



Preserving the People

Using Historic Preservation as a Tool for Combating
Community Change in Gentrifying Areas

By Sam Hayes
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Abstract

This report takes an introspective approach to analyzing the field of historic preservation. Historic preservation has historically been associated with elitist, white preservation efforts, but it has also evolved over the past 40 years to become a powerful economic development tool for communities through the introduction of historic tax credits. The economic development that historic preservation can create has also led to preservation commonly being indicted as a cause of gentrification, displacement, and a lack of affordable housing. To better understand how preservationists think about their influence in these topics, I conducted a content analysis of writing done by preservation professionals. I identified various themes for how the preservation field perceives itself. Throughout the report, I argue that the field of historic preservation must strive to make itself more relevant in the face of our changing communities. The second part of this report consists of four examples of organizations that are doing work to break into previously untapped spaces – affordable housing production, housing retention efforts for low-income homeowners, and the preservation of naturally occurring affordable rentals. This report seeks to contribute to the growing body of literature on preservation’s role in changing communities. It also seeks to show that preservation can and should take an active role in combating gentrification and displacement.

Chapter 1 Introduction



The field of historic preservation has evolved significantly over the years, transitioning from a conventional practice of preserving historically and architecturally significant buildings in their original states to embracing the adaptive reuse of buildings using historic tax credits and other incentives. These tools facilitate the active re-use of buildings and enable modern usage. Revitalizing buildings has become a strong economic development tool, utilized by communities across the country to attract new businesses and residents to areas (Ellis, 2019). Today, historic preservation is a big tent that encompasses many different interest groups. However, one constant is the field's increasing interconnectedness with the real estate industry.

Image Source: Sam Hayes

Starting in the 1950s with the Historic Charleston Foundation's revolving fund, many preservation nonprofits have used a similar model to directly work within the real estate market, thereby returning vacant buildings to a city's tax roll. Preservation's fate as a tool of the real estate industry was solidified by the inception of the federal historic tax credits in the late 1970s. The federal tax credit has been continually strengthened over the years and has inspired states to establish their own state tax credit programs in the 1980s, 90s, and 2000s (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2023).

Alongside these changes, the field has simultaneously continued to examine its past practices and make noticeable changes to become more inclusive and elevate minority voices. Within these efforts, there is an increasing desire within the field to expand the scope of what is considered historically significant, placing greater value on the culturally intangible aspects of buildings and communities (National Parks Service). While historic preservation has made great strides over the years to focus on intangible heritage, the connection to real estate development opens preservation to debates on its role in the redevelopment of communities.

At its best, historic preservation can be a community empowerment tool that preserves a community's culture while simultaneously helping vulnerable people continue to live in their neighborhoods. At its worst, preservation is leveraged as a tool of the real estate industry to "revitalize" a neighborhood and "bring it back to life," while also ignoring and displacing the current residents. Most preservation practices fall somewhere in between these two extremes, and these tensions often come to the surface when grappling with the contemporary phenomenon of gentrification and the ongoing displacement of residents within vulnerable communities. Gentrification is increasingly discussed within the field of historic preservation and will continue to stand as a point of contention until the field takes a cohesive stance and establishes a set of tools to mitigate gentrification's worst effects.

Though the diversity of the field can be a strength, it also can cause conflicting solutions to adequately address the problem. There is a tension between two dueling sides rooted in questions over how to promote economic development and community revitalization *and* prevent gentrification from occurring in communities.

One underlying critical debate struggles over the relevance of the field of historic preservation. At times, preservationists feel attacked by an array of perceived outsiders to the field, including YIMBY ("Yes In My Backyard") coalitions, affordable housing advocates, developers, planning department officials, politicians, and grassroots activists. These groups are all vastly different, and yet, they occasionally join forces to fight against historic preservation. A developer may work with grassroots activists and YIMBYs to stop a historic district for fear that it will limit new construction opportunities and prevent affordability. Additionally, while studies have shown that young people enjoy living and working in older buildings, they tend to be less interested in history and more aware of social justice issues, which can cause them to fight against preservation that they see as a repressive way to preserve wealthy, white history (National Trust for Historic Preservation,

2017). Historic preservation must evaluate its relevance in the face of growing pressure from all forms of competing interests.

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This report will explore how preservation can become more relevant to all the aforementioned groups, and most importantly, to those impacted by gentrification. Within the historic preservation field, much research has explored avenues for communities to combat gentrification. However, the emphasis has primarily been focused on three key areas: How groups use tools outside of the preservation field (Meeks, 2016), the potential for historic districts to be used as anti-displacement tools without sufficient long-term proof that they are successful (Lawrence, 2010), or unsuccessful instances where gentrification resulted from preservation efforts (Cline, 2017). Although helpful in grounding the conversation, this work does not sufficiently address *if* and *how* historic preservation itself can be used to combat gentrification. My research seeks to build upon this existing literature and fill this need by highlighting several modern examples that show how preservation tools are being used to counter displacement and provide affordable housing in gentrifying communities. This project presents case studies that nonprofits and governments can draw from for best practices and lessons to apply within their communities.

Within this context, this report seeks to address two complementary questions.

First, I hope to address the question: How are historic preservation professionals discussing and addressing gentrification and the ancillary topics associated with it, such as affordable housing and displacement? To answer this question, I use writings from various preservation professionals at all levels of their careers to identify how the field discusses these topics.

Second, I will address how organizations are working on solutions to the problem. I will address the question: How are organizations using historic preservation tools to combat displacement in gentrifying communities? I will show four case studies across various cities to identify what solutions are possible to this problem, and I will analyze common themes across the four case studies.

Who is this report for?

This report is meant for practitioners in the historic preservation field who want to better understand the connection between historic preservation and real estate. It intends to help practitioners think about both the pitfalls and opportunities of using preservation as a tool in the market to help engage in equitable preservation in cities while mitigating harms in vulnerable communities. I hope that after reading this report, practitioners will be equipped to think more deeply about the impacts their work might have on communities, as well as how to leverage their work in solidarity with the goals of communities vulnerable to or experiencing change.

Chapter 2 Literature Review



Section I: Gentrification and Financialization of Real Estate

Understanding what gentrification is and how real estate has become increasingly interconnected to the financial markets is vital for preservationists. There is a considerable amount of misunderstanding about the connections, leading preservationists to believe that preservation is not to blame for the problems facing gentrifying communities. With preservation being increasingly connected to real estate, it is integral that preservationists better understand the context of the market and its ramifications.

Image Source: House for Sale, Dunnellon © Steven Martin used under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic

How is gentrification defined?

Gentrification has become a ubiquitous term, often stoking positive, negative, and confused reactions. While some argue that gentrification is a good thing, others protest the change to, and eventual displacement of, communities. Some consider the term gentrification as one that has lost significance altogether. However, despite varying perceptions, acknowledging the definitive definitions of gentrification can help provide clarity to the term.

Sociologist Ruth Glass was the first to use gentrification in 1964 to describe the process of middle- and upper-class residents purchasing homes in poorer neighborhoods causing displacement of existing residents (Glass, 1964). Although interpretation of the definition has changed over time, few definitions deviate from Glass's original concept.

Anthropologist Gina Pérez (2004) expands upon the Glass definition by defining the economic and social reasons for gentrification. She posits that gentrification is,

...[A]n economic and social process whereby private capital (real estate firms, developers) and individual homeowners and renters reinvest in fiscally neglected neighborhoods through housing rehabilitation, loft conversions, and the construction of new housing stock... It also gradually displaces by increasing rents and raising property taxes (p. 139).

This definition identifies how major financial actors and individuals both can drive reinvestment in areas and contribute to the inevitable displacement which is cited as a natural byproduct of gentrification.

The Connection of Historic Preservation and Gentrification

The connection between historic preservation and gentrification is a hotly contested subject both within and outside of the field. Gentrification scholars often argue that historic preservation is one of the main factors associated with gentrification. We see this in Pérez's definition of gentrification where she directly cites "housing rehabilitation" and "loft conversions" as factors that create gentrification (Pérez 2004, p. 139). Scholar J. Peter Byrne (2003) also addresses the connection between historic preservation and gentrification in his book chapter "Two Cheers for Gentrification,"

Advocates for the poor and ethnic minorities see affluent whites bidding up the prices for urban housing to levels that force poor families out, depriving them of affordable housing, perhaps rendering them homeless, and changing the character of a neighborhood from one that reflects distinct ethnic and class needs and cultural traditions into a bland emporium for expensive consumer goods. Sometimes historic preservation laws are indicted as particular culprits in setting this dynamic in motion. A result of these perceptions is that the legal literature on gentrification, in general, and historic preservation both reflect a distinctly negative strain (p. 405).

Byrne's observation that preservation laws can sometimes be indicted as a reason for gentrification is very important to note because it is one of the most salient and common arguments used against preservation. To counter these negative implications, preservationists will often use opposing studies to dispute arguments made against them about the negative impacts of preservation. Nonetheless, the challenge is almost impossible to counter due to the irrefutable fact that historic areas are attractive for people to live in and therefore seen as a good investment.

Preservation economist Donovan Rypkema makes a keen observation about historic neighborhoods and their value towards communities when he claims, "It is not the historic designation; it's already a great (or potentially great) neighborhood. Historic designation is a) the recognition of the neighborhood quality, and b) one of the few tools available that assures it will stay that way" (2004). Rypkema contends that historic neighborhoods are already primed to be "good" neighborhoods due to the existing building stock, infrastructure, and affordability, and therefore, reinvestment in them is a natural byproduct (2004).

Researchers have expanded upon the existing definitions of gentrification to better encompass the effects historic preservation can have on communities. Cesari and Dimova (2018) define a sub-genre of gentrification as heritagization, which "helps turn neglected and stigmatized historic city boroughs (traditionally inhabited by the often-racialized working classes, ethnic minorities, and immigrants) into desirable places for white middle-class people" (p. 863). The act of preserving a neighborhood provides the opportunity for reinvestment necessary to make the area appealing for others to move into. In the United States, preservation is seen as a community and economic development tool, with tax credits and grants available through listing on the National Register of Historic Places to make preservation more financially feasible for developers. Various state and local programs also offer incentives for developers to adaptively reuse buildings with a targeted appeal toward previously disinvested areas.

What this leads to is the problem associated with historic preservation: a) historic areas are attractive for people to live in, b) with the incorporation of tax credits and other economic development incentives, they are seen as viable investment opportunities. Reinvestment in these buildings comes from small and large developers and is made possible by historic tax credits.

Often, the argument by preservationists is that it is too difficult to estimate where gentrification may take place. Yet, an understanding that gentrification does occur in communities with older building stocks is the first step in recognizing the potential for gentrification. We will next discuss how areas become gentrifiable, further elucidating what communities are vulnerable to gentrification.

Priming Areas for Gentrification

To give further context to gentrification, we must consider the sequential stages that historically occurred to pave the way for it to take place. Firstly, the area that is

undergoing gentrification typically experiences initial development, thereby establishing a built environment that fosters a community. Once the area is developed, it undergoes both public and private disinvestment (Lees et al., 2008). This disinvestment does not necessarily result in immediate displacement but rather entails the withholding of basic amenities from residents such as sidewalks, paved streets, sewer and water service, parks and greenways, streetlights, and trash pickup, thereby making the residents' lives more difficult and depressing their property values.

In his book, *How to Kill a City, Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood*, Peter Moskowitz (2017) analyzes what constitutes a gentrifiable community, asserting, "It may sound obvious, but gentrification could not happen without something to gentrify. Truly equitable geographies would be largely un-gentrifiable ones. So first, geographies have to be made unequal" (p. 105). Richard Rothstein's 2017 book, *The Color of Law* explores the tactics used to perpetuate inequity in communities of color across the United States. While redlining is perhaps the most widely known federal program, Rothstein also highlights the importance of urban renewal in the displacements of minority communities, as well as the long-term disinvestment that occurred in these areas (Rothstein, 2017).

We must also broaden our understanding of disinvestment beyond merely assessing the built environment. Golash-Boza (2023) argues that in Washington DC, disinvestment coupled with the rapid investment in the carceral system and tough-on-crime policies of the 1990s was used as a "solution" to the problems of crime in Black communities. These policies led to the further degradation of Black communities, contributing to the racial wealth gap and priming them for gentrification (Golash-Boza, 2023). As preservationists who value the history of communities, keenly understanding this history helps to answer questions like "what areas are at risk of gentrification, *and* what historical reasons contribute to their priming?" There is always a historical reason why neighborhoods are the way they are and digging into this history as part of the preservation process is vital.

Broad historical trends can also point us towards the potential areas that are at risk of gentrification. Looking toward the areas that were most affected by the decades of disinvestment, such as the inner-city minority communities, is one place to start. These areas are most attractive for developers, young adults, and families. Many of them have large quantities of building stock that are sometimes vacant but also occupied by long-time residents, and working-class and low-income renters. To re-emphasize Rypkema's quote from earlier, "It's already a great (or potentially great) neighborhood" and preservation just elevates that greatness and re-introduces investment into communities (Rypkema, 2004). Understanding the results of this re-investment must be a key part of the preservationists' equation.

Reinvestment in Communities: The Supply and Demand Arguments for Gentrification

Within gentrification research, there are conflicting opinions regarding what causes reinvestment in gentrifying communities. One group of scholars argues that gentrification

is driven by those who *supply* housing in communities, such as developers, investors, and the financial system – in turn introducing reinvestment to communities. Others argue that gentrification can be attributed to *individual agency*, specifically the decision by people to relocate to a gentrifying area. We will briefly examine both arguments and then identify a framework that integrates elements from both theories to give a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification.

Supply

Economist Neil Smith uses the rent gap theory to describe why gentrification takes place in certain communities. The rent gap theory (see Figure 1) is the shortfall between the amount of capital a property (actual land rent) can make at its current state and the potential amount it can make if the highest and best use for the property is realized (Lees et al., 2008). As buildings age and communities are disinvested in, the value of a property declines, and the possible profits decline, but the *potential* rent continues to increase. Once the potential rent reaches a critical threshold, an investor can make a significant profit which entices them to reinvest in the property.

We can think of the outcome of the rent gap process in two ways. If there is a crumbling building on a property, it will either be torn down and a new building will be constructed, or that building will be rehabilitated. The latter option could potentially make use of historic tax credits to make the financial investment feasible. Regardless, in both scenarios, the rent gap has passed the threshold that makes it profitable for someone to invest money in the property.

Gentrification inherently affects the entire neighborhood and other factors contribute to neighborhood revitalization. One such factor is the reintroduction or establishment of public investment in communities. Municipalities do this through public investment in

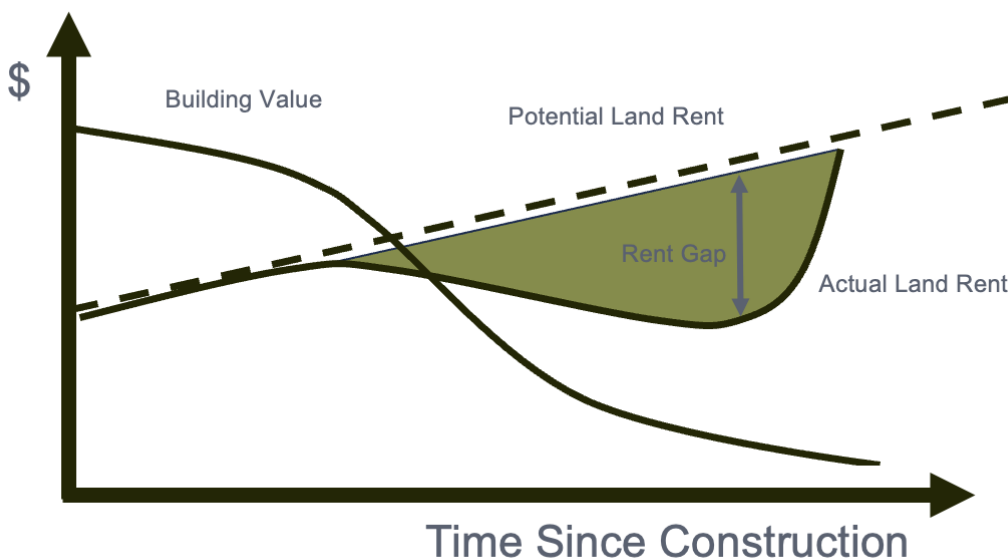


Figure 1: Rent Gap Theory
Figure Source: Sam Hayes
Adapted From: Bill Lindeke

amenities like public parks and other infrastructure investments that prime a neighborhood for gentrification (Balboni et al., 2021; Kim and Wu, 2022). Furthermore, cities also use neoliberal tactics by subsidizing private developments and companies, thereby becoming agents of the market rather than agents of the residents of the community (Smith, 2002). In any of these scenarios, public investment is being used to incentivize investors and developers to supply housing, business space, or community and economic development opportunities in communities.

Demand

The demand argument relies less on traditional economic theories and more on sociological perspectives for why people move to certain neighborhoods. In their autoethnographic article, Professors John Joe Schlichtman and Jason Patch (2014) analyze their personal gentrification practices in their respective towns, arguing that seven interconnected factors attract them to their communities: economic, practical, aesthetic, amenity, social, symbolic, and inconvenience. Each of these factors shapes their reasoning for moving to a particular area, and their recognition of their reasons helps to explain *why* they chose to live in their neighborhoods. Schlichtman and Patch specifically identify a desire by some to locate in historic communities where they find some authenticity from both the buildings and the residents in the area (2014). They also identify the benefits of the neighborhoods that are being gentrified, such as their affordability, walkability, and aesthetic and historic beauty.

Geographer Chris Hamnett tries to explain the motivations behind why people choose to move to a particular area. He argues that because cities have transitioned from industrial centers to business centers, the middle and upper-class employees of these business centers want to locate closer to work (Lees et al., 2008). However, there are other sub-groups who, throughout history, have gentrified areas to create safe enclaves for their community. Damaris Rose (1984) identifies that depending on one's gender, marital status, and occupation, moving to gentrifying areas offers benefits that the suburbs cannot – childcare, social networks, and affordable housing. Other groups, such as members of the LGBTQ+ communities, which have historically been ostracized from traditional society, are attracted to gentrifying areas as a refuge from other intolerant communities, as well as their appeal as creative hubs (Lees et al., 2008).

Combining Supply and Demand

Both arguments place the onus on different actors when analyzing the causes of why gentrification occurs. Should the blame be placed on the capitalistic market, or should it be on the individuals moving into a neighborhood? Other scholars have argued that a more impactful way of analyzing gentrification is to combine these two arguments.

In his journal article "The blind men and the elephant," Chris Hamnett (1991) contends that both theories alone only tell part of the story and that in reality, they should be used to bolster each other. Hamnett argues that to have gentrification, a combination of the following conditions must occur:

There are four requirements for gentrification to occur on a significant scale. The first three are concerned, respectively with the supply of suitable areas for gentrification, the supply of potential gentrifiers, and the existence of attractive central and inner city environments...The final requirement involves a cultural preference for inner city residence by a certain segment of the service class (p. 186).

Historic preservation fits nicely into the supply and demand argument as well. Preservationist developers or nonprofits make use of real estate markets to both save historic properties and redevelop them, thereby establishing the supply of new housing for higher-class individuals. There is also a demand for historic real estate from both a cultural perspective, as well as a stable investment for homebuyers who hope to see appreciation on a property.

The Financialization of Real Estate

Now that we understand how and why gentrification occurs, we need to talk about how the real estate industry has evolved to create a system that has become increasingly competitive and market-based. Real estate is a very important asset, but as Samuel Stein (2019) argues in his book *Capital City*, it has a unique way of being valued that separates itself from other products. Stein claims that "Land is not traded like other products. Instead, according to geographer David Harvey, land 'is a fictitious form of capital that derives from expectations of future rents'" (p. 29). Because land gets its value from expected future "rents," which can also be called profits, the valuation of land is grounded in what the land can be used for as the "highest and best use."

The Financialization of Historic Preservation

Historic preservation does not operate in a vacuum, and there are broader market forces also acting within our capitalistic economy.

Historic preservation is not exempt from this financialization of real estate, and in fact, is intrinsically connected to real estate financialization. To quote the former executive director of Preservation North Carolina, Myrick Howard (2023), "Successful historic preservation is an exercise in dealing with real estate" (p. 23). Howard claims that preservationists should look at historic preservation from a real estate perspective as this is one of the most powerful ways to save historic buildings. He contends that when it comes to saving historic buildings, the issue is often not with the building itself, but with the ownership of the building (2023). Many of the tools that historic preservationists use such as the tax credits, revolving funds, low-interest loans, and the selling of air rights are all intimately connected to the financialized real estate industry.

The Financialization and Marketization of Historic Tax Credits

There is a considerable lack of academic research about the connections between historic preservation and the financialization of the real estate market. Renee Tapp (2019) addresses the gap by investigating how the historic preservation tax credit program has become connected with the broader financialization of real estate. The first step in this

process was the establishment of the historic tax credits in the 1970s, which sought to introduce value in older buildings that the tax code devalues because of their increasing age (2019).

In 1981 and 1986, tax credits were incrementally strengthened, resulting in the creation of the tax credit market that still exists today (2019). This market enables companies and individuals with large amounts of taxes to ostensibly purchase tax credits, often below their actual value, and use them to reduce their overall tax burden (2019). Tapp says that the tax credit market has increased the level of financialization of real estate, making it so that investors who may never set foot in the building can own a stake in the redevelopment of the building while simultaneously using the investment as a *tax shelter* for their business or personal tax liability (2019).

Although no comprehensive studies have been conducted to analyze the exact impact that historic tax credits have on neighborhoods, a study found that historic tax credits did not exacerbate gentrification in the communities it studied, though the author admitted that these neighborhoods were gentrifying (Kinahan, 2019). They also acknowledge that the tax credit projects contributed to increases in the median household income (Kinahan, 2019). Though the tax credit projects have created affordable housing, there is also no way to ensure that the housing remains affordable over the long term unless paired with Low-Income Housing Tax Credits, or some other affordability program. More research is needed to identify how affordable housing created through the historic preservation tax credit program fairs over the long term.

Section II: Implications for Understanding Historic Preservation Today Within the Increasing Inequality and Real Estate Landscape

Historic Preservation and the Increase in Property Values

One of the most common arguments among scholars and preservationists for why historic preservation impacts gentrifying communities is the effect it has on property values. Two studies were conducted with the respective aims of identifying how historic district designations impact property values and the purchasing process for homes in historic districts (Zahirovic-Herbert, Chatterjee, 2011; Zahirovic-Herbert, Gibler, 2012). These studies found that historic designation had a positive effect on property values (averaging five percent) and they found that the homes in and directly adjacent to historic districts sold faster (2011; 2012). The first study claims that “strong price capitalization of low-priced properties after historic district designation also implies a potential for displacement of low-income households,” but this is the extent to which displacement is addressed (p. 369, 2011). Additionally, these studies are limited in scope because they only address single-family residential historic district designations.

A similar study looked at all the historic districts in New York City and concluded that when a district is created 1) new construction within the district falls, 2) property values increase, and 3) surrounding areas benefit from higher property values as well (Been et al., 2016).

This knowledge should be an important consideration for preservationists and their work. Understanding what impacts a historic district *could* have on a community before seeking to establish a historic district should be one of the first steps in creating a more equitable preservation effort.

The Social Implications of Gentrification

Many studies argue that gentrification inevitably will lead to displacement (Elliot-Cooper et. al., 2020). The social implications that come along with gentrification can cause significant harm to communities. Schnake-Mahl et al. (2020) note that even in limited cases, displacement associated with gentrification can have troubling effects on communities by breaking up the critical social networks of long-standing low-income communities (2020).

Additionally, Scholars R Allan Walks and Richard Maaranen (2008) researched whether gentrifying communities in Toronto experience increased or decreased social mixing after gentrification takes place. They hoped to clarify often ambiguous statements about how low-income communities can benefit from socioeconomic integration in communities. They definitively found that communities are less socially integrated after gentrification, with greater income polarization and inequality (2008).

Even in the best circumstances, there can be challenges with the social integration of new and old residents in gentrifying communities. In the article "Social Preservationists and the Quest for Authentic Community" Japonica Brown-Saracino (2004) describes social preservationists as people who value the culture of a neighborhood and work to preserve that culture. Brown-Saracino notes that these individuals often prioritize one culture as the most "authentic," thereby disregarding the presence of other cultural influences in the community. This mirrors the historic preservation practice of choosing a "period of significance" for a community or building, thus prioritizing one era above others. Though this practice can have positive benefits for one group, it can ostracize others who call that community home.

Section III: The Relevance of Historic Preservation

Historic preservation is facing a critical juncture as it contends for relevancy in a world that sometimes appears to be against it. In an essay published in the nonprofit Landmarks Illinois' "The Relevancy Guidebook," the author explains why preservation is facing this challenge,

The historic preservation movement faces a relevancy crisis. To many, this will be a difficult statement to take in. It is challenging to see your life's work discounted and

rendered unimportant and, worse, inequitable. Some feel this criticism is unwarranted and only see our intentions as benevolent and our impact as positive. Others believe we are woefully lacking in self-awareness about the inequities in our field and that a reckoning is long overdue. Despite the widespread recognition that change is needed, there is little consensus about what to do. However, if we do not begin to change, decisions will be made for us and not by us. It is time to move beyond assessment and hand-wringing and into action (p. 17).

This is a powerful call to action for the field. As we will discuss in the next section, the field as a whole is grappling with how to make itself more relevant in the face of the many interconnected problems that the United States is facing: gentrification, displacement, and housing affordability.

Chapter 3 Research Methods

My research is organized into two phases. I first captured perspectives from the preservation field on the connection between historic preservation and gentrification, as well as some of the ancillary topics identified from my literature review that relate to gentrification such as displacement and affordable housing. I did this through a content analysis, where I identified common themes from writings by preservation professionals. The second phase of my research was to conduct interviews with three nonprofit organizations and one municipality to identify programs that they are implementing that contribute towards combating displacement through historic preservation.

Content Analysis

To better understand how the preservation field perceives gentrification, I conducted a content analysis of a professional forum and various pieces of literature, systematically recording references to gentrification and subsequently coding them to identify themes. I chose to focus on works that were created by preservation professionals only, since the focus of this report is towards these people. I define preservation professionals as people who are actively working in the field, as opposed to scholars who research and write about the field.

I used two sources of data for my content analysis. The first source is posts and comments from a private Facebook group called “Preservation Professionals.” This private Facebook group has 7,289 members (as of March 29, 2024) and was created for “historic preservation professionals who have worked, are currently working, or aim to work in the field” (Facebook, Preservation Professionals Group). I searched each term using the search feature embedded within the group. Any post or comment that had one of my target terms was copied into an Excel Spreadsheet along with the type of contribution (post or comment), the name of the contributor, and the year it was contributed. I successfully collected 72 posts and 224 comments ranging from 2016 through 2023. I excluded any post made after January 1, 2024, to ensure that my months-long process for collecting this information, stretching from January 2024 to March 2024, did not unintentionally exclude contributions.

The second source I used is a collection of 21 books, journal articles, and reports created by preservation professionals. The literature that I analyzed was published between 1965 and 2023, and consists of books, journal articles, and government and nonprofit reports. I successfully collected 225 separate entries. Due to time constraints, literature was limited to works that could be digitally searched or which had an index to find terms in. For the full list of literature that was reviewed, see Appendix A.

The search terms I used were identified through an iterative process. I first identified an initial list of terms through my literature review. As I started the search process, additional terms were identified and added to my list. Whenever a new term was added, I returned to all the literature and searched using that new term. The final list of search terms includes:

- Gentrification
- Gentrify
- Displacement
- Affordable Housing
- NIMBY
- YIMBY
- Neoliberalism
- Neolib
- Financialization

The codes that were developed for each of the terms can be found in Appendix B.

Case Studies

I identified four case studies after conducting research on organizations and cities that are doing work that aligns with a) historic preservation and b) anti-gentrification practices. The purpose of selecting the four case studies was to identify examples of organizations and cities that were combating three different vulnerable populations in gentrifying historic communities: 1) low-income families and individuals who want to purchase a home but may not be able to in a traditional real estate market, 2) long-time low-income or fixed-income homeowners who own historic homes but are struggling to maintain the home, and 3) low-income renters living in naturally occurring affordable rental housing located in gentrifying communities. Each case study addresses one of these challenges in its own unique ways. Additionally, the case studies are meant to represent how different-sized cities with different demographic makeups are addressing the problem of gentrification.

1. The L'Enfant Trust's Affordable Housing program was established in 2013 to take uninhabited homes in the Anacostia neighborhood of Washington DC and turn them into affordable housing. The program did not originally start as an affordable housing program but evolved into providing homes for people with 60-80% of the area median income. The L'Enfant Trust has completed five units (three of which are affordable) to date and is preparing to start on another affordable home later in 2024.
2. The City of Salisbury, NC BlockWork program was established in 2010 and has been hosted annually by the city. The program selects a block of homes through an application process and the work on the homes is completed by a mixture of professionals and volunteers. Projects are tailored to the homes on the block but historically have included yard work, new roofs, window repair, and painting.
3. The Historic Charleston Foundation Common Cause Loan Fund was established in 2022 to target gentrifying areas in Charleston, SC. The Initiative gives low-interest, partially forgivable loans to low-income property owners who wish to do work on their historic homes.
4. The Dade Heritage Trust Affordable Housing program (Miami, FL) was established in 2020 through a \$1 million grant from Miami-Dade County. The first project that Dade Heritage Trust completed is a multi-family apartment in the gentrifying Little

Havana community that will serve as affordable housing with a 30-year affordability restrictive covenant on the property.

Qualitative Methods

To better understand how these organizations are using historic preservation to combat gentrification, I identified and conducted interviews with key stakeholders involved in the projects (see Figure 2). I started by reaching out to one person at each of the organizations who could speak in detail about the programs. Though interviews sometimes diverged, they followed a standard set of questions (see Appendix C). I used a snowball sampling method to identify additional people to interview.

I conducted each of my interviews virtually, allowing for automatic transcriptions. I then coded each interview, establishing common and diverging themes among each of the case studies.

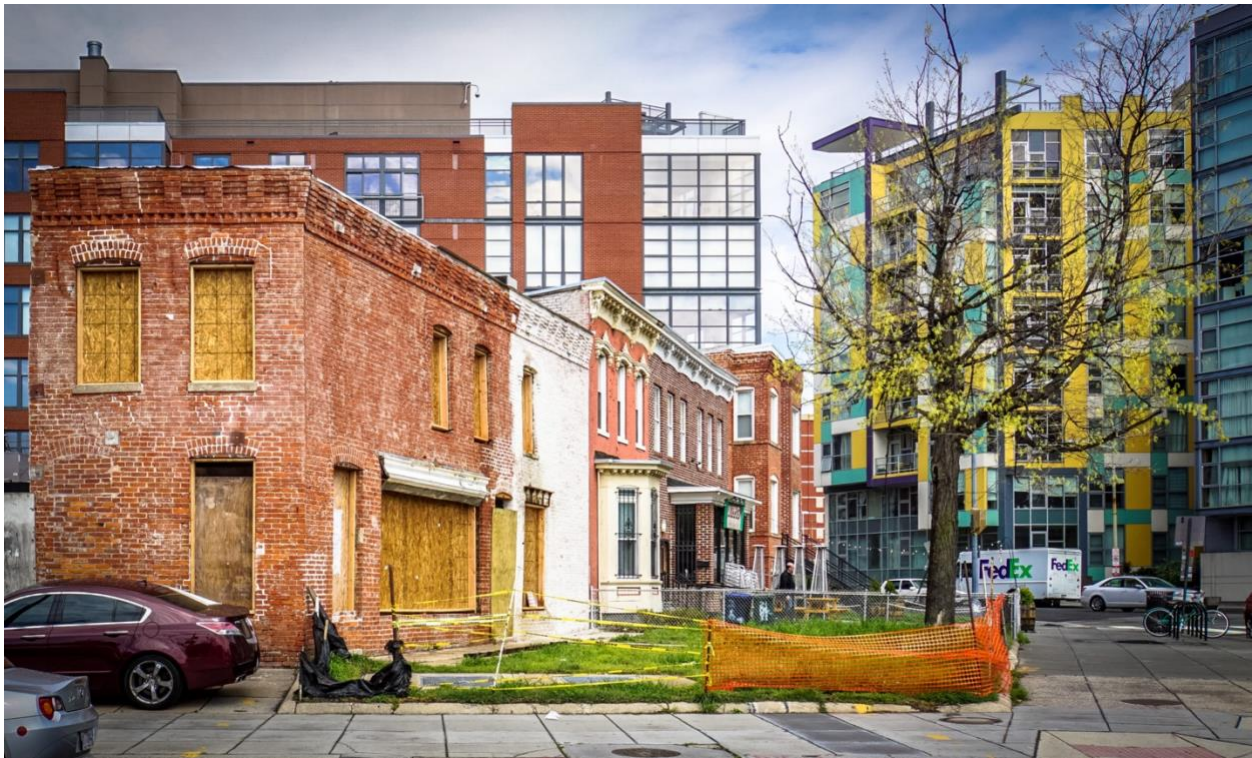
Figure 2: Interviews

Case Study	Position	Organization	Location
1	Staff	L'Enfant Trust	Washington DC
1	Board of Directors	The Historic Anacostia Preservation Society	Washington DC
1	Staff	DC Historic Preservation Office	Washington DC
2	Staff	City of Salisbury	Salisbury, NC
2	Volunteer	BlockWork	Salisbury, NC
3	Staff	Historic Charleston Foundation	Charleston, SC
3	Staff	Charleston Planning Department	Charleston, SC
3	Staff	Charleston Redevelopment Corporation	Charleston, SC
4	Staff	Dade Heritage Trust	Miami-Dade County, Florida



Findings

Chapter 4 Content Analysis



As we think about the relevancy of the field of historic preservation, identifying the current perspectives of professionals in the field related to gentrification is vitally important. Informed by my literature review, I used the subjects of gentrification, displacement, and affordable housing to ground my analysis of content in the Preservation Professionals Facebook Group and in literature written by preservation professional. In doing this, I answer the question: **How are historic preservation professionals discussing and addressing gentrification and the ancillary components associated with it, such as affordable housing and displacement?**

Image Source: Community and Economic Development in North Carolina and Beyond

Section I: Preservation Professionals Facebook Group

The Preservation Professionals Facebook Group provides a forum for anyone in the field to make a post or comment on almost any subject related to preservation. Many of the posts consist of questions to the group, links to external websites or articles, and announcements of conferences and other events.

Gentrification was mentioned 133 times, displacement was mentioned 48 times, and affordable housing was mentioned 117 times. These total numbers give a sense of how much these topics come up, but they do not show the nuance in how these subjects are discussed. I will dig into each of these categories and showcase various themes based on how the topics are being discussed.

Theme 1: Preservationists Accept Responsibility for Gentrification

“The relationship between preservation and gentrification is very real. In many places, this relationship is systemically racist.”

Over half of the contributions related to gentrification on the Facebook group are people acknowledging that the field of preservation should accept responsibility for its part in gentrification. Within this theme, a large portion of the contributions directly connect preservation and gentrification, such as the above quote. Additionally, there is a small portion of contributors who argue that preservation *must* do a better job of mitigating the negative effects on communities directly associated with gentrification. One commentor stated, “I see part of our job as not forcing people who have lived in a community for generations out because we make it ‘better.’ Not everyone has a car or the ability to move.

Gentrification is a serious problem. Being unaware of its impacts is a sign of privilege. Being dismissive of it and

unwilling to look for multiple ways to have economic and social diversity in a community is a sign of bigger issues with your approach to those who do not fit in your ‘acceptable’ boxes.”

Theme 2: Deferring Blame or Arguing That Gentrification and Preservation Are Not Connected

“Gentrification is happening in our community as a result of not having sound preservation practices in place.”

Despite the large number of contributors who recognize the connection between preservation and gentrification, there is a small but vocal minority of contributors who claim that preservation and gentrification are not connected or defer blame to something else. Though there are many diverse rationales made, two common threads are that new construction and demolition are to blame, or that solutions to the problem lie outside of the preservation field altogether.

Theme 3: Demolition and New Construction are Blamed for Displacement

“Recognizing how even mixed income housing can accelerate displacement in lower income areas has to be part of the conversation. That it's all treated as a net positive across the board w/ the YIMBY crowd really bothers me.”

Most contributors believe that displacement is negative for communities. However, many of the comments focus on demolition and new construction as the reasons for displacement in communities. Some of the contributors identify historical examples, such as urban renewal, which caused the mass demolition of minority communities. Modern examples were also given such as the increasing pressure by Yes In My Backyard (YIMBY) groups to “upzone” or increase density in communities, thereby, destroying historic buildings to promote new construction. There is tension throughout many of the posts between the need for higher density and the preservation of historic communities.

Theme 4: Historic Preservation Is Seen as a Solution to Providing More Affordable Housing

“Maybe you are on the end of the political spectrum believing we should create as many units of affordable housing as possible. Maybe your priority is using tax dollars as frugally as possible. Either way, you should be an advocate of reusing existing buildings for affordable housing. The same amount of money creates more units and the per unit cost is a

third lower. Affordable housing units created using the Low Income Housing Tax Credit are more than \$50,000 less when existing structures are used, including the cost of acquisition!”

Despite the differing opinions on gentrification and displacement, a large majority of the contributors support affordable housing, and see a natural intersection between preservation and affordable housing retention and production. Affordable housing is often discussed in tandem with both Low-Income Housing Tax Credits and Historic Preservation Tax Credits, which are seen as a way to subsidize the cost of construction, thereby promoting affordability for the projects. Additionally, there is a recognition that historic rehabilitation projects are often most economically viable in communities that are gentrifying, therefore, pairing affordable housing opportunities with historic rehabilitation projects is seen as a way to combat displacement in these communities.

Theme 5: Many Preservationists are Anti-YIMBY, and Preservationists Believe YIMBYs are Anti-Preservation

“We’ve noticed in our town that many of the YIMBY (yes in my backyard) pro-housing groups speak in vague anti preservation terms without really understanding the goals of preservation. This confused us until we realized that local developers had aligned themselves with those groups and were providing them with funding and talking points...”

Many preservationists expressed that they were anti-YIMBY, viewing YIMBYs

with an us-versus-them mentality. A few contributors expressed that they supported the work the YIMBYs were doing, which is tied to increasing housing options in communities. However, there is a very vocal group of preservationists who believe that they can never work with YIMBYs because their ideology is too extreme and goes against the work that preservationists do.

Theme 6: Preservation is Sometimes Used to Promote NIMBYism

"We successfully fought a 42 unit 'affordable' housing unit development that was 3 stories (in a neighborhood surrounded by modest shotguns and story and 1/2 cottages) it would have added 9000 trips through our neighborhood a month. The average rent in our town was 625 for 2 bedroom house. It was not needed and would have totally destroyed a neighborhood built between 1860-1880 and the PUD provided only 34 off street parking units. when many of these units were 2-3 bedrooms. This development was depended on tax credits and "neighborhood buy in". We brought the neighborhood out in force and killed it. Fast forward 2 years and property values have risen 30-40 percent and we are now looking at new single family owner occupied infill development in the 275-350K range. This means that many of the elderly residents who stood by their neighborhood for years (now looking to downsize) are now looking at a windfall due to increased values rather than a loss. Call me a NIMBY all you want I am proud to wear that label and save my historic neighborhood from ruin so

some developer could get a bunch of tax credits and write downs for an unnecessary project."

References made, such as the one above, were primarily in favor of NIMBYism, as it is seen as an extension of the preservation movement. Some contributors also expressed angst at the NIMBY movement for what they believed to be the co-opting of preservation to further the exclusionary NIMBY aims, which was believed to be a negative for preservation's image.

Section II: Preservation Professionals Literature

Analyzing literature written by preservation professionals is an important comparison to the Facebook group, offering an additional set of contributors with different perspectives on the topics previously discussed. The Facebook group represents a way for any professional to contribute their thoughts, opinions, and analysis. Comparatively, the literature I reviewed is often written by professionals working for nonprofits or government agencies who have taken longer periods to analyze the topics they are writing on. Therefore, the literature represents a more thoroughly analyzed perspective on the field.

In the literature, gentrification was mentioned 56 times, displacement was mentioned 72 times, and affordable housing was mentioned 66 times. Compared to the Facebook group, gentrification and affordable housing were referenced significantly less, but displacement was referenced more.

Theme 1: Gentrification and Displacement are Analyzed in a Nuanced Way

“Often referred to as ‘urban pioneers,’ the community preservation advocates prevented a number of neighborhoods with historic nineteenth-century row houses from falling into the decline seen in places like East New York, Brownsville, Harlem, and the South Bronx...Their achievements are remarkable, but it cannot be forgotten that the opportunity to be “pioneers” in these neighborhoods came about because of the continued marginalization and displacement of low-income people of color.”

Gentrification is often analyzed in a way that elaborates on both sides of the argument, giving both positives and negatives for how it might impact a community. Additionally, many of the works that I looked at attempted to analyze the connections between preservation and gentrification. Some of

these analyses blamed preservation, while others deferred blame away from preservation.

Theme 2: The Literature Attempted to Reflect on the Role of Preservationists in Gentrifying Communities

“What role should preservationists play in addressing these urban problems? Traditionally, historic preservation law focuses on addressing the ways that market forces affect buildings, absent consideration of the gross inequity of displacement or the impact on a community when its population is driven away.”

There were many examples of authors reflecting on the state of the field. Asking questions like the one above allows for further reflection and analysis on how preservation has historically impacted communities and the negative impacts it may still be having.

Theme 3: Affordable housing Production is Seen as the Solution to Combating Gentrification

“Historic preservation plays an important role in retaining existing affordable housing and creating new housing through rehabilitation. This role is not fully recognized, however, even within the preservation field itself.”

Affordable housing production (often through tax credit projects) is seen as the main way in which historic preservation can combat gentrification. Several of the pieces of literature conducted in-depth analyses into how historic preservation could involve itself more in affordable housing production. One recommendation was for preservation groups to embed themselves within existing affordable housing initiatives, “Preservationists can join with housing and community development advocates to shape policies and programs that preserve existing affordable housing in older neighborhoods, add new development without unnecessary demolition, and create new housing through rehabilitation.”

Working with other groups was rarely mentioned on the Facebook group but was mentioned several times in the literature. Community land trusts, community development corporations, and housing advocacy organizations were all mentioned as potential partners preservationists should consider working with.

Section III: Comparing the Two Sources

Theme 1: The Facebook Group Believes that a Variety of Preservation Tools can be Leveraged to Help Gentrifying Areas, Whereas the Literature is Skeptical of this Argument

Literature

"The demise of [bookstore] Marcus Books was a clear demonstration that the designation tools preservation planners rely on were not going to protect living culture and the historical memories associated with it. It helped people think about how we might incorporate what the field of preservation calls "intangible heritage" into our planning."

Many contributors to the Facebook group made comments about the benefits of preservation for communities and the impact that preservation tools *could* have on preventing gentrification and displacement in communities. For example, historic designation was a popular example identified to intervene in gentrifying communities. The literature was more skeptical of some of these tools, and the above quote makes note of one example in which historic designation was unable to save "intangible heritage," thereby resulting in gentrification.

Some of the literature approached the subject of preservation's relevancy and identified a false notion that all preservation tools can combat gentrification, which was seen as a hindrance to the relevancy of preservation. As will be shown in the next theme, the literature describes ways in which preservation *can* be used to

benefit gentrifying communities, which breaks from the recommendation by the Facebook group.

Theme 2: When describing solutions to gentrification, the Facebook Group believes that historic designation should be considered as a solution, while the literature identifies inclusivity as a solution

Facebook Group

"It is possible, in some cases, to make the opposite argument if preservation and/or historic districts or conservation districts are being proposed to protect areas where historically disenfranchised-disadvantaged groups now reside or have businesses. Some of these areas, close to urban commercial cores, are being eyed by developers for densification with new buildings (with higher rents), leading to gentrification and displacement of the current residents."

Literature

"Several contributors speak to questions of agency through the lens of community engagement. Jackson emphasizes the need for ethical engagement through a deep understanding of the complexity of community stories and desires."

As was previously identified, the Facebook group generally parroted historic designation as a tool preservationists can leverage. The literature takes a different approach, identifying inclusivity as one way to benefit gentrifying communities. Inclusivity is broadly defined by the

literature but includes elevating the voices of those living in the community, as well as giving them a “seat at the table” to help make decisions.

Though the literature does not speak highly of historic designation as a way to help gentrifying communities, it is a safe argument to make that combining inclusivity with a historic designation process could benefit the community while also achieving the aim of preserving the built environment.

Theme 3: There is Agreement Between Both Groups That Preservation Should Be Paired with Affordable Housing, and Tax Credits Should Be Used to Enable This

Facebook Group

“We have many affordable housing projects use HTCs. Combining LIHTCs and HTCs is one of the best ways for developers to provide much-needed senior housing in smaller more rural communities in Oklahoma. It’s also one of the only ways to preserve vacant historic schools and hotels in these areas.”

Literature

“The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit (FHTC) and HUD’s Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) can pair to incentivize reusing historic buildings for affordable housing. The FHTC incentivized the rehabilitation or creation of 185,525 affordable rental units between 1977-2021.”

There is consistency between the Facebook group and the literature that

historic tax credits and adaptive reuse projects are good solutions to the challenge of creating additional affordable housing. They also both embed these recommendations within the discussion of gentrification in communities.

Both of the sources utilized specific examples of developments that have been created in historic buildings that also used historic tax credits, such as the quote from the Facebook group. It was also popular for people to cite some of the statistics that are released annually by the National Park Service, which calculate the total number of affordable units created through historic tax credits.

One thing that was not mentioned was that units created by historic tax credits are not required to be affordable and no restrictions are placed on the developments to provide long-term affordability. Unless an affordability covenant or Low-Income Housing Tax Credits are used, the units are not required to remain affordable and could cycle out of affordability.

Additionally, one of the arguments made by some is that the use of historic tax credits may create below-market-rate housing options. However, there is very little research to back up this claim. Since, Historic Tax Credits are seen as an economic development tool, one of the goals is to eventually see rents increasing in that area.

Chapter 5 Case Studies



I identified four case studies that all contribute towards anti-displacement work in gentrifying communities in order to answer the question: **How are organizations using historic preservation tools to combat displacement in gentrifying communities?**

Three of the case studies operate their programs using a tool known as a revolving fund. Revolving fund programs are “proactive programs that use strategies such as purchase/resale, easements, options, tax credits and other means to preserve historic buildings. When a building is returned to private ownership (hopefully realizing a return on investment) any proceeds realized as a result of the transaction are used to rescue another endangered property.”

Image Source: The L’Enfant Trust
Quote Source: Preservation Partners Network

Case Study I: The L'Enfant Trust - Affordable Homeownership Program

Anacostia Neighborhood, Washington, DC

Background

The L'Enfant Trust is a nonprofit organization in Washington, DC founded in 1978 to hold conservation easements on historic buildings. In 2013, the L'Enfant Trust altered its mission to start a revolving fund. After completing two initial projects in the Anacostia neighborhood which were sold at market rate the L'Enfant Trust acquired three properties from the District of Columbia government to be restored and sold as affordable housing. The parameters set by the city were that the homes had to be sold at 60-80% of the area median income (AMI).

A staff member with the L'Enfant Trust described their role as “the developer of last resort,” which they first heard from Mary Anthony, the former director of the 1772 Foundation, a preservation revolving fund grantmaking organization. All the structures that the L'Enfant Trust acquired were sitting vacant for several years if not decades. The amount of work that needed to be done on the structures meant that if a for-profit developer acquired the properties, the buildings would either be demolished, would need heavy governmental subsidy to make them affordable, or would be sold at or above market rate. The other option would be for a private homeowner to purchase one of the properties, however, as the staff member noted, “they probably wouldn't even qualify for a loan to do the work,” and therefore, would need to have significant capital to complete a renovation of the home.

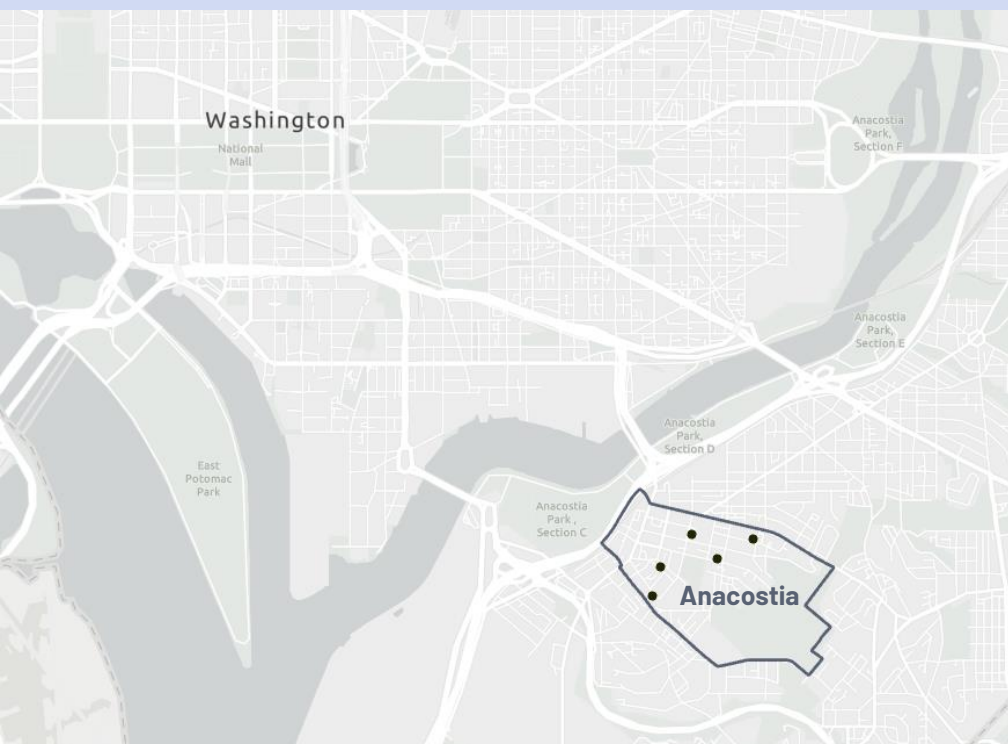


Figure 3: Anacostia is located to the Southeast of Washington DC across the Anacostia River. The Outline represents the neighborhood of Anacostia, and the dots are the locations of the five homes that the L'Enfant Trust rehabilitated.

Blue Outline: Anacostia Neighborhood
Green Dots: The L'Enfant Trust Rehabilitated Homes

Map Source: Sam Hayes



Image: Homeowners in front of their finished home.

Image Source: The L'Enfant Trust

Gentrification in Anacostia

From the interviews that I conducted and the outside research that has been done, Anacostia is experiencing a wave of gentrification due to the influx of people moving into the District of Columbia. Located across the Anacostia River from downtown Washington DC and described as a “bedroom community” by one interviewee, Anacostia is perfectly situated for someone to commute to their job downtown and live in a reasonably priced single-family home outside of the city.

A common thread throughout each interview was that Anacostia has been disinvested in for years. Several interviews mentioned the number of vacant buildings. Additionally, a staff member from the DC Historic Preservation Office spoke of the city government’s efforts to re-invest in the community and described how these efforts were attempted for decades but are just now gaining traction. There was a sense that Anacostia is “being discovered” again in the interviews, which places it at an integral moment in its path toward gentrification.

Producing Moderate-Income Housing

Anacostia has historically been lacking in public and private investment, which has led to residents leaving the neighborhood and an increase in vacancy rates in the community. This is important to note because not every neighborhood experiencing gentrification has a large vacancy rate, but in this case, it opens up opportunities for “flippers” to come into the community, renovate a home, and then either rent or sell it for financial gain. Two of the interviewees mentioned flippers as one of their main concerns in the neighborhood.

Even with this large vacancy rate, there is still a vibrant community that lives in this neighborhood. Therefore, when the L'Enfant Trust began its work in this community, it established several goals that were tailored to the community it was working in:

1. Take vacant, degrading buildings and return them to productive use.
2. Increase affordable homeownership opportunities in the Anacostia neighborhood.
3. Reduce building waste through the reuse of existing structures.
4. Ensure that new development is equitable and allows long-term residents to stay in the community.

It is important to note that the L'Enfant Trust is not trying to produce low-income affordable housing, but instead, is targeting moderate-income people. One interviewee described this as "workforce housing" meant to target "teachers, healthcare workers, [and] government employees." The parameters set by the District of Columbia government required that these homes be sold to families that are 60-80% AMI. Based on 2021 requirements, an annual income for a family of four at 60% AMI would be \$77,400, and at 80% AMI for the same size family, their maximum income would be \$103,200. Similarly, there are maximum purchase prices set for the different AMI levels. For a family of four purchasing a three-bedroom home at 60% AMI, the purchase price should be \$308,500, and at 80% AMI it should be \$426,000 (Inclusionary Zoning Program, 2021).

The L'Enfant Trust was not able to market the homes only to individuals in Anacostia, however, it did send its advertising materials to many of the community groups it built



Image: A finished L'Enfant Trust home.
Image Source: The L'Enfant Trust

relationships with throughout the process of restoring these homes, and the result was that three of the five homes were sold to residents from Anacostia.

Short-Term Affordability

After the purchase, there is a three-year affordability requirement placed on the property which means that if the purchaser sells within the three years, it must be sold for the same price *or* sold at the same AMI price that it was purchased at. They also cannot rent the property either short-term or long-term for the three years. The L'Enfant Trust staff member expressed they are attempting to walk a fine line between being strict while also providing flexibility to fit people's varying needs,

We aren't looking to help people invest in Anacostia, and, you know, live in New York and have a rental property in in DC. That's not what we're looking to do. But there are circumstances, you know, of course, where it might make sense for a family to rent, for whatever reason. And you know they need that flexibility. So but yeah, you know, primary Residency is an important part of that.

(Interview 1, The L'Enfant Trust, 2024)

There is also a tension between wanting to provide affordable housing *and* providing long-term wealth-building opportunities. In its current iteration, the program has found that the three-year affordability requirement is the best way to maintain the balance between these two goals, but there is a desire to re-evaluate this in the future.



Image: Before and after of one of the homes.
Image Source: The L'Enfant Trust

Themes

Theme 1: Politics

This project directly intersects with the local politics of the District of Columbia. The final three homes were donated to the L'Enfant Trust from the city after years of sitting dormant. One person interviewed identified the problem as political infighting. The agency in the DC government that owned the homes had plans to renovate them but eventually agreed to donate them to the L'Enfant Trust. The interviewee said that the DC government

had to sort of admit that its agencies weren't capable of moving these houses fast enough. So that something actually happened before they, you know, rotted and...fell down or burned down... that was a tough thing for politicians...and that, I think, is probably, what led to the difficulty in, or shall I say, difference of opinion.

(Interview 3, City Staff Member, 2024)

The L'Enfant Trust had the expertise and also did significant planning before embarking on this program, and therefore, it seemed like a viable option for the city at the time. It also had two market-rate projects to show that it could complete the projects.

Once the homes were transferred to The L'Enfant Trust, the next challenge was to keep the project relevant to the politicians. It did this by encouraging community members to speak at council meetings to express their support, getting included in the annual Historic

Preservation Office annual report, and continually giving credit to the mayor and council members involved in the project.

Theme 2: Financial Puzzle

The L'Enfant Trust staff member described the financials for each of these projects as a "puzzle." The funding for the projects came from a variety of sources including the 1772 Foundation, governmental entities such as the Commission on the Arts and Humanities, and individual and corporate funders. It also received a considerable amount of in-kind donations of labor and materials, which was also seen to build community buy-in for the projects.

A compounding issue to the funding puzzle was the sentiment by some that they were not donating to a profit-producing venture. One interviewee said that several donors made statements like,

Why would I donate a large sum of money to a project that is not going to make any money...they don't mind donating to a nonprofit, but knowing that we aren't going to like, we may not be able to recycle that money into another project, it may go towards that one project. They have a hard time kind of wrapping their head around that.

(Interview 1, The L'Enfant Trust, 2024)

The core of a revolving fund is that the funds used for the project eventually "revolve" back to the organization to use on another project. Yet in The L'Enfant

Trust's case, much of those funds were sunk costs that can never be recovered. This is the nature of producing affordable housing, and therefore, there is a constant need to continue fundraising and opening new funding opportunities. In 2023, it received a \$2 million Community Projects Funding Grant through the DC Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton to help with the continuation of the project.

Theme 3: Complexity of Identifying Eligible Homeowners

Finding the right purchaser for these projects was a challenge made more difficult by the variety of stipulations placed on the purchasing requirements by the city and other partners involved in the project. As mentioned before, the city required that the homes be purchased by a family with 60-80% AMI. Another requirement is that the number of family members correlates with the exact number of bedrooms a home has. A married couple with two kids would have to find a home with exactly three bedrooms. Finding homeowners like this was made easier through a partnership with the nonprofit Manna Homes, which helped find and screen homeowners and ensure they were sufficiently qualified to purchase the homes. Even so, it was difficult and resulted in some disappointed potential buyers.



Top Image: A newly constructed addition on the back of one of the homes.

Bottom Image: An interior kitchen of one of the homes.

Image Source: The L'Enfant Trust

Case Study II: City of Salisbury - BlockWork Program

Salisbury, North Carolina

Background

Salisbury, NC is a town of 35,000 people outside of Charlotte, NC. It is known for its historic neighborhoods, which one interviewee described as one of Salisbury's "main assets." In 2011, a group known as the Neighborhood Leaders Alliance created the BlockWork program as a neighborhood improvement project driven by volunteers to do minor home repairs and landscaping. Each year, one to two blocks are selected in the city to participate in the program. The city pays for most of the repairs done on the homes, which is almost all done by volunteers over a single weekend in October.

This program is different from the other case studies in this report because it is completely city-run. The city's planning department operates the program, and the city allocates money annually to the program. The other source of funding is primarily from grants, including a grant from the Lowes Foundation. The average annual budget for the program is \$40,000.

Gentrification in Salisbury

Though there is little documented research about gentrification in Salisbury, there are some anecdotal signs that it may be vulnerable to gentrification. Salisbury is within the Charlotte metropolitan area, which has experienced record growth that has spread to many of the surrounding communities.

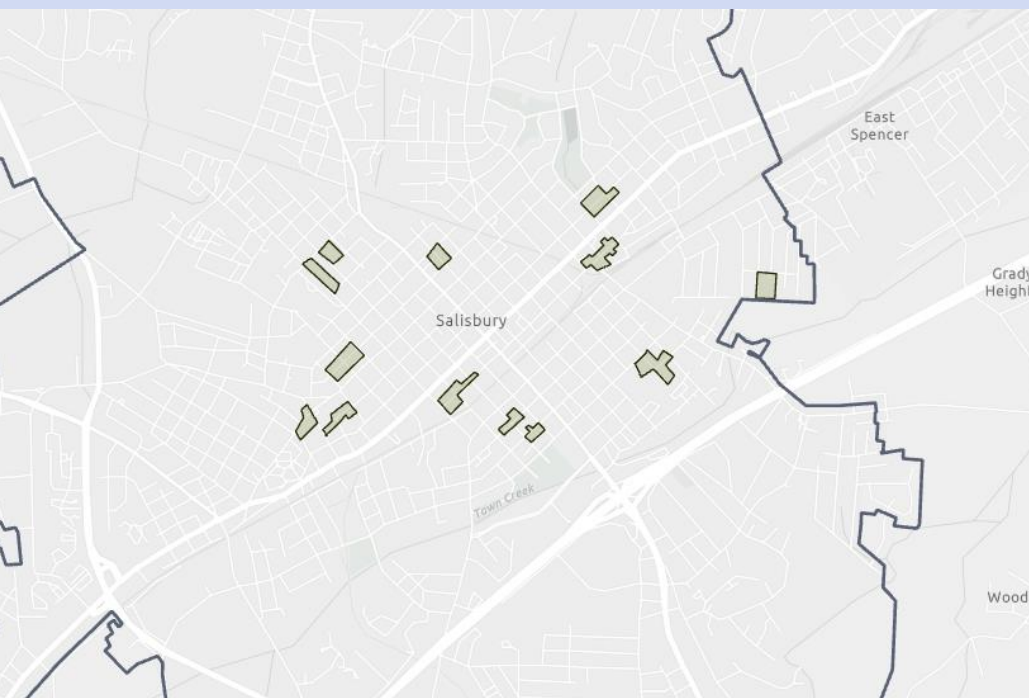


Figure 4: Salisbury, North Carolina is a small city of 35,000 people. The BlockWork program primarily works in neighborhoods surrounding the downtown area. The green shading represents the various blocks that have been worked on over the years.

Blue Outline: Salisbury City Limits
Green Shading: BlockWork Project Areas

Map Source: Sam Hayes



Image: Volunteers during the BlockWork weekend.
Image Source: City of Salisbury

Salisbury also has lower prices than Charlotte, making it appealing for people who want to leave the Charlotte city center but remain in the region.

One interviewee mentioned almost half of the city's population are renters. This interviewee also mentioned the prevalence of "slumlords." In their interview, they acknowledged that these slumlords often do not keep up the homes and apartments they are renting, but they also acknowledged that these are viable places for low-income renters to afford. They worried that the increase in rental prices could cause displacement. Additionally, they have seen an increased prevalence of flipping in Salisbury, describing it as "low-hanging fruit...it's almost like the profit gap is larger. You can buy a home for \$100,000 or less and sell it for \$250,000."

Who Participates and What Projects Are Done?

Each year, the application is publicized throughout the community, encouraging residents to nominate their block. Some of the components of the application include assigning a "Block Captain," a list of the participants on the block, and a description of some of the needs that the block has. This vetting process enables the city to identify blocks that may be requesting things outside of the scope of BlockWork, which enables city staff to make connections to other departments better suited to solve the problem.

The goal, though not a requirement, is to have 50% of the homes on the block be owner-occupied. The homeowners also do not have to be low-income, though the city staff person who I interviewed claimed that a vast majority of the applicants are considered low-income or are living on fixed incomes. Additionally, this program is not specifically targeted towards historic homes, but it has worked in historic districts, and many of the homes are older.

Once a block is identified, a city staff member coordinates with the individual homeowners to identify their specific needs. The scope of work can range from painting and planting to more structural things such as window and roof repair.

Themes

Theme 1: Complex Funding

The city council allocates funding for this project in their city budget. For many years, the city designated \$10,000 for the project but recently increased that amount. This allocation, combined with grants are the main sources of funding for this project. One interviewee described the difficulty of applying for grants for this project because many specifics of the projects are unknown at the point when the grant application is due. Additionally, there are fewer grants available since the work being done is on private residences.

The city staff member I interviewed said that grant application cycles are never in the “rhythm” of Blockwork, meaning that when the applications are due for grants, the BlockWork projects have not been selected. This ambiguity works against BlockWork receiving grant funding. This lack of a steady funding stream means that year to year, BlockWork may have vastly different amounts of money to work with, which leads to a limitation or expansion of the work being done.

Theme 2: The Possibility of Partnerships

One of the strengths of a project like BlockWork is to better connect the city with the residents being assisted.



Image: Volunteers working on a home during the BlockWork weekend.
Image Source: City of Salisbury

Partnerships are a key part of why BlockWork has been so successful. Partnerships between local funders as well as companies that give in-kind donations or volunteer are integral to BlockWork. It was already discussed how occasionally an applicant is put in touch with another city department if their request is outside the scope of BlockWork.

However, one person interviewed also expressed the limitations of the BlockWork program, and how partnerships could strengthen the impact the program has on homeowners. Since the work is relegated to the exterior of the home, one suggestion was to partner with Duke Energy, the energy provider in Salisbury, to do a home energy audit and find ways to reduce energy consumption. This is particularly important for older homes, that may have problems with insulation. A partnership like this can both decrease the energy costs for homeowners and decrease their energy consumption, thereby promoting sustainability.

Theme 3: Combating Displacement

Though this case study is less targeted toward vulnerable populations, it still makes progress toward helping residents who may be targets for displacement - low-income or fixed-income residents who own their homes. The challenge is measuring the effectiveness when no income information is collected. Additionally, there are no parameters set for the homeowner remaining in their home. Flipping was mentioned as one of the concerns in Salisbury, and yet, there is no barring the homeowner from selling their home after the work is completed. The only source of information we have

on this comes from one interviewee, who said that they have not seen one house sell after work has been completed. The program is designed to ensure that there is buy-in from the homeowners on the block, and therefore, the potential for this being used to assist in flipping is low.



Image: Volunteers working on a home during the BlockWork weekend.

Image Source: City of Salisbury

Case Study III: Historic Charleston Foundation - Common Cause Loan Fund

Charleston, South Carolina

Background

Historic Charleston Foundation (HCF) was first established in 1947 and quickly created a revolving fund in 1957 as a way to purchase abandoned homes, restore them, and then sell them to private homeowners. Like most revolving funds, one of the express goals of the program was to ensure that these properties will pay property taxes, thereby re-introducing revenue to the city.

The revolving fund has had several iterations over the years and is still evolving, however, the trend has been that HCF has become less involved in directly purchasing homes, restoring them, and selling them. This change occurred because of the real estate market in Charleston has seen astronomical price increases in the last few decades. One interviewee said that HCF simply cannot afford to purchase homes anymore, and therefore, the private market has taken over.

In the late 2000s, HCF began the process of altering its revolving fund program to become a revolving loan program, creating the Common Cause Loan Program that provides loans to low-income homeowners (below 80% AMI) who live in historic homes. The program provides a \$60,000 loan to homeowners to do exterior work to their homes. All work must

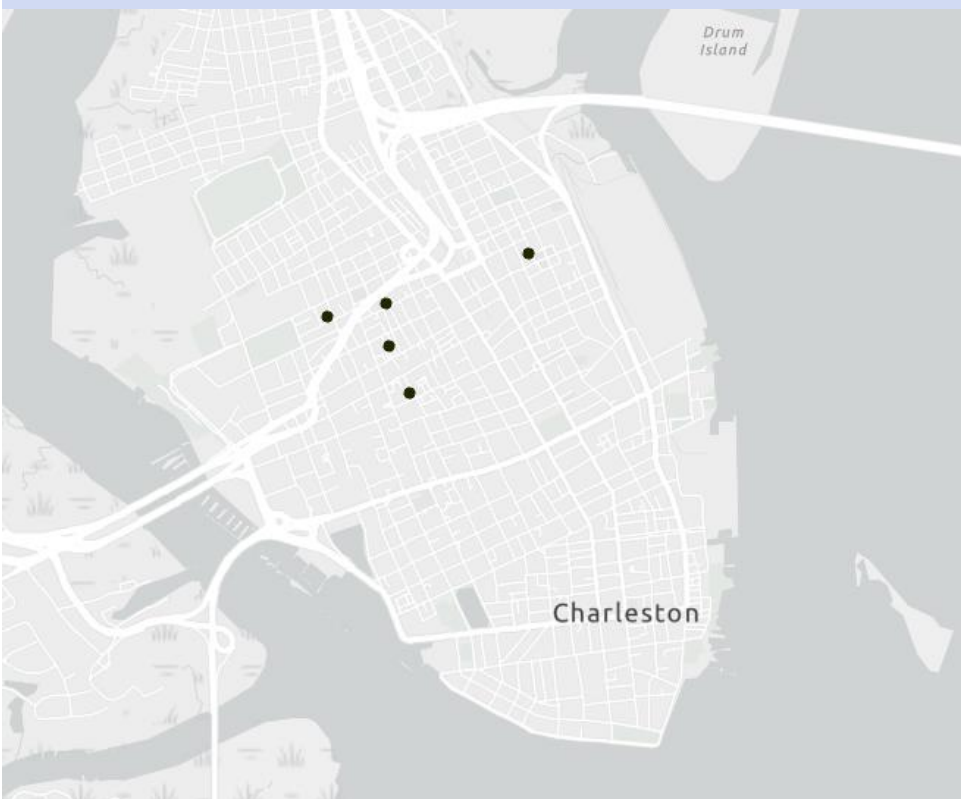


Figure 5: Charleston, South Carolina's main city center is located on a peninsula. In 2022, the five homes Historic Charleston Foundation granted loans to were located at the heart of the city. Many of them flanked the highway, a remnant of urban renewal that cut through Black communities.

Green Dots: 2022 Homes That Received Common Cause Loans

Map Source: Sam Hayes

Image: Common Cause Loan Fund property after renovation.

Image Source: Historic Charleston Foundation, Common Cause Loan Fund



be historically appropriate and includes roof repair or replacement, siding repair and painting, and window repair – work that will contribute to the continued livability of the homes.

The program is a collaborative effort between the HCF, the Charleston Redevelopment Corporation, and the City of Charleston. 2/3rds of the loan is forgiven if the home remains in the family for seven years, and the remainder of the loan comes due if the home is ever sold outside of the family. The homeowners are required to create a will and take part in a financial literacy course run by the Charleston Area Urban League.

The homeowners can choose their contractors to do the work (though they must be vetted by HCF), but the funds are paid directly from HCF to the contractor. Additionally, HCF requires that all work be approved before it is started, ensuring that it is both historically appropriate and fits within the budget of the loan.

To date, HCF has finished ten projects – five per year since 2022 with another five projects slated to be completed in 2024.

Gentrification in Charleston

There is well-documented gentrification occurring in Charleston. Long-time residents must compete with an influx of new residents *and* the massive number of tourists who flock to the city every year. Competition between existing residents, new residents, and tourists leads to low housing stock, which increases the prices. Practically every neighborhood on the Charleston peninsula has been touched by gentrification.

One interviewee noted that long-time residents on fixed incomes living in older homes are more susceptible to gentrification because of the high costs for repair and maintenance of their older homes. They claim

We know owning a historic house is expensive. What we're seeing is a lot of displacement because people cannot afford to keep up with the maintenance, and they have deferred maintenance, and they can no longer, you know, it gets more

expensive. And then it exasperates from a problem plus the real estate market is ridiculously strong, and it's causing... economic issues are causing displacement.

(Interview 1, Historic Charleston Foundation, 2024)

Preventing Displacement

The express aim of HCF's program is to prevent displacement of vulnerable residents by providing them with the financial resources to maintain their historic homes. By focusing on some of the most common threats to an older home, such as the roof and windows, the homeowner can work towards maintaining the homes at the level that allows them to stay in them.

HCF purposefully created the parameters of the program so that it would benefit homeowners, while also deterring negative interests. The seven-year ownership requirement was designed to deter flippers from utilizing this loan program to renovate and then sell the home. It also stipulates that the home cannot be a short-term rental.

The other aim is to allow homeowners to use the home as a generational wealth-building asset. The parameters of the program stipulate that the loan does not need to be repaid until the home sells outside of the family, therefore, promoting the transfer of the home within the family and ultimately providing future generations with a wealth-building asset.

To date, the ten homeowners who have been helped are almost all single women. Nine out of the ten have been African American, and eight out of the ten have been retired, therefore, on fixed incomes.



Image: Before and after of home.
Image Source:
Historic Charleston
Foundation,
Common Cause
Loan Fund

Image: Common Cause Loan Fund property before renovation.

Image Source: Historic Charleston Foundation, Common Cause Loan Fund



Themes

Theme 1: Trust

As mentioned before, the program is a partnership between HCF, the Charleston Redevelopment Corporation, and the City of Charleston. Because of these partnerships, there is an added level of complexity for the homeowners, who must agree to two mortgages and three notes on the deed, which leads to five different legal documents that the homeowner needs to review and sign.

This has also led to suspicion within the community that HCF has tried to combat by learning how to better explain the process and meaning of the legal documents to the homeowners. Building trust within the community is one of the biggest obstacles to this project.

Theme 2: Limitations

One interviewee noted that the scope of work is limited to exterior work. They argue that “there still may be other interior enhancements that, you know, odds are it’s that original kitchen. It’s that original bathroom. there are other things that may need some attention.” When thinking about strategies to keep residents in their homes longer, one integral part may be interior work that can make the homes more livable. For individuals who are trying to age in place,

outdated bathrooms and door frame widths are just two problems that an individual might eventually need to contend with, especially if they one day need a wheelchair or walker.

At its core, this is a program run by a historic preservation organization. Therefore, one of the rules is that they will not “downgrade” a product, for example, replacing wooden siding with vinyl siding. Interviewees identified that this can mean increasing costs, and the natural conclusion is that the \$60,000 loan may not buy as much as it could if lesser materials were used. Ultimately, the goal is to preserve both the built heritage and allow residents to remain in their homes.

Case Study IV: Dade Heritage Trust - Affordable Rental Program

Little Havana Neighborhood, Miami, Florida

Background

The Dade Heritage Trust (DHT) was founded in 1972 with the mission to preserve Miami-Dade County's architectural, environmental, and cultural heritage. It does this work through education, advocacy, and their revolving fund program. In 2017, the National Trust for Historic Preservation named the Miami neighborhood of Little Havana as a National Treasure. Little Havana is an immigrant community established by Cuban exiles coming to the United States. There is a large stock of low-rise multi-family buildings built in the Art Deco style. For several years, DHT worked towards establishing an affordable housing revolving fund program to acquire multi-family buildings in this neighborhood, restore them, and then operate them as affordable housing without displacing any of the existing residents.

In 2020, this program became a reality with the appropriation of a \$1 million grant from Miami-Dade County to DHT. DHT used this money to purchase a four-unit apartment building in the Little Havana area for \$650,000 and the remaining \$350,000 was used to renovate the building. As a staff member with DHT described, one of the tenants left their unit as it took over ownership, allowing for "a little puzzle. We rehab the unit, move somebody, rehab and move," which ultimately allowed them to avoid displacement or

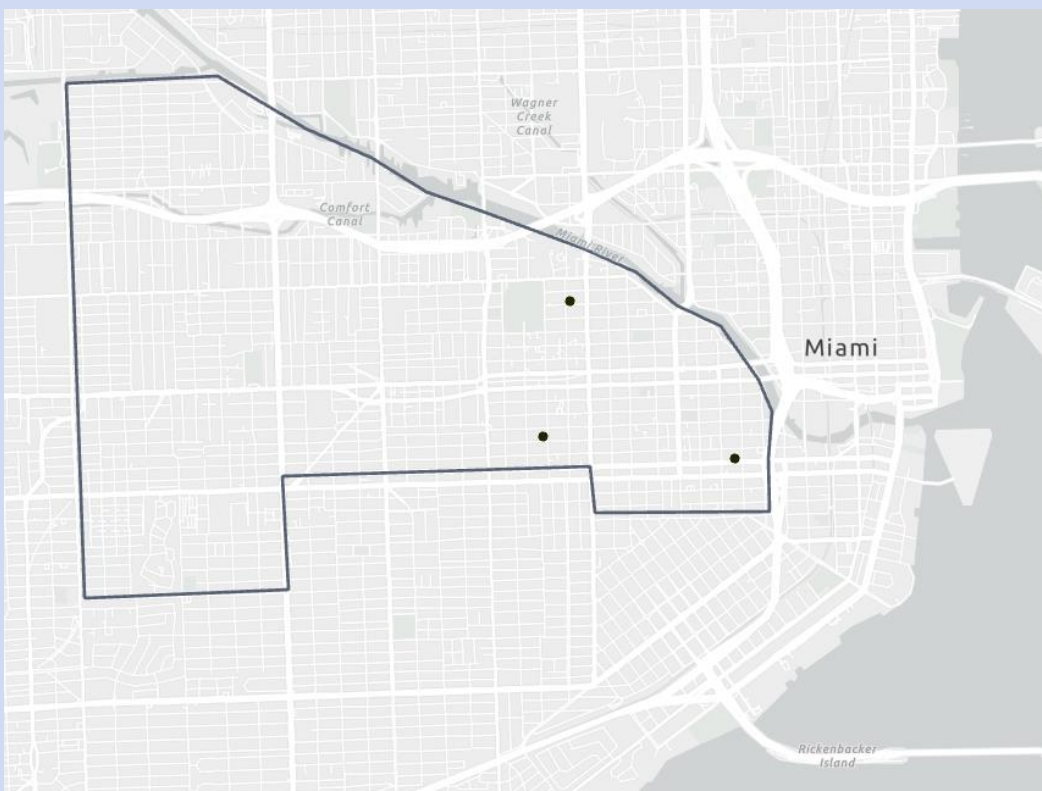


Figure 6: Little Havana is located to the West of downtown Miami. The three apartment buildings that the Dade Heritage Trust own are located throughout the Eastern portion of little Havana.

Blue Outline: Little Havana Boundary
Green Dots: Dade Heritage Trust Apartment Building Locations

Map Source: Sam Hayes

Image: The first apartment building finished by Dade Heritage Trust

Image Source: Dade Heritage Trust



moving current residents to temporary housing offsite while the renovation was underway.

The DHT has since bought two more buildings which are currently under renovation. For these projects, DHT is subsidizing the rent for the tenants who had to move out of the buildings while unsafe building violations are being remedied.

Upon completion of their projects, DHT maintains ownership of the apartment building. Though it contracts with a property management company, DHT also serves as an operator for the units. One staff member for DHT said they spent 30% of their time on the renovation and operation of the three apartment buildings it owns, a significant portion that was not anticipated at the start of this project.

The agreement with the county stipulates that all projects DHT completes must have 75% of the units be affordable for 30 years. DHT must provide proof of the rent it charges to each of the residents, along with the resident's income. For the three units in the first project, this means that each unit is about \$900 a month. The remaining 25% of units are allowed to be rented at market rate, and the one apartment in the first project is rented for around \$1,700 a month, which is still below market rate for Miami.

Most of the rent that is raised cycles back into the revolving fund, therefore allowing the "revolving" element of the revolving fund to eventually occur once enough money is accrued. DHT applied for exemption from property taxes for each of their apartment buildings, and other than expenses like property insurance, it is not allowed to retain any of the rent money for operational costs, such as paying DHT staff.

In total, DHT has received \$5 million from Miami-Dade County for this program, and as it continues to show the success of their projects, it hopes to receive more funding.

Gentrification in Miami

Miami is experiencing a different form of gentrification than the other cities in this study due to the large influx of capital into the city through private investment companies and individuals. According to a 2023 study, Miami was found to be the least affordable city in the United States (Ionescu, 2023). Miami is a globalized city, with people purchasing homes and real estate from all over the world. One interviewee commented that Jeff Bezos, founder of Amazon, recently moved to Miami from Washington state to avoid paying \$600 million in taxes. This example shows the attraction that Miami has for the rich and famous, and this kind of attraction leads to vast wealth disparities within the city and the entire region.

Interestingly, DHT stepped in several years ago to speak out against a blanket upzoning ordinance that would have affected all of Little Havana. In this instance, DHT made the argument that if upzoning was allowed to occur, it would negatively impact the naturally occurring affordable housing that exists in the area and still serves as a viable source of affordable housing for many immigrants and low-income people.

Providing Affordable Rentals and Preventing Displacement

DHT's program ultimately is trying to preserve naturally affordable housing. The apartment buildings that it purchases are considered naturally affordable often because of the poor condition of the buildings. The key element to this program is that DHT cares both about the buildings *and* their affordability. It can intervene to purchase the buildings, fix them, and then keep the rents affordable.



Image: Dade Heritage Trust property before renovation.

Image Source: Dade Heritage Trust



Image: Interior of one of the apartment buildings.
Image Source: WLRN South Florida

Themes

Theme 1: County Requirements

As mentioned before, certain requirements were placed on the funding DHT received from the county. One stipulation is that none of the funds it receive from rent can be used for the operational costs of DHT.

One of the powers of this program is how local it is. One staff member from DHT talked about how often they receive calls from tenants in the apartment buildings, and how beneficial it is to have personal connections with residents. However, as DHT continues to increase the number of apartment buildings it owns and operates, its resources will become increasingly strained if it is not able to hire additional staff to manage the growing number of buildings and tenants. This could cause them to outsource some of their operations, thereby weakening the local connections.

Additionally, another stipulation of the funding was that DHT is not able to mortgage any of the apartments it purchases. Since DHT owns the properties outright, it could theoretically

get a mortgage on one of their properties and use the funds for another project, thereby doubling their impact. One person interviewed said it would be a goal for future negotiations with the county to revisit this stipulation.

Theme 2: Trust

One interviewee mentioned the challenge of building trust with the existing residents of the buildings, stating, "We have worked very hard to try to instill trust. You know, when we buy these buildings like, the first thing they think is that they're gonna be evicted right." They expressed that the trust was integral because DHT wanted to know what was happening in the buildings it owns. If there are problems, it wants to be able to fix the issues because it cares about the long-term viability of the building and the comfort of the residents.

Theme 3: Politics

Since the primary funder for the project is the County, DHT is deeply connected with the politics of the County. The initial \$1 million in funding was secured after the county council member from the

Little Havana area advocated for the program. Because of this advocacy on behalf of the program by this council member, DHT felt obligated to select projects that were within the council member's district.

After the initial \$1 million in appropriations from the county, DHT received another \$500,000 in grant money for the project. This was disappointing and a person interviewed identified politics and ego as a reason for why this lesser amount was approved. This fluctuation in approval makes one interviewee identify the county as unreliable, and therefore, there is hesitancy to continually rely on the county for funding. Regardless, the staff member at DHT said that they have a good relationship with the county and identify them as an integral partner in this project. This mixed reaction can be summed up in the sentiment that "[DHT has] to play those politics."



Top Image: Dade Heritage Trust's first project before renovation.

Bottom Image: "The Keyhole."
Currently under renovation by Dade Heritage Trust

Image Source: Dade Heritage Trust

Chapter 6 Thematic Analysis

Theme 1: Visibility

Each case study identified the visibility of projects within the immediate and broader community as an integral part of its success. For all the organizations, visibility within the community it is working in is important to gain their support and trust.

An important part of this theme is also bringing greater visibility to the history of a community and the residents who live in that community. The staff member at the L'Enfant Trust specifically identified this as something it aims to do with this project and a reason for their ongoing work in the community.

Additionally, all the organizations talked about the importance of telling their stories to a broader community through social media, blogs, conferences, and other forms of media. The organizations all expressed that the public visibility of these projects is almost always a net positive for the organization and helps them gain support and financial donors.

Theme 2: Financial Puzzle

As noted in some of the case studies, these projects represent complex "financial puzzles." All interviewees spoke to the complexity of piecing together various funding sources and working with municipalities, county, or federal governments to find funding to continue or expand their projects.

In each interview, I asked if there was any hesitancy by donors to contribute to a project that was benefiting individual homeowners. The responses were

unanimous that there was no hesitancy. Only one interviewee with the L'Enfant Trust spoke to some hesitancy by donors that there was no profit being made, but otherwise, donors were willing to support projects that promoted affordability in gentrifying communities. In Historic Charleston Foundation's case, one interviewee talked about how the threat of displacement for long-time homeowners has helped with fundraising for this project. They said that "people want to, I mean, everybody is worried about the displacement that we're seeing, and this is one way to help."

None of these projects utilized loans from financial institutions or historic or low-income housing tax credits. Though the use of these financing methods could benefit the projects and allow for expansion, it also will integrate these projects into the financialization of the real estate market, which could change the dynamic of the work.

Theme 3: Community Pride

Community pride was brought up multiple times throughout each of the interviews. In the first three case studies (The L'Enfant Trust, Salisbury Blockwork, and Historic Charleston Foundation) the neighbors of the projects felt a sense of ownership over the projects. One interview in Anacostia spoke about how they live across the street from one of the projects and were so happy to see the buildings put back to use.

In some cases, the projects inspired other property owners to improve their properties. In Miami, one interviewee

noted that improvements were made to the apartment buildings across the street after the completion of Dade Heritage Trust's first project.

Theme 4: Small Impact

When asked about the impact of the projects, one of the common sentiments was the small-scale impact each project actually has, and how it might not be making as much of an impact combating gentrification and displacement as it could. The staff member at the Historic Charleston Foundation described the limited impact as a way to set expectations on what the organization is achieving. It is not trying to solve gentrification, because as the interviewee expressed, that is a big ask for one small program. But it is trying to help homeowners stay in their homes and help families build generational wealth.

This sentiment, however, does not deter the organizations from continuing their work. Almost all of them are hoping to increase their capacity to do more work in the future. Additionally, none of the organizations deflected the responsibility of stopping gentrification, but rather, qualified that their impact may not be able to stop broader market forces. This is important to note because a sentiment to some in the field is that preservationists should not try to combat gentrification. These organizations are showing that it is possible to help individuals combat the negative aspects of gentrification.

Theme 5: Potential to Cause Gentrification

I asked every person I interviewed "How do you think your program currently does or could combat the negative aspects of

gentrification?" The answers I received from all the interviews were reflective of their impacts on communities. The L'Enfant Trust and the Salisbury Blockwork interviews acknowledged that their work could be contributing to gentrification but expressed that they were unsure if it was. The Historic Charleston Foundation and Dade Heritage Trust interviews did not express this same sentiment, but instead, connected gentrification to being a more market-wide phenomenon. It is this juxtaposition that is the real embodiment of the supply versus demand argument that was discussed in the literature review (see pages 11-12). For each of these case studies, a powerful way to analyze their impact on gentrifying communities could be to unite the supply and demand analyses together to see how the program fits into the individual and broader gentrification narrative.

Chapter 7 Recommendations and Conclusion



It is my desire that after reading this report, you have more to think about with regards to your role in gentrification, may it be at a city, nonprofit, for-profit developer, or as an advocate. Through my literature review, I addressed what gentrification is and how it occurs, and ultimately connected it to historic preservation. The content analysis is a way for us to reflect on the field's perspectives on gentrification, displacement, and affordable housing. I hope that you can reflect on your own perspectives and identify how it fits into the broader field's beliefs. Finally, I identified and analyzed four case studies that I hope provide inspiration for how preservation can be used to combat gentrification. Though each of these case studies showcases challenges, they also show what is possible.

Image Source: City of Salisbury

How Can Preservationists Be More Self-Aware in the Face of Gentrification?

The following steps are summarized from the literature review. If you need clarification on any of these steps, I would recommend reading through the literature review again.

Step 1: Come to the table with an understanding of the definition of Gentrification, as well as how historic preservation can be connected to gentrification. Decide if your audience understands the definition of gentrification, and if they don't, find a way to explain it without using technical jargon.

Step 2: Identify the disinvestment that has historically taken place in communities. Think through what areas may be threatened by gentrification. Remember Donovan Rypkema's quote about historic areas "It's already a great (or potentially great) neighborhood."

Step 3: When considering re-investment, think through how this re-investment may impact the community that is living in the area. Consider how the supply-side and demand-side reinvestment may impact the community in different ways.

Step 4: Take a step back and look at the real estate market as a whole. How is historic preservation interacting within the market and how might this impact the community you are working in?

Step 5: At the community level, think about the negative consequences that may come from gentrification. Are there ways to mitigate these negative consequences?

Policy Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Expand the Big Tent

As we think about the relevancy of the field of historic preservation, preservationists must realize that the field is just a small element of the larger ecosystem of our cities, states, and country. This is not an excuse for preservation, which some may argue does not have a role in things like gentrification. Instead, it is an honest identification that preservation must collaborate and expand the "big tent" in order to become more relevant.

We must think about other groups that may have historically been or currently are in opposition to preservation. Seeing the small subset of preservationists who are open to the YIMBY belief of increasing housing options in communities shows the importance for preservationists to be open minded about other movements. Working with these groups will not always be easy, but the dialogue between "us and them" is vitally important.

Recommendation 2: Ask Questions About Affordability

When working with developers, nonprofits, or cities, ask questions about what they mean by “affordable.” Just because something receives tax credits does not mean it will be affordable, and it certainly does not mean it will be permanently affordable. Asking the question and then if possible, encouraging or demanding long-term affordability can change the course of a project. Continuing to question and advocate for long-term affordability must be an integral part of the preservation mission.

Additionally, as we think about displacement in gentrifying communities, simply providing affordable housing or workforce housing in those communities does not guarantee that the housing will go to the existing residents living there. Advocating for and elevating the voices of residents must be an integral part of the historic preservation process.

Recommendation 3: Though Tax Credits Are the Current Foundation of Historic Preservation, the Field Should Continue to Search for Viable Opportunities for Alternative, Less Financialized Ways to Save Older Buildings

Since the 1970s when historic tax credits were first introduced, they have slowly gained strength and have become the paramount tool preservationists can leverage to see historic projects completed. Because of this, the field has been slow to adopt other alternatives that may provide for more equitable and less financialized development projects.

Through this report, we identified four examples of communities doing this work, and there are dozens of other ideas that have been tried. Finding ways to elevate these examples and remove preservation from the confines of tax credits as the only viable opportunity for historic redevelopment should be a priority for the field.

We should not limit our search to domestic examples, as international communities are doing exciting and unique things to preservation their heritage and support existing communities.

Finally, we should look to other non-preservation groups, such as community land trusts, community development corporations, and grassroots activists to find inspiration.

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I will end this report by encouraging researchers to continue the work started here and explore more examples of ways in which preservationists can try to combat gentrification in communities and empower residents. Though I argue that this work is important for the relevancy of the historic preservation field, it is most important for the communities that are vulnerable to unwanted change. Let us work in solidarity with these communities to ensure that the residents have a voice when it comes to the future of their neighborhoods.

Chapter 8 Appendices

Appendix A: Content Analysis Literature

Literature Title	Author	Year Published	Type
Achieving Equity Through Heritage Preservation: Lessons from the Margin for the Center – An Interview with Donna Graves*	Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article
Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Policy Statement on Housing and Historic Preservation	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation	2023	Policy Statement
Blackspaces: Brownsville Codesigning Black Neighborhood Heritage Conservation*	Emma Osore	2020	Journal Article
<i>Buying Time for Heritage</i>	J. Myrick Howard	2023	Book
Connecting Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing*	Caroline S. Cheong	2020	Journal Article
Finding the Soul of Communities – An Interview with Claudia Guerra*	Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article
Historic Preservation and Community Development: Past and Future Synergies*	Vicki Weiner	2020	Journal Article
How Can Historic Preservation Be More Inclusive? Learning from New York City’s Historic Districts*	Ingrid Gould Ellen, Brian J. McCabe, and Gerard Torrats-Espinosa	2020	Journal Article
<i>Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation</i>	Ned Kaufman	2009	Book
<i>Presence of the Past, A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg</i>	Charles B. Hosmer, Jr.	1965	Book
Preservation Priority, Affordable Housing and Density	Preservation Priorities Task Force	2021	Report
Preservation’s Reckoning*	Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article

Preservation's Engagement in Questions of Inclusion: A Literature Review*	Allison Arlotta and Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article
Pullman Revitalization, Historic Preservation, and Community Engagement - An Interview with Ciere Boatright*	Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article
Telling the Full American Story: Insights From the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund*	Brent Leggs, Jenna Dublin, and Michael Powe	2020	Journal Article
The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters: Fostering Social Inclusion by Creating Counternarratives*	Andrea Roberts	2020	Journal Article
<i>The Past and Future City, How Historic Preservation is Reviving America's Communities</i>	Stephanie Meeks with Kevin C. Murphy	2016	Book
The Relevancy Guidebook, How We can Transform the Future of Preservation	Bonnie C. McDonald, Edited by Jean A. Follett	2023	Report
Toward an Inclusive Preservation: Lessons From Cleveland*	Stephanie Ryberg-Webster	2020	Journal Article
Toward Equitable Communities: Historic Preservation in Community Development - An Interview with Maria Rosario Jackson*	Erica Avrami	2020	Journal Article
<i>Why Old Places Matter, How Historic Places Affect Our Identity and Well-Being</i>	Thompson M. Mayes	2013	Book

*Denotes journal articles that come from Columbia University's Journal "Issues on Preservation Policy."

Appendix B: Content Analysis Codes

Gentrification

1. Preservation is not the cause of gentrification/displacement.
2. Preservation is the cause of gentrification/displacement.
3. The author does not see a connection between preservation and gentrification/displacement.
4. Gentrification is positive.
5. Gentrification is negative.
6. Gentrification is a double-edged sword.
7. Gentrification is acknowledged.
8. Gentrification is because of new construction.

9. Preservationists can do a better job of combating gentrification/displacement.
10. Solutions to gentrification lie outside of preservation's scope.
11. There is a perceived misinformation about historic preservation's connection to gentrification.
12. Preservation can be used to combat gentrification/displacement.
13. Preservation alone cannot solve gentrification, but it is part of the solution.
14. Gentrification/displacement is not widespread.

Displacement

1. Displacement is used as another word to describe gentrification.
2. Preservation is being used and no displacement occurring.
3. Preservation incorrectly attributed to displacement.
4. Displacement is mentioned as a description of what is occurring (without mentioning gentrification).
5. Displacement was not as widespread or present at all.
6. Mention a way to prevent displacement.
7. New construction and upzoning are to blame for displacement.
8. Historic displacement described.
9. Solutions to displacement.
10. Short Term Rentals
11. White architecture firms are blamed.
12. Preservation is used to displace or to exacerbate displacement.
13. Any displacement is bad.
14. Cultural or health issues with displacement.
15. Preservation must contend with its role
16. Preservation tools are not completely successful at preventing displacement.

Affordable Housing

1. Affordable housing is offered as a solution to gentrification.
2. Gentrification is connected to the affordability problem directly.
3. Preservation provides affordable housing (examples).
4. Preservation is used as a scapegoat for affordability issues.
5. Preservation is seen as a way to provide opportunities to create affordable housing (no specific examples mentioned).
6. Need to create more opportunities for preservation to create affordable housing.
7. New construction, upzoning, or demolition are to blame for the lack of affordable housing.
8. Need to build and preserve affordable housing.
9. Affordable housing and preservation, viewed from outside perspectives, are antithetical.
10. Affordable housing ill defined.
11. No such thing as affordable without government subsidy.
12. Preservationists shouldn't try to make affordable housing.
13. The affordability crisis will become more widespread.
14. Affordable housing is referenced.
15. Preservation has a checkered past with affordable housing.

16. Unsure how preservation can help with the affordability crisis.

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Overview

1. Can you give an overview of the program?
2. Can you describe how the program was first established?
 - a. What was the organization's rationale behind establishing a program like this?
3. How long has the program been going on?
4. Are there specific areas that you are targeting?
5. What are the goals of the program?
6. How is the program funded?

Effectiveness

7. How would you judge the effectiveness of the program based on the intended goals?
8. Have there been challenges in implementing the program?
9. Are there ways that your organization is analyzing the effectiveness? Are any changes being made to the operation of the program?

Effectiveness at preventing gentrification

10. My research project seeks to look at programs that can be used to prevent the negative aspects of gentrification. Gentrification for this study is defined as: "...[A]n economic and social process whereby private capital (real estate firms, developers) and individual homeowners and renters reinvest in fiscally neglected neighborhoods through housing rehabilitation, loft conversions, and the construction of new housing stock... It also gradually displaces by increasing rents and raising property taxes."
11. How do you think your program currently does or could combat the negative aspects of gentrification?
12. What does gentrification look like in this community?

Advice

13. What advice would you give to another organization that is trying to replicate this program?

Contacts

14. Who else should I talk to in the community about this project?

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