A. C. Wood 2007).

² *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City*. 438 U.S. 104 (US Supreme Court, June 26, 1978).

³ The public process includes Certificate of Appropriateness hearings, hearings concerning landmark designation, and Requests for Evaluations of potential landmark, to name three examples.

⁴ Greenhouse, Linda. "Justices Void New York City's Government; Demand Voter Equality in All Boroughs." *New York Times*, March 23, 1989.

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- ⁵ Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City. 1978.
- ⁶ Jackson, Kenneth T. *The encyclopedia of New York City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- ⁷ Roberts, Sam. "Years After It was Abolished, a City Board Lives On." *The New York Times*, August 20 2012.
- ⁸ Jackson, Kenneth T. *The encyclopedia of New York City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- ⁹ Landmark Preservation Commission. *Frequently Asked Questions About the Designation Process*. n.d. http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/html/faqs/faq_designation.shtml (accessed May 7, 2013).
- ¹⁰ Purnick, Joyce. "Metro Matters; No Doubt: Money Wins Elections." *New York Times*, November 7, 2001.
- ¹¹ Powell, Nick. *Next New York City Mayor To Face Challenge of Expired Union Contracts*. New York, April 14, 2013.
- ¹² Salam, Reihan. *Can our mayoral candidates tackle the most urgent city issues?* New York, April 15, 2013.
- ¹³ Dholakia, Nazish. *Crain's New York Business*. January 18, 2013.
- ¹⁴ SEIU 32BJ/REBNY. *Topical Areas to be Covered in Joint SEIU 32BJ/REBNY Meetings*. New York City: Capital New York, 2013. 3.
- ¹⁵ Ennis, Thomas. "Landmarks Bill Signed By Mayor." *New York Times*, April 20, 1965.
- ¹⁶ Statutory advocacy focuses on ways to improve this process while interest-group advocacy works within this process. Most preservation efforts initiate as an interest-group advocacy campaign. The "flaw" in the Landmarks Law can be looked at as an opportunity—an opportunity that is being taken advantage of by the Real Estate Board of New York [REBNY] but not preservationists.

Between 2004 and 2012 REBNY has made political contributions that total over \$1.9 million (National Institute on Money in State Politics 2013) . Recently, REBNY made contributions to borough president's races: \$3,850 to former Councilwoman Melinda Katz, \$2,000 to former Queens Deputy Borough President Barry Grodenchik, \$3,850 to Queens Councilman Peter Vallone Jr., \$3,850 to Manhattan borough president candidate Jessica Lappin (also a member of the City Council), and \$1,000 to Eric Adams. In 2011 and 2012, the group gave \$2,750 to Councilman James Vacca (National Institute on Money in State Politics 2013).

DEFINITIONS

pre•simo•sphere *noun* | the constantly changing, multi-faceted system of individuals, industries, and organizations governed by the Landmarks Law based on Zeitgeist perceptions of preservation and the built environment. From the Latin presignio “make famous” + Latin immolita “erected” + Latin sphæra “globe” <replacing Greek spaîra, “ball.”

The presimosphere is comprised of many different parts. In broadest terms it includes the fields, disciplines, and industries that relate to the built environment. Also included within the presimosphere is a network of consulting firms, academic institutions, alumni, conservationists, museums, special interest groups, homeowners, renters, and civic organizations.¹ New York City’s Landmarks Law governs the presimosphere and establishes the formal and informal relationships between the different entities within it.²

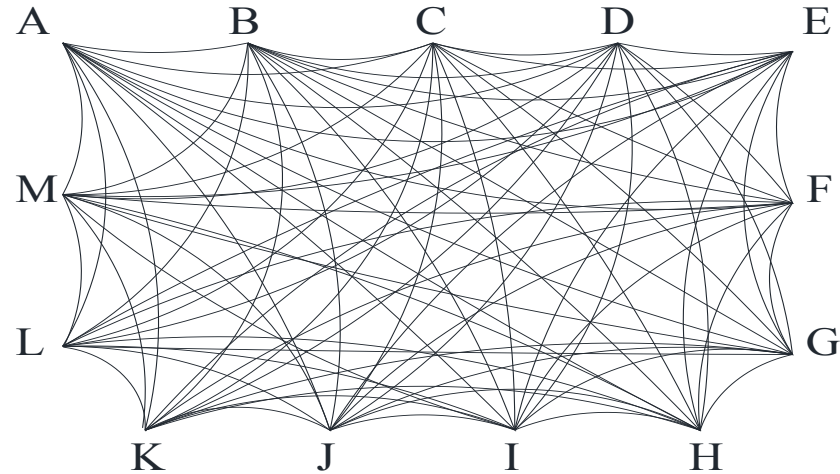
The graphic on the following page gives an example of the presimosphere’s complexity. Each letter represents a component of the presimosphere and the lines between the letters represent the existence of a relationship. For example, if

$A = \text{NYC Landmarks Law}$ and $F = \text{Urban Planning}$ then

$\overline{AF} \approx \text{Historic District Overlays}$. The corresponding \overline{AF} defines some aspect of the relationship between “Urban Planning” and the “NYC Landmarks Law.” The example graphic shown on the following page is a quick way to explore and grasp these relationship. It is but one interpretation of the presimosphere.³

THE PRESIMOSPHERE

- A NYC Landmarks Law
- B Landmark Preservation Commission
- C Preservation
- D Architecture
- E Development
- F Urban Planning
- G Mayor
- H City Council
- I "Unwashed Public"
- J Civic Organizations
- K Terra Cotta
- L Columbia University
- M Modern Architecture



NYC Landmarks Law + ...

- A B Aesthetic Regulatory Framework
- A C Albert S Bard
- A D Certificate of Appropriateness
- A E Certificate of Appropriateness
- A F Historic District Overlays
- A G Robert F. Wagner, Jr
- A H Designation Process
- A I Ellis Island
- A J CECPP
- A K Bayard-Condict Building
- A L A6795: Law for Preservationists
- A M > 30 years old

LPC + ...

- B C Part and Parcel
- B D 3 Architects
- B E NIMBY
- B F 1 City Planner
- B G Serve at the pleasure of...
- B H Designation Process
- B I "Snobs"
- B J CCECP
- B K Bayard-Condict Building
- B L ---
- B M 2 Columbus Circle

Preservation + ...

- C D Landmarks
- C E Historic Rehab Incentive
- C F Carol Clark
- C G Botox / Gracie Masion
- C H Landmarks Law
- C I Public Hearings for Designation
- C J LW!
- C K Friends of Terra Cotta
- C L Masters of Historic Preservation
- C M Design trumps mat'l conservation

Architecture + ...

- D E Built Environment
- D F Seagrams Building
- D G Gracie Mansion
- D H 250 Broadway
- D I Penn Station
- D J AIA NY Chapter
- D K Bayard-Condict Building
- D L Master of Architecture / McKim, Mead, and White
- D M Brutalist Brutalism

Development + ...

- E F Department of Buildings / New Urbanism
- E G Job Creation Platform
- E H Community
- E I NIMBY
- E J REBNY
- E K 1860
- E L Master of Real Estate Development
- E M 1920's

Urban Planning + ...

- F G Smoke-Free Parks and Beaches
- F H MTA
- F I Central Park
- F J NY Metro Chapter American Planning Association
- F K Bethesda Terrace - Minton Tile Ceiling
- F L Master of Urban Planning
- F M Seagram Building

Mayor + ...

- G H Checks and Balances
- G I Campaign Promises
- G J NYC Civic Corps
- G K ---
- G L ---
- G M ---

City Council + ...

- H I Campaigns
- H J Community Development Committee
- H K LL11
- H L ---
- H M Development

"Unwashed Public" + ...

- I J Neighborhood Associations
- I K "What do you mean that's not stone?"
- I L College campus visits
- I M "you want to designate that?"

Civic Organizations + ...

- J K Friends of Terra Cotta
- J L HP Alumni Network
- J M DOCOMOMO

Terra Cotta + ...

- K L A6784: Stone, Brick, & Terra Cotta
- K M ---

Columbia University + Modern Architecture

- L M Theo Prudon

ad•vo•ca•cy *noun* | the act of pleading for, supporting, or recommending; active espousal. From the Latin ad-vocare “to call” + voc- “voice.”

Within the presimosphere there are different forms of advocacy and each represents a different approach of bringing about change. For example, there is:

- (1) Interest-group advocacy that focuses on threatened buildings, specific materials, certain styles, and defined geographic locations;
- (2) Statutory advocacy that questions the way policy is administered, targets political systems, opens up space for public debate, and proposes legislative solutions; and
- (3) Media advocacy that uses mass media to advance an agenda or policy.

These are three common forms of advocacy used within the presimosphere to save buildings. The different forms of advocacy are not mutually exclusive and do not have neat boundaries. Often times, advocacy campaigns for the preservation of a threatened building turn to policy reform in order to achieve their initial goal.

lead•er•ship *noun* | the ability to lead, to go before or to show the way; to conduct by holding and guiding; to influence or induce; to guide in direction, course, action, opinion, etc. From Old English lead, related to līthan “to travel” and Old High German līdan “to go.”

Leadership is vital to the success of any preservation advocacy campaign. Advocates central to the preservation campaign should develop strategies as well as assemble and lead resources. Often times these “resources” are other advocates or advocacy groups that share the common goal. Within the presimosphere, leadership roles have increasingly been filled by grassroots organizations responding to threats to specific buildings.⁴ These grassroots organizations often begin outside the “systems of power.”⁵ Generally this means that they do not have an institutional structure, a means of doing business, or a network of people ready at

hand like that of an established organization.⁶ This is both a challenge and an opportunity for the leader of such a campaign. They do not have the resources of an established organization but they also are not bound by restraints or loyalties to the “systems of power.”

con•duc•tiv•i•ty *noun* | the property of transmitting heat, electricity, or sound. From Latin *conductus* “pipe channel.”

Heat, electricity, or sound — any would serve as an appropriate metaphor. During contested advocacy campaigns the degree of separation to a politician with power, and the degree to which you can shock them into action or bend their ear, has huge implications on the outcome of the campaign. Forging a lasting relationship with a politically powerful, inside champion, can help overcome opposition and successfully achieve the goals of the advocacy campaign.

nu•mi•nos•i•ty *noun* | arousing one's elevated feelings of duty, honor, loyalty, etc. From Latin *nūmen* “a nod, command, divine will or power, divinity”; related to *nūtāre* “to nod the head in command or assent.”

Especially when preservation campaigns are advocating for buildings that are unadorned, vernacular, misunderstood, or outright neglected it is rarely the preservationist that will need to be convinced of the buildings historical significance—it is the politician, developer, urban planner, and general public.⁷ The most successful means of convincing the politician or general public of a buildings importance is by aligning the preservation goals with an issue that is larger than preservation, an issue that is relevant to society. When campaigns do this they ignite a sense of duty and honor among people beyond the world of preservationists. Preservation advocacy campaigns that make arguments that encompass an idea wholly bigger than preservation is an indicator of success.

publicity *noun* | extensive mention in the news media or by word of mouth or other means of communication; public notice so gained. From Latin *pūblicus*, related to populous “people.”

Advocacy advertising and publicity raise awareness of preservation campaigns, increase visibility, demand recognition for threatened buildings, and encourage segments of the public to act on social or political issues in a manner that is consistent with the interests of those sponsoring the publicity.⁸ Publicity is a channel through which a campaign has the opportunity to manage the public’s perception and, as far as preservation is concerned, brings contested buildings into the spot light with the hopes of gaining public support.⁹ Traditional preservation publicity campaigns utilize flyers, posters, press releases, walking tours, in situ demonstrations, newspaper coverage, radio announcements, discussion panels, and postcard and email campaigns. Whether the publicity methods are traditional or outside the box, a high-profile campaign is an indicator of success.

legal acuity *noun* | sharpness; acuteness; keenness of or pertaining to law. From Latin *lēgālis* “of the law” + *acuitās*, “to sharpen.”

Some degree of legal redress is almost inevitable in contentious preservation campaigns.¹⁰ For this reason, it is essential to have retained the best and most knowledgeable legal team possible. Being able to quickly assemble this team is half the battle—knowing when and how to use it most effectively is the other half.

capital *noun* | the wealth, whether in money or property, owned or employed in business by an individual, firm, corporation, etc; an accumulated stock of such wealth. From Latin *capitāle* “wealth.”

Often preservation campaigns are a groundswell response to protect a building threatened by impending development. To win these campaigns preservation advocacy

groups must have money. Funds are used for publicity stunts, to pay staff, and hire attorneys. Developers have millions of dollars at their disposal and attempting to raise the money necessary to take them head on can be daunting to a grassroots preservation advocacy organization.

Having a solid fundraising base is fundamental.¹¹ Preservation campaigns can last years with campaign costs escalating accordingly.¹² A large constituency that can be tapped for fiscal support reduces the risk of exhausting financial resources. This is another reason why garnering support outside of the presimosphere is critical.¹³ In contentious campaigns, having filled coffers and an expansive donor base are indicators of success.

¹ Civic organizations within the presimosphere range from those that advocate for a specific material to those that use preservation as a means to an end. Organizations like Friends of Terra Cotta focus on a single material [Terra Cotta] while organizations like the 79th Street Block Association were “founded out of frustration over the lack of adequate bus service in their York Avenue neighborhood.” More recently, the 79th Street Block Association played a major role in the preservation campaign to save City & Suburban Homes.

² The formal and informal relationships between the different entities within the presimosphere are articulated in the “Politics of Preservation” Section.

³ A blank copy of the graphic is included in the appendix so that the reader can explore other relationships that exist within the presimosphere.

⁴ “One aspect of historic preservation has remained consistent throughout its relatively brief history: it is an intensely ‘grass-roots’ movement. More often than not, efforts to save a particular place are rooted at the local level and grow from there. Especially since the bicentennial year of 1976, the American public has developed deeper interest in the preservation of the country’s architectural heritage. Individuals and organizations have supported historic preservation activities for over a century, but in the last three decades interest on the part of the general public has increased markedly” (Tyler 2009).

⁵ The “system of power” refers to relationship hierarchies of established organizations and the accepted structure for doing business. While this frees many preservation advocacy organizations from institutional ties, it often means that there is little institutional memory on which to build. Advocates do not have a list of defenses to which they can refer. Instead, they are constantly forced to do trial-and-error advocacy with each campaign. This thesis alleviates that by identifying six important indicators for contentious campaigns which advocates can address directly.

⁶ W.K. Kellogg Foundation. "Racial Equality Tools." *Grassroots Leadership Development: A workbook for Aspiring or Current Grassroots Leaders*. <http://www.racialequalitytools.org/resourcefiles/kellogg.pdf> (accessed May 8, 2013).

⁷ The current public perceptions of modern architecture, Brutalism in particular, are an example of this issue. In an article concerning the Orange County Government Center in Goshen, N.Y., Mark Wigely, dean of Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation expressed that "preservation is not simply about saving the most beautiful things. It's about saving those objects that are an important part of our history and whose value is always going to be a subject of debate" (Pogrebin 2012). Because there will always be some level of subjectivity, it is important that preservationists are able to convince individuals and organizations that typically operate outside of the presimosphere of a buildings significance. If the case for architecture is too hard to make because the general public perceives a building to be ugly, preservationists need to look beyond style and architect in order to connect with the preservation laity on a deeper issue.

⁸ Weilbacher, William M. *Advertising*. New York: MacMillan, 1982.

⁹ Advocacy advertising also has the ability to downplay the opposition's arguments. S. Prakash Sethi, University Distinguished Professor of Management at the Zicklin School of Business, states, "...advocacy advertising, although a subset of corporate image advertising, is concerned with the propagation of ideas and elucidation of controversial issues of public importance. It does so in such a manner that supports the position and interests of the sponsor while expressly or implicitly downgrading the sponsor's opponents and deny the accuracy of their facts" (Sethi 1977).

¹⁰ When campaigns become contentious it generally means that some party has an issue with the Landmarks Law, because it is a law, legal redress is one way of addressing that issue.

¹¹ Garecht, Joe. *Political Fundraising 101* . 2012. <http://www.localvictory.com/fundraising/political-fundraising-101.html> (accessed May 8, 2013).

¹² The campaigns to save Grand Central Terminal and City & Suburban Homes York Avenue Estates lasted over a decade and the campaign to save 2 Columbus Circle lasted almost as long. The length of the campaign increases the financial burden on the organizations responsible for organizing and leading it.

¹³ "A growing and committed base of donors ensures unrestricted funds for operating budgets and is critical for fundraising success" (Metropolitan Group 2013).

CASE STUDIES

Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle were selected out of numerous preservation campaigns because each involves a contentious advocacy campaign.¹ In each case study, organizations fought to save a structure threatened by development. The campaigns were high-profile and well-documented making it possible to conduct the necessary research.

Advocacy campaigns to save structures from development are typical within the presimosphere. Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle offer insight into why some of these campaigns are successful and others are not. These case studies suggest that the indicators of success are the same for this kind of advocacy campaign, regardless of historical context.²

¹ “Contentious campaigns” are campaigns that are challenged by an established entity that opposes the designation of a structure and/or the validity of the Landmarks Law. Grand Central Terminal, City & Suburban Homes, and 2 Columbus Circle, all faced opposition by development oriented entities.

² While the indicators are the same for contentious advocacy campaigns they can manifest in different ways depending on things like who is leading the campaign and what technology available.

CASE STUDY 1: GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL

The advocacy campaign to save Grand Central Terminal was a nationally recognized preservation campaign spearheaded by the Municipal Arts Society of New York City.¹ The campaign ultimately resulted in the seminal 1978 Supreme Court ruling that put preservation in New York City on solid legal footing.²

Grand Central Terminal was designated a New York City Landmark on August 2, 1967.³ In 1968, Penn Central Transportation Company, owner of the site, proposed a development project for Grand Central Terminal that involved the construction of a skyscraper on top of the existing structure.⁴ Per the Landmarks Law, when a structure is designated a New York City Landmark it falls subject to the regulatory control of the city.⁵ The proposed development plan was rejected by the Landmarks Preservation Commission in the same year. In 1969, Penn Central Transportation Company submitted an alternative plan to the LPC that called for a similar skyscraper. The LPC reviewed the proposal and subsequently rejected it in 1969.⁶

Penn Central Transportation Company sued the city of New York citing that the city had affected a “takings” of property without just compensation and arbitrarily deprived them of their property without due process of law.⁷ In 1975, Grand Central’s Landmark status was overturned.⁸ This removed the major obstacle preventing Penn Central Transportation Company from moving forward with the proposed development project. The City of New York appealed and in 1978 the case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States.⁹ The court ruled that Landmark status did not affect a “takings” because (1) Penn Central Transportation Company could continue to use the Grand Central Terminal as a train station and (2) because Penn Central Transportation Company could transfer air rights for

financial gain. The court also established the constitutionality of the Landmarks Law pursuant to the “police powers.”¹⁰

¹ New York Preservation Archive Project. *Grand Central Terminal*. n.d. <http://www.nypap.org/content/grand-central-terminal> (accessed May 6, 2013).

² Shnakenberg, David. "Speech: New York City's Landmarks Law." New York: Widener Law Review, July 7, 2007.

³ Landmarks Preservation Commission. "Grand Central Terminal." Neighborhood Preservation Center. August 2, 1967. http://www.neighborhoodpreservationcenter.org/db/bb_files/GRAND-CENTRAL.pdf (accessed February 12, 2013).

⁴ PAUL GOLDBERGER. "City's Naming of Grand Central as a Landmark Voided by Court." *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Jan 22, 1975, <http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/120537879?accountid=10226> (accessed April 30, 2013).

⁵ "N.Y. NYC. LAW § 3020 : NY Code - Section 3020: Landmarks preservation commission." 1965.

⁶ Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City. 438 U.S. 104 (Supreme Court of the United States, June 26, 1978).

⁷ Belle, John, and Maxinne Rhea Leighton. *Grand Central: Gateway to a Million Lives*. New York, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

⁸ The Municipal Art Society of New York. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Medal. <http://mas.org/awards/jkcomedal/> (accessed February 14, 2013).

⁹ Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City. 438 U.S. 104 (Supreme Court of the United States, June 26, 1978).

¹⁰ Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City. 1978.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

The period leading up to the passage of the Landmarks Law was the nadir in New York City's history. The post World War II economic boom began to stagnate by the late 1960's and New York City's economy was hit particularly hard.¹ Trading on the New York Stock Exchange fell while the city's welfare spending continued to grow.² The city was on the verge of bankruptcy and gaining notoriety for high crime rates, social disorders, and political corruption.³ Corruption that was rampant within city politics and those who had major political influences on the development of the urban fabric over the previous decades, like Robert Moses, began to be stripped of power.⁴ It was within this social, economic, environmental, and political environment that the campaign to save Grand Central Terminal took place. The success of the campaign to save Grand Central Station can be delineated by the six markers.

¹ Postrel, Virginia. "The Consequences of the 1960's Race Riots Come Into View." *New York Times*, December 30, 2004.

² Wagner, Robert F. *Power Failure : New York City Politics and Policy since 1960: New York City Politics and Policy since 1960*. New York: Oxford Press, 1993.

³ Stern, Robert A.M. *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997.

⁴ In 1961, the *New York Times* described Robert Wagner during the mayoral primaries as, "staggering through a winter of corruption affecting the schools, the police, and slum clearance" (Cooke 1961). The accusations of corruption persisted during his administration. The NY State Commission of Investigation performed numerous inquiries and regular reports cited numerous "instances of corruption" (Weaver 1978). "Evidence of inefficiency, waste of resources, sloth, indifference, malfeasance, laxity in ethics and even corruption has been developed beyond plausible challenge by the State Commission of Investigation, and concurred to some degree by findings of the city's Commissioner of Investigation" (*New York's School Scandal* 1961). In 1970's the Knapp Commission, the Commission to Investigate Alleged Police Corruption, declared that police corruption in the city was "widespread" and "standardized" (*Inquiry Into Corruption in City Proves History Often Repeats* 1972).

LEADERSHIP

Kent Barwick served as executive director of the Municipal Arts Society from 1970 to 1975 and led the Society's campaign to save Grand Central Terminal.¹ Through the use of publicity campaigns and legal measures MAS played a pivotal role in securing the fate of Grand Central Terminal.² They launched a publicity campaign with Jacqueline Onassis as the figure head which generated nationwide support to save Grand Central Terminal from demolition.³ Interviews with well-known preservation advocates, architects, and city officials describe qualities that made Barwick such an effective leader during the campaign to save Grand Central Terminal.

David M. Childs of Skidmore Owings Merrill LLP describes Barwick:

The thing that's remarkable about Kent is his ability to gather all sorts of people. From the mayor to the governor to the citizen... it is that embracing quality that he has with good spirit and energy and passionate love that he has for these matters that have been able to make him so successful in carrying these crusades.⁴

Laurie Beckleman, President of Beckleman & Capalino, Chair of New York City's Landmarks Preservation Commission from 1990 to 1994, Deputy Director of Special Projects for the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Vice President of LaSalle Partners, where she managed the plan for the redevelopment of Grand Central Terminal distinguishes Barwick as "one of the most remarkable people who [...] gets his point across of how important public life is and saving the public realm is in NYC."⁵

Fred Papert, President of 42nd Street Development Corp, Conservancy Board Member, and one of New York City's top preservation strategists expounds on why Kent was such an effective leader:

He is a terrific, funny, smart, active, relentless fellow when he wants to be. Kent convinced some of the owners of the buildings on 42nd street to let us sit in their balconies with lights to light the front of the GCT. He could advance causes in imaginative unexpected ways that the public really understood.⁶

Adele Chatfield-Taylor, President American Academy in Rome explains why she thinks Barwick was so successful at advocacy campaigns, “He can seduce — women like him, men like him, the mayor usually likes him.”⁷ Concerning Grand Central Terminal, Chatfield-Taylor continues, “It took so much persistence to rescue it [Grand Central Terminal] and then bring it back to life. Kent was there every step of the way and often leading the charge.”⁸

Former Mayor Edward Koch, “When I became mayor I appointed him to be the chairman of the landmarks committee. When I think of Kent I think of someone who understands the need to preserve the old without destroying the new or preventing the new.”⁹

¹ Lawrence, Vangelderl. "Head of Municipal Art Society Announces His Resignation." *New York Times* (1923-Current File), Jul 07, 1995, <http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/109517928?accountid=10226> (accessed April 30, 2013).

² *New York Times*. "Celebrities Ride the Rails to Save Grand Central." April 17, 1978: D9.

³ *Celebrities Ride the Rails to Save Grand Central*. 1978.

⁴ *Municipal Art Society. Kent Barwick*. New York, 2008, Video.

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ *Ibid*

CONDUCTIVITY

During the campaign, MAS garnered the support of many attorneys with impressive civic, political, and judicial credentials. Those attorneys lent their names and experience to the campaign in the form of Amicus Curiae. Some of those names included former Mayor Wagner; former President of the American Bar Association, Whitney Seymour; and former State Supreme Court Justice and counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, Samuel I. Rosenman.¹ Even with the support of such heavy-weight politicians and attorneys Grand Central Terminal's Landmark status was overturned during the State Supreme Court Trial.² The City was responsible for deciding whether or not to appeal Judge Saypol's decision. Jacqueline Kennedy-Onassis is credited with convincing the then Mayor, Abraham D. Beame, to appeal the court's decision.³ Since Beame's election in the previous year, he had been bogged down in New York City's cataclysmic debt. The pressure of MAS and Kennedy-Onassis to appeal the State Supreme Court's decision was yet another difficult issue that he needed to resolve.⁴ In a hand written letter, Kennedy-Onassis wrote:

Dear Mayor Beame,

I write to you about Grand Central Station, with the prayer that you will see fit to have the City of New York appeal Judge Saypol's decision.

Is it not cruel to let our city die by degrees, stripped of all her proud moments, until there is nothing left of all her history and beauty to inspire our children? If they are not inspired by the past of our city, where will they find the strength to fight for her future?

Americans care about their past, but for short term gain they ignore it and tear down everything that matters.

Maybe, with our bicentennial approaching, this is the moment to take a stand, to reverse the tide, so that we won't all end up in a uniform world of steel and glass boxes.

Old buildings were made better than we will ever be able to afford to make them again. They can have new and useful lives, from the largest to the smallest. They can serve the community and bring people together.

Everyone, from every strata of our city, is wounded by what is happening—but I feel powerless—hopeless that their petitions will have any effect.

I think of the time President Kennedy was faced with the destruction of Lafayette Square, opposite the White House. That historic 19th century square was

about to be demolished to make way for a huge Eisenhower-approved Government Office Building. All contracts had been signed. At the last minute he cancelled them—and as he did so, he said, “This is the act I may be most remembered for.”

Dear Mayor Beame—your life has been devoted to this city. Now you serve her in the highest capacity. You are her people’s last hope—all their last hopes lie with you.

It would be so noble if you were to go down in history as the man who was brave enough to stem the tide, brave enough to stand up against the greed that would devour New York bit by bit. People now, and people not yet born will be grateful to you and honor your name.

*With my admiration and respect,
Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis⁵*

Within a week of receiving the letter, Beame announced that his administration would appeal Saypol’s decision.⁶ Whether it was the letter, or some other connection, the campaigns access to Mayor Beame via Barwick, Kennedy-Onassis, and the team of attorneys is what pushed the mayor to appeal Saypol’s decision.

¹ Waggoner, Walter H. "An Impressive Battery of Legal Talent Joins the Battle to Save Grand Central Terminal from Demolition." *New York Times*, July 30, 1972: 18.

² National Trust for Historic Preservation. "National Trust for Historic Preservation." *Preservation Law Educational Materials: The Penn Central Decision*. 2012. <http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/law-and-policy/legal-resources/preservation-law-101/resources/The-Penn-Central-Decision.pdf> (accessed May 6, 2013).

³ Cassidy, Tina. *Jackie After O: One Remarkable Year When Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Defied Expectations and Rediscovered Her Dreams*. New York: It Books, 2012.

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid.*

NUMINOSITY

Grand Central Terminal is a monument, a “cathedral for commuters.”¹ It serves the everyday man and when it was threatened by a development plan proposed by Penn Central Transportation Co, countless Americans rallied to support the campaign. The threat of demolition ignited a sense of duty and honor because Grand Central Terminal was a landmark before there were Landmarks. 750,000 people walk through Grand Central every day. To put it into perspective, that's more people than the entire population of the state of Alaska.²

Daniel Brucker, a native New Yorker who has managed Grand Central Tours for the past twenty years describes why people are moved by Grand Central Station:

... it's the kind of a temple, a monument to all that is great and fabulous in rail transportation, the type that God would've built if he had the money... it's like a cathedral that's built for the people. We're not going through somebody else's mansion, through somebody else's monument. It's ours. It's meant for the everyday commuter, and it's a celebration of it.³

This sense of ownership and absolute right to Grand Central Terminal is part and parcel what inspired so many people to support the campaign to save it. In a 1975 New York Time's article, Vice President of the United States Walter Mondale's wife, Joan Mondale further expressed why Grand Central Terminal was so important to save, “I grew up outside of Philadelphia and Grand Central was never a place just to arrive or to watch a train... it is a reminder of a time when travel was special.”⁴

¹ Cassidy, Tina. Jackie After O: One Remarkable Year When Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Defied Expectations and Rediscovered Her Dreams. New York: It Books, 2012.

² United States Census Bureau. State & County Quick Facts. Census, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2012.

³ Lundeen, Jeff, Seven Daniel, Daniel Brucker, and Howard Permut, interview by Steve Inskip and Renee Montagne. Grand Central, A Cathedral for Commuters, Celebrates 100 (February 1, 2013).

⁴ *New York Times*. "Celebrities Ride the Rails to Save Grand Central." April 17, 1978: D9.

PUBLICITY

MAS launched a publicity campaign to generate support to save Grand Central Terminal and the stunts ranged from letter mailings to in situ demonstrations.¹ Publication in local, national, and international newspapers also helped advance the cause. Judge Saypol's ruling overturned Grand Central Terminal's designation as a Landmark and prompted the New York Times to publish an article about the station's plight.² It was this article that motivated Kennedy-Onassis to call Barwick and offer her help.³

Barwick on Kennedy-Onassis,

She was an astute politician, and a real advocate. As opposed to guarding her time, she really wanted to help. She understood the power of her presence and was very shrewd. She was a good sport, with writing skills, political savvy, and an instinct for people."⁴

A colleague of Barwick noted, "Jackie brought enormous visibility to the campaign...By standing up and speaking out for the terminal, she made it a success. And she made it not just a struggle involving New Yorkers, but people all over the country."⁵

One publicity stunt involved the lighting of the statues of the southern facade. The rally was held on the same night as the Democratic national convention and it still ended up on the front page of the New York Times.⁶

With Kennedy-Onassis at the wheel, MAS formed the Committee to Save Grand Central Station with former mayor Robert Wagner as chair. Committee members included luminaries such as Philip Johnson, Brendan Gill, Doris Freedman and Fred Papert.⁷ At Grand Central Station's Oyster Bar, behind a bank of microphones, in the light of flashing bulbs, Kennedy-Onassis spoke on behalf of MAS:

If we don't care about our past we can't have very much hope for our future... We've all heard that it's too late, or that it has to happen, that it's inevitable. But I don't think that's true. Because I think if there is a great effort, even if it's the eleventh hour, then you can succeed and I know that's what we'll do.⁸

The press conference was the prelude to the now infamous train ride aboard the “Landmark Express.” The trip from New York City to Washington D.C. brought national publicity to the campaign. At each stop, Kennedy-Onassis posed for photos with local politicians.⁹ This was a publicity stunt that reverberated with undertones of potential political repercussion. The Landmark Express, Kennedy-Onassis, and the cause were splashed across the front pages of newspapers across the country and all eyes then fell upon on the Supreme Court of the United States.

¹ Gilmartin, Gregory F. *Shaping the City: New York and the Municipal Art Society*. New York: Clarkson Potter, 1995.

² Goldberger, Paul. "City's Naming of Grand Central As a Landmark Voided by Court." *New York Times*, June 22, 1975: 1.

³ The Municipal Art Society of New York. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Medal. n.d. <http://mas.org/awards/jkomedal/> (accessed February 14, 2013).

⁴ The Municipal Art Society of New York. (accessed February 14, 2013).

⁵ McFadden, Robert. "Jackie, New Yorker; Friends Recall a Fighter for Her City." *New York Times*, March 22, 1994.

⁶ *New York Times*. "Statues on Grand Central Lighted." July 13, 1976: 36.

⁷ The Municipal Art Society of New York. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Medal. n.d. <http://mas.org/awards/jkomedal/> (accessed February 14, 2013).

⁸ Cassidy, Tina. *The Surprising Role Jackie Kennedy Onassis Played in Saving Grand Central*. New York, February 5, 2013.

⁹ *New York Times*. "Celebrities Ride the Rails to Save Grand Central." April 17, 1978: D9.

LEGAL ACUITY

Grand Central Terminal was a seminal case because it marked the first challenge to the constitutional validity of the Landmarks Law. This is a pivotal moment in preservation history for a number of reasons because the decision had to be made whether to (A) fight and stand behind the law, which could jeopardize its very existence, or (B) roll over and accept destruction of Grand Central Terminal as a means of *protecting* the law.

As we know, the court affirmed the constitutionality of the law and once that was established, it made litigation a more viable option.¹

Concerning Grand Central Terminal, Daniel M. Gribbon argued the cause for appellants.² Gribbon received his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1941, served as chair of the Board of Professional Responsibility in the District of Columbia, and was president of the Historical Society of the D.C. Circuit.³

Leonard J. Koerner, an attorney in New York City's Law Department, argued the cause of the appellee [City of New York]. With him on the brief were Assistant district attorney Allen G. Schwartz, L. Kevin Sheridan of the U.S. attorney's office, and counsel to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Dorothy Miner.⁴

Assistant Attorney General Wald argued the cause for the United States as amicus curiae urging affirmance. Briefs of amici curiae urging affirmance were also filed by David Bonderman and Frank B. Gilbert for the National Trust for Historic Preservation; by lawyer and architect Paul S. Byard; and by Louis J. Lefkowitz, Attorney General; Samuel A. Hirshowitz, First Assistant Attorney General; and Philip Weinberg, Assistant Attorney General, for the State of New York.⁵

In simple terms, Koerner characterized the issue concerning Grand Central as one of proper land use and maintained that Penn Central can make a profit from its property without

the tower.⁶ The Court said that the City of New York did not take all of the terminal property and Penn Central Terminal's investment expectations were not injured because it could continue to make some money and therefore was entitled to no compensation.

It is impossible to measure the extent of which the involvement of MAS and Kennedy-Onassis had on the Supreme Court decision, however Gribbon — attorney for Penn Central Terminal Company — gives some indication of the effect of Kennedy-Onassis's presence in the courtroom:

An interesting aspect of that case was that Jackie Kennedy Onassis, who had publicly favored the city, marched into the spectator section of the Court with an entourage just before the argument started. She caused quite a stir and was probably the strongest argument presented in favor of the city. All that I was able to salvage was a dissent of three justices.⁷

The presence of someone like Kennedy-Onassis does not replace the need for legal acuity but according to Gribbon, it certainly does not hurt.

¹ The Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law. PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORT CO. v. NEW YORK. May 3, 2013. http://www.oyez.org/cases/1970-1979/1977/1977_77_444 (accessed May 6, 2013).

² National Trust for Historic Preservation. "National Trust for Historic Preservation." Preservation Law Educational Materials: The Penn Central Decision. 2012. <http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/law-and-policy/legal-resources/preservation-law-101/resources/The-Penn-Central-Decision.pdf> (accessed May 6, 2013).

³ Gribbon, Daniel M., interview by Bar Report. Legends in the Law (November 1998).

⁴ National Trust for Historic Preservation. "National Trust for Historic Preservation." Preservation Law Educational Materials: The Penn Central Decision. 2012.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ "Imports and Landmarks have their day in court." American Bar Association Journal, 1978: 827.

⁷ Gribbon, Daniel M., interview by Bar Report. Legends in the Law (November 1998).

CAPITAL

Mayor Beame was disinclined to appeal the court's ruling that invalidated the Landmark status of Grand Central Terminal because New York City was broke, and Penn Central Transportation Company had threatened lawsuits if there was an appeal.¹ There was a potential cost to the municipal treasury in the millions if litigation was pursued and as Barwick says, "In those days millions of dollars sounded like money."²

Fundraising efforts to support the campaign to save Grand Central Terminal galvanized around efforts lead by Kennedy-Onassis. In an interview with the New York Times, Kent Barwick spoke about Kennedy-Onassis's ability to elicit donations that helped support the campaign, "It would have stayed a local story, I think, except for her. Over the course of the campaign, there was enormous interest built around the country. We used to get \$5 bills sent in from Iowa. It had a transformative effect."³

¹ Goldberger, Paul. "City's Naming of Grand Central As a Landmark Voided by Court." New York Times, June 22, 1975: 1.

² Haberman, Clyde. "Looking Out on Grand Central, and Looking Back on Saving It." New York Times, January 27, 2013.

³ Haberman, Clyde. "Looking Out on Grand Central, and Looking Back on Saving It." New York Times, January 27, 2013.

CASE STUDY 2: CITY & SUBURBAN HOMES

In December of 1984 Peter Kalikow assumed management of the City & Suburban Homes York Avenue Estate.¹ Shortly thereafter, Kalikow announced plans to demolish the complex and served 1,200 eviction notices.^{2 3 4} In February of 1985, over 2,000 tenants organized under Betty Cooper Wallerstein to fight Kalikow.^{5 6} The Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing Inc. was formed in March of 1985.⁷ The following month Kalikow applied for a demolition permit.⁸

In response to public outcry, Kalikow proposed a “buy-out” plan for tenants of the City and Suburban York Avenue Estate in October of 1985.^{9 10} The Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing rejected the plan.¹¹

In June of 1986, the York Avenue Estate was declared eligible for listing on the State and National Registers of Historic Places.¹² In October of 1988, the LPC held a public hearing concerning the designation of the site.¹³ On April 24, 1990 the York Avenue Estate was designated a New York City Landmark.¹⁴ In response to designation, Kalikow proposed a plan to leave four of the fourteen buildings undesignated.¹⁵ In August of 1990, the Board of Estimate voted six to five in favor of amending the LPC’s designation —four of the fourteen buildings were excluded from the designation.¹⁶

The Coalition filed an Article 78 Petition with the New York Supreme Court to challenge the administrative activities of the Board of Estimate in court.¹⁷ The New York Supreme Court dismissed the petition and confirmed the determination of the New York City Board of Estimate.¹⁸ The Coalition appealed and on May 19, 1992 the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the lower court and reestablished the LPC’s designation of the York Avenue Estate in its entirety as a landmark site.^{19 20}

¹ Fletcher, Florence. "Vice President Corporate Secretary Kalikow Properties Inc." *Letter to City & Suburban tenants*. New York, December 13, 1984.

² Reed, Bill. "Yorkville or Yuppieville." 1985.

³ Puri, Sarah. "City & Suburban Homes: commercial tenants plan ahead." *Out Town*, March 1985: 3.

⁴ Avenue. "Peter Kalikow." *Avenue*, May 1985: 112-113.

⁵ Tenant. "East Side Tenants fight developer Kalikow." *Tenant*, July 1985.

⁶ Puri, Sarah. "Tenants Organize." *Our Town*, February 1985: 5.

⁷ Puri, Sarah. "Update: City/Suburban homes." *Our Town*, March 1985: 8.

⁸ Puri, Sarah. "Kalikow reveals plans." *Our Town*, May 1985: 1.

⁹ Our Town. "Kalikow plan has merit." *Our Town*, November 1985.

¹⁰ Kalikow, Peter. "President of Kalikow Properties Inc." *Letter to tenants Concerning New Proposal*. New York, October 28, 1985.

¹¹ Gilbert, Anne Ashby. *The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action*. New York: Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing, Inc., 1998.

¹² National Register of Historic Places. *City and Suburban Home Company's First Avenue Estate Historic District*.

<http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=0> (accessed February 25, 2013).

¹³ *The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action*. 1998.

¹⁴ Mangaliman, Jessie. "MANHATTAN CLOSEUP East Side, West Side Get Landmark Nods." *Newsday*, April 27, 1990: 23.

¹⁵ *The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action*. 1998.

¹⁶ City Land NYC. *City and Suburban's Landmarking upheld*. New York, October 15, 2008.

¹⁷ *The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action*. 1998.

¹⁸ *In the Matter of 400 East 64/65th Street Block Association et al., Petitioners, and Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing, Inc., et al., Appellants, v. City of New York et al., Respondents, and Kalikow 78/79 Company et al., Intervenors-Respondents*. 183 A.D.2d 531 (Supreme Court Of New York, Appellate Division, First Department, May 19, 1992).

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ “The Landmarks Preservation Commission designated the complex as a ‘landmark site,’ and not as fourteen individual buildings. The position that a part of the complex should be considered worthy of designation as a landmark for its historical, architecture, cultural, and aesthetic value, and part should not, is inherently inconsistent” (Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing, Inc. v. City of New York, 1992).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Leading up to the campaign to save City and Suburban Homes York Avenue Estate, New York City was dealing with high crime rates, escalating racial tension, and rising homelessness.^{1 2 3} Crime was rampant and peaked in the early 90's when the crack epidemic hit the City; attacks on three blacks by whites [and subsequent retaliatory beatings of whites] symbolized the broad racial tensions; and thousands of residents were without homes following the recession of the 1980's.^{4 5 6}

The city's unemployment rate was well above the national average with the only exception being jobs in the construction industry.⁷ The only two industries' that thrived were tourism and commercial construction, which was characterized as "brisk."⁸

¹ Langan, Patrick A., and Matthew R. Durose. *The Remarkable Drop in Crime in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, 2004.

² A series of highly publicized murders epitomize this racial tension. In 1982, Willie Turks, an African American, was fatally beaten by a white mob in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, New York (Basler 1982). Michael Griffith, born in Trinidad, was chased by a white mob onto a highway where he was struck by a car and died (McFadden 1986). Yusef Hawkins and three friends were attacked by a group of white youth in Brooklyn. Yusef was shot twice in the chest and died on August 23, 1989 (Desantis 1991).

³ Levinson, David. *Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. London: Sage Publications, 2004.

⁴ United States Department of Justice. "Uniform Crime Reports." *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*. 2011. <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s.-2011/tables/table-6> (accessed May 1, 2013).

⁵ Freeman, Samuel G. "New York Race Tension Is Rising Despite Gains." *New York Times*, March 29, 1987.

⁶ In the 1990's New York City shelters provided housing for over 4,000 people on any given night, nearly twice as many as in the 1980's (Langan and Durose 2004).

⁷ United States Department of Labor. *Local Area Unemployment Statistics*. 2012. <http://www.bls.gov/lau/> (accessed May 1, 2013).

⁸ Rona B. Stein. *New York City's Economy in 1980*. Quarterly Review, New York City: Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 1981.

LEADERSHIP

The campaign to save City & Suburban Homes York Avenue Estate was spearheaded by founder and co-chair of the Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing, Inc. Betty Cooper Wallerstein.¹ Wallerstein, an unpaid volunteer and local resident published the Coalition updates which kept the members of the Coalition informed and up-to-date; was instrumental in deciding to hire publicist Joyce Matz; and met with the Mayor, City Council Majority Leader, City Council President, the Borough Presidents, and the City Planning Commission to discuss legislation to protect communities, neighborhoods, and city residents from “out-of-scale outrageous” development.²

Joyce Matz, who worked for the Coalition for twelve years, is quoted as saying, “it [City & Suburban Homes York Avenue Estates] never would have been saved without Betty Wallerstein. Never.” Matz credits Wallerstein with deciding to file the Article 78 Petition and raising the money for litigation.^{3 4}

In 2009, Wallerstein was honored by the New York State Senate at a “Women of Distinction” ceremony. A statement released by New York State Senator Liz Krueger best articulates the capabilities of Wallerstein:

I have had the privilege and honor of working with Betty on numerous issues and without a doubt her hard work and dedication have made the East Side a better place to live for all...Her many years volunteering to improve the lives of her neighbors truly make her a Woman of Distinction.

Mrs. Wallerstein successfully led the 10 year fight to save the City and Suburban Homes York Avenue Estates. Built in the early years of the 20th century, City and Suburban is an early example of enlightened housing for the urban working class, and thanks to the efforts of Mrs. Wallerstein, they continue to provide affordable housing for 1,336 families.⁵

¹ Gilbert, Anne Ashby. *The Fight for City and Suburban Homes: A Model for Successful Community Action*. New York: Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing, Inc., 1998.

² Wallerstein, Betty Cooper. "Co-chair of the Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing Inc." *Coalition Update*. New York: Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing Inc, September 1989.

³ The Coalition was awarded a \$10,000 grant from The Vincent Astor Foundation (Jacobson 1988) and a \$10,000 grant from the Kaplan Fund (Davidson 1991).

⁴ Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. *Publicist* (October 10, 2007).

⁵ Krueger, L. (n.d.). *New York Senate*. Retrieved March 1, 2013, from New York State Senate Honors Betty Cooper Wallerstein at Women of Distinction Ceremony: <http://www.nysenate.gov/press-release/new-york-state-senate-honors-betty-cooper-wallerstein-women-distinction-ceremony>

CONDUCTIVITY

David Dinkins supported the designation of the City & Suburban Homes York Avenue Estate when he was Manhattan Borough President from 1986 to 1989.¹ During the mayoral election between Dinkins and Rudolph Giuliani, love letters were discovered by Giuliani operatives that suggested an extramarital affair between Dinkins and a former secretary.² The race leading up to Election Day was extremely close with Giuliani trailing by only a few points.³ Top campaign advisors believed that publication of the letters would have given him a bump that would put him in front of Dinkins.⁴ It was discovered that the letters were in the possession of Peter Kalikow, owner of the New York Post.⁵ Even as the campaign reached new heights of negativism, the letters were never published and Dinkins was elected Mayor.⁶

At the same time as the election, the campaign to Save City & Suburban Homes was seeking Landmark status to prevent Kalikow from demolishing them. The LPC designated the City & Suburban complex in its entirety and the attention shifted to the now defunct Board of Estimate [BOE]. The BOE was a governmental body that consisted of the Mayor, the New York City Comptroller, the President of City Council, and the five borough presidents. The Mayor, Comptroller, and City Council President each had two votes and the borough presidents each had one vote. The BOE voted six to five to alter the LPC designation.

Spy, a New York publication that specializes in irreverent, though thoroughly researched pieces, discovered that on the morning of the vote, Dinkins called Kalikow to assure him that he would have the BOE votes necessary to remove four buildings from the designation.^{7 8}

Speculation has been made that a deal was struck between Dinkins and Kalikow.⁹

Whether or not that was true, having access to the Mayor, and having something the Mayor wanted, was crucial in influencing the Board of Estimate vote.

¹ Hamilton, Guy. "Dinkins, Kalikow, Love Letters, Real Estate: Did Somebody Say Deal?" *Spy* 5, no. 10 (September 1991): 26-27.

² Ibid

³ Purdum, Todd S. "THE 1993 ELECTIONS: Mayor; GIULIANI OUSTS DINKINS BY A THIN MARGIN." *New York Times*, 1993.

⁴ "There was a lot of joking and intense speculation about whether the letters would appear. Rudy was involved in it himself. We were counting on the letters. We didn't think we'd win without them (Barret 2001)."

⁵ Barret, Wayne. *Rudy!: An Investigative Biography of Rudy Giuliani*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

⁶ Maykuth, Andrew. "Dinkins-Giuliana Race Gets Increasingly Nasty." *New York Times*, November 06, 1989.

⁷ Hamilton, Guy. "Dinkins, Kalikow, Love Letters, Real Estate: Did Somebody Say Deal?" *Spy* 5, no. 10 (September 1991): 26-27.

⁸ *Spy* magazine learned that Dinkins called Kalikow on August 17th, the Friday before the vote, and assured him that if need be, he would vote to amend the LPC designation.

On Monday, Dinkins called Kalikow again to inform him that the four outer-borough presidents had confirmed that they would vote to support the amended designation. Kalikow was also counting on the vote of City Council President Andrew Stein, a friend who he had supported with campaign contributions (Powers 1988). The four votes of the outer-borough presidents plus the two votes of the City Council president guaranteed an amended LPC designation. Ultimately this allowed Mayor Dinkins to vote against the "compromise" thus maintaining credentials with democrats and preservationists (Hamilton 1991).

⁹ While this kind of political maneuvering might be effective, this thesis is not advocating for backroom deals. Access to the Mayor is important but should be attained by ethical means only.

NUMINOSITY

City & Suburban Homes is an example of an advocacy campaign that looked beyond style and architect and garnered support from people and organizations outside of the presimosphere.¹ It raised pertinent and contemporaneous cultural issues like the rapid decline of affordable housing and rise of homelessness.^{2 3} Michael Sorkin, author of *Exquisite Corpse*, articulates why this issue reached such a broad audience:

As the new owner of the square block bounded by York, East End, 78th, and 79th streets, he [Peter Kalikow] is currently proposing the largest mass eviction in New York history, aiming to chuck out over 2,000 tenants currently occupying 1,300 apartments, many of them fixed-income elderly clinging to rent-controlled oases. Irony is added to outrage by the fact that this block was developed early in the century as model workers-housing by the City and Suburban Homes Company, as a limited-profit, civic-minded operation.⁴

When Kalikow suggested the largest eviction in the history of the United States there was a groundswell response and over one hundred and fourteen organizations joined the Coalition.⁵ Joyce Matz explained that the reason she got involved had as much, if not more, to do with affordable housing as preservation:

Many of City and Suburban's tenants were elderly...paying three hundred, maybe four hundred dollars a month...My object in helping to save City and Suburban was not only its history, but it was affordable housing. There were twelve hundred apartments. There were two thousand people living in that block... He sent an eviction letter to the two thousand people living there. That they were being evicted. He had no right to do it. He did not have the law with him to do it. He had no sensibility as to what that letter would do.⁶

By aligning the preservation of the physical structure of City & Suburban Homes with a social issue that resonated with preservationists, preservation laity, a great number of the public, and elected officials the campaign successfully achieved its goals.

¹ The Coalition included the East 79th Street Block Association and joined by Friends of the Upper East Side Historic Districts, East Side Rezoning Alliance, Anti-Warehousing

Coalition, CIVITAS, Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, Assemblyman Pete Grannis, NYC Councilman Robert Dryfoos, and numerous other civic organizations.

² Levinson, David. *Encyclopedia of Homelessness*. London: Sage Publications, 2004.

³ Kim Hopper, professor in the Department of Anthropology at the New School for Social Research in New York City writes in an article titled *The New Urban Niche of Homelessness: New York City in the late 1980's*, "At no time in the nation's history has the scarcity of affordable housing been so important in the genesis of widespread homelessness; nor, it follows, has it ever had to figure so prominently in the agenda of reform. Households [...] would not have led to overt homelessness on so large a scale had it not been for that crucial scarcity of affordable housing. This, in turn, is a function of two developments: rising market rents coupled with increasing numbers of households unable to afford the new rates on the one hand, and on the other, a steady imbalance between need for and the supply of low-income, subsidized housing" (Hopper 1990).

⁴ Sorkin, Michael. *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings, 1979-1989*. New York: Verso, 1991.

⁵ Mangaliman, Jessie. "MANHATTAN CLOSEUP East Side, West Side Get Landmark Nods." *Newsday*, April 27, 1990.

⁶ Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. *Publicist* (October 10, 2007).

PUBLICITY

In 1984, Wallerstein hired publicist Joyce Matz.¹ Matz worked for the Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing, Inc. for twelve years and played a critical role in the campaign by keeping the fight to save City & Suburban Homes in the news.²³ She explains how she did that in an interview in 2007:

You hold press conferences endlessly, you hold rallies in the street, you do whatever you have to do. You get every public official supporting you... write press releases -- endless thousands of press releases -- on every issue. My job was to save a historic building and to save those tenants and their affordable housing.⁴

Matz used her connections at The Daily News to bring media attention on the plight of the tenants:

They were paying \$300 -- that's all they could afford. They were on fixed incomes, elderly people who've lived there their whole lives. One woman, her family lived there. Her family's family lived there. They'd lived there ever since they came over. It was very sad. So my job was to let the press know about each of these tenants.⁵

The campaign was highly publicized in the media with hundreds of articles in local and national publications, numerous demonstrations, interviews with the Daily News, and countless mailing campaigns.⁶ The Coalition also distributed fliers advertising tours of the "Historic Upper East Side District," led by Andrew Dolkart.⁷

In 1988, with the help of Dolkart, the Coalition published, *A Dream Fulfilled: City and Suburban's York Avenue Estate*. The book expounded on the significance of the complex as an experiment in affordable housing that was the result of the philanthropic ideas of the Astor, Cutting, Rockefeller, Morgan, Iselin, Lewisohn, and Stokes families and is credited with being the "intellectual capital" necessary to convince the LPC to designate the site.⁸

¹ Wallerstein, Betty Cooper. "Co-chair of the Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing Inc." *Coalition Update*. New York: Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing Inc, September 1989.

² Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. *Publicist* (October 10, 2007).

³ In a Coalition update, Wallerstein explained the roll of Matz, “we hired Joyce Matz five years ago... and she has gotten excellent coverage for us on all the issues and concerns, representing both the City & Suburban tenants and the Coalition... (B. Wallerstein 1987).”

⁴ Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. *Publicist* (October 10, 2007).

⁵ Ibid

⁶ City and Suburban Records. Columbia University

⁷ City and Suburban Housing Tenants' Association. *Discover Yorkville's New Historic District*. New York, April 4, 1987.

⁸ Wood, Anthony C. *Preserving New York: Winning the Right to Protect A City's Landmarks*. New York: Rutledge, 2007.

LEGAL ACUITY

When the Board of Estimate altered the LPC's designation in 1990, the Coalition had to decide whether or not to pursue legal action. In the interview in 2007 Matz recalls a conversation between her and Wallerstein.

She would call me, she would say, "What about going to court?" And I'd always say to her, "Betty, if it's worth fighting for, it's worth going to court for" [...] We needed to go to court. Without court, we couldn't have done it.¹

In 1991 the Coalition filed an Article 78 Petition and retained attorney Edward Costikyan of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.² Costikyan was Chairman of the New York Democratic Committee in 1962, Abraham Beame's campaign manager in the 1965 Mayoral campaign, and was a member of the advisory board for the Center for New York City Law at New York Law School.³ He authored numerous books and articles on law and politics and "was the go-to guy for politicians of both parties."⁴ Throughout his career, he was "a forceful advocate for modernizing government and the decentralization of urban services, though he wasn't always successful."⁵ His legal acumen was crucial in convincing the Appellate division's decision to reverse the ruling of the New York Supreme Court's dismissal of the Article 78 Petition.⁶

¹ Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. Publicist (October 10, 2007).

² Dunlap, David W. "Court Blocks Giant Tower Proposed By Kalikow." *New York Times*, May 20, 1992.

³ Hevesi, Dennis. "Edward N. Costikyan, Adviser to New York Politicians, Is Dead at 87." *New York Times*, June 23, 2012.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ *In the Matter of 400 East 64/65th Street Block Association et al., Petitioners, and Coalition to Save City and Suburban Housing, Inc., et al., Appellants, v. City of New York et al.*,

Respondents, and Kalikow 78/79 Company et al., Intervenors-Respondents. 183 A.D.2d 531
(SUPREME COURT OF NEW YORK, APPELLATE DIVISION, FIRST DEPARTMENT,
May 19, 1992).

CAPITAL

[...] somebody like Kalikow has millions, and when he fights in a fight like that, every dollar he spends is tax deductible because its business related. Every developer we fight, it's easy for them. He has lawyers and accountants and everybody that are on his payroll anyway, so it's easy for him to fight, but it's not easy for us to fight.¹

The decision to pursue further legal action was an expensive endeavor and as head of the Coalition, Wallerstein was responsible for finding the money necessary to fund the lawsuit. Matz recalls their conversation:

We're just going to have to raise the money." And she [Wallerstein] did. I never helped her raise the money. It costs hundreds of thousands of dollars. She got a lot of rich people who did want to save their views to give money.²

Records also show that Wallerstein asked each member of the Coalition to donate to the campaign.³ The large number of the Coalition members was crucial in raising funds that financed the legal efforts that ultimately resulted in a victorious campaign. In addition to collecting from the coalition, Wallerstein applied for grants from the Vincent Astor and Kaplan foundations and was awarded tens of thousands of dollars. She organized walking tours and hosted bake sales.

Wallerstein did what she could in order to raise the capital necessary to lead a successful campaign. As Matz said, "We didn't care where the money came from."⁴

¹ Matz, Joyce, interview by Keenan Hughes. *Publicist* (October 10, 2007).

Matz explaining in an interview how difficult it is for small organizations to compete with large, development minded entities.

² Ibid

³ Housing., Coalition to Save City & Suburban. "Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing records, 1984-1996." *Coalition to Save City & Suburban Housing records, 1984-1996*. New York, 2013.

⁴ Ibid

CASE STUDY 3: 2 COLUMBUS CIRCLE

2 Columbus Circle was designed to house the modern art collection of businessman Huntington Hartford. The city acquired 2 Columbus Circle in 1975 and used as offices for its Cultural Affairs Department.¹

In October of 1995, the city announced that it was planning on turning 2 Columbus Circle over to the private sector for development.² The following year, the New York City Economic Development Corporation purchased a revisionary interest in the building and issued a request for proposals to develop the site.³ Members of the preservation community reached out to the LPC requesting a public hearing for the preservation of the building. In a letter to Juliet Harford, LPC Chair Jennifer Raab wrote:

In June of 1996, members of the Commission's Research Department met with the Designation Committee to discuss the building. After carefully reviewing the building's architectural features and its historical and cultural associations, the Committee declined to recommend Two Columbus Circle to the full Commission for consideration as a landmark.⁴

Questions were raised about the legality of the transfer of the property to the Economic Development Corporation.⁵ In 1997 the corporation attempted to mollify the allegations by arranging public meetings to allow for community input in a process similar to the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure even though it maintained that it was under no legal obligation to do so.⁶ Between 1996 and 2002, the campaign to preserve 2 Columbus Circle was fragmented with no central leadership.⁷ In June of 2002, the Museum of Arts and Design was awarded the building from the EDC and announced plans to spend over \$30 million in renovations.⁸

Landmark West!, a grassroots preservation advocacy organization that focuses on Manhattan's Upper West Side between 59th and 110th streets, hosted a meeting of citywide and grassroots preservation organizations to discuss a unified strategy to save 2CC.⁹ The

resulting campaign was very litigious. Landmark West! filed lawsuits against Amanda M. Burden, Chair of the City Planning Commission (2003); the Manhattan Borough Board (2004); the Landmark Preservation Commission (2004); Economic Development Corporation (2005); Robert B. Tierney, Chair of the LPC (2005); and the Museum of Arts and Design (2005).^{10 11 12 13} The lawsuits were filed, appealed, but ultimately lost.¹⁴ Scaffolding was erected around 2 Columbus Circle and initial stages of the renovation began in 2005 after the sale was finalized.¹⁵ 2006 marked the dismantling of the facade and the museum doors opened in 2008.¹⁶

¹ Pogrebin, Robin. "Permit Issued for Long-Disputed Work at 2 Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, June 30, 2005.

² The New York Times. "POSTINGS: Building May Be Sold, Leased or Given Away; City Plans to Give Up Site at Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, October 1995: 9.1.

³ For a detailed chronology of the 2 Columbus Circle visit the New York Preservation Archive Project, *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*.

⁴ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

⁵ Anderson, Lincoln. "Who's Going To Win This Prize And Is The Public Input?" *The Westsider*, n.d.: 1.

⁶ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

The Uniform Land Use Review Procedure, or ULURP, is the procedure by which uses, development, or improvement of real property subject to city regulation are publically reviewed pursuant to NYC Charter Section 197-c.

⁷ Different civic groups and organizations were making efforts to coordinate mailing campaigns within their organizations but there was no leadership that connected the groups to develop a coordinated effort. Beyond that, in a New York Times article, Dunlap writes, "Two Columbus Circle is not an official landmark, and even an advocacy group like the New York Landmarks Conservancy is not sure it should be. The board is too divided on the merits of the building to take a position (Dunlap, 2 Columbus Circle, Much Despised, Is Now Somewhat Admired 1998)." Between 1996 and 2002, the campaign was disorganized and did not have the preservation community on board.

⁸ Dunlap, David W. "2 Columbus Circle Will Be a Museum Again." *New York Times*, June 21, 2002: B4.

⁹ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

¹⁰ Barron, James. "Groups Sue To Prevent Sale of Columbus Circle Building." *New York Times*, November 8, 2003.

¹¹ Yarnell, Kolby. "Suing Over 2 Columbus Circle." *The New York Sun*, January 10, 2005: 19.

¹² Landmark West! et al., Plaintiffs, v. City of New York et al., Defendants. 802 N.Y.S.2d 340 (Supreme Court of New York, September 1, 2005).

¹³ Pogrebin, Robin. "Group Seeks Removal of Landmarks Chairman." *New York Times*, May 27, 2005.

¹⁴ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Museum of Arts and Design. *Museum History*. n.d.
<http://www.madmuseum.org/about/history> (accessed May 6, 2013).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

When Rudolph Giuliani took control of New York City in 1993, Fred Siegel, a professor at Cooper Union, described the condition of the city, “It [NYC] stood on the edge of social and economic breakdown.” The unemployment rate was over thirteen-percent, nearly double that of the national average and the city had a deficit of \$2.2 billion.¹ Giuliani proposed fiscal austerity measures and tax cuts to decrease the city’s deficit.

Giuliani also took measures to address New York City’s still notoriously high crime rate.² Giuliani’s crime-fighting campaign resulted in a thirty-nine percent drop in crime in three years. Fred Siegel points out, “Across America, crime dropped five percent between 1993 and 1996; in New York City, it fell thirty-five percent—which is to say that New York alone accounted for one third of the national drop.”³ Giuliani also attempted to decrease the number of sex-related businesses through zoning reform.⁴ In the late 1990’s job creation was high and New York City’s economy, which had previously been foundering, began “crawling back toward prosperity.”⁵

In 2000, Manhattan was riding a wave of economic expansion.⁶ Between 2000 and 2006, New York City experienced a construction and real estate boom.⁷ During those years the price of residential housing in New York City area doubled.⁸ Low interest rates and wider availability of loans and mortgages contributed to the increased demand of residential housing which further stimulated the real estate and construction industries. This boom influenced New York City’s decision to consider 2 Columbus Circle for development thus instigating the preservation campaign.

¹ Siegel, Fred. "The Prince of New York: Rudolph Giuliani's Legacy." *Weekly Standard*, August 21, 2000: 38.

² United States Department of Justice. "Uniform Crime Reports." *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*. 2011. <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s.-2011/tables/table-6> (accessed May 1, 2013).

³ Siegel, Fred. "The Prince of New York: Rudolph Giuliani's Legacy."

⁴ Ravo, Nick. "Zoning Out Sex-Oriented Businesses." *New York Times*, March 27, 1996: 1.

⁵ Levy, Clifford J. "Wall St. Profits Lead A Recovery in New York City." *New York Times*, October 21, 1996: B6.

⁶ Wasser, Solidelle F., and Michael L. Dolfman. *9/11 and the New York City economy: A borough-by-borough analysis*. Review, New York: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004.

⁷ Friedman, Rachel S. *The construction boom and bust in New York City*. Regional, New York: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011.

⁸ *ibid*

LEADERSHIP

2002 marked the first time members of citywide and grassroots organizations united to discuss a unified strategy to save 2 Columbus Circle.¹ In response to the imminent sale of the building, Landmark West! (LW!) organized a meeting to discuss strategies to save the building. In addition to discussing legal options to prevent the sale, LW! - led by President Arlene Simon and Executive Director Kate Wood - coordinated strategic mailing campaigns; discussion panels, hosted by established institutions; editorials in major international publications like the New York Times; meetings with politicians and local councilpersons, support from major preservation and civic organizations like the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation League of New York State, and World Monuments Fund; advertisements in local publications with messages to Mayor Bloomberg, and LPC Chair Robert Tierney; in situ demonstrations; and celebrity appearances and Op-Eds in the New York Times by literati such as Tom Wolfe.

LW! was also responsible for coordinating meetings with City Council members that sat on the Manhattan Board including Gale Brewer, Christine Quinn, and Alan Gerson; authoring publications in New York City Magazines; and teaching other advocacy groups outside of New York City about the campaign strategies for 2 Columbus Circle.^{2 3 4}

¹ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

² *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

³ Wood, Kate. "2 Columbus Circle And The Need To Preserve Preservation." *Gotham Gazette*, November 25, 2004.

⁴ *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008

CONDUCTIVITY

Though there were bids by developers that promised to restore the facade, the City of New York selected the Museum of Arts and Design [MAD], formerly the American Craft Museum, as the recipient of 2 Columbus Circle.¹ It was later discovered that the Bloomberg Administrations Housing Programs were made possible through a letter of credit made by a MAD board member.² Though Bloomberg's development oriented position on 2 Columbus Circle was clear, a number of elected officials still vocalized their support for designation including Congress members Jerrold Nadler and Carolyn Maloney, New York State Senators Eric Schneiderman and Thomas Duane, New York State Assembly members Richard Gottfried and Scott Stringer, New York City Councilmembers Ronnie Eldridge, Christine Quinn, and Eva Moskowitz.³ This however was not sufficient to save the building or convince the LPC to hold a public hearing.

In 2005, on the same day, the New York City Department of Buildings issued a permit allowing work to begin to alter the facade of 2 Columbus Circle the New York Times published an article stating:

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg has stood steadfastly, if quietly, behind the chairman. In response to recent questions about the building, Mr. Bloomberg's spokesman, Edward Skyler, said: "Three different landmark chairs under two mayoral administrations have carefully considered this issue, and each determined not to proceed with the designation process. In terms of revisiting that decision, the mayor isn't going to micromanage the landmarking process."⁴

Bloomberg remained steadfast despite op-eds and editorials from the most influential news sources, petitions, and in situ demonstrations.

¹ Dahesh Museum. *Winter Newsletter*. Winter 1997.

² Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

³ Some of the organizations that voice their support included Coalition for a Livable West Side, Committee for Environmentally Sound Development, Clinton Special District Coalition,

Fine Arts Federation, Historic District Council, Federation of Westside Block Associations, Turtle Bay Association, 63rd and 64th Street Block Association, West Village Committee, Congressmembers Jerrold Nadler and Carolyn Maloney, New York State Senators Eric Schneiderman and Thomas Duane, New York State Assemblymembers Richard Gottfried and Scott Stringer, New York City Councilmembers Ronnie Eldridge, Christine Quinn, and Eva Moskowitz. "Dear Mayor Giuliani: 2 Columbus Circle." *New York Observer*. New York, October 18, 1998.

⁴ Pogrebin, Robin. "Permit Issued for Long-Disputed Work at 2 Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, June 30, 2005.

NUMINOSITY

The campaign to save 2 Columbus Circle focused on the style of building and the importance of Edward Durrell Stone as a master architect. A salient argument to support both of these claims was never made and the campaign failed to convince many of those within the preservation field of the buildings significance in relation to either point.¹

There was no consensus within the preservation community on the significance of 2 Columbus Circle. Architects and preservationists both supported and negated its designation.² Former LPC Chair Sherida Paulsen published an Op-Ed in the New York Times stating, “...On the historical, cultural and architectural merits... 2 Columbus Circle doesn’t make the cut for landmark status.”³

As time progressed, and the campaign to save the building continued, Vincent Scully, the Sterling professor emeritus of art history at Yale University expressed in a letter to Tierney:

Something rather wonderful has occurred, by which the building, rarely anyone’s favorite in the past, is looking better every day... Its own integrity, its uniqueness, the indomitable determination to make a point that produced it, are coming to the fore and are powerfully affecting the way we see it... It is in fact becoming the icon it never was, one about which the city now cares a great deal.⁴

Writing for the *Wall Street Journal*, Laurie Kerr described how 2 Columbus Circle saved the world:

When it comes to designating architectural landmarks, there should be a special criterion, quite apart from artistic merit, for buildings that express the political zeitgeist. We may not especially like these buildings, but they stand as remnants of the ideas that shaped their age. In New York, one such structure was the World Trade Center. Another is 2 Columbus Circle... With the Twin Towers gone, 2 Columbus Circle is one of the last places where New Yorkers can glimpse a symbol of those early years of global American power -- the moment when greatness was thrust upon us and our architects attempted to embrace new cultures.⁵

Scully and Kerr were beginning to describe a significance that reached far beyond architect and style alone and yet the campaign ignored this and persisted with mantra: Stone as a master architect.

In 2000, the campaign focus shifted from style and architect to process, requesting “2 Columbus Circle have it’s day in court.”⁶ Focusing on the process garnered more support but still did not reach out beyond presimosphere. Landmark West! was no longer advocating for just the preservation of the building, they were advocating for a public hearing. In a blunt analysis, if Landmark West! had successfully advocated for the buildings significance they would not have needed to advocate for a hearing because the former would have predicated the latter. It was not so much an issue with process so much as a generational issue.⁷

There were opportunities to reach out to affinity groups out of the presimosphere. Toward the end of the campaign Herbert Muschamp wrote *The Secret History of 2 Columbus Circle* for the New York Times. That article had the potential to rally the LGBTQ community but it was too little too late:

...even if the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission had consented to hold hearings on the matter, many of the memories that might have weighed in favor of designation would still have gone unspoken. They were stored up by a generation of gay men who arrived in New York in the 1960's and contributed substantially to those shifts in taste. And that generation, lost to AIDS, is no longer here to talk about them.

Two Columbus Circle has been called a queer building many times over the years. Odd and weird, too. These terms have not been misplaced. But their meaning need not be wholly pejorative. No other building more fully embodied the emerging value of queerness in the New York of its day. If the Landmarks Commission could miss this significance, then it is reasonable to conclude that many dots in that chapter of the city's social history have yet to be connected. The task will grow no easier with the passing of time.⁸

Heralding architect and style proved inadequate in uniting the preservation community, the presimosphere, or New York City at large.

¹ Kathleen Howe, a historic preservation specialist for the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, responded to a National Register Nomination for 2 Columbus Circle submitted by Landmark West! in 2005:

In your introductory paragraph you note that the building was designed by American master architect Edward Durrell Stone. While it is true that Stone was certainly a significant, prolific, and sometimes controversial twentieth century architect you did not provide critical analysis and context to back up your argument for Stone as a “master” (Howe 2005).

² Big names within the preservation field supported both sides of the argument. Robert A.M. Stern, an American architect and prolific author, supported the designation while Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic and Pulitzer Prize winner, considered the campaign a waste of time that smeared the name of preservationists (Huxtable, *Setting the Record Straight About Ed Stone and Brad Cloepfil* 2008).

³ Paulsen, Sherida E. "The Black Hole of Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, July 30, 2005.

⁴ Scully, Vincent. "Letter from Scully to Tierney." *New York City*, August 14, 2004.

⁵ Kerr, Laurie. "How 2 Columbus Circle Saved the World." *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2003.

⁶ New York Landmarks Conservancy. "2 Columbus Circle." *New York*, March 18, 2004.

⁷ Ouroussoff, Nicolai. "Turning Up the Heat on a Landmarks Agency." *New York Times*, November 15, 2005.

⁸ Muschamp, Herbert. "The Secret History of 2 Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, January 8, 2006.

PUBLICITY¹

2 Columbus Circle was one of the most highly publicized campaigns of the preservation movement since Grand Central Terminal.² Among the many voices that have spoken out in favor of a public hearing for 2 Columbus Circle were Robert A.M. Stern, Tom Wolfe, Chuck Close, Richard Meier, Peter Eisenman, the World Monuments Fund, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Preservation League of New York.³ The World Monuments Fund listed 2 Columbus Circle on its list of endangered sites.⁴ The New York Landmarks Conservancy sponsored a lecture at the Guggenheim called “The Stern 35: 35 Modernist Buildings that Should Be New York City Landmarks, 1932-67” and 2 Columbus Circle was included as worthy for landmark designation.⁵

There were coordinated strategic mailing campaigns; discussion panels hosted by established institutions; op-eds in major international publications like *British Vanity Fair* and *Architectural Record*; meetings with politicians and local councilpersons; advertisements in local publications with messages to Mayor Bloomberg, and Bloomberg appointed LPC Chair Robert Tierney; in situ demonstrations; and celebrity appearances by literati like Tom Wolfe.

2 Columbus Circle also hired a publicist. The campaign was well covered and has been well documented.

¹ The publicity section for 2 Columbus Circle does not attempt to provide an in-depth account of the publicity strategy or a blow-by-blow. Instead, it is meant to establish the importance of publicity in the campaign.

² Wolfe, Tom. "The 2 Columbus Circle Game." *New York Magazine*, n.d.

³ Wood, Kate. *The Campaign to Preserve 2 Columbus Circle Chronology*. 2007-2008.

⁴ Pogrebin, Robin. "Permit Issued for Long-Disputed Work at 2 Columbus Circle." *New York Times*, June 30, 2005.

⁵ New York Times. "A Preservationist Lists 35 Modern Landmarks-in-Waiting." November 17, 1996.

CONCLUSIONS

The most successful campaigns focus on issues beyond the general purview of preservation. Numinosity is hugely important because it is the one indicator that money cannot buy. The following table compares the six indicators of success as they apply to the preservation campaigns discussed in this thesis.

INDICATOR	GCT		Penn Co		C&SH		Kalikow		2CC		MAD	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Leadership	X		X		X		X		X		X	
Conductivity	X		X			X	X			X	X	
Numinosity	X			X	X			X		X		X
Publicity	X		X		X		X		X		X	
Legal Acuity	X		X		X		X		X		X	
Capital	X		X		X		X		X		X	

As you can see in all three cases, there is only one indicator that opposition to the preservation advocacy campaigns could not buy: numinosity. It is the indicator that preservationists should take the most advantage of because it is uniquely suited to serve their goals. Aligning preservation efforts with relevant, contemporaneous issues increases the likelihood of success for contentious campaigns because it relates the preservation of the structure to an issue of interest or concern to the public. It is the advocate's responsibility to do thorough research and suss out an issue that can be linked to a relevant cause.

Grand Central Terminal is the people's cathedral, which is why the public supported the campaign. The campaign to save City & Suburban Homes advocated for affordable housing during one of New York City's highest rates of homelessness. 2 Columbus Circle focused on the architect and style. It was not until later in the campaign the advocates shifted their focus to a breakdown in the landmarking process. This was not sufficient to garner

support from within, or beyond, the presimosphere. Looking at voter issues from the 2000 and 2004 elections, the numinosity-type topics that could have been harnessed in order to attract more people were the war on terrorism, gender issues, social security, Medicare, unemployment, race issues, women's issues, education, Wall Street regulation, energy issues, immigration, guns, and government ethics and corruption.

Preservationists have the unique position of offering a physical structure that can embody an issue. Constituents that support that issue will naturally support the preservation of the structure because that structure is a physical platform from which those constituents can advocate for their cause. It creates a mutually advantageous relationship. With the imminent up-zoning in Midtown, Manhattan I predict that there are will be a number of contentious preservation advocacy campaigns similar to those used as case studies in this thesis. For those future campaigns to be successful they should look to the indicators identified in this thesis with particular emphasis on numinosity.

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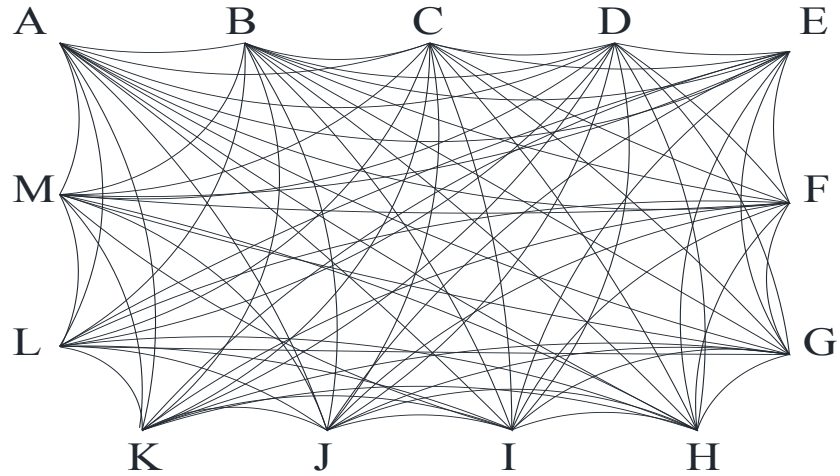
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THE PRESIMOSPHERE

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NYC Landmarks Law + ...

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