# HISTORIC PRESERVATION:
# A STUDY IN LOCAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

by

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**(ABSTRACT)**

Do citizen volunteers, sitting on legislatively created local historic architectural review boards, represent a part of the American governance tradition? This study examines the relationships between public board members, citizen interests, career public administrators and the elected appointing authorities. This research involved a national survey of over 1200 members of boards of historic architectural review. In addition, four town or county case studies are presented in detail. These case studies are Jonesborough, Tennessee; Lynchburg, Virginia; Cobb County, Georgia; and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. These case studies are examined through an ecological perspective.

Within the context of this study, boards of historic architectural review are very much a part of the urban/town/county governance model. They are highly

professional in their composition, highly egalitarian, and deeply committed to furthering highly individualistic notions of community. Although some national community studies suggest a malaise in communitarian ideals, this research suggests just the contrary. The failure of citizenship falls more upon the legitimacy accorded to citizens as public administrators rather than an apathy toward manifesting that citizenship.

Historic preservation itself is in a national state of disarray. Its ethos is poorly defined, and the national wellspring for preservation impetus to the local community is strained. Most communities find themselves struggling to fit a nostalgic, sentimental vision of the preserved environment into a well articulated economic model.

This research suggests that local historic architectural review boards need to draw upon themselves to create better opportunities through self-study and formal certification programs. By enhancing their natural reserves of professionalism and commitment, they will advertise what they already do very well: administer in the public interest. By joining with like-minded community-based public boards this new coalition promises a energy and direction for municipal governments. The key is to foster an open environment of dialogue and debate centered on furthering good, responsive government.

Acknowledgments

This project owes an easy debt to a great many people, some of whom I acknowledge as I progress through the lessons this work exposes. It would be remiss on my part not to thank those fine administrators on their local boards, serving long hours to further the public's business. Many of these administrators I got to know personally. Hundreds of them are names on survey forms. Yet all of them, if bound by a single vision, are bound by the vision of building a better community for themselves, their families and their fellow citizens.

This project was also ably served by the guidance and example of those who served on my committee. While frequent personal communication was not always possible, their high professional standards, and their professional contributions stood always as a beacon. I was constantly mindful of their standing. My committee chair, Charles T. Goodsell, encouraged me when I needed it, brought my attention back into focus when it drifted, and lent his not inconsiderable education, training, and career accomplishments to the task of refining this work.

I want to thank my students at Virginia Tech and my students at Central Michigan for allowing me to test the

reasonableness of my language and the persuasiveness of my interpretation. They have never failed me in their honesty.

The patient, encouraging assurances of my wife Annette, her parents, my brother, my sister and friends — especially Mary, Mark and Don — to endure my long private voyage deserves a special acknowledgment, and a humble dedication of this work to their care and nurture. Mid-career transitions are not easy on anyone within the circle.

# Dedication

To the memory of my mother

Virginia Jesse Ann Crawford Nicolay

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> But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department, the necessary constitutional means, and personal motives, to resist encroachments of the others. ... Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuse of government. But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself.
>
> Federalist No. 51
> James Madison

## CHAPTER ONE: PUBLIC BOARD AS PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Writing to the people of New York, Madison argued that the people should embrace the unratified Constitution. The people, however, were suspicious. Their experience with central governments had not been positive. Madison reminded them that the men of government are no different than those outside of government: they are likely to act in their own interests. Therefore, a good organizational scheme for government recognizes this propensity. Of course, Madison was not thinking about local government. While self-interests certainly brought men into local government, the check on their power was the face-to-face relationships

these men had with the citizens.

When citizens assume roles of responsibility in government, that government is obliged to recognize that the interests drawing citizens into government must be checked by the interests of others in government, and outside of government. When citizens organize the administrative functions of local government, they are mindful that their government must be so constituted as to control itself.

The people and the administrative functions described in this book are a part of governmental organizations that are parts of much larger plans. The historic architecture review boards of this study are not political units in isolation from other political units. Indeed, these boards share administrative interests with planning and zoning commissions, with administrative departments managing land use, with police departments, with housing authorities, and so on. Architectural reviews are checked by elected councils. They are checked by the various interests on the board itself. The terms of appointment of board members are staggered so as to resist boards becoming stacked with the "men" of a particular elected council that appoints them. Notwithstanding the desires of the appointees to serve, they have some requisite expertise that makes their service desirable to those appointing them.

Local governments are complex and dynamic. These

governments are administered by individuals who are not angels. They are people with both broad and narrow visions of community, and of their roles within that community. The administrative units of local government do not enjoy absolute control. For as surely as the government is obliged to control the people, this government must find ways to control itself. This control demands that power not be centered in any one function of government, that the people have some safety in this knowledge, and in their ability to petition government.

While the focus of this study is historic preservation and its local administration, this book is about the enterprise we call public administration, and about the government that Madison envisioned. It is about the role served by this public administration in providing good government. The public administration of this book is not the career occupation within bureaucracies, but it is at the heart of public administration regardless: experts with a commitment to searching out and serving the public interest within their respective communities. This public administration is not composed of angels, but in many ways, there are angels within them. Within this public administration is the potential for better government.

In 1980, Congress rewrote the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The revisions extended to special

local governments the authority to create historic architectural review boards which, for the first time, would eventually take a part in the National Register of Historic Places certification process. Previously this process was the domain of state governments in concert with the National Register of Historic Places.

The Register is the nation's official registry of significant historic structures, that is structures worthy of preservation. In addition to serving as the beacon for all who cherish the nation's vast inventory of historic sites, the Register also provides technical assistance to citizens and administrative guidance to state preservation agencies. The Register is a part of the National Park Service, itself an agency within the Department of the Interior. Historic preservation guidelines are issued in the name of the Secretary of the Interior.

Local boards of historic architectural review (HARBs) were not unique to the period following the 1980 legislation.[1] Indeed, HARBs with some type of historic preservation mandate have long been a part of the local governance organizational chart. The distinction which followed the 1980 revisions to the National Historic Preservation Act was simply that the Congress was extending to a few local governments — known as certified local governments — a key role in deciding what was worthy of

preservation and the steps to secure that preservation from a local vantage point. In order to secure the local process the revised legislation encouraged these certified local governments to seek out members representative of certain professional categories to sit on these HARBs. The Congress attempted to protect the public interest in historic preservation by placing historic preservation professionals on the board itself. The Congress also provided limited financial incentives to encourage local governments to participate in the program.

HARBs created under the certified local government program may compare favorably with HARBs created under some local plan. In fact, early review boards generally consisted of representative historic preservation professions. The key difference is that a certified local government HARB must have these representative professions — or some demonstrable way of obtaining their expertise.

While Congress wanted to give more control to local communities over a policy area that had previously been primarily federal, Congress was not in a position to dictate to local governments unless some incentives were attached. The trade-off was simple: maintain the HARB according to a professional composition formula and the local government can enjoy additional tax based resources. Unfortunately, these resources proved insufficient to the task. There has

to be another reason for local communities to demand a balance of professions on the HARB. Indeed there is, and this is to the heart of this study: good administration goes hand-in-hand with good government. HARBs can be a part of the good administration balance scale.

These HARBs are an important part of the American governance tradition: ideally they provide good public administration over their legal charge; invariably, they create the opportunity for democratic participation. In this book, historic preservation is the vehicle by which I explore the public administration function of local public governing boards.

As this research will demonstrate presently, there is a national historic preservation movement, but the local historic preservation activities lack a cohesive, focused sense of themselves as a part of the national movement.[2] The national historic preservation movement has been more focused in its activities. Beginning with the New Deal's Work Progress Administration which gave work to unemployed writers, historians and architects, the national preservation movement directed its energies into identifying historic buildings, and stabilizing them in order to prevent further deterioration. The local historic preservation movement has had a much different agenda, that is to follow through with the actual preservation and the management of

these structures as a part of a community's resource.

The forces driving the American historic preservation movement are diverse and complex. The research herein amplifies other research on American historic preservation. For most people, historic preservation encapsulates a plethora of interests: concerns for economic revitalization of once vital residential, commercial or industrial districts;[3] an attempt to make a coherent statement about present and future land use; a sense of community identity which uses historic preservation as a kind of "community glue"; and for many, a comfortable, nostalgic anchor in an otherwise turbulent environment.[4]

Certainly the preservation movement has found its inspiration through grass roots efforts to stave off the destruction of a local historic inventory, promote its expertise through architectural, public history and urban studies undergraduate and graduate programs,[5] and further its legitimacy through a series of federal statutes which make the business of preservation economically attractive and community-oriented. Unfortunately, most of the planners who deal with preservation issues have only a smattering of preservation or historic training. This has improved slightly over the last few years as more university planning-oriented-programs have course offerings in historic preservation.[6]

A great many people find something of personal value in old buildings and unique landscapes. This attachment is not driven by tax incentives alone.[7] Rather, the pulse of historic preservation has always been the love of history, and the "preservation ethos." Individuals who ascribe to a preservation ethos,[8] struggle to make the language of economics a salient part of that ethos.

Most often, like-minded people attempt to persuade their local governments to take action regarding some prized, usually threatened with demolition, landmark. Unschooled in political persuasion, unlettered in the dynamics of historic preservation, these efforts may founder. It is, as the National Trust for Historic Preservation has argued, difficult to sell local government funding sources on nostalgia.[9] More and more local community preservation efforts have found themselves using the language of economic growth to convince the lawmakers that preservation is "good business."[10] It comes as no surprise then that as a small part in a complete local government scheme, the better organized historic preservation architectural review boards have also used economic considerations in order to pursue their public policy positions.[11] Competition for local resources is keen.

The economic argument has its place, yet, curiously,

architectural review boards are typically staffed by sympathetic historic preservationists: architects, historians, members of local history societies, designers, landscape architects, and mostly interested citizens or residents of historic districts. If there is a paid public servant — usually there is not — this servant is generally associated with land use planning.

The relationship between local planning and historic preservation takes on a variety of forms. In the majority of American communities, the historic architecture review committee or commission is constituted as an adjunct to the planning/zoning department. These committees are created by ordinance concomitant with historic districts or landmarks. In most communities, they are advisory only. They review a variety of routine applications which are required under local building and zoning ordinances as they affect the physical appearance of the historic district itself. For citizens seeking building permits, or satisfying similar local building codes, these architectural review committees are an additional layer of bureaucracy in the review process.

While the historic architecture review committee — known by several appellations — in most communities is independent of the full time, professional local government, in a small jurisdiction, the review committee takes on a

much more significant role than in a larger jurisdiction. At a minimum, these committees may still be only advisory; yet the professional makeup of the committee provides for a public policy input mechanism to which the public managers and political representatives are more attuned than they would be if the board's composition is amateurish. Occasionally these review committees may be given more than simply advisory duties. These committees may actually have the authority to deny homeowner requests to alter their buildings. In these instances, the review committee is only the first step in a hierarchical appeal process, with the final step most often the town/city council, board of aldermen, or county commissioners.

In a handful of major metropolitan areas, the HARB is wholly autonomous. These committees generally have a full-time staff, a full-time director, and they answer to a board of directors which are appointed. Chicago, Nashville, Charleston, and New Orleans are examples of this type of jurisdiction. While in some cases the review process may even dominate – as it does in Nashville for instance – the state process, in most communities, this is simply not the case.

In most communities, the HARB consists of various historic preservation types of professions (for instance architecture, history, art history, archeology) which give

expertise but do not have enforcement authority. They generally serve to advise historic district or landmark homeowners on the proper course of historic home maintenance. The paid staff member generally facilitates the processing of applications for building alteration. These applications are known as certificates of appropriateness, or COAs. The building alteration may be as simple as adding a coat of paint, replacing a window, or adding on a porch. The alteration may be as complex as a complete remodeling or even a demolition. The architectural review process is concerned with <u>any</u> alteration to the external appearance of a structure or site recognized under the local ordinance as having historic significance.

The most common historic area is a neighborhood within a special zone known as a historic overlay, or without overlay zoning, simply historic districts. Historic districts can be contiguous structures and open spaces or they can be rural districts. Typically single structures are known as landmarks, and if a board controls the creation and supervision of landmarks, as in New York City, these boards are landmark commissions. There is no real difference between the HARB and the Landmark Commission. Historic districts (and landmarks as well) can include public buildings, churches, commercial buildings, as well as the more typical private residences.

Nationally there are in excess of 5,000 historic districts. Exact counts are hard to extract because on old forms there is no requirement for a census of these districts. Of these, perhaps 2,500 historic districts are sufficiently managed to have some type of local oversight board giving professional historic preservation advice. While the quality of this advice varies according to the local expertise willing to serve, this research indicates that there is generally no lack of enthusiasm for local historic preservation. My research clearly reveals a strong commitment to a romanticized notion of a historic preservation; for instance, a common theme is the love of the grand Queen Anne late Victorian homes with their attention to ornament, and exaggerated building lines as in the prominent turrets and ornamental shingles. On the other hand, this research indicates that most members of HARBs have a very poorly articulated sense of historic preservation as a national movement, or a broader commitment to some set of values that might be defined as a historic preservation ethos.

Conceptually the local historic preservation coin has these two sides: on one side is the professional or semi-professional individual with training and service in a field sympathetic to historic preservation; the other side is the articulation of an economic argument. Let's consider this

coin as a dialogical device as we explore the public administration functions of the HARB.

The professional side requires a vocational immersion. Apart from their interests in historic preservation, these professionals embody certain standards which are a part of their respective professional backgrounds. Two of the preservation professions, architects and historians, illustrate this point. For the architects sitting on HARBs, their professional training includes an appreciation for the craftsmanship, design and artistry of those who, like themselves, devote their lives to the design process. For these architects, preservation involves the maintenance of a professional lineage and a celebration of past design. For the historians sitting on architectural review committees, the preserved material culture creates a laboratory for understanding and interpreting the past. Historic preservation, then, is a form of continuity, bound together by the language and training of the professional. Each professional on the HARB would bring with him/her a socialized set of personal and professional values.

What defines the bas-relief on the obverse side of our coin? The market economy. With its philosophical roots in the 18th century Enlightenment, the market economy is a common base we all share in our dialogues with one another. Its roots are the foundation of liberal democratic

government.[12] Buildings (and landscapes) are a part of this economy. Like all market exchanges, buildings compete for survival within an environment which holds that new is better.[13]

A liberal democratic view of the market persuades participants to strike a bargain.[14] It may not be the best, the most equitable, or the fairest bargain. It is, however, a bargain which recognizes the tensions existing within a market model: not all relationships can be reduced to economic terms, but these relationships are treated as if they could be reduced.[15] In order to estimate a better bargain, public discourse is required.[16] Governments have a responsibility to provide not only the forum for this discourse, but the stimulus as well.[17]

## Citizens in Public Administration

In this project I argue that the professionally trained and preservation-minded members of the historic architectural review boards should lead the public discussion.[18] They are appointed by elected policy makers and, consequently, have a sanctioned voice.[19] They have an expertise which lends itself to nurturing public debate. These historic architectural review board members have a special connection to the public for whom they administer. Because of their ties to the legislative process that

created them as a board, they are a part of a public administration that is a

> fully legitimate part of the regime, because it helps to define citizenship in the regime, because it embodies rules about how members of American society are to relate to one another as citizens, because it fosters certain understandings of politics, and because it helps give the citizenry its organized existence.[20]

Above all, board members are citizens actively pursuing the inheritance of good government, that is, the opportunity to serve and shape policy.[21] While they are not full-time career administrators in this context, HARB members do have a normative grounding in their professional training. They enjoy a freedom of movement through their ability to articulate a viewpoint and through the language of the ordinances which empower them. They also operate in a market economy through which they, like everyone, must compete for resources and policy positions.[22]

Different board members have different values, and collective values are in competition with each other. The values inherent in a historic preservation board member are inevitably different than those of a zoning appeals board member, or of a school board member.[23] Values also compete. To compete successfully, the HARB members must also confront the values associated with property ownership. How can they do this and be true to their professional standards? The liberal democratic model allows them to do

this. The liberal democratic model demands that the tensions of the market be tempered with the moral discourse of market participants.[24]

An active citizen perspective of public administration requires that a dialogue take place out of which comes public policy.[25] Primarily the HARB facilitates public discourse through the public hearing process. Hearings are routine gatherings of board and affected public acting through the legal mandate of the ordinance.[26] This mandate generally involves the simple supervision over the visual integrity of a designated historical neighborhood.[27]

But the content of dialogues need not always be verbal exchanges. Historic preservationists frequently communicate through a preserved material culture, allowing their printed interpretative materials to supplement what exists as a building or a landscape. To this end, preservationists share common nostalgic sentiments with a small audience drawn from a generally unsympathetic public. Largely untutored, these preservationists compete against economic values.[28]

The HARBs which constitute the working heart of a certified local government program have not been the subject of a thorough assessment, but this much seems clear: while the intent of the Congress was to decentralize a federal program, in doing so, whether it intended to do so or not, Congress set up conflicts. The expectations of the

communities do not neatly coincide with the administrative expectations of state and national governments. Local communities want the autonomy to chart their own land use course, but are constrained in doing so not only by state enabling legislation, but also by state and federal funding opportunities and available resources. The intent of Congress to return to local jurisdictions a measure of control over their historic district designation and zoning processes resulted in funding programs still largely governed by state and federal requirements. The designation of "certified local government" was not the economic windfall a great many local communities thought it would be. In fact, without the overarching commitment to a local historic preservation program regardless of state and federal funding, local historic preservation stands on shaky grounds.

This research examines these "grass roots" HARBs with a critical eye toward an evaluation of their public administration functions. I adopt a "citizen as administrative participant" perspective. These administrative participants are special public administrators: they are not trained public administrators, nor are they compensated for their services as administrators. These "citizens as administrative participants" bring to their public duties professional and

occupational skills and a citizen's interest in participating in local government. In the "citizen as administrative participant" perspective a positive, direct relationship is posited between serving the public as an administrator and serving the interests of that public as a citizen.[29]

The "citizen as administrative participant" rests at the heart of this relationship. This citizen does not replace the role served by the career public administration. Nor should it be thought to supplement that role. The statutory function of the HARB is not cast in this mold. Rather, this is a distinct legitimate relationship to public administration and to citizens in a ground of long standing legal, social and economic traditions. The career administration has specific training which lends itself to working within a public bureaucracy. The career administrator works with other career administrators in often tedious, detail day-to-day operations of government. The "citizen as administrative participant" tends not to become bogged down in administrative detail. This person lends his/her expertise to a public forum, and just as with the career administrator, it is this expertise and some sense of public responsibility, that he/she uses as a vantage point from which to operate. The "citizen as administrative participant" is disadvantaged by not being

immersed in the routines of government, and they tend not to develop the important liaisons necessary for networking. The "citizen as administrative participant" must put in extra effort to know key administrative and political leaders. The career administrator is much better advantaged, by virtue of knowing the place, to petition city managers, county administrators, and council members.

A number of important values contribute to the "citizen as administrative participant" model that I explore. This in itself is new ground, but the traditional public administration literature addresses these issues. This literature uplifts the notion of serving the public as a tenet of public administration in a democracy while suggesting that there must be limits on the scope of authority any administrator can hope effectively to advance. At the local level, generally this range of service is loosely described by the individual administrator's sense of community. We will return to this shortly.

This "citizen as administrative participant" relationship is rooted in the so-called "public interest."[30] The concept of "public interest" is widely used as a device to lend authority to administrative pronouncements. For whatever else it means, acting in the public interest implies that an effort has been made to identify what the public finds of value in the

jurisdictional domain of the administrator, and that the administrator has the requisite skills to carry out the mandate of his or her office.

The public interest literature addresses both the career public administration service and the legislative process. It is an easy extension to embrace those who serve as professionals on the HARB. Without knowing it, the members of these HARBs become public administrators in the very real sense of administering in the public interest. These HARB members have a very direct, and very immediate impact on their community,[31] and their fellow citizens have a very direct and very immediate impact on them. They live and work in the same town. Consequently, their mutually defined memberships bear certain costs as well as certain responsibilities. These citizen administrators are known to those over whom they have administrative responsibilities. There is more likely to be a face-to-face accounting of their public decisions than there would be if these relationships were more distant. A citizen living in a historic district is more likely to know a member of the HARB than to know the director of planning or the city manager. We will revisit this in the closing chapter.

This research is conditioned by the following important consideration: while I focus on HARBs and their public duties, my **vision** runs to a much larger community and to a

much broader concern, that is, the role of citizen in a modern liberal democracy.[32] The opportunity to serve the public may be more important than the service itself. To protect this opportunity becomes a critical charge to our political guardians.

I make one assumption from the start: democracy represents the highest **ideal** form of political organization, and for the foreseeable future, liberal democracy, or limited or Madisonian democracy, will serve to approximate that ideal.[33] In Federalist 10, Madison paid due tribute to the factious nature of man in creating a system of government that understood the nature of man and balanced it with sufficient authority and compensation to do the job, and sufficient insecurity that others within that system desired the power of the former. This government bears the mark of a truly ingenuous system, and one which finds itself modeled time and again at all levels of government and service. By knowing the procedural rules for our "democracy" we are reasonably free, and can negotiate our differences. Public boards play an important part of this balance of power scheme. They are an important access point for citizens in terms of service and involvement in the administrative process. The public board provides expertise not typically located within the local career public administration and rarely on the elected boards.

Participatory administration, or assured access government, adds a significant dimension to our understanding of public administration in a liberal democratic regime. Here we are concerned about a more open administration, a government through which citizens can participate,[34] not to represent someone else, or to stake out career expectations, but to satisfy their own needs.[35] Public bureaucracies tend toward closure. They are rarely interested in expanding their citizen-to-government interfaces. Within the context of their mandates, public boards nurture these interactions gladly.

Access administration recognizes that not all citizens will participate in government, but that government must provide the opportunities for participation. Failing in this basic provision, Americans will doubtless experience, as one recent study demonstrates, a sense of disconnectedness.[36] Public administration plays the next role. Government must protect the access paths to participation. It is then for citizens to take opportunities presented to express their individual talents.

Access administration requires deliberation among citizens and administration. This concept should be a central thrust to public administration in the public interest. Without deliberation, any attempt to discover the public interest in the more narrowly proscribed role of the

public board is incomplete, perhaps even impossible. What is true of the lesser democratic political community, is no less true of the specific role of the HARB: the basis and essence of all democracy is "government by discussion."[37]

Reflecting over his years of observing the British parliament, Ernest Barker offers three axioms for the maintenance of a public dialogue. The first axiom is the Agreement to Differ, and not just in a formal conversational courtesy. If we recognize that profound differences exist between participants, these differences can serve as a common dialogical base with neither side playing a win/lose struggle, assuming that they are totally right and the other is totally wrong.

A second axiom is the Rule of the Majority. Majorities define themselves on the result of internal negotiation, which resolves the shades of opinion within the majority. The third is the axiom of Compromise. Barker cautions us against a simple majoritarianism that is not tempered by the concessions minority polarities often demand. He writes:[38]

> The will of the majority does not prevail when it is merely the formal will of a mathematical majority. It prevails when it has been attained in a spirit, and when it has thus attained a content or substance, which does justice to the whole of the community and satisfies its general and universal character. The **spirit** which does justice to the whole of the community is a spirit which induces the majority to make concessions to the views of the minority, at the same time that it asks the minority to make the greater concession of accepting, or at any rate tolerating, the

trend of its own view.

Access administration makes no assumptions about the quality in citizen administration. It only assures the **opportunity** for service, and that this service is **sanctioned** by the regime, that is, it is a legitimate form of participation. Liberal democracies demand that citizens have control over the processes by which the rules which govern their lives are derived. While the definition of that service, here architectural review, is important, it is the opportunity that remains paramount. Without opportunity, public discourse is stymied and the public interest in administrative outcomes is narrow. If in the American context democracy means anything, it means debate.

## Historic Architectural Review Boards

Doubtless we have idealized community, yet it remains a powerful symbol in our lives.[39] The HARBs in this study have a shared view of community and a commitment to the democratic processes of governance. These HARBs are created to supervise historic districts or landmarks. Consequently, their shared view of community revolves around a historic preservation ethos, which at a minimum maintains that saving some old buildings and unique landscapes is of value. While in the main it may be a romantized, nostalgic set of values

that comprises this ethos, this ethos is not single faceted. It has legal, architectural, urban planning, economic, social status, historical, safety, educational, and many more facets. No two HARB members are likely to hold the identical preservation ethos.

In 1980, and further in 1983, with the passage of amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, an important shift from national hegemony in this area occurred. The preservation movement was given an opportunity to look to itself, to seek for itself a renewed, and a government sanctioned, sense of purpose. The Act brings the responsibility of historic preservation back to the local community, and the people must look to themselves to find value in historic preservation for their communities.[40]

What does community mean for historic preservation?[41] Two concepts of community have meaning for the HARB citizen administrator. There is the political community: the political community is the community of jurisdiction. This community contains those citizens over whom the local government has some jurisdiction, variously described as the electorate, the district, the township, or the county. Also a sociological community exists: sociological community is not bounded by geography, but is based in social interaction patterns, and moral concepts of community. This becomes the vague ideals to which individuals refer when they speak of

"my community."[42]

At the heart of a sense of community, individuals understand and affirm one another within specific contexts. These contexts vary, of course, but most residents of historic districts recognize their neighborhoods as a part of their community.[43] For instance, a large body of data on the gentrification of old neighborhoods demonstrates that individuals do take pride in their communities, identify with individuals in a collective sense, and if given the opportunity, will make a substantial personal commitment to the material culture of their community.[44]

On the other hand, it might be argued that residence in a historic district has little to do with neighborhood, and more to do with sharing something else, perhaps a love of old houses. It is these shared meanings that play an important part as HARBs members come to terms with their highly individual senses of community.

In the policy context of this study, the ideal HARB is a board with a balance of technical experts as recommended by law and other informed citizenry, all deliberately appointed. By law, they conduct their business within an atmosphere of full disclosure with a sensitivity to the voice of the greater community of which they are a part. Service to the public on a public board is reflexive: the board draws insight from its community, the community reacts

and the board reacts to the reaction.

The question becomes this: if the complexity of public service requires the creation of technically competent boards to effect public discourse in the spirit of community, will this discourse be meaningful to them as members of the HARB and the members of the larger communities that they serve?[45] This might well be the greatest challenge facing democratic governance of the future.

As a society Americans have moved further and further from an active participation. It would appear that most Americans are content to maintain distance from government while remaining very indifferent about the objects of government, unless of course it has high salience to them. In this case, their historic homes function as those objects. Government must protect the interests of those least active in seeking government protection. HARBs clearly have this charge, and their members struggle to define these roles. The HARB is a vital link in the community of indifferent citizens to good government. The HARB educates, informs, and draws citizens into the policy process.

For HARB service, the NHPA requires a sophistication in several technical fields (architecture, policy design, law, building construction, materials conservation, and history). HARBs are often comprised of highly skilled individuals

whose skills serve to further a public purpose. However, the Act does not demand that they somehow educate the uninitiated. In other words, architects are highly trained technicians. While they may find themselves at odds with their own, they are neither equipped nor required to defend the practice of architecture to those unsophisticated in this practice.

The HARB and the NHPA reflect modern concerns that a balance between technocracy and democracy be struck. What types of policy considerations or issues are most appropriate in this citizen versus technocrats decision-making arena? What are some of the procedures and methods that facilitate citizen versus expert participation?[46] To deal with these questions, let us return to consider the concept of public interest.

HARBs exist for specific purposes. They are not created to discover purposes for existence. Through their enabling legislation, HARBs search for a congruency between their legislated purpose, which is the oversight of a historic district or landmarks, and their professionalism, which allows them to interpret that purpose in a unique way. To this end, as boards even these unique combinations of HARB members do settle on common local governance themes with only specialized nuances for achieving these programmatic themes.

For all public bodies, the organizing principle should be "public interest."[47] Searching out the public interest is argued to be an ideal way of assuring a democratic governance. Public boards (or agencies) that make an ongoing effort to "sense" the public interest within their charge will use that interest as a way of building their policy agenda, and ultimately, shaping the context of their organization and political culture. Ideally, the more the public is brought into the policy process, the more closely the public board defines that interest. Or conversely, as an organizing concept, deliberate attempts to ascertain the public interest vis-a-vis the organization's mission is a way of bringing the people into the policy process, that is, to engage the citizens in a public dialogue.[48]

We must be careful to acknowledge that the creation of a public board does not automatically recognize an existing interest. The difficult part is giving the larger tax-paying public an interest in the HARB's more narrowly conceived mandate, or educating this larger public to an interest contrary to the one they hold. In a word, this is the administrative task facing most architectural review boards: they administer in the name of the larger tax-paying community over a jurisdiction which is often a neighborhood. These administrators may try to create **de novo** a larger public interest, and then search out an audience. As they do

so, these administrators inevitably make themselves as a channel to process competing community interests, and competing values. It is a difficult, often herculean task.

The HARB members are public administrators. Their participation in a local government plan, and their non-career administrative status assures them the special designation of "citizen as administrative participant." How do these public administrators compare with the conventional views of public administrators? They compare quite favorably on many counts.

There is no agreement upon a definition for public administration. In a textbook interpretation, Stillman defines it as "the structure and personnel of organizations, rooted in law, that collectively function as the core system of U.S. government and that both determine and carry out public policies using a high degree of specialized expertise."[49] The diameter of the core, of course, is important here. For my purposes, that core is wherever people choose representatives whose actions have an impact on their lives. We want representatives within that core to value as we value.

The estimation of public values is important. In his examination of a normative perspective for public administrators in public agencies, Gary Wamsley asks a series of questions.[50] For my purposes, three of these

questions are paraphrased to further illuminate the public administrator function served by the citizen as administrative participant in the context of the architectural review board.

To paraphrase Wamsley, does the HARB have sufficient expertise in operationalizing policy in the form of programs? There is an important connection between receiving a legislative charge, and then having the expertise to carry it out. In part, the answer to this question depends upon the strength of the local enabling legislation and how seriously committed the political officials are to appointing individuals to the HARB who are technically qualified. These two variables may, at times, be mutually exclusive, that is highly competent administrators may find themselves with little power to act, or, conversely, less competent administrators may find themselves ill-suited to use the power they do have.

Second, does the HARB attempt to define public interest in its public projects as broadly as possible? The board's enterprises are certainly framed by the language of the ordinance, as all public agencies are framed by their legislative charges, but the HARB also defines the general language of its charge into a mission statement that reflects values and interests of its communities, as well as the members' own values and interests as professionals.

Public administrators are not to be thought of as simply neutrally competent technical experts. As Terry Cooper explains:[51]

> Technical expertise, rational approaches to problem solving, and specialized knowledge are not to be eschewed, but they must not provide the norms for the professional identity of the public administrator. Otherwise, we reinforce the role of the politically passive citizen who views government as a provider of services, on the one hand, and the role of the professional administrator who views the citizen as a consumer, on the other.

Third, does the HARB make a conscious effort to develop community building politics and an active citizenship? Until now, HARBs have defined their communities in narrow terms. HARBs have tended to view citizens as complaining customers to be mollified. The relationship here between "citizen as administrative participant" and "citizen as citizen" is less tangled than the interface between citizen and the career public administration, which can be consumed satisfying citizen complaints. The citizen as administrative participant is still the neighbor to the people within his jurisdiction.

Two conditions must be satisfied for the citizen to be the citizen as administrative participant. First, that HARB member has evolved out of a service commitment, and second, represents an area of technical expertise vital to fulfilling the HARB's mission. Let us look deeper into this service commitment.

Recall that these HARBs are special boards in their connection to a federal arrangement. Generally, it may be sufficient for a local public board simply to enjoy some local endorsement. Their service may be exemplary, or dismal. The HARBs under the aegis of the certified local government program are obliged by virtue of the specific language within the National Historic Preservation Act to have more than the approving glance of local government. They must have the warm embrace of the National Park Service. This HARB's pedigree is thus something more impressive than noncertified programs. It is this lineage that provides expanded administrative potential. The HARB's service takes on responsibilities much greater than performing well in some technical capacity. Their responsibility is to governance itself.

Through national legislation, and their creation as decentralized agents of their state and federal counterparts, the HARBs represent a new vision of participatory or access administration. They are a vital part of those communities which have gone to the trouble to create them. They represent the new vision for public administration: a resolve of the techno-democratic tension, tensions of the market economy, and tensions between government and citizen. They are more than neighbor to neighbor. They are more than interest checking interest.

This project examines the playing field of a specific group of public administrators, the members of historic preservation architectural review boards. No claims are made beyond this group, in that they are a distinctive group. Unlike other public boards which have been the subject of close study, such as school boards,[52] the HARB members of this study participate on boards sanctioned through an act of Congress. They must have or be able to gain access to specific expertise requirements. Because of their unique relationship to the public and to the legislatures, these boards provide a novel opportunity to students of public administration.

Within the broad issues outlined above — access administration with its concerns about community and opportunities for members to participate in administration and its contribution to the policy process of their communities; and public administration as a blend of expertise and commitment to seeking out the public interest — this research proceeds through two phases. In a national survey phase and a case study phase, this project seeks out and describes this public administration field for HARBs by asking three questions. These three questions are revisited throughout this work:

1. What is the relationship between the public board members and the authority that appointed them?

2. What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that it serves?

3. What is the relationship between board members themselves?

What is the purpose served by each of these questions?

The first, concerning the relationship between public board members and appointing authorities, serves to illustrate the nature of dialogues, or public interest searches, between two legitimate, public entities.[53] This research points to four alternatives, which may all or in part be found in every jurisdiction. First, the appointment may satisfy a need for administrative expertise not available to the local government through regular employment channels. In this case, the appointing board will likely carefully superintend the appointment process and will likely turn to these experts for counsel. Second, the appointment may satisfy a need to meet some larger legal obligation, such as a state mandate to establish a HARB as a part of a local government scheme. In this instance, the appointing authority is not wedded to the utility of the board and will most likely appoint weak members who pose no threat to the existing political structure. Third, the appointment may be made to satisfy some local interest pressure group. These appointments may or may not serve some broader public goal, as outlined in points one and two. Nonetheless, the composition of the appointed board will be

deliberately fractious. Four, the appointment may represent a bilateral commitment to improving the community.

Second, what is the relationship between the public board and the citizenry that it serves? Affected citizens represent the board's external community. This question begs an illumination on the nature of dialogues between two groups of citizens: expert but volunteer administrators, and affected citizens. But even further, this question forces us to ask "What is community?" as the basis of shared meaning within the dialogue. Once we've done this, the student gains an appreciation for the depth and diversity within this community.[54] For some board members, that community is the neighborhood over which they have statutory supervision. For other board members, that community is a broad collection of interests that define themselves through geographic membership. Another group of board members see themselves as representatives of a national group bonded by a common interest in historic preservation. Another number of board members define their community more narrowly, by virtue of their economic class and social standing and their technical education.

Third, what is the relationship between board members themselves? This question establishes the premise for a functional even healthy dialogue taking place. Without an internal dialogue, I argue, there can be limited external

dialogue. This process will be shallow, void of shared meaning. In this context, this project examines the internal community of the board. On the surface it would appear that a public board could act in concert to further its own organizational goals. Or the public board could be regarded as a gathering of dissimilar individuals whose connection to each other is only their membership, that is simply through the organizational design. Board members meeting infrequently to satisfy their statutory charge might easily remain distant. Professional diversity might be seen to further jealousies and internal rivalry. Board members might even be expected to cleave along gender, ethnic or racial lines.

Within the context of local governance, the potential for good government – one premised on an earnest desire to stimulate policy conversations – exists.[55] To release this potential, the linchpin is the role served by the various agents of the public interest, including the HARB.[56] This board may be advantaged in this. Through their professionalism, its members can lend greater expertise to the public dialogue.[57]

The following research is premised on the belief that HARB, like the enterprise of public administration itself, serves this two-fold role: adherence to individual professional standards, and an unyielding belief in public

service. That some individuals within this study appear to fall short of the mark doesn't demean the mark, it only illustrates the nature of all our enterprises.

## NOTES

1. The acronym ARB is often used. For purposes of stylistic convention only, I use HARB in this study.

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5. "Preservation Education," A Special Supplement to Historic Preservation News, October 1990.

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8. Preservation: Toward An Ethic in the 1980s (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1980).

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10. Edward F. Gerber, "Historic Georgetown, Inc.: The Economics Involved in Preservation," Urban Land 34 (July/August 1975): 14-22.

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16. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Democracy and Capitalism (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Benjamin R. Barber, "Against Economics: or, Capitalism, Socialism, but Whatever Happened to Democracy?" pp. 22-51, Fred E. Baumann (ed.) Democratic Capitalism? Essays in Search of a Concept (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1986); and Robert N. Bellah and William M. Sullivan, "Democratic Culture or Authoritarian Capitalism?" Society 12 (September/October 1981): 41-50.

17. Charles Schultze, The Public Use of Private Interest (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977).

18. Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone, The Ruling elites: Elite Theory, Power, and American Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 129ff.

19. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 38-143. I substitute "sanctioned" for Pitkin's concept of

"legitimate."

20. Brian J. Cook, "The Representative Function of Bureaucracy," Paper delivered as part the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA., 31 August through 3 September, 1989, p. 49.

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28. Ted Duncombe, "Keeping history alive requires incentives," Bristol Virginia Tennessean Herald Courier 26 March 1989: 11A.

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37. E. Barker, Reflections on Government (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 69; pp. 67 - 72.

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52. James H. Svara, "Dichotomy and Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities," Public Administration Review 45 (January/February 1985): 221-232.

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> It is the lot of all human institutions, even those of the most perfect kind, to have defects as well as excellencies — ill as well as good propensities. This results from the imperfection of the Institutor, Man.
>
> — Alexander Hamilton

> The concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive.... The values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, aesthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well-balanced as well as carefully patrolled. — United States Supreme Court
>
> Berman v. Parker
> 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)

## CHAPTER TWO: THE LEGAL FOUNDATION

If the historic architectural review board (HARB) derives its authority from a local ordinance, it thereby derives its authority from a constitutional process, and it is connected to that process. Like the state historic preservation office, and the National Park Service, the local architectural review board is created through a purposeful, legislative process. Drawing its authority ultimately from the people, this exercise of power is legitimate.[1]

The authority of the people is drawn from a deep well; this authority is a part of a long stream of values and traditions which give it shape and meaning. To the extent that observers can be reasonably convinced that the authority is drawn along the lines of a specific legislative

process, it is said to be normative, that is, it is rationally deduced, manifest in the laws, and offers prescriptions for future behavior.[2] The HARB is granted authority to act because its actions represent community values existing when the ordinance was subject to public hearings, refinement, and became a part of the local statutes. For HARBs – and certainly all public boards – this process is important. The writing of an ordinance requires public deliberation by representatives of the people. It is the people that lend their authority to the board to act in their interest.

Our project then is to trace the normative foundation for the HARB as read through its ordinance, and the traditions and values that bring that ordinance into place. The HARBs defined as a part of the certified local government program enjoy a distinguished history in the law.[3] In this chapter I will review this history.

To understand this normative stream, we need to study the foundings of the American historic preservation movement. We find in that two past tributaries fed the stream, each quite different in its normative commitment. Local review boards that are not created through the national process, although serving good and useful ends, follow the tradition and values of what I call the Advocates school. Those that navigated the course set through a

legitimating constitutional process (Congress – State – local government – review board) represent the other camp, called the Citizen as Administrator model. This constitutional process began, quite arguably with the Antiquities Act of 1906,[4] finding a full head of steam with the Historic Sites Act of 1935.[5]

The Advocates boards sprang from a local soil as evidence of a grass roots historic preservation movement, locally beloved and respected, but with local objectives only. They were not a part of a national tradition except that there are coincidentally others that are sympathetic and emulate their objectives. The Advocates boards place advocacy above governance as their first priority. The Citizen as Administrator model reverses this—it places good government above advocacy. Naturally, the Citizen as Administrator board strives for advocacy as well. Historic preservation is, afterall, its charge. The Advocates camp does not concern itself with governance as the first order of business, at least in terms of having received local popular endorsement within the framework of state and federal law. The Citizen as Administrator board is statutorily obligated to act as an agent for the public at large. An advocacy group serves a public of its choosing. Its obligations are much different.

Basically Advocates boards are of the old historic

district tradition, a movement that began in the late 1920s and extended thorough the 1940s. It was grass roots inspired and possessed the collective end of protecting old portions of their local communities whose historic character was distinctive enough that the community readily identified itself with it. These early districts are very closely aligned with communities whose historic inventories were clear, obvious, and whose planning was sufficiently matured to tolerate a zoning plan to preserve them. Regardless of this early coloration, the modern historic district process draws its logic from these early Advocates centers.[6]

Advocates historic preservation embraces a narrow agenda: participants in the movement are deeply concerned about the loss of historic structures. Preservation scholar Nathan Weinberg offers us this definition:

> Historic preservation refers to the activities of those who attempt to save architecturally significant buildings from destruction. They are moved to this effort by the hope of perpetuating a tangible record of the civic past. Preservation serves economically to recycle old structures, socially to revitalize communities, and symbolically to link the culture of the present to that of the past through the juxtaposition of their architectures.
>
> Historic preservation is the result of a combination of interests and architecture is but one of them. Social and civic pride is first, then the lesser values of craftsmanship, personal heritage, economic development, housing cycles, opportunities to acquire federal funds, personal recognition or aggrandizement, and other historical corollaries.[7]

The Citizen as Administrator preservation movement

recognized that historic buildings are a part of a much broader canvas upon which are painted the traditions, culture and values of a people. Historic preservation becomes a tool for binding the people together within their common political culture.

In the mid-1960s there was a heightened social awareness in America. Growing from the exuberance of the Great Society legislative period, the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 drew its energy from two sources. One was the traditional Advocates historic preservation movement just described. The other was the existent federal programs looking for an opportunity to solidify their mission. Dedicated as the Advocates preservationists were to awakening a national conscience regarding architectural history, they found an easy alliance with sympathetic members of both Congress and the National Park Service, which had been in the business of cataloguing historic structures since the Depression, and preserving sites on federal property since the Progressive Era. Consequently, the language of The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, subsequently amended, reflects these two sources. Proselytizing language used by the Advocates is found, as well as the more procedural legislative language required of a legislative mandate which places the burden of defining the public interest in the act upon the legislative charge,

here the Department of Interior. While the Act is discussed in more detail below, a portion of the preamble which follows reflects the Advocates idealism coupled with an administrative logic:[8]

> The Congress finds and declares that:
>
> (1) the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage;
>
> (2) the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people;
>
> (3) historic properties significant to the Nation's heritage are being lost or substantially altered, often inadvertently, with increasing frequency;
>
> (4) the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, education, aesthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans...

And to insure that this authority is encouraged through various levels of government, the Act recognizes that

> it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities, to give maximum encouragement to agencies and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, and to assist State and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities.

Thus while recognizing that local programs and individuals are the spirit behind historic preservation, it is through the National Historic Preservation Act, and

agencies acting in accordance with the various provisions of the Act, that these local programs assume a unique governance responsibility, that of drawing the public into the process by which the historic preservation mission is defined. By bridging the Advocates interests to a public interest, the Act in fact alters the course for the historic preservation movement. Linking the Advocates to the Citizens as Administrators changed the nature of the enterprise entirely. The administrative end of historic preservation now required an appeal to the community for sanction by individuals the community, not the advocates, had somehow selected for that purpose. The administrative board now had a public purpose, and in time, the public nature of its activities would change the logic behind the board.

The public Citizen as Administrator board was the child of the Advocacy historic preservation movement. Eventually the two would enter into a time of co-existence. These public boards entered into a phase of public service that assumed a much broader role than ever envisioned by the early proponents of the National Historic Preservation Act.

The transformation is not yet complete. There are remnants of the Advocacy movement in a great many communities although in most, the Advocacy philosophy has matured into a broader community perspective. There are still advocacy preservationists sitting on public boards.

Advocacy preservationists play an important part in the overall composition balance of the board. The legitimate board takes upon itself purposes and definitions to meet the exigencies of the local political culture. It is this responsiveness to the dynamics of the political culture that truly defines the Citizen as Administrator board. The Advocacy boards never had an obligation to engage the public in open discourse in an attempt to discover appropriate policy avenues. The Citizen as Administrator boards of this study always had this obligation.

## Preservation's Advocates

Let us now add more historical detail to this dichotomy. In 1884, speaking before the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in London – the driving artistic force behind the Arts and Crafts movement – William Morris decried the "brutification" of monuments of art and history for the sake of the moment, and of the monetary gain arising from these opportunities. Monuments had a much different characterization to Morris and his fellow travelers than to us. They acquired both academic and popular understandings.[9] "[P]reservation shares in the common assumptions of modern academic history, archeology, and art history; yet also shares in the workings of earlier forms of oral history, myth, legend, chronicles, and

genealogies, which have persisted in the popular world."[10]

In the United States, the first instance of preservation was in 1816 when the city of Philadelphia bought Independence Hall from the state of Pennsylvania. Of course, the building was not the same as when it had first witnessed the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Independence Hall stands as testimony to the relatively recent appreciation of historic artifacts and as a shrine to our nobler enterprises. Over time, two wings had been removed from the original building, the paneling of the Assembly Hall was removed, several "insensitive" coats of painting were applied, and the original steeple was replaced.

The most celebrated American preservation effort of the 19th century was the successful purchase of Mount Vernon from the ner-do-well John Washington. Purchased in 1859, the efforts of the Mount Vernon's Ladies Association served as a precedent for future preservation minded organizations: attachment to the public sentiment, rousing speeches, effective use of the media, and grass roots management of the fund raising efforts.

Mount Vernon was the progenitor of the house-museum form of preservation. The isolated house-museum attempts to recreate an illusion of the past. Unlike Colonial Williamsburg, the house-museums are not combination resort-

and-preservation-laboratories. Local historic preservation efforts do battle with the impossible standard that Colonial Williamsburg sets, but modern preservationists recognize that the Williamsburg model is inapplicable in most community preservation efforts. In most communities, the house-museum is a local historical-cultural repository: poorly staffed, and ill-advised on the proper precautions in administering its collection.

These house-museums serve an important educational purpose. Weinberg tells us,[11]

> The historic house museum and the museum village have their place in contemporary preservation, reconstructing the past of the exceptional building and person. They provide for a concentrated entry into a historic era, for a view of interiors and furnishings, lifestyles and crafts what would otherwise not be available.

While house-museums have clear antecedents, the origins of the historic districts are unclear.

In the 1920s, Americans began to foster a vision for romantic settings. Perhaps this was an outgrowth of the Victorian fascination for cemetery parks, and the mid-19th Century love of the Gothic forms. Indeed Gothic buildings remained popular, and encouraged later architectural retrospection. In the 1920s we also see the beginnings of an espousal for architectural control for certain historic areas. The first district was not legally recognized until the 1930s. Weinberg continues:[12]

> The first historic districts were initiated in Charleston, South Carolina, by a city zoning ordinance dating from 1931 and in New Orleans, Louisiana, by a state constitutional amendment dating from 1936. In Charleston, the inspiration for this ordinance resulted from a tourist boom and the activities of house collectors.

This effort began as a reaction against the degradation of old homes on Charleston's Battery by speculators and collectors of handcrafted ornamentation. The Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings was founded in 1920. Its first effort was the preservation of Heyworth House, which had been donated to Charleston Museum as a historic house museum in 1929.[13]

The Old and Historic Charleston District was established as a part of the overall planning and zoning ordinance in 1931. The purpose of the historic district was to preserve

> the qualities relating to the history of the City of Charleston and a harmonious outward appearance of structure which preserve property values and attract tourists and residents alike ... these qualities being the continued existence and preservation of historic areas and buildings, continued construction of buildings in the historic styles and a general harmony as to style, form, color proportion, texture, and material between buildings of historic design and those of more modern design.[14]

The ordinance allowed for the creation of a Board of Architectural Review to superintend the protection of old historic or architecturally worthy structures which gave Charleston its unique character. By requiring owners to

obtain a permit or certificate of appropriateness, this board[15]

> had the power to review any erection, demolition, or removal, of structures in the historic district, and any changes in 'architectural character, general composition and general arrangement of the exterior of a structure, including the kind, color and texture of the building material and type and character of all windows, doors, light fixtures, signs and appurtenant elements, visible from a street or public thoroughfare.'

In a review process that remains virtually intact for all architectural review boards, and may have well served as the template, a Charleston historic district certificate of approval involved two stages: (1) an informal review meeting between the applicant and the board to acquaint the applicant with the design standards of the historic district. Preliminary drawings and documents could be considered at this meeting. If the changes were minor, approval could be issued at this first meeting. If the proposals were major, (2) a formal application was required.[16]

In many ways similar to Charleston, New Orleans' Vieux Carré, containing the well known French Quarter, became the second historic district established in the United States. The district is unique in that it is in the center of a large, modern city. The district is less than unique in the kinds of battles fought in city hall over its development.[17] Its example is important to this study in

that it illustrates a hybridization of the Advocacy, narrowly focused board and the broadly defined, Citizen as Administrator public board.

The first ordinance to recognize Vieux Carré as a unique architectural setting was in 1924. Attempts to preserve the district were not enforced. In 1936, an amendment was added by state referendum to the Louisiana constitution empowering the city of New Orleans to establish a historic district and a commission to superintend the area. The city did this in 1937. This amendment was ruled constitutional by the 5th Circuit.[18]

The district review committee was required to meet certain appointment requirements. The mayor was to appoint: one member from a list of two provided by the Curators of the Louisiana State Museum; one member from two furnished by the Association of Commerce of the City of New Orleans; three qualified architects from six provided by the New Orleans chapter of the American Institute of Architects; and three at large members. This review committee is responsible for monitoring the exteriors of all buildings within the district.[19]

The Vieux Carré Commission has not always been successful in its efforts to preserve the French Quarter. In 1946 the New Orleans City Council excluded certain commercial portions of the Vieux Carré from the Commission's

control. It remained this way until 1964 when the action of the council was found to be unconstitutional.

Recent developmental pressures have brought renewed concerns about maintaining the integrity of the Vieux Carré and French Quarter Historic district environs,[20] and the quality of life within the district. Meanwhile the district is subject to the usual old building challenges: fire and sensible, adaptive use.

## Preservation's Citizens as Administrators

The National Register of Historic Places is an office within the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.[21] Its head, Jerry Rogers, lays the groundwork for the Citizen as Administrator preservation framework. This framework is based on a federal plan in which all participants share a mutual commitment to historic preservation, but play a different role. In a discussion of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 under this federal scheme, Rogers details his understanding:[22]

> The principal direction of growth is outward from the central core. One can argue that American preservation began in the private sector, or that some local historic districts predate the Act of 1966, but in fact the program is rooted in the Act and grew out of the National Park Service's old Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP). Once almost everything was done in that office by its employees. As State programs grew and began to assume 'front line' functions, OAHP employees saw the institutional progress, but also felt a sense of loss from having

> their work transformed from 'hands on' activities into administrative ones. Many state employees now suffering a sense of loss do not recognize the very same wave washing over them on to Certified Local Governments.
>
> That transition is both inevitable and desirable, for it enables program growth to continue. People can adapt and solve their problems by making a move to the Certified Local Government. It would be better [for federal level administrators], however, to turn and face the more difficult and more important task of manipulating and refining an administrative system that makes it possible for Certified Local Governments, private organizations, and citizens to do their work.

Rogers' federal system still has a National Park Service center setting standards, oversights, and state processing. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 establishes the mechanisms of the federal historic preservation policy and programs. This centerpiece to preservation legislation,[23] The NHPA, and subsequent amendments, established a framework for addressing the preservation of additional historic properties "throughout the Nation ... as a living part of our community life and development."[24]

Perhaps an unintended consequence of other policy initiatives, seeds for the NHPA sprouted with the landscape crisis brought about by post WWII urban migration: urban renewal, massive public works projects, and highway construction. Since these projects were federally funded, communities brought pressure on Congress and the Executive to curtail destruction.

Ernest Connally observes, "Since the demolition-construction projects were usually Federally supported, they provoked a rising volume of urgent pleas to Washington, where, however, the only sure safeguard that could be provided was Federal ownership or control, in accordance with the Act of 1935."[25] Recall that the Historic Sites Act of 1935 created the Register and created mechanisms for a national inventory of historic sites. Beginning in 1950, over the next eleven years, states, cities, or private associations proposed approximately 70 properties for inclusion in the National Park System.[26] The National Park system, however, was never envisioned as a stop-gap program to capture, then to protect, historic buildings threatened by development or demolition.

Over thirty bills for the general protection of historic buildings, lands, and works of art were introduced in Congress between 1959 and 1965. Connally continues,[27]

> In essence, there were protests against various initiatives of the Administration, such as proposals to tear down some of the nation's most notable monuments of 19th Century public architecture. Rationally, protecting Federal property from Federal actions would seem unnecessary; clearly, it was time to put the brakes upon the Federal bulldozer.

A number of concurrent interests fueled the drive toward national historic preservation legislation. In 1961, Representatives Harris Brown McDowell, Jr. of Delaware and Torbet H. MacDonald of Mississippi proposed legislation to

amend the 1935 Act,[28] requiring the Secretary of the Interior to request local governments to supply lists of historic properties valuable to localities and to publish the lists. Thereafter, the head of any federal agency would be required to consult the list before expenditure of federal funds. While the Department of the Interior lauded the initiative, the Department took this interest as an opportunity to scrap the 1935 Act. It recommended entirely new legislation, and hearings were held on the proposed legislation.

In September, 1963, the Seminar on Restoration and Preservation met in Williamsburg, Virginia. This conference generated proceedings entitled "Report on Principles and Guidelines for Historic Preservation in the United States." These principles and guidelines were later adopted by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.[29] The Conference "envisioned the heritage as extending beyond individual buildings to include districts and landscapes. It emphasized the necessity of surveys and adequate registers at the national, state, and community levels, urging the incorporation of historical and aesthetic values into planning at all echelons of government."[30]

President Lyndon Johnson appointed a Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty. The Task Force study mandate included urban design. The Task Force reported in November,

1964, and participant Ernest Connally explains what happened:[31]

> The Task Force held that a requisite for urban quality was the retention of buildings and areas of historic and aesthetic significance. It recommended that the National Park Service be required to complete, within five years, a comprehensive inventory of the Nation's historic properties. ... It recommended creation of a board with power to veto Federal expenditures when necessary to prevent Federally financed projects from conflicting with historic preservation. It called for Federal loans and grants to state and local governments for the preservation task, and an annual appropriation of $2 million to give the National Trust a new lease on life.

A White House Conference on Natural Beauty was also held in President Johnson's Presidency. In a February 8, 1965, message he stated that the government should share in the effort to save "landmarks of beauty and history."[32] The Department of the Interior drafted legislation, which cleared the Bureau of the Budget (now Office of Management and Budget), but in October 1965 that legislation stalled with creation of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation. The focus shifted to a congressional initiative.

This Special Committee was conceived by Laurance G. Henderson, director of the Joint Council on Housing and Urban Development, and architect Carl Feiss, FAIA. It was organized under the auspices of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and received support funding from the Ford Foundation. Called the Rains Committee after its chairman

Representative Albert Rains, its work included a study tour of Europe.

As it happened, a window of opportunity for the preservation movement opened. On December 3, the Committee settled on recommendations, subsequently published as With Heritage So Rich.[33] On the morning of February 9, 1966, every Member of Congress received a copy. On February 23, 1966, in an act portrayed as acceding to public demands to preserve buildings and sites of historic significance, President Johnson's issued his message on the Quality of the Environment which recognized the movement's momentum.

The legislative proposal previously drafted by the Department of the Interior was revised. It was introduced in the Senate by the Interior Committee's Chairman, Henry M. Jackson, and in the House by Wayne N. Aspinall. Another set of bills was also drafted by Interior to answer recommendations from the Rain's Committee. This package was introduced by Committee Members Senator Edmund S. Muskie and Representative William B. Widnall. Seven months later these two sets of legislative initiatives merged to become the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The Act was signed into law on October 15, 1966, along with legislation creating the Department of Transportation.

This Act gave the Secretary of Interior broadly expanded powers over historic sites. The National Register

of districts, sites, buildings and other facilities was expanded. Funding was granted to States for the purpose of preparing statewide historic preservation plans, including surveys and protection of sites significant to the states. The Act also created a system of matching grants-in-aid.

Title II created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation whose purpose is to advise the President and Congress of matters pertaining to historic preservation and federally owned properties. Under Section 106, Federal Agencies are required to consult the Federal Register for listed historic sites and seek advice on the impact of proposed federal projects on sites listed or potentially eligible for listing. The Advisory Council is to be given adequate time to comment on any proposal before the issuance of necessary licenses for activities involving federal funds. For example, the Department of Transportation must ascertain if any buildings scheduled for demolition to make clearance for new highways are listed, or even eligible for listing on the National Register.

Two provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act in particular interest us here. These create the link between federal, state and local governments achieved through the state historic preservation offices on the one hand and the certified local governments on the other.[34] HARBs (or some similar appellation) were required to enforce

the ordinances of the certified local government.

One of these provisions established the state historic preservation offices, a vital link between the National Register of Historic Places and technical divisions of the National Park Service. Although state historic preservation offices (SHPO) are known by a variety of names, and are administratively housed in diverse state agencies and bureaus, they all share a common technical core. Each is staffed with a chief preservation officer appointed by the governor. Each office is staffed with expertise in architecture, architectural history, archaeology and allied professions in order to carry out the federal mandate. A process of certifying the state programs by the Secretary of the Interior was established to assure compliance to the federal statutes. The following criteria are required for compliance:[35]

> 1. The SHPO must conduct a statewide survey of historic properties. An inventory of these properties must be maintained. The survey serves as an initial guide in the nomination process designed to discovery, research and then process for nomination to the National Register.
>
> 2. The SHPO identifies and nominates eligible properties to the National Register of Historic Places.[36]
>
> 3. The SHPO uses the documentation to create a statewide preservation plan. This process is critical, and requires thoughtful policy planning.
>
> 4. The SHPO administers federal funds, and if Historic Preservation Funds are appropriated, the SHPO

administers the Grant-In-Aid program.

5. The SHPO serves in an advisory capacity to the federal, state and local agencies involved with historic preservation.

6. The SHPO cooperates with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and other agencies, to assure that historic preservation remains a part of public planning.

7. The SHPO provides public education, assistance, information and training.

8. The SHPO works with local governments in the development of local preservation programs, especially those local governments that wish to be certified.

In addition the NHPA of 1980 created the certified local government program. Three years later these HARBs began operation under this designation. At the time of this study, approximately 450 HARBs operated under the certified local government program. Of this number, perhaps a third have programs which exist in name only. Most likely these programs were created by local appointing authorities for purposes other than carrying out a local preservation agenda. Typically they were created under the guidance of state historic preservation offices so that local communities could access shared revenues from federal set aside monies.

The certified local government program serves to tie the local government, and its board, into a state-federal partnership, such that there is meaningful legislative continuity between these various levels of government. In

fact, the goal is to have local governments certify properties directly to the National Register. The state historic preservation office is thereby given the opportunity to shift its priorities to administration and public education.

Under broad federal guidelines, the NHPA requires each participating state to develop detailed procedures for the certification of local governments, and for the removal of the certification status.[37] The federal statute encourages states to delegate authority to the local governments, giving them greater autonomy in the historic preservation certification process to the National Register. In addition, states are encouraged to strengthen their preservation plans. Some states have done just this, and serve as outstanding examples of broad, committed preservation programs. Maryland, Massachusetts and Florida are among these numbers.

States are required to enforce a number of minimal requirements of their certified local governments.[38] These requirements formalize the relationship among the constitutive parts, determine the overall mission direction, and spell out the terms for creating the local public board, including its administrative competence. These minimal requirements follow:

1. The state must enforce applicable legislation for

the designation and protection of historic properties. In some instances, the state enabling legislation or home rule authority permits local historic preservation ordinances. Here a state may require adoption of a local historic preservation ordinance and indicate specific provisions that must be included in the ordinance.

2. The state may establish by State or local law an adequate and qualified historic preservation review commission composed of professional and lay members. In order to satisfy that the professional and technical nature of the historic preservation legislation be carefully implemented, all Commission members are required to have some combination of a demonstrated interest, competence, or knowledge in historic preservation. Although the necessary expertise may not always be readily available in the community, the local government must actively seek professional members from the disciplines of architecture, history, architectural history, planning, archaeology, or other historic preservation related disciplines, such as urban planning, American Studies, American Civilization, Cultural Geography, or Cultural Anthropology.

The states have some latitude in the minimum number and type of professional members that the local government can appoint to the Commission as long as they indicate how additional expertise can be obtained outside of membership.

If necessary, this expertise would be purchased. Certification of the local governments for purposes of participating in the historic architectural review strategy can proceed without the appropriate professional representations, but the local communities must demonstrate that they have made a reasonable effort to fill those positions.

The Act requires the SHPO to remain active in determining the role played by the local board in the preservation process. To this end, most SHPOs have designated a staff member responsible for supervising the activities of the certified local government.

The Act requires that the SHPO play a vital role as information and training conduit for the certified local government. But little effort is expended in this area by most SHPOs except to pass along information relevant to training opportunities.

3. The Act requires the SHPO to play a leadership role in defining the procedures and guides to be used in the execution and maintenance of historic inventories or surveys. Since most certified local governments use state funds for the purpose of conducting surveys of the local historic inventory, then publishing the guidelines for administering these inventories as a cultural resource to the community, the SHPO clearly does play a dominant role in

this area.

4. To the extent that all public boards are governed by certain covenants that secure the public's attention in their activities, the SHPO reinforces these provisions. All local governments are very much aware of Sunshine laws and Freedom of Information provisions that keep the conduct of public business open to public scrutiny. A wide range of local reactions to these covenants exist. At a minimum, the law requires open meetings, published minutes, and the publication of procedures by which assessments of potential national register nominations and local architectural design review are executed.

5. The Act requires the SHPO to monitor and to evaluate periodically the certified local government for compliance. Having failed to satisfy the SHPO's standards, the certified local government can be decertified.

The benefits of certified local government status rest on the participation of the local government in what had heretofore been the jurisdictional domain of the state government, with the exception of directly nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places.[39] While local governments will eventually nominate properties, hence by-passing the state, currently this is done by the state office, although certified local governments do it when there is no state authority. The certified local

government is included in the nomination process;[40] however, certified local governments are also given leave to compete for a portion of the state's annual Historic Preservation Fund monies. In part, the federal government funds state programs on a matching basis. Of these federal monies, a minimum of 10 per cent must be set aside by the SHPO for local program use. Certified local governments do not automatically receive these funds. For those that do receive these grants, there is a local matching requirement.[41]

The certification process at Federal and state levels employs two sets of standards, one for determining which buildings contribute to the significance of the historic districts, and thus qualify as certified historic structures, and the other for determining whether rehabilitation work is consistent with the historic character of the resource.

In 1980, certification decisions were delegated to National Park Service regional offices. In 1984, an effort to reduce the cost of processing applications resulted in user fees that were imposed by the Park Service. In 1986, administrative processes were altered to speed up review by eliminating duplication of effort between state historic preservation offices, and the Park Service.

Amendments to the 1980 National Historic Preservation

Act shifted emphasis of preservation to state and local preservation programs over concerns about the "rights" of private property owners. A registration is prevented if a majority of the owners in a district object, although a nomination for registration can still be evaluated and placed on the National Register's list of eligible properties. About 650 properties have been listed over their owners' objections.

Following the creation of the certified local government process, the National Park Service is shifting into a more technical/advisory role. State offices now undertake the bulk of the certification verification.[42]

## The Local Ordinance

The expression "certified local government" is an acknowledgment by the State and the National Park Service that a local government has complied with certain minimal conditions and is now in a position to compete for reserved preservation monies. Certified local governments operate through their state enabling legislation; and the local governments have enacted a local preservation ordinance that satisfies state and federal requirements.[43] As of this writing, only North Dakota has no local governments created under the auspices of the National Historic Preservation Act.

Empowered through its ordinance, the review board created by a certified local government primarily functions as one part in the local land use scheme, which defines for a jurisdiction local standards of land use and development. Although these review boards serve many ends, historic district architectural and building standards occupy most of their time.[44]

There are two types of historic preservation ordinances: historic district ordinances and landmark commission ordinances.[45] A historic district ordinance is limited to a contiguous neighborhood. The district generally creates a zoning device known as a historic overlay, which supplants existing zoning requirements rather than replacing them. A landmark commission, however, supervises an entire community, or large city tract which contains historic structures. Michael Wiedl explains further:[46]

> A historic district ordinance controls a historic district, which is usually an area where many or most of the buildings are architecturally or historically significant. Historic district commissions generally have control over all buildings within the district, i.e., historic or architecturally significant buildings as well as non-historic or non-architecturally significant buildings. Some historic district ordinances give the historic commission authority to permanently bar the demolition or exterior alteration of historic or architecturally significant buildings within the district.
>
> A landmark commission ordinance, on the other hand, covers the entire city, county, or whatever area. The buildings a landmark commission protects are sprinkled at random throughout its jurisdiction,

> although some landmark commission ordinances also provide for controlling historic districts.

Although historic districts vary from state to state in their authority, the ordinances for the certified local governments must conform to minimal federal standards as a part of their certification process. This still does little in terms of the power of the HARBs, some of which are strictly advisory to local planning boards, city/town municipal governments, or county commissioners. Others have authority to deter demolition, to condemn for public use, or at least, substantially to determine proposed alteration, even to the extent of painting the building.

The Codified Federal Regulations define a historic preservation review commission as "a board, council, commission, or other similar collegial body."[47] In this study, approximately 300 local ordinances were reviewed. An examination of these historic district ordinances creating HARBs reveals several common structural components.[48]

One is a mission statement. The mission statement is a broad authority statement which organizes the public purpose of the board. This statement broadly defines the board's mission, and is the most critical section of the ordinance because it gives value and direction to the board.[49] A typical mission statement, that for Wilson, N.C. reads:[50]

> The purpose of a local historic district is to encourage the restoration, preservation,

> rehabilitation, and conservation of historically, architecturally, and archaeologically significant areas, structures, buildings, areas, sites, or objects and their surroundings from potentially adverse influence which may cause the decline, decay, or total destruction of important historical, architectural, and archaeological features which are a part of the city's heritage. A local historic district is established; ... for the purpose of prompting the conservation of such district for the education, pleasure, and enrichment of residents of the district and the City of Wilson, County of Wilson, and State of North Carolina as a whole; for the purpose of stabilizing and enhancing property values throughout the district as a whole, thus contributing to the improvement of the general health and welfare of the City of Wilson and the residents of the district.
>
> Note that the statement contains several elements:
>
> 1. The focus of historic preservation itself as a specific endeavor;
>
> 2. participation in the economic well being of the community;
>
> 3. providing for a program of public education;
>
> 4. attention to the community's cultural enrichment; and
>
> 5. a broad designation that the overall contribution serve the general health and welfare of the community.

In this ordinance, and in the majority of the ordinances under study, the HARB is charged with the responsibility of contributing to the general welfare, or considering the general welfare. Community enrichment and community education seem rather straight forward, non-interventionist kinds of charges. But to take an active role in the general health and welfare is, of course, an open

invitation to address serious problems facing the modern community. This is especially true in historic districts, where old buildings offer housing possibilities, and where HUD programs for urban homesteading offer financing possibilities. In most of America's historic districts, HARBs could, under this doctrine, significantly contribute to improving the quality of life (and hence the health) of their communities.

A second common element of the review board ordinance delineates the geographical boundaries within the review board's jurisdiction. Historic districts can be confined to a single neighborhood, or entire counties or cities. An historic district can even be a single building. Historic district designations known as historic overlays (HO) coexist with other types of zoning designations, such as industrial, commercial, or agricultural. The historic overlay serves a regulatory function. It limits what property owners can do with the physical appearance of their property.

The ordinance also prescribes the organizational composition and definition of the review board. The number of members, their terms of office, and their qualifications are specified. Utilizing staggered terms, appointment procedures generally follow a scheme of whereby the entire board is not reappointed within the term of any specific

elected appointing official. This is a device used to reduce the amount of political pressure one elected official can exert over the appointed board member. As noted above, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, requires that HARBs have members that are minimally sympathetic to the purposes of historic preservation. This aspect, as I shall discuss later, can ironically hurt the board by leading to the appointment of well intentioned but not professionally credible members.

The ordinance of Bennington, Vermont is typical of the HARB definitions:[51]

> The Town of Bennington hereby establishes an Historic Preservation Commission of not less than three (3) nor more than nine (9) members to be appointed by the Board of Selectmen.
>
> 8-3.01 Terms: Each member of the Commission shall serve for three years or thereafter until their successor is named. The first Commission appointed shall have one-third (1/3) of its members appointed to three (3) year terms, one-third (1/3) to two (2) year terms, and one-third (1/3) to one (1) year terms so that no more than one-third (1/3) of the Commission shall be reappointed in any one year.
>
> 8-3.02 Qualifications:
>
> A. All members shall have a demonstrated interest, competence or knowledge in Historic Preservation.
>
> B. A majority of its members must reside in the Town of Bennington.
>
> C. To the extent available, at least a majority of the members shall be

> professionals from the disciplines of history, archeology, architectural history, architecture and historical architecture. Members representing other historic preservation related disciplines such as urban planning, American studies, American civilization, cultural geography or cultural anthology, and lay members are encouraged.
>
> D. One member of the Commission shall be the Bennington Community Development Officer, ex officio.

The ordinance also provides authority to create "files" and standard operating procedures. Systematic and consistent application of rules and policies are important for public boards to make pronouncements which carry some weight in law. Failing to render consistent, informed decisions could reduce the board to a paper façade. Adequate procedures are needed to arrive at the survey findings, review architectural standards, receive appeals, and gather information on the jurisdiction. Also, it is critical to keep records of past findings. A sampling from the ordinance for the review board of Wichita, Kansas, sets the tone for these standards:[52]

> The [HARB] shall thoroughly familiarize itself with the buildings, structures, land, areas, districts, and certain interiors within the city which may be eligible for designation as historic landmarks and shall prepare a historic landmark preservation plan [to serve as a guide to local planning].

The ordinance goes on to specify twenty-one items that the board will record or have accessible knowledge on when making recommendations or pronouncements.

The powers of the commission are carefully spelled out by the ordinance. In the extreme case, a review board can force a property owner to maintain his or her property, and failing to do so, repair the property itself and place a lien against it. In the typical case, the board processes certificates of appropriateness. These certificates give the applicant the board's premission to proceed on a structural alteration, such as changing the color of the paint, adding a fence, or changing a window line. Routine maintenance typically does not require authorization. The board can also petition to increase the size of the historic district, conduct education programs in the name of the jurisdiction, and enter into negotiation on behalf of the government in matters falling under their authority.

The ordinance of Mills, Wyoming lists these powers:[53]

a. conduct resource surveys;
b. establish criteria for evaluation, based upon the "Standards of the Secretary of the Interior" (and specified in the National Historic Preservation Act, 1966 as amended);
c. designate buildings, districts, objects and sites to historic landmark status, with ratification by Town Council;
d. act as advisors before city government;
e. act as advisors to residents and property holders on matters falling under their authority;
f. promote historic preservation;
g. retain staff for specific purposes; and
h. request, and receive, appropriate information and cooperation from any agent of the government.

Generally the review board has very little policing authority. When there is a good working relationship with

the building inspector or code enforcement officer for the jurisdiction, the review board will have stronger enforcement powers. These enforcement powers are generally no stronger than allowing the levying of a small fine.[54] The resulting revenue is hardly worth the collection, and rarely a deterrent to non-compliance. The usual culture of HARBs is to eschew "punishment" in favor of preservation.

In order to get an appreciation for the extent to which local preservation ordinances are enforced, a survey of all those participating jurisdictions with "tough" preservation requirements was conducted in the Spring of 1990. Of the more than 300 ordinances gathered in the course of this research, twenty-six include a provision for prohibiting "demolition by neglect." As the words imply, demolition by neglect consists of wilful or purposeful disregard for the appearance and structural integrity of a building located within a historic district. The demonstrated intent is to allow a building to deteriorate so that eventual demolition, which has been routinely denied under a routine certificate of appropriateness request, is the only recourse left.

Demolition of historic structures represents a break in the historic fabric of the district or historic community. Also, of course, the loss of these buildings is an effrontery to those whose efforts are otherwise attuned, and to the ordinance intended to preserve the structures. At

this writing, cities in the following states have demolition by neglect provisions in their local historic district zoning ordinances: Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin. These ordinances allow penalties against property owners who wilfully allow their properties to fall into disrepair. These penalties range from a small fine to having the city actual finance repairs, then apply mechanic liens against the property in order to recover the tax payers' dollars.

Following a careful reading of their ordinances, I interviewed administrators of 22 of 27 cities in these states on their interpretation of this provision. Maryland seems to have the strictest interpretation and enforcement of "Demolition by Neglect." Maryland demands that historic buildings be maintained with legal sanctions attached to compliance failures. In Kentucky surveyed administrators responded that their code is too weak to serve as a coercive tool toward negligent property owners. Mississippi respondents said they do not have any problems with the "demolition by neglect" provisions; in the South particularly there seems to be a powerful attachment to the historic neighborhoods. But, because it is such a long process, in the main, demolition by neglect is a course of last resort.

Finally, relationships to other authorities or chain of command designations are spelled out in the ordinance. For instance, decisions are generally appealed to the planning commission, also a citizen board, and then to the jurisdictional elected council. In Lancaster, New York, appeals are directly to the council:[55]

> Any person aggrieved by a decision of the Historic Preservation Commission relating to hardship or a certificate of appropriateness may, ..., file a written application with the Village Board of trustees for review of the decision.

In sum, the HARB is a part of a federated scheme of governance. The traditions giving rise to local review and preservation are deep, but in a constitutional sense, the board's legitimacy became clear cut after 1966. The National Historic Preservation Act created a two track relationship, one relationship that lent definition to federal authority, the other to solidify responsibilities for technical expertise. With the amendments to the Act in 1980, a new link in this national chain was forged. Once certified, which basically means creating a local ordinance and a review procedure, the local government joins in a federal partnership. Now the authority flows from the people to the Congress which created the NHPA. The NHPA gave redefined the National Register of Historic Places, and ancillary services, for instance, in the National Park Service, the

Historic American Building Survey/the Historic American Engineering Record; in the Department of Commerce, the National Technical Information Service. The National Register provides for a technical/landmark certification process in conjunction with state historic preservation offices.

With the creation of a procedure for certifying local governments, the chain is one link longer, and the national government's role in historic preservation is slightly more decentralized than would otherwise be the case. Eventually, no doubt, the certified local government's review boards will directly list properties to the Register. Their members participate in government through a constitutional process that begins with the people, filters through the national government, then the state government, and returns to the people themselves for implementation and evaluation.

We now turn to the perceptions and views of these men and women who participate in their government through this process.

NOTES

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2. Giovanni Sartori, The Theory of Democracy Revisited (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), pp. 5-6, 15-16.

3. John A. Rohr, "The Administrative State and Constitutional Principle," pp. 113-159, in Ralph Clark Chandler (ed.), A Centennial History of the American Administrative State (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

4. Antiquities Act of 1906 (Public Law 59-209) U.S. Code, Volume 16:431-33 (1970). Often regarded as the catalytic agent for the American historic preservation movement, the Antiquities Act allows the President to designate as National Monuments, historic, prehistoric or archaeological sites on lands under the jurisdiction of the Departments of Interior, Agriculture and Defense. The Department of Interior, National Park Service, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation offers technical assistance.

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18. Mayer v City of New Orleans, 516 F 2d 1051 (5th Cir., 1975); see Morrison, Historic Preservation Law.

19. For an outstanding model for establishing a historic district, refer to the Vieux Carré Historic District Demonstration Study, Volumes 1-7 (New Orleans, LA: Bureau of Government Research for the City of New Orleans, 1968).

20. Jane A. Brooks and Deborah H. Weeter, "Canal Place: A Clash of Values," Urban land 41 (7 1982): 3-9.

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Resource Management Bulletin 7 (October, 1984): 8. Rogers elaborates, "These standards and systems weave a lifeline. They give the practitioner a lot of room to move around... They are the matrix that makes our historic preservation movement also a historic preservation program, and a national program rather than many state and local ones;" and H. Ward Jandl, "Preservation Tax Incentives: Past and Present," Preservation News (August, 1986).

24. The definitive study of the Act is that of Barry Mackintosh, The National Trust Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1985); see also National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665) 16 U.S.C.

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33. The Preservation Press, Washington, D.C., 1983.

34. U.S. Code 16:470, Subchapter II — National Historic Preservation; § 4780a(1)(A) - c(3). Public Law 89-665; as amended by Public Law 93-54; Public Law 94-422; Public Law 94-458, Public Law 96-199; Public Law 96-244; and Public Law

96-515. Reference is also made to the Codified Federal Regulations 36:Chapter 1, Part 60-61.

35. Paraphrased from 36 CFR Part 61.4.

36. See 36 CFR Part 60: "National Register of Historic Places."

37. "Procedures for Approved State and Local Government Historic Preservation Programs," Codified Federal Regulations 36:61, effective May 14, 1984.

38. Codified Federal Regulations 36:61.5 (a)-(c); see also Paul Alleys "How to Apply for Certification of State and Local Statutes and Historic Districts," U.S. Department of the Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, #5 of a "How to series," 1981.

39. Codified Federal Regulations 36:61.5 (d). There follows a detailed discussion of the responsibilities of various participants in the certification process.

40. In accordance with Sections 101 (c)(2)(A) and (c)(2)(B) of the National Historic Preservation Act, 1966.

41. These monies can be used for a variety of purposes, but most generally they are used to defray the expenses of historic surveys and printing costs for architectural review standards. Accounting procedures for managing grants are discussed in Office of Management and Budget Circular A-102, and in The National Register Programs Manual.

42. Carol D. Shull, "The National Register After 20 Years," Preservation News (August 1986): S8-S9.

43. Patricia L. Parker, "The Certified Local Government Program Makes a Difference." The Alliance Review (Winter 1989): 1, 3-4; and related, Patricia L. Parker, Local Preservation, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1988.

44. John Murphy, "The Special Nature of Historic Area Zoning," Urban Land (July/August 1975): 9, 10.

45. The standard reference on the local ordinance is Christopher J. Duerksen, (ed.), A Handbook on Historic Preservation Law (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation and the National Center for Preservation Law, 1989), pp. 58-125.

46. Michael F. Wiedl III, "The Law of Historic Preservation," Urban Land 34 (July/August 1975): 28.

47. Codified Federal Regulations 36:61.2(b).

48. Collection of The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Preservation Law Library.

49. Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots (Berkeley: CA: University of California Press, 1949, reprinted 1984). Selznick writes (p. 8):

> One of the pervasive obstacles to the understanding and even the inspection of this technology [that is, determining who has a stake in the local governance] is ideology or official doctrine. By the very nature of their function, all those forces which are concerned abut the evolution of value-impregnated methods, or public opinion itself, have a formal program, a set of ideas for public consumption. These ideas provide a view of the stated goals of the various organizations . . . as well as of the methods which are deemed crucial for the achievement of those goals.

50. Wilson (North Carolina) Code, Appendix A — Zoning, § 8.42.

51. "Establishment of Historic Preservation Commission, Ordinance, Article 8-3 Membership."

52. City Code, Wichita Kansas, Chapter 2.12.1020 (Boards, Agencies and Commissions).

53. "Town of Mills Historic Preservation Program Rules and Regulations Adopted August 6, 1986 in Accordance with Ordinance No. 377," Section 4 — "Duties and Powers of the Historic Preservation Commission."

54. The City of San Diego, California, tells its historic district property owners that "the City would follow its usual procedures to enforce its ordinances by requiring compliance or taking legal action. The City may also require that illegal changes be reversed by the owner or may require restoration of the appearance or condition of the property prior to the changes." San Diego, Planning Department, "Questions and Answers about the Proposed Historic Resource Ordinance," p. 5.

55. §92-12, Historic Dist. & Landmarks, Lancaster Code.

> In civilized society it is indeed not so much the greater knowledge that the individual can acquire, as the greater benefit he receives from the knowledge possessed by others, which is the cause of his ability to pursue an infinitely wider range of ends than merely the satisfaction of his most pressing physical needs. Indeed, a "civilized" individual may be very ignorant, more ignorant than many a savage, and yet greatly benefit from the civilization in which he lives.
>
> F.A. Hayek, Law, Legislation, and Liberty

# CHAPTER THREE: THE NATIONAL POLICY DELPHI

This research begins with the premise that those sitting on historic architectural review boards (HARBs) are experts in the form and function of what they do. This research also accepts the proposition that a responsibility of those serving as public administrators is to engage their publics in a spirited dialogue. The concept of dialogues was critical to the methodology employed in this research: a national Delphi which allows individuals "to converse" without benefit of face to face contact. It is my view that such "conversations" are not only useful as a research tool, but are a valuable exercise in their own right for policy communities such as that of historic preservation. It was to these ends that this modified Delphi was undertaken.[1]

The Delphi was picked in the spirit of stimulating a discussion. I was not satisfied with simply forcing answers along Likert-type scales. Respondents wrote their own

answers, then read my distillation of the answers from their colleagues' across the nation.

The members of certified local government, HARBs were asked to participate in a national dialogue. A simple forced choice questionnaire would not have done full justice to the total expertise of these participants. There would have been no development of the individual experience. The questions asked of them in this dialogue were open ended. These public board members had much latitude in how they chose to answer these questions.

Since participants were told initially that I would turn back to them a summary document for further exposition, they knew that they would have a second opportunity to think through their responses in light of the response categories offered by other participants in the dialogue. No single questionnaire would have done this double duty.

This research recognized the paucity of information on the form and function of HARBs. Rather than constraining the responses of the experts along a path of my choosing, I allowed them to move along a path of their own choosing.

In the spirit of the dialogical nature of this research, the findings presented in this chapter are very much a development of what began as a series of seven questions, five of which are discussed in detail below. These questions generated responses which produced a

manuscript nearly 400 pages long. This manuscript was distilled down to several pages in which key constructs for each question were identified. The feedback continued on this, and clearly could go on still.

This chapter explores the Delphi technology, and while presenting the demographics of the sample, places the more routine matters of sample selection and case study selection within the context of this research.

## Methodology Employed

A policy Delphi is useful in exploring "fuzzy" problems over which the investigator has some sense of direction, but must rely heavily upon individuals with first hand experience, or expertise, to define the issues more precisely.[2] Delphi technologies are also useful in stimulating creative problem solving among a group of experts whose personal views may be at variance with one another, or experts who are not in physical proximity.

While at RAND Corporation, Helmer and several colleagues developed the Delphi technology as a way of bringing together experts without having face-to-face confrontations, leadership competition, personality issues, and hidden agendas.[3] Using a paper and pencil survey questionnaire, experts contribute to solving a set of problems independent of divergent views and personalities

which come into play when individuals work together as a group.[4]

Although a variety of applications through this type of impersonal feedback are possible, the technology follows this course:[5]

> 1. a short-form questionnaire solicits brief statements on specific problems;
>
> 2. these blinded, brief statements are shared with the other experts who are contributing to the same problem solving exercise; and
>
> 3. each response to the questionnaire constitutes a round, such that the first iteration produces compiled statements to the questionnaire, the second iterations produces reactions to the experts' combined testimonies, and the third iteration demonstrates the degrees of consensus, providing discussion for a fourth iteration, and so forth until the reasoning is exhausted and the process no longer productive.

While consensus is obviously not always possible, the emergence of clear dissensus allows the researcher to explore independent theories.[6] Rather than attempting to complete a monolithic description of the problem under consideration, a multifaceted description emerges. Each facet then becomes an area for exploration and development. Such "explosions" provide illuminated sensing of the theoretical landscape.

The strongest contribution made by the Delphi technique to social science methods of inquiry is the avoidance of retrenchment of publicly held positions by participants when

confronted with attractive new possibilities which, if embraced publicly, might prove difficult. In this sense, written expertise is far superior to the personal interview, and indeed, a great many participants requested continued anonymity beyond the framework of the study because their responses could prove embarrassing to them. In the same light, the personal interview risks defensive posturing, an unwillingness to take what might be perceived as a negative position, misinterpreting body language cues, predisposing towards the interviewer's anticipated response repertoire, and the like. We now turn our attention to the Delphi questionnaire.

Generation of the Delphi questionnaire required that experts participate in the definition of several broad concerns defined by the original intent of this study:

1. What is the relationship between public board members and the authority that appointed them?

2. What is the relationship between public board and the citizens that it serves? and

3. What is the relationship between board members themselves?

Each of these issues was weighed evenly. The questions looked at professional contribution, personal values, community values, personal sense of mission, public board composition (professional and gender/ethnic), and the working relationship between public and elected boards. In

addition to the five questions that addressed these three specific contents, participants were asked about (1) general management or (2) personal concerns. These last two questions provide the fuel for future conversations between participants, and also as agenda building items for conferences, training sessions, and seminars.

A roughly shaped questionnaire was initially sent to three certified HARBs for validation. These boards were: Steven's Point, Wisconsin, Galesburg, Illinois, and Omaha, Nebraska. There was no particular scheme used to select these three cities other than an attempt to have municipalities of various sizes participate. Omaha is a very large midwestern city, Steven's Point is a small upper midwest college community, and Galesburg is a medium sized city. Their suggestions improved the reading of the final questionnaire (Appendix A: Round I Questionnaire).

With the Delphi instrument in hand, selection of the study sample represented the next phase of the study. Every state has a State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Although the certified local government (CLG) programs are a minor part of each state's preservation responsibilities, these SHPO's approve and then monitor SHPO funded preservation activities. At the time of this study, only North Dakota did not have a CLG program. After repeated contacts, each SHPO provided a list of its CLGs, and the

name of a contact person. Again, these CLGs are so designated because they have at a minimum a publicly appointed review board (architectural or historic preservation), and an ordinance which empowers that board to make, or to impact upon public policy.

Each CLG architectural review board has anywhere from 5 to 12 board members. They may have a professional, paid director such as in Lynchburg, Virginia. Some boards use the staff of their local planning commissions, such as in Omaha, Nebraska. Some boards are highly sophisticated operations with directors and staff, such as in Nashville, Tennessee or Chicago, Illinois. Some boards have only a paid secretary or administrative assistant, such as in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In the overwhelming majority of American political jurisdictions, the architectural review board, or its counterpart, has no paid support staff. These small, volunteer boards, lacking much public or private support, constitute the unheralded front line of the historic preservation movement in the United States. As developed below, they are largely unrepresented in this study.[7]

In all study jurisdictions, public board members are appointed by their local government. The criteria used for appointment vary, with some local appointed bodies following the federal legislation cautiously, and others with a fair

amount of indifference toward board composition.

At the time of this study, there were 482 CLGs nationally. Of this number, 286 CLGs responded to an initial request for a list of their board members, a copy of their local ordinance, and material demonstrating their local board's focus or activities. A master list of all architectural review board members from responding states was prepared. From this list of 2024 members and administrative staff, every other board member and all self-identified local paid administrators were invited to participate in the national policy Delphi.

While this sample produced a rather large mailing, with attendant considerations, several other factors weighed into the selection ratio decision. Two warrant comment. First, the number of certified governments in the forty-nine SHPO states varies. At the time of the study, some states, such as Utah, had a large number of CLGs (34) while other states, such as Hawaii, only had one. In order to have the sample geographically representative, a high sampling ratio was required.

Second, the return schedule on the review of the instrument was approximately 25 per cent. This mirrored a return rate on similar surveys.[8] A sampling ratio of 1:2 was selected to capture as many regions, board types, and policy focuses as possible. Following an initial mailing of

1114 of Round I survey questionnaires, less 19 letters returned for a number of postal reasons, 317 individuals responded early enough to warrant the inclusion of their expertise into the Round II iteration. The response rate is 30 per cent. Forty six states are represented in this analysis. The discussion of Round II participation, which is 17 per cent of the initial mailing or 58 per cent of the Round II group, follows.

What characteristics describe this study sample? Following a brief letter explaining the project (Appendix B: Round I Letter Invitation to the Delphi), each architectural or preservation board member was asked to fill out a page giving demographic information about its board's activities and the local economic climate (Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire Sheet). This information was coded and entered into a computerized spread sheet format for analysis purposes. The salient characteristics of this sample are: public board expertise of the respondent (Table 3.1), the states and cities/towns/counties represented (Appendix D: Jurisdictions Participating in Study), population and town description (Table 3.2), preservation focus (Table 3.3), and economic base of the community and economic strength (Table 3.4).

As these tables clearly demonstrate, there is no "typical" professional respondent sitting on the public

Table 3.1
Public Board Expertise of the National Delphi Members

| Expertise | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Architect | 12 |
| Historian | 12 |
| Planner | 12 |
| Archeologist | 4 |
| Community Leader | 12 |
| Real Estate | 2 |
| Elected Representative | 4 |
| Interested Citizen | 30 |
| Preservationist | 7 |
| Lawyer | 4 |
| Miscellaneous, including | |
| Academics | |
| Staff | |
| Art/Design | |
| CPA | |
| Business | |
| Administrator | |
| Engineer | |
| Building Trades | |
| Total Miscellaneous | 1 |

N = 298 (not all participants indicated a category)

Table 3.2
National Delphi "Town" Descriptions and Populations

| Town Description | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Rural | 25 |
| Metropolitan | 54 |
| Metro-Suburban | 11 |
| Small Town | 7 |
| County | 3 |

N = 300

| Population | |
|---|---|
| Less than 10,000 | 22 |
| More than 10 less than 50,000 | 33 |
| More than 50 less than 100,000 | 14 |
| More than 100,000 less than 500,000 | 19 |
| More than 500,000 | 12 |

N = 282

Table 3.3
Preservation Focus of Participating Jurisdictions

| Focus | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Buildings | 40 |
| Landscape | <1 |
| Cultural | 9 |
| Education | <1 |
| Combination♠ | 50 |

N = 295

♠ Always buildings, plus cultural and/or education

Table 3.4
Economic Base and Economic Strength
of Participating Jurisdictions

| Economic Base | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Mixed | 60 |
| Agricultural | 5 |
| Light Industry | 4 |
| Heavy Industry | 3 |
| Tourism | 7 |
| Residential | 12 |
| Service Sector | 9 |

N = 302

| Economic Strength | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Stable | 37 |
| Growing | 44 |
| Declining | 4 |
| Weak | 7 |
| Strong | 8 |

N = 299

board, although an "interested citizen," with no special qualifications by professional training, is the largest category at 30 per cent membership. Participants were asked to "create" the ideal board. The board created by our respondents (Table 3.5) compares favorably with the real boards upon which they sit.

Conversely, the research isolates a "typical" demography. Our typical respondent comes from a medium sized metropolitan community with a population of less than 100,000. As we would expect of a metropolitan community, it has a mixed industrial base, that is, the labor force is employed in light and heavy industrial, commercial, or service sector occupations. Tourism is not a major economic part of the economic base of these communities. And fortunately, most of these economic bases are stable to growing.

The national policy Delphi produced a wealth of information connecting public boards to the role they play in the public policy process. Their responses provided detailed insights into their own institutional design.

In Round I, 317 architectural review board members (nearly 30 per cent of the total sample) provided brief responses to seven open-ended questions (Appendix A: Round I Questionnaire). An evaluation of the responses to questions 1 through 5 produced a number of concepts. In the discussion

Table 3.5
Composing the Ideal Ten Member Review Board

Version A

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Preservation Architect |
| 1 | General Architect |
| 1 | Architectural Historian |
| 1 | Local historian |
| 1 | Resident of historic district |
| 1 | Elected representative from local government |
| 1 | Professional planner |
| 1 | Legal profession |
| 1 | Interested lay person |
| 1 | Representative of historical society or Preservation activist |

Version B

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 | Architects |
| 1 | Local Historian |
| 1 | Architectural Historian |
| 2 | Residents of historic districts |
| 1 | Elected representative from local government |
| 1 | Legal profession |
| 2 | Interested lay persons |

below, these concepts are framed by their questions, and by the discussion which directed an interpretation of those questions.

In order to accomplish the reduction of the Round I responses into a meaningful document, all Round I responses were typed into one master document such that the answers to each question followed that question. Each participant was assigned a number. This number was used in the compilation and also in correspondence with other participants so as to protect their identity.

Analysis of the responses to each question required isolating key concepts, then compiling these concepts into a broad statement. Because respondents used a variety of mutually compatible thoughts with which to frame their answers, yet still offering unique insights, the Round II statements often required a merging of ideas.

The Round II report tested the investigator's assessment of the Round I responses. The assumption could be made that if none of the Round II participants agreed with a particular statement in the Round II document, then the statement inaccurately captured their initial, Round I responses. This did not happen. The Round II instructions asked participants to select those statements to the previous questions which most nearly captured their reaction. If none of the statements accurately reflected

their view, they were asked to elaborate. To stimulate the return rate, ten days after the bulk mailing, a reminder postcard was sent to all non-responding participants. Round II has 183 respondents, or nearly 58 per cent of Round I participants.

Respondents then received the Round II report as their Delphi. Basically, the report asked respondents to agree or disagree with my interpretation of what they initially said as a group, with the opportunity for contradiction and elaboration. Furthermore, since each respondent initially only truly fell into any one Delphi statement (the one his or her answer helped shape), this large variety of response categories gave these experts the opportunity to react to other's expertise, and to incorporate these divergent views into their own final response category. In other words, while they might not have originally conceived of an answer, they were invited to endorse it, even to abandon their original offering if they chose.

The reduction of the Round I responses into these concepts produced a comprehensive Delphi report or the Round II document (Appendix G: Delphi Feedback to Round I). This Round II document with a response tally sheet was sent to all Round I participants. The instructions requested the Round I participants to read through the packet of materials, and complete the cover page tally sheet (Appendix

F: Round II Delphi Questionnaire). This tally sheet would then be returned to the investigator for a final tabulation.

Round I participants also received a condensed version of questions 6 and 7.[9] Question 6 directs the respondent to think about management issues facing their board which might be of interest to other board members. Question 7 directs the respondents to think about other issues not nominally a part of the study, but on their minds. Again, it was always my intention that these two would not serve as an immediate data for this study, but would provide direction for future inquiry. Questions 6 and 7 also produced study questions and problems that boards can use for their own educational and planning purposes.

A useful analogy for a Delphi model is of a group conversation: although everyone was invited, not everyone came. Of those who came, all contributed. When asked to stay over, many left. Those who were left confirmed what had been said. The difficult question, of course, is how to engage in this conversation those who never came at all. They are more than a silent majority, and their silence is disconcerting.

## The Second Round Document

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended in 1980, and 1983, provides for the creation of

HARBs. If this board is created according to the federal scheme, and its structure is approved by its State Historic Preservation Office and the National Park Service, the local appointing government is known as a certified local government. Certified local governments have written ordinances in the spirit of their state enabling legislation. The state enabling legislation must meet the code requirements of the National Park Service.

Recall that the National Historic Preservation Act recommends a specific professional composition for these local preservation boards. Again, the Act requires the creation of:[10]

> an adequate and qualified historic preservation review commission composed of professional and lay members. All Commission members shall have a demonstrated interest, competence, or knowledge in historic preservation. To the extent available in the community, the local government shall appoint professional members from the disciplines of architecture, history, architectural history, planning, archaeology. or other historic preservation related disciplines, such as urban planning, American Studies, American Civilization, Cultural Geography, or Cultural Anthropology.

Although the boards are clearly not mandated by the Act to have certain types of qualified experts, it is fairly obvious that the effectiveness of the local board is strongly related to a number of specifics: the language of their enabling ordinance; the power granted them through their ordinance; their own institution building and standing

within their community; and arguably, the technical or professional training of their members.[11] In other words, a review board whose ordinance only allows promotion of cultural resources is a creature much different than a review board with design review authority over commercial or residential historic districts.

Cognizant that local governments might not be able to recruit representatives from various professional categories, the state and federal governments have been extremely lax in certifying these local governments based on this requirement alone. In fairness, it might be argued that adoption of historic preservation ordinances is paramount to board composition. Without an ordinance, local governments could never work toward the professionally composed board. Some local jurisdictions also share expert resources with other jurisdictions, or contract for their expertise, based upon local exigencies.

In terms of their appointment pools, a number of factors constrain elected boards. Many variously report that qualified individuals are difficult to recruit. Other appointing officials report that they prefer a representative appointment such that each ward, district, precinct, or township within the governmental scheme has a representative. Other appointing officials are willing to leave a position vacant rather than fill it with someone who

is unqualified.

Recalling the professional composition of the Delphi sample itself (Table 3.1), The Round II architectural review board members were asked to

> design the ideal architectural review board. You need to have ten members. Allocate these members according to the categories listed below. Write [1] if one person from this group would balance your ideal board. Write [2] if you would like two individuals from this group, and so forth. Remember, this is only an ideal board and is not designed to reflect the availability of certain professional groups in your community. Your list should add to ten.

If they desired, respondents were encouraged to add to the list of twenty two professional/ non-professional roles. They made a total of ten additions. In the process of creating the ideal board, participants were free to chose any category as often as they desired. For instance, their ideal board could have ten architectural historians. Finally, the respondents were asked to identify gender and race considerations, as well as to indicate their own sense of importance to the board. These three issues are discussed later.

From a tallying of votes for the ideal board, two variations on the ideal board emerge: a simple rank order generated by frequencies, and a rank order weighted for multiple selection of a single professional category. In Table 3.5, Version A is simply those professional categories voted to the top ten vote slots regardless of number of

votes cast for a single category. Version B is sensitive to the multiple voting pattern so that a weight is applied to those categories receiving sufficient votes to warrant including two members to the ideal board.

The balance is somewhat even between technical expertise and the general, sympathetic community. The selection of a legal voice and a voice from the elected appointing board illustrates a frustration that many of our Round I participants expressed with regard to the failure of ongoing dialogue with their appointing bodies. To borrow a phrase from Heclo, local government is a government of "immediate" strangers, because they certainly aren't distanced by the massive size of the federal bureaucracy to which Heclo referred.[12] They are, nonetheless, distanced.

To further estimate the composition of the local board, Round II respondents indicated their concerns toward racial, ethnicity, and gender (Table 3.6). Of the sample, 52 per cent of them responded that racial or ethnic mix is important for their board. Another 43 per cent marked "unimportant," while only 5 per cent marked "No." A great many of those indicating "unimportant" were addressing only their local jurisdictions. These added that boards should have racial and ethnic members representative of the historic districts.

Gender was less of a concern to the respondents (Table

3.6). Gender composition of the board is unimportant to 68% of the Round II respondents. An additional 23 per cent indicated a desirable 50/50 ratio. Since 68 per cent attached no importance to the gender ratio for the ideal board, a total 91 per cent of the respondents can be said to endorse parity in the gender composition of the board. The remaining 9 per cent indicated various males dominated gender ratios.

When asked if their appointing board would have a difficult time replacing them, 36 per cent said "No," 20 per cent said "Yes," and an immodest 44 per cent said "I would like to think so." By far, the majority of the participants view their tenure as secure. Although only a few Round II respondents made marginalia, those that did provide good insight. The historic districts in large metropolitan areas, such as Boston, Baltimore, Tampa, have a much larger professional recruitment pool. In small towns, recruitment can be a serious problem.

## The Responses

The distillation of 317 open ended responses to seven questions generates is in itself a formidable task. Questions 1, 2, 3 had subparts. Question 5 had three subparts. Since the subparts are content related, responses are grouped together in the discussion to follow. Ideally,

Table 3.6
Gender and Racial Preferences of Round II Respondents

**Is it important that your ideal board have representative membership from ethnic and racial minorities?**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | [N = 95] | 52 Per cent |
| No | [N = 9] | 5 Per cent |
| Unimportant | [N = 79] | 43 Per cent |

**What gender mix would be useful (in percentages) for this board?**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 50/50 | [N = 40] | 23 Per cent |
| 80/20 | [N = 5] | 3 Per cent |
| 60/40 | [N = 7] | 4 Per cent |
| Misc | [N = 3] | 2 Per Cent |
| Unimportant | [N = 117] | 68 Per cent |

the Delphi participants would read each other's unedited (hence uncompromised) views, and react to them. Since this was not feasible, I provided a distillation of the Round I comments. In this modified Delphi the multiple responses were broken down into key concepts. For each of these key concepts, I wrote a discussion-summary of the Delphi participants' contextual tone, and an operationalization of vague, value concepts. Consequently, the Delphi, true to its intent, feeds back to the participants what they said to each other, re-worked by the Delphi convener. These assessments were circulated back to the Delphi experts for their approbation and analysis.

In the discussion of these constructs to follow below, the distilled report is treated as if it is the collective voice of all the participants. It was clear from the ambiguous meaning associated with many important value constructs that the operationalization of these constructs was necessary. The choices given to the Round I participants are actually operationalization of value constructs which they provided in their written responses. It is given the "third person" voice to identify its relationship to the process quite apart from the distillation of several hundred responses.

The last two questions of the Delphi were not a part of the reiterative portion of the research design. They were

included to provide discussion/agenda materials for the respondents on their own boards.[13] In Questions 6 and 7, Round I participants were asked to discuss management or general concerns. Question 6 reads:

> Are there critical management issues facing your organization for which other preservation groups across the country might have insights?

Question 7 reads:

> Is there an issue that I have failed to address that is of interest to your historic preservation efforts?

The Round II modified Delphi served to derive consensus on a number of broad issues, each of which had component parts. Because of the nature of the categories, participants could easily hold multiple constructs. Indeed, all participants selected a variety of constructs within each category.

The percentages reported below are listed as a percentage of the number of individuals responding to each category. In each category, several respondents chose not to answer one or more of these questions. As will be amply evident, there is no archetypical architectural review board member.

<u>Question 1</u>: Your board has an overall mission with regard to your community. What do you see as that mission and how effective is your board?

Question 1 of the modified Delphi tapped into the perceived relationship between architectural review board and their community. In Table 3.7, these two questions are flagged by the constructs **Self Image** (Question A), and **Effectiveness** (Question B). These flags were chosen simply for reasons of space economy. Before the respondents proceeded to select the appropriate constructs, several concepts were developed. These concepts were: organizational purpose, mission, management, and stewardship. In the discussion which follows the language of the Delphi frame the number reports of the Delphi participants. The distilled Delphi explained the questions' terms:

> All viable organizations have a sense of purpose around which they plan their activities. This sense of purpose is often set forth in a preamble, such as that found in the language of the enabling ordinance or in their by-laws. For an organization to set forth policies, it must have a clear sense of itself, and its role with other members and organizations comprising their "community." A mission statement then becomes a <u>forced</u> articulation of purpose. On the board itself, the first step in maintaining a meaningful dialogue is an agreement on this sense of purpose. In Question 1, the degree of agreement among historic preservation board members on purpose, or mission is ascertained. These boards have goals, objectives (long term and short term), but these should not be confused with a mission statement. While a mission statement might change over time, it is never fulfilled without the collapse of the organization. In this case, a community that is wholly committed to the purposes of historic preservation, fully educated on the tools and appropriateness of preservation, probably will not need the active involvement of a review board. That mission (to preserve and protect) has already been fulfilled. Typically what happens in such instances is that boards redefine their purpose. For instance, when a

Table 3.7
Round II Responses to Question 1:

(A) How do board members see themselves?

| Construct (N = 176) | [n] | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Self Image 1 | [85] | 48 |
| Team: As a part of the national historic preservation movement. | | |
| Self Image 2 | [58] | 33 |
| Zoning: As a part of the local zoning scheme. | | |
| Self Image 3 | [35] | 20 |
| Economic: As a part of the community's overall economic development. | | |
| Self Image 4 | [107] | 61 |
| Aesthetic: As champions of an aesthetic. | | |

**(B) What contributes to the Board's effectiveness?** (N = 175)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness 1 | [82] | 47 |
| Community vitality: The overall economic vitality of the community. | | |
| Effectiveness 2 | [80] | 45 |
| Board composition: The professional composition of the board. | | |
| Effectiveness 3 | [96] | 55 |
| Political harmony: The Cooperative relationship with the elected board. | | |
| Effectiveness 4 | [109] | 62 |
| Professional staff: The presence of a paid staff member. | | |
| Effectiveness 5 | [79] | 45 |
| Powerful ordinance: The policing strength of the local ordinance. | | |
| Effectiveness 6 | [72] | 41 |
| Shared ethos: The presence of a recognized local historic inventory. | | |

vaccination for polio was discovered, the March of Dimes changed its mission.

Quite clearly, the vast majority of our respondents work toward the preservation of local architecture as their main mission. Landscapes were often noted, but it seemed pretty obvious that buildings dominate their concerns. One respondent drew directly on the language of the local enabling ordinance to answer this question. Indeed, an examination of the enabling ordinances supports a strong relationship between the goal provided for the board in the ordinance and their own sense of purpose.[14]

Two words seem to capture the essence of the various mission statements: management and stewardship. Management involves the direct supervision of a historic inventory. Stewardship involves the attempts of the review boards to convey a purposeful sense of community. In other words, architectural review board members see themselves as charged with a mission of perpetuating an aesthetic.

In most jurisdictions, historic architecture review boards are strictly advisory. They give policy advice to planning commissions and councils. Citizens can appeal the decisions of review boards most often to the elected tribunal.

Finally, while "education" was always equally important, it was not clear how boards with little or no budgets go about the business of educating people. Indeed, many board members expressed this very frustration.

Based upon their responses, HARBs have one or more of the following four **self-images** which identify their sense of organizational purpose. Respondents could select all or none of these statements as approximations of that sense of purpose. The identifying tag (Self Image) was provided for short hand purposes only to facilitate filling out the answer sheet which accompanied the distilled Delphi. The

identifying tag catch phrases are provided to facilitate reading Table 3.7.

Self Image 1- the Team: First, 48 per cent see themselves as a part of the national historic preservation process: local, state historic preservation office, and the National Register. The Delphi explained this viewpoint:

> This viewpoint tends to minimize the local political environment in favor of a more global sense of ownership in the national preservation movement. Boards tend to see their local architectural, landscape and cultural heritage as a part of a larger national picture. As a consequence, these boards assume a historic preservation advocacy role.

Self Image 2 - Zoning: Following their assessment of the Delphi, thirty-three per cent of our architectural review board members agreed with the sentiment expressed by some of their fellow Delphi experts in which they see themselves

> as but one layer in the overall local zoning (governmental) scheme. In this case, the board is empowered through the ordinance and sees itself as legitimate only within the framework of that ordinance. They see themselves as a code enforcement tribunal.

The number of board members that view themselves in a purely legalistic sense is fairly small, but it would tend to support the extent to which they see themselves as servants of the law. Conversely, there is an irony in weakly acknowledging the structure that created the board and through which the board operates. Doubtless all would agree

that they have no power outside of the law, but they do have purpose outside of the law.

Self Image 3 - Economic: As the distilled Delphi posits, the experts have a weakly internalized concept of the economic argument. Only twenty per cent visualize the review board

> as one of the community's economic development boards. These boards see their role as finding ways to enhance the community's economic life through tourism, rehabilitation of tax generating properties, the stabilization of economically depressed areas, and occasionally, the issue of displacement [gentrification].

Only a minority of the architectural review board members use the language of economics to define their sense of mission and purpose. This question goes to the heart of the very nature of the public discourse. The number of architectural review board members honestly embracing the economic logic for their purpose is indeed small. On the other hand, as other constructs will presently demonstrate, these board members are not indifferent to the economic forces at play in their communities.

Self Image 4 - Aesthetic: Sixty-one per cent regard themselves as champions of an aesthetic. The distilled Delphi explains that

> they were created as a board by the ordinance, but the existence of the ordinance is incidental to the values they hold. These board members have a unique sense of

> community which incorporates "time and place" phenomena. These values are difficult to articulate, but usually involve high emotional content words: tradition, belonging, sense of participation, culture, private v. public ownership in the historic property and so forth. As champions, these board members think it appropriate to serve as the public cautionary flag on economic development. These board members are most concerned that others share this vision, and place a high value on educating their community to this aesthetic.

The language of the aesthetic construct parallels the language of the normative tradition for historic preservation. It absorbs the charge of those writing during that formative period of the mid 1960s. This sense of organizational purpose also closely matches those personal values to be discussed below.

What is the HARB's effectiveness in fulfilling its mission? (Question B, Table 3.7 **supra**) About half of the Round I participants answered this question. From their comments, six issues appear directly to impact on their board's effectiveness. These six issues focus on the operation of the public board as a political subsystem within the local political environment.[15] Again, the identifying tag and number were provided to facilitate filling out the answer sheet. The construct is provided to assist reading Table 3.7.

The effectiveness construct isolated conditions in the board's external community, that is the community at large, that Delphi experts regarded as important for an

understanding of the board's ability to conduct its mission effectively. Experts identified six different constructs. These constructs vary greatly in their content. Again, our experts speak through the Delphi document itself.

Effectiveness 1 - Community vitality: According to 47 per cent of the respondents, the economic environment affects their board's effectiveness. The Delphi suggested to its participants that

> in areas with high economic development pressures and in areas of extremely depressed economies, historic preservation issues are less likely to enjoy good reception.

Effectiveness 2 - Board composition: Not unexpectedly, nearly 45 per cent of the Round II respondents see the board's effectiveness tied to

> the professional composition of the board. It would appear that boards with a large number of historic preservation allied professions seem to enjoy more influence within the community than those with a preponderance of people who care about preservation for personal, familial or reasons of nostalgia.

Effectiveness 3 - Political harmony: A larger number of Round II respondents, 55 per cent, believe that the cooperative nature of the HARB to the elected council, and to the planning commission, is critical for an effective board. Effective planning is based upon shared visions of community development, and then public dialogues which allow

these various visions to be shared. One Utah activist describes the necessary ingredients for a positive public program in her town this way:[16]

> Our area has been on the National Register of Historic Places since 1979, but unfortunately, we have lost several sites since then. Our ordinance, passed in 1984 is very basic, with not much 'bite' in it. . . . I hold a seat on the City Council, am also Chairman of the Board of the local historical society, and am Chairman of the Preservation Commission. We work hand in hand with the historical society, and received our original funding from them.

Effectiveness 4 - Professional staff: The single most important issue for board effectiveness, as judged by 62 per cent of those responding, is whether their board has a paid staff member. Effective boards generally have a paid staff member whose time and commitment are to the historic preservation processes in their community. It is important to be mindful that these experts are not, in the main, full time employees of the local government. They are individuals with other full time responsibilities.

Effectiveness 5 - Powerful ordinance: Another 45 per cent of the respondents believe that their board's effectiveness is tied to the policing strength of the local ordinance. As the Chapter Two (p. 83) "demolition by neglect" ordinance provision discussion illustrates,

> enforcement of the ordinance is a major problem. A lack of enforcement power undermines the board's effectiveness.

Effectiveness 6 - Shared ethos: Finally, 41 per cent regard the mere presence of a historic, material inventory as a driving force in the local economy. The distilled Delphi elaborated for its participants:

> This force changes the nature of the public discourse. In those communities which depend upon historic preservation as a part of their economic base, the board enjoys much greater effectiveness.

The community at large so strongly values its historic inventory, that the board is highly energized and charged in their institutional role. As is generally the case in this circumstance, these communities depend upon historic preservation as a part of their economic base.

As a part of the dialogical nature of the Delphi, I shared the following sentiments with all the participants as a reflection of the emotional extremes I noted regarding their organizational attitudes:

> Frustrated: We are "not very successful because conservative property rights advocates dominate the board and their appointees are reluctant to go against owner protest."
>
> Modest: "The overall mission was to document all the historic homes in our town and develop a district and ordinance."
>
> Exuberant: "Preserve, protect, and use cultural resources in the context of comprehensive land use and

development planning. The city is a major player in local historic preservation, both in terms of its police powers, and its stewardship responsibilities. The preservation commission's primary role is advisory, but it is also active in public education, the key to successful community heritage preservation programming."

Question 2: Historic preservation means many things (for instance, economic development, social standing, academic enrichment, nostalgia, and so forth).

What do you find of personal value in historic preservation and

what values do you hope your community receives from your efforts?

The second question looked to what the participants found of personal value in historic preservation and the values that they hoped their communities receive from their efforts (Table 3.8). This open ended question offered two distinct directions for answers, that of a personal value construction and that of a community value construction. But the respondents chose to discuss a very complex set of personal values. The Delphi offered this interpretation of the question:

> This question clearly touches on the mission of the board. An individual board member's sense of self should coincide with the organization's sense of itself if there is to be effective participation. While it is true that individuals contribute to the organization's culture (self-identity) over time, an organization develops an identity which is stronger than the perceptions of any one individual. For this reason, it is very difficult to force change on organizations, and also, for this reason, a lot of people just don't seem

Table 3.8
Round II Responses to Question 2: What do architectural review board members find of personal value? Key words are underlined only to flag them for text discussion purposes.

| Construct (N = 177) | [n] | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Personal Value 1<br>The craftsmanship or artistry of historic buildings. | [135] | 76 |
| Personal Value 2<br>The housing alternatives offered through building resource management. | [33] | 19 |
| Personal Value 3<br>Cultural legacy: time and place symbols. | [102] | 58 |
| Personal Value 4<br>Contemplative: preservation offers an opportunity for a quiet, reflective life. | [69] | 39 |
| Personal Value 5<br>Historic preservation provides a historic legacy. | [139] | 78 |
| Personal Value 6<br>Service offers participation in the community. | [43] | 24 |
| Personal Value 7<br>Being active in the American historic preservation movement. | [61] | 34 |
| Personal Value 8<br>Being a part of community government. | [70] | 40 |
| Personal Value 9<br>Helping to define better neighborhood/community standards. | [75] | 42 |
| Personal Value 10<br>Economic growth and development. | [66] | 37 |
| Personal Value 11<br>Conservation of the environment/conserving resources. | [68] | 38 |

> to "fit" in. There is no right or wrong identity. The most effective organizations, though, are the ones whose personal, organizational, and community perceptions coincide.
>
> The values respondents listed [are given below], with the percentages reported in Round II. Very few of [the Delphi experts] differentiated between personal and community values, these values are presented as a single set.

The culling of these eleven value constructs required a detailed operationalization of their focus. Delphi participants could select as many of the eleven as matched their own assessment, regardless of their initial position, and add additional interpretations. A discussion of these value constructs often matched the overall aesthetic category identified earlier.

Personal Value 1 - Craftsmanship: This construct represents the

> artistry, craftsmanship, design or architectural qualities which define the [material culture of a] community. [From the Round I responses,] clearly this is the dominant category.

Seventy six per cent of the Delphi respondents

> have a very positive affection for the presence of clean, well maintained structures which are representative of architectural high points for their communities. They are concerned about the uniqueness of their communities, but not in the sense of what it is so much as what it symbolizes.[17]

Personal Value 2 - Housing Alternatives: Affordable housing is a national issue of crisis proportions. Although historic

preservation affects housing choices, in the context of their public service on architectural review boards, our respondents are little concerned about displacement.[18] Only 19 per cent selected this construct. In the words of the distilled Delphi, this choice suggests that participants value the maintenance of housing which

> affords various income groups with housing options. Although there was little sentiment expressed for the vernacular architecture ("bungalow" or non-ornamented, late-historic frame houses, typically found in lower economic class neighborhoods).

Several Delphi experts professionally involve themselves in the actual rehabilitation of this housing.[19] They were drawn into public service through this professional activity, and they could condition their professional advice accordingly.

<u>Personal Value 3 - Cultural Legacy</u>: Respondents look to the

> maintenance of a cultural legacy, typically symbolized by buildings, ambience, traditions, continuity, sense of place, belonging or membership to a self-defining collective.

With great sensitivity, one Southern commentator writes:[20]

> Always obsessed with the land, today Southerners are increasingly more concerned and involved with how their public lands and parks and wilderness are used, managed, protected, and preserved. There is a new awareness that land... has an inherent value, a value beyond its [commercial use].

While these respondents are not bound to the architectonic

aspects, buildings represent a visual record of their historic legacy.[21] Traditions, ambience, and sense of place again are vaguely expressed notions of belonging, of being in a conscious stream which transcends time and gives definition to an individual.[22]

These notions trace themselves to a hunger for the freedom and independence of the frontier, and a simpler way of life. There are many theoretical expositions, beginning with Tocqueville's persuasive argument that the American frontier offered a special independence to Americans. In the late 19th Century, this belief's strongest adherent, and the first to vocalize the connection between urban Americans and the role of the frontier, was Frederick Jackson Turner.[23]

In this study, many respondents wrote fondly of the role their ancestors played in the growth of the town. More recent writings suggest that the shift in America demographics and the coming of age of the so-called "baby boomers" accounts for a deeper attachment to idealized notions of place.[24]

Respondents from Alaska and Hawaii in particular were sensitive to their native cultures, cultures which predates the built environment. This attachment to traditions, including language, dress, habit, eating and social patterns is an important part of their preservation movements. Of the Round II participants, 58 per cent value historic

preservation as a tool for defining the unique culture of their community.

Personal Value 4 - Contemplative: The Delphi experts suggest this construct as offering an encompassing view of the environment, and bridges both the built environment with the natural environment. In this view, progress is regarded suspiciously, and individuals value static over dynamic interaction with the environment.[25] These respondents are concerned about the rapidity of change. By working for a preservation of the built environment, they are reducing uncertainty in their lives. Even in itself, a world seen as chaotic offers few opportunities for quiet reflection and introspection.[26] These meditative qualities enhance personal comfort.[27] For many people, the static, preserved environment is a kind of personal psychological anchor. It gives them a steady place from which to regard the world.[28] A great many people tie this pacifism to a nostalgic value of historic preservation. The value can be tied to the simple design of a Viet Nam War Memorial, or to the grand monuments of Lincoln and Jefferson.[29] Thirty nine per cent of the respondents hold this value, which is typically associated with middle class, upwardly mobile, environmentally self-conscious individuals.[30]

Personal Value 5 - Historic Legacy: Not too distant from the Personal Value 3 construct, legacy reflects a direct appreciation for history and/or architecture. Professional architects, architectural historians, historians, and students of the built environment as a learning laboratory adhere to this value.[31] The community's past provides a standard by which other elements of the landscape can be appreciated.

> Understanding the elements of this past provides a language useful in articulating the present and future community. These elements constitute the diversity of the community's built and cultural aspects.

The majority of Round II respondents, 78 per cent chose value 5. It very strongly matches the 76 per cent Personal Value Delphi category, an appreciation for craftsmanship, and shares much with Personal Value 3, that of an evaluation for time and place symbols.

Personal Value 6 - Participation: Some of our gregarious Delphi experts simply enjoy the opportunity to be a member of a public body. The Delphi suggests that this desire to be included might be tied to a kind of personal power trip. The distilled Delphi explains this as

> an insider's track on what's happening within this area of the community. This might be as benign as an "urge to know," the prestige associated with "being in the know," or as forthright as enhancing a professional posture.

Twenty four per cent of the Round II respondents acknowledged this value.

Personal Value 7 - Preservation Movement: As the response summaries indicate, the 34 per cent of the Delphi experts selecting this construct see themselves as active participants

in the American historic preservation movement. For some [of this group], this value even extends to participation in regional and national preservation activities.

This is not a strong value, but it does provide a strong undertone for the HARBs. Clearly those holding this value link themselves to a larger community of preservation experts and policy makers. These other experts and policy makers play a role which defines the local movement, and gives substance to the national historic preservation debate.

Personal Value 8 - Community Government:

Being recognized within the community as a participant in the community's government shaped Value 8. Forty per cent of the respondents judged themselves to be either good stewards, a belief that there is a moral obligation to return a portion of one's good fortune to the source of that good fortune, or good citizens. Value 8 has little to do with historic preservation. This is an administrative/

public service dimension.

Personal Value 9 - Neighborhood/Community Standards: In this construct, the distilled Delphi reflects the fulfillment of an opportunity to have a voice in neighborhood and community living standards.[32] From the Delphi experts, I suggest that this often

> arises because of a vested interest such as in their own residence or property holdings within a historic district, and a desire to exert some control over the future growth [in their own neighborhoods].

Forty two per cent of the Round II respondents endorse the importance of this immediate public purpose. It certainly speaks to the direct links between public board, local community, and administration.

Personal Value 10 - Economic Growth: Delphi experts who hold this value recognize their link to the community's economic growth, development, and strategic planning.[33] It is not a consuming value. Instead, they see themselves as strategic planners, tying their interests to a balanced view of community.[34] These individuals, 37 per cent of the Delphi Round II respondents, value the HARB as a voice in the community's economic vitality or growth. Reviewing the terms under which the experts explained their sense of HARB purpose, the critical nature of balance becomes even more

apparent. While economic growth is not their public charge, the Delphi experts are concerned about the economic vitality of their communities.

Personal Value 11 - Conservation: This construct is the most complex, most paradoxical value within this constellation. A strong organizational tow of 38 per cent of the Round II participants acknowledged some attachment to it. The distilled Delphi report reads, in part, that this is

> a rejection of economic determinism and materialism as a value. This is a postmodern view of man. The postmodern [alternatively postmaterialist] man accepts the necessity of "earning a living" but embraces a constellation of values that press social and political urgency on what is otherwise seen as a total disregard for the environment (the "throw away society"), the advantage taken of human frailty by less scrupulous individuals, the glorification of money and resultant adornments, and ill-conceived progress.[35] [These experts] resent an influence over their community definition exercised from a distance, such as absentee landlords or absentee industrial control. [Its adherents] are not against progress, but they are cautious and side with conservation.

Paradoxically, this value is generally held by those individuals who have achieved the benefits of living in a material culture.

Question 3: Preservation boards have a variety of personality types and professional backgrounds. What do you regard as the strengths and weaknesses of your board's professional (including ethnic and gender) composition?

In our earlier discussion of the ideal composition for the

architectural review board (Table 3.5), and the professional composition of the Delphi experts (Table 3.1) speaks to the importance of satisfying this aspect of the National Historic Preservation Act. Nonetheless, professional mixtures might bottle neck an organization around professional grand standing. The distilled Delphi report reads:

> Curiously, one board's weaknesses were often another board's strengths. So as one board valued the voice of professional representation, another found it elite and domineering. Nonetheless, most of the respondents regard the professional diversity represented on their boards as their main asset. In the main, coupling a balance of architects, historians, and real estate occupations with enthusiastic preservation-minded aficionados denotes the typical board. Occasionally one individual will tend to dominate the board's proceedings. Some respondents are concerned about self-styled preservation purists ("save everything at any cost") undermining the board's effectiveness in a hostile political environment.
>
> In some areas, a ward system is used to appoint service members. Although selection of board members by a geographic ward gives the appearance of a democratic representation, this formula seems to work against professional categories being fully represented on the review board.
>
> A representative balance of race and gender is important, particularly if the historic district has a preponderance of a non-represented race. Gender diversity is important for female respondents who are the only women on their boards. Some male respondents recognize the need for the "female perspective." Ethnicity was particularly important for boards representing a particular cultural bias, such as those boards with native Americans in Alaska, Hawaii, and the Southwester states of Arizona and New Mexico. Mexican-American and Cuban-American representation was not viewed as a particular problem.

> One respondent captures this concern nicely: The community we serve is enhanced by the professional expertise which is available through the commission and task forces. The directness and special interest of the professionals are tempered by the scholars. We have a blend of the practical and the dream. The ethnic mix has been especially helpful in personal relationships outside the commission in understanding the difficulties still encountered by minorities.

> Most of the [participants] appreciate the presence of a paid staff member to handle the grit of day-to-day operations, and bemoan the time constraints placed upon their own volunteer service. Because of this, some respondents expressed resentment toward those board members who do not share service responsibilities, do not attend or participate regularly, or those members who simply occupy a chair on the board for self-serving purposes.

Several general concepts emerge from their responses. In Round II, participants were asked to select from several general concepts with which they basically agreed. These responses are graphically displayed in Table 3.9. The expression "General Concept" was simply a tag assigned to the construct to make it easier to score the answer sheet. The captions following the tags are for table illustration purposes only.

General Concept 1 - Specialized Service: This Delphi construct speaks directly to the importance that the experts attach to professionalism and public service. Of the total responses, a strong representative 63 per cent believe that

> public service requires specialized training to the policy responsibilities of the board; in other words, a

Table 3.9
Round II Responses to Question 3: General Concepts of the Public Service Environment.

| Construct (N = 177) | [n] | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| General Concept 1 | [111] | 63 |
| Specialized service: Public service requires specialized training. | | |
| General Concept 2 | [112] | 63 |
| Ethics: Public boards should have a code of ethics. | | |
| General Concept 3 | [131] | 74 |
| Training: Board members need ongoing training in preservation management. | | |
| General Concept 4 | [33] | 19 |
| Political domain: Preservation boards have a difficult time "staking out" their political turf. | | |
| General Concept 5 | [120] | 68 |
| Board size: A board of 7 - 10 members is about right. | | |
| General Concept 6 | [51] | 29 |
| Planning: There is some concern about inclusion in the comprehensive plan. | | |
| General Concept 7 | [99] | 56 |
| Community networks: The maintenance of all community groups in a network is important. | | |

> majority of the board members should be selected because they offer some applicable expertise. This system advocates selection based on skills rather than representation.

General Concept 2 - Ethics: Coincidentally, another 63 per cent of the Round II respondents acknowledge that

> public boards should evolve a code of ethics which establishes guidelines for public service.

Boards have professional and personal codes, but these do not generally serve as a foundation for public service, and rarely incorporate the distinctive practice known as public administration. These ethics should cover issues such as conflicts of interest, public interest service, and citizenship standards. The Delphi experts did not develop this line of reasoning, except that by their numbers they demand attention to the issue.

General Concept 3 - Training: Seventy four per cent of responding HARB members believe they

> should have ongoing training in preservation and service issues. Most of them recognize the need for ongoing training programs both in historic preservation allied areas (building problems, preservation law), in program management, and in working within the political environment. A great many [participants] are frustrated by the lack of clear guidelines and the tendency for their fellow members to allow personal tastes and values to dictate decisions. They believe that this sends the wrong message to the public.

Most HARBs are committed to expert development. This

development requires a common base from which to conduct the public's business. Too often these boards are divided in their interpretations, or must rely upon the expert testimony of only a single member. The Delphi calls out for an educational program as a technology to develop a technical core.

General Concept 4 - Political Domain: Only a few Delphi experts regard themselves as locked in a local political battle. A low response rate of 19 per cent believe that their

> boards seem to have a difficult time staking out a political turf, then defending it against other political squatters. In the Round I written responses, many expressed a real dismay at the temerity of their board in the face of public conflict. This problem has two fountainheads. One is linked to the lack of a strong leader. The other is a preponderance of "lay people who have time and like old buildings" but who are too conservative, and too wed to other interests in the community to take controversial stands.

General Concept 5 - Board Size: When looking at board size, 68 per cent agree that a three member board is too small and a sixteen member board is too large to be effective. Most of these participants seem to like a board of seven to ten active members.

General Concept 6 - Planning: Twenty nine per cent of the

experts

> expressed concern for the lack of a comprehensive, strategic plan for their board and its preservation mission. [Board members] see themselves drifting toward the year 2000.

Goal orientation sessions are a positive agenda item for the planning sessions of these boards. These experts regard the ties to the community's overall planning structure as important.

General Concept 7 - Community Networks: Fifty-six per cent of the Round II respondents believe that

> the relationships between the board, city\ county\ township council and local interest groups are important. [Many of the Round I participants] advocate a formal relationship with these "outside" bodies. The issue of citizen control (allowing people to act through and effect their own policy choices) and direct citizen participation surfaces here.

This response is difficult to interpret directly. These experts want their HARBs to operate in an atmosphere of exchange, but they see these exchanges as contribution to their policy cycle, not in replacement of their own constitutive purposes.

Question 4: What is your group's working relationship to the elected board that created you?

The distilled Delphi speaks quite clearly, and in some detail, to the important external community link that the

architectural review board has to the appointing authority, and in the same sense, individual members' reappointment authority and the board funding authority. It is a critical relationship, and one which is weak or hollow can gut the effectiveness of the board to operate within the enabling ordinance. The Delphi experts discuss these points directly and by illustration.

> The relationship between appointed boards and appointing bodies (city councils, county commissioners, alderman and so forth) runs at extremes. At one end, the relationship is a partnership in governance. At the other, it is distant and indifferent. Members eloquently voice these divergent attitudes:
>
> Separate but positive working relationship: There is a satisfactory working relationship between the commission and the county's elected officials, but the elected officials have more pressing concerns than preservation. For the most part the elected officials have been supportive, but this has not been tested recently by a clear contest of preservation v. development. Elected officials and commission members know each other and can talk on a personal basis.
>
> A working partnership and blend of public roles: The Planning and Development (P & D) Committee, one of the Standing Committees of the Council, oversees the activities of the Preservation Commission. A member of the P & D Committee is an ex-officio member of the Commission. Additionally, the Director of the Department of Planning, whose department has responsibility for providing the city staff (in the person of the Preservation Coordinator) serving the Commission, is an ex-officio member of the Commission.
>
> Boards existing in separate spheres: We advise the city council. They are free to accept or reject what we do. Are there shared expectations? That is hard to say. They leave us alone and go along with us unless someone powerful disagrees - or, sometimes, unless someone, powerful or rich disagrees loudly.

> Distant and unsupported: We are appointed by the City Council - and then ignored.
>
> Most of the respondents looked to 'distant and unsupported" as closer to the mark in their own experience. There are, however, a number of contingencies that seem **to make a difference** in this relationship.

The Delphi experts identified 8 value constructs which they regard as critical to their board's ability to conduct their mission. (Table 3.10). Some of these constructs shadow ideas developed under different questions. While the total group was asked to select those which were applicable to their experience, these eight contingencies are likely hypothetical and represent perceived avenues for board success. Regardless of whether HARB members answered from perszonal experience or not, they do suggest useful strategies for planning action. As before, the "Making a difference" tag helped the experts score their answer sheets. The other identifying terms are used to capture the sense of the construct for discussion purposes below.

Making a difference 1 - Communication: Fifty five per cent of our Delphi experts believe their boards are more effective because their

> review boards which make an effort to keep elected officials informed through regular, informal personal contact, prepare presentations, and/or budget requests.

Table 3.10
Round II Responses to Question 4: Board members' perceptions of what it takes to be successful as a board.

| Construct (N = 169) | [n] | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Making a difference 1 | [93] | 55 |
| Communication: Keep elected officials fully informed. | | |
| Making a difference 2 | [98] | 78 |
| Paid administrator: A paid, professional staff liaison within government on the board. | | |
| Making a difference 3 | [73] | 43 |
| Mutual regard: Preservation review board members hold all public service in high regard. | | |
| Making a difference 4 | [75] | 44 |
| Total participants: Participate in the town's planning process. | | |
| Making a difference 5 | [43] | 25 |
| Cross pollination: Elected council members sitting **ex officio** on the review board. | | |
| Making a difference 6 | [68] | 40 |
| Political assets: Make historic preservation politically attractive. | | |
| Making a difference 7 | [98] | 58 |
| Information distribution: "Educate" politicians and citizens on economic and social issues. | | |
| Making a difference 8 | [66] | 39 |
| Macro-planning: Regular work sessions with planning and zoning staff. | | |

Making a difference 2 - Paid administrator: Again, a large majority of our Delphi experts embrace the importance of having a paid staff member connected to their board. These experts believe the public purposes of their boards are expedited with a staff member liaison working in city hall. A number of obvious contingencies arise with a regular full time staff member. Perhaps the most important contingency is simply to facilitate the board's routines. These staff members also remind others in government of the public board's existence and its agenda. Seventy eight per cent of the participating public board experts endorse these concepts.

Making a difference 3 - Mutual Regard: Our Delphi experts also recognize that their board is only one among many. Rarely do these boards work in concert, while to do so would seem to make good sense in the growth of community programs. It is a idealized sense of community that inspires a great many of these Delphi experts. Consequently, they suggest that review board members have a high personal regard for the mutual responsibilities of voluntary public boards. Of the responding review board members, 43 per cent agree with the statement that a mutual high regard contributed to a more successful policy orientation for the review board.

Making a difference 4 - Total Participants: Forty-four per cent of the respondents agreed that a more successful board

> draws itself into the town's planning process. This gives them greater influence over [the policy process than those who do not].

Some HARBs have representation from the Planning Commission sitting **ex officio** on their boards. Some HARBs have the town/city planner on their board. Some HARBs are solicited or are otherwise total participants in the building of the town's comprehensive plan. This position is sympathetic to the next construct.

Making a difference 5 - Cross Pollination: More narrow in scope yet similar to the last category, only 25 per cent of the participants regard having elected officials sitting on their boards, either as voting or non-voting members, is of much use. On the other hand, these experts do believe that open channels of communication are necessary for good administration. These Delphi experts see their public purpose quite independent of the political board, yet in concert with this political board.

Making a difference 6 - Political Assets: It would seem obvious to students of political science that for organizational survival in a competitive political environment, these organizations must adopt strategies of indebtedness. A strategy of indebtedness can take many forms: (a) developing an important political issue to which

local politicians can attach themselves; (b) becoming a critical source of expert testimony for local politicians and interest groups; and (c) serving as a policy strategy board for the local public administration. The Delphi experts recognize this idea in terms of their own ability to effect their mission. While the number was not a majority, a strong presence moves within the Delphi group. Of this Delphi, 40 per cent of the respondents endorsed this contingency.

Making a difference 7 - Information Distribution: A strong category, 58 per cent of the respondents believe that review boards should actively "educate" politicians and citizens on economic and social issues of preservation. To preview Chapter 5, this is an agenda development concept for the Delphi participants.

Making a difference 8 - Macro-planning This final construct recognizes the importance that a respectable number of the experts attach to regular work sessions with planning and zoning staff members, the public planning commission, and their elected representatives. The 39 per cent that chose this category regard this type of policy planning as important to their preservation mission effectiveness. This construct also shares much substance with the other

communication-type of constructs discussed.

Beyond the development of these effectiveness constructs, the Delphi experience demonstrated some very strong undertones. The distilled Delphi illustrates that

> nearly all boards [share] two process problems: code enforcement and operational funding. Of the responding groups, only a few have a regular budget. Most of these boards must make special appeals in order to procure project seed money or matching funds for grants. Even jurisdictions with "teeth" in their ordinances find their teeth dulled by a lack of consistent enforcement, by a lack of enforcement staff, or by a local government that is unwilling to risk averse publicity arising from private property disputes. Since most preservation boards serve in an advisory capacity (only one board reported being autonomous), successful boards have found that prevention is easier than the cure and try to forestall enforcement problems through public awareness and preservation sensitivity training. The most powerful tools preservationists have are their own expertise, their standing within the community, and their power to persuade. Ideology is rarely at issue, although some correspondents report that elected officials use preservation as a political platform.[36]
>
> It is very clear, as one board member wrote, "[Acceptance] is a long slow process."

Question 5: What is your assessment of your community's attitude toward historic preservation?

How do they demonstrate this attitude?

What is your group's position on involving the community in your work (if you do)?

The last question discussed in the research context asked three distinct questions, yet the Delphi chose to develop this answer as a variety of community relation constructs. The Delphi discussion which operationalized these community

values tells us much about the environment in which these experts operate. The distilled Delphi relates that

> these three questions focus on a respondents sense of "community" and the relationship between this community and the board itself. For most people, community consists of those individuals with whom they interact or affect. It is loosely defined as the residents of a specific geographic region, generally with very vague borders. For instance, someone who lives just outside of the electoral district may still think of himself as a member of the electoral community. Often people who relocate to another part of the state or country still attach themselves to another community. For most of us, people with certain characteristics are members of our community, while others with less desirable characteristics are not. While the term is used with some common perception of meaning, it is very slippery. For a non-elected board to represent their community's interest in a policy domain, they must come to terms with their relationship to this community. The historic architecture review board's community generally consists of those individuals who are directly affected by historic preservation ordinances, the greater communitarian ethos (in terms of defining community, not in terms of defining membership to that community), and a vague public who may be enriched by the preservationists' efforts, perhaps potential tourists or more often, future generations of community members.[37]
>
> Respondents with a broad sense of community probably feel that their community is apathetic and distant. Poor attendance at sponsored public functions and public hearings, a lack of common understanding as to the board's purpose, even a kind of internal lethargy will certainly fuel a sense of isolation. On the other hand, a community defined as a specific historic district, whose members share a common community-anchor, will result in a much different perception. Some members will think that 30 residents attending a public meeting is a sign of great public interest. Relatively speaking, it might very well be. Bearing this semantic difficulty in mind, our board members have varying attitudes about community acceptance of their work, and the extent to which they attempt to bring the community into contact with their mission.

> Most of [the board members] agree that their greater community involvement is minimal, but not threatening to their work. Several of [them] pointed out that [they] have special programs on historic preservation techniques, and that [they] distribute information on various advantages of preservation as well as their own work. Several [Round I] respondents mention the crisis nature of citizen interest, that is, when a negative impact is pending, interest is aroused. These two respondents offer sage observations for their communities:
>
> [P]art of the community supports historic preservation, but economic pressures appear to motivate other parts of the community more strongly. The commission attempts to encourage property owners to protect their heritage through use of county historic preservation ordinances, but this is not as successful as would be desired. Public appeals through letters and newspaper articles have been made by the commission with some small success.
>
> Controversy brews when a specific building is proposed for demolition, or the owner is asked to go to extra expense to maintain an historic facade. For the most part, everyone is aware that the Historic District places constraints on what a property owner can do, but many resent the timetable involved in obtaining [Historic Architectural Review Board] approval for a facade change, sign, or paint job. One local business recently went ahead with $30,000 worth of improvements to two properties within the District without obtaining prior approval, then expressing resentment that the Board should even raise the issue in view of how much she had "improved" the area.
>
> The following [nine] observations were gleaned from [the] responses regarding the individual community's attitudes towards the work of preservation commissions.

The Delphi report uses the identifying tag "Community" to flag responses on the answer sheet. As with the other constructs discussed in this study, the additional tag only highlights the information in the table itself (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11
Round II Responses to Question 5: Architectural Review Board Members' Sense of Community.

| Construct (N = 177) | [n] | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Community 1 | [76] | 43 |
| <u>Alone</u>: Only a very small per cent of the total community is aware. | | |
| Community 2 | [65] | 37 |
| <u>Misunderstood</u>: There is a general misperception of what the board does. | | |
| Community 3 | [94] | 53 |
| <u>Money talks</u>: Economic interests within the community take precedence over preservation. | | |
| Community 4 | [69] | 39 |
| <u>Admired</u>: There is wide spread support for historic preservation. | | |
| Community 5 | [67] | 38 |
| <u>Affective</u>: The community's attitude toward historic preservation is positive. | | |
| Community 6 | [19] | 11 |
| <u>Advocates</u>: Board members are active historic preservation advocates. | | |
| Community 7 | [40] | 23 |
| <u>Community neutral</u>: The board has a passive role in the community. | | |
| Community 8 | [17] | 10 |
| <u>Elitist</u>: Historic preservation is regarded as a "rich person's" game. | | |
| Community 9 | [69] | 39 |
| <u>Preservation partnership</u>: An active private historic preservation society does the "public" work of the board. | | |

Community 1 - Alone: Suggesting that general public education is still a major problem for the majority of our reporting jurisdictions, 43 per cent of the Delphi experts acknowledge

> that except for limited number of directly affected individuals and organizations with preservation interests, their communities are unaware of historic preservation.

The next community value construct closely supports this construct as well.

Community 2 - Misunderstood: Slightly more than a third of the participants agree with their Round I colleagues that the community is not well informed regarding historic preservation, and the role the board serves within this community. The distilled Delphi report confesses that

> there is a general misperception within the community regarding the role of the commission and the service of its members. This misperception surrounds historic preservation in general. These communities regard historic preservation as saving mansions and creating museums.

Community 3 - Money talks: The largest response category under this question, 53 per cent of the Delphi experts agree that,

> for the most part, in the community, economic interests (including individual property interests) take precedence over preservation arguments. In other words, these architectural review board members recognize a reluctance within the community to defend the historic

> preservation aesthetic when private ownership or development are also at issue.

As with other categories that highlight the economic language of public debate, this very strong category points to the difficulty, often illustrated in this study, that our experts have in synchronizing their own sense of purpose to the community's sense of purpose. A majority of the Delphi experts are predisposed to believe their success as a policy board is wed to the quietude of other interests, or at least takes a distant second to other interests. Instead of forging an argument that wins the day, they succumb to a larger presence.

Community 4 - Admired: Despite the economic impact discussed above, within their communities, 39 per cent of the Delphi experts think that widespread support for the work toward thoughtful historic (cultural) preservation exists.

> This support might be for a variety of reasons. The Round I [Delphi] offered these possibilities: tourism is an integral part of the community's economic infrastructure; there is a . . . strong attachment to the historic inventory of the city; or, the historic fabric has simply not been threatened.

Community 5 - Affective: While the Delphi did not attempt to narrow down the very broad concept of community, most experts in the process broadly conceive of their community as those citizens likely to participate in the historic

preservation policy process. At least as pertains to this community, thirty eight per cent of the Delphi participants agree that their

> community's attitude toward historic preservation is positive. This attitude is sometimes demonstrated by monetary support or certainly through moral support and volunteer work. They agreed that their group's position on involving the community is positive.

Community 6 - Advocates: While the overall number is not impressive, some of the Round I experts

> report great success with taking their monthly board meetings and message directly to the affected neighborhoods. One person reports visiting each new resident of a historic district to "brag" on their purchase. This posturing would most likely be read as advocacy.

A very slight number, 11 per cent, believe this statement fits their group. For the most part, Round II review boards are not active advocates in the sense of taking the public meeting directly to the neighborhood. Most of the members enjoy the official symbols associated with meeting the public building, sitting at a table, and being recognized in an official capacity.

Community 7 - Community neutral: Conversely, we would expect a larger response for the non-advocacy role. In this instance,

> the preservation commission meets fairly infrequently and historic district residents come before the panel

> to make formal requests. In this sense, the board is an advisory and/or regulatory group rather than an advocacy group.

Although more than twice the previous group, still a small 23 per cent of the respondents in Round II acknowledge this Round I passive role in their communities. This construct does not carry the same tone as the advocacy construct. The overall diminutive role maintained by these Delphi experts likely speaks to the overall role of their particular board. It can safely be deduced that 77 per cent of the Delphi experts believe their boards are active, and that their mission extends beyond the simple formal hearing process.

Community 8 - Elitist: Only 10 per cent of respondents agreed with this respondent's statement:

> Among affluent people, the attitude [toward historic preservation] is good. Among poor people, they want nothing to do with us and our standards. Especially Blacks do not appreciate the [white] history and want nothing to do with preserving it.

This respondent's problem, and the associated problem of housing displacement resulting from gentrification was a noticeable dilemma for many Round I preservation boards. The tone of this Delphi construct is intimidating, and begs for an acknowledgment that a negative class perception of the preservation process exists. Since the historic district process most typically involves middle class and better

social economic citizens, it is not surprising that the review process would generally by-pass the truly poor.[38] As will be seen later, absentee landlord ownership within historic districts creates a special class of management problems that most historic review boards are not wont to experience.

In many ways this shadows a contradiction between the Advocacy historic preservationists who would demand that material culture is at issue not its ownership, and the Citizen as Administrator historic preservationists who would consider their responsibility framed by an ordinance and public debate. In fact, Advocacy preservationists avoid these homes because they are architecturally undistinguished, and the Citizen as Administrator preservationists avoid them because of the public rancor surrounding these zoning decisions. This is developed fully below.

Community 9 - Preservation partnership: Thirty-nine per cent of the Round II participants acknowledge that their

> communities have very active, and vocal, local preservation or historical societies that do a lot of the needed, public relations and educational work. This private interest group releases the pressure from the public group to function as an advocacy group.

Superficially, at least, it would seem probable that every community would have a private historic society or

preservation group working on a purely advocacy basis using the HARB board to further its designs. The working relationship between the two groups would likely be fairly strong, possibly sharing some critical memberships. Clearly a good management strategy would involve wedding the private and public interests. A sizeable number of the Delphi experts report this kind of relationship. A larger group does not. This speaks closely to the role these boards shoulder in terms of developing educational programs.

## Summary

The truest statement regarding the personal and administrative values held by the national survey sample is that there is a plethora of them. In terms of providing substance for a public discourse, this is exciting news. This study invited a national sample of 1200 men and women, themselves participants in the certified local government architectural review programs, and by definition public administrators, to join in a national dialogue. Over 350 men and women did just that.

In the Delphi document, they shared their expertise on a variety of open-ended questions sufficiently broad to generate a variety of insights. Each participant was provided with a summary of what the other participants said, and then asked to respond to a summary of their comments.

Perhaps the act of thinking through questions helped them to develop some local dialogues.

The 350 Round I participants were asked to read summaries and to answer these questions: "Did I accurately report your sentiment in my summary?" "Do you agree with the reactions of your colleagues?" Half of them chose to continue the dialogue into a second round of the Delphi.

These architectural review boards are not neatly bound in a general textbook description of public service. Like individuals in many public roles, they each bring to their public service a unique constellation of values and ideas, perhaps tempered by their professional occupations, or perhaps not. With this caveat in mind, what can we say about these participants' observations on their boards and their communities?

First, they value the professionally constituted board. The HARB's mission demands that certain professional content areas be represented on that board. It also requires a balance of local community values. These values should be enlightened, and offered in the spirit of good communication.

They value a board whose members make contributions which are in the spirit of sharing and consensus. Therefore, an architect that is autocratic and dogmatic does not contribute to the board. The member that is whimsical,

anecdotal and sentimental does not contribute to the board. Review board members enjoy the clear-eyed, focused expertise: a board composed of individuals whose unique membership makes signal contributions to the matters before them.

They are not concerned about racial and ethnic mixtures except that they must be reflective of the board's jurisdiction. Our board members made this clear: if the board has regulatory control over a specific racial or ethnic neighborhood, that race or ethnic group must have representation on the board, and some suggested that it should be proportional. This view is not extended to socio-economic class representation.

Second, since the mission statement is defined in the enabling ordinance, we would expect group members to identify themselves as a group with that institutional statement. Yet, fewer than half of the respondents see themselves as a part of the legal process that created them. Most board members see their mission as working through an aesthetic. A slight 20 per cent see themselves as a part of the economic development network, and only a third accept their role in code enforcement. To expand beyond the structure of their own institution, to reach for an aesthetic, requires a vision, and often committed visionaries. But as they are defined by that aesthetic, the

aesthetic is balanced by a kind of public service pragmatism.

The effectiveness of the board in carrying through with their mission is naturally tied to the resources at their disposal. This concept perhaps explains the divergence in views regarding what the local board needed to be effective. For a great many participants, the presence of a paid administrator on their boards cemented their role within the policy process. These administrators serve as liaison to the other planners, offer expert council, and take care of the detail of running an organization.

Third, the Delphi participants hold a wide range of personal values regarding their service. This is not surprising, and speaks to the representative nature of public administration. These diverse values surely hold their counterparts in the greater community that the board serves.

The values which are the strongest also speak to the normative tradition of the architectural review board. On one hand, in the spirit of the traditional historic preservationist, these experts appreciate the craftsmanship and structural detail of old buildings. This appreciation extends to the historic architecture, in that the architecture serves a symbolic function to the community, and to the board members. This value holds that buildings

are useful reflections of a community's social history. The past can be examined through the records left, and buildings and landscapes are a part of that record. On the other hand, these experts highly value the professional responsibilities of the board. These responsibilities are tied both to the ordinance (and then to the enabling legislation, then to the National Historic Preservation Act) and to the individual board members' senses of themselves as experts outside of their publicly defined roles.

The important lesson from these value classifications remains that HARB are individuals whose value constellations will rarely neatly mesh with other board members. For this reason, shared meaning must come from developing a sense of place not within the architectural legacy of the community, but within the board room itself.

My reading of the national Delphi board members is that professionals highly prize professional membership, and regard it as the **sine qua non** of public service. Ideally it is the professionalism of the HARB that removes it from the political battles, and which heightens its credibility while in public debate.

Clearly, HARB members generally see their job as dispensing professional insights through a mediation process that they as a group of professionals can provide. Profession checks profession, just as interest checks

interest on the well balanced public board. Board members value a positive, cooperative relationship with other boards, including the elected board, but very few see it happening within their community.

The national organizations that lead the preservation movement could offer no greater service to local HARBs than to provide for them the tools to bridge the wide chasms created through career public administration and political oversight. The beginning is an academically trained career public administrator who understands historic preservation, land use planning, and public administration.

The activity of the HARB in the local planning process is directly proportional to its effectiveness as a public board. Successful HARBs use their leaders, their members' community standing, their members' professional savvy, their members' network connections to break through the tough hierarchical power chart. The successful board is visible, active, and productive. It is doing things in its community beyond the narrowly prescribed review procedures of the enabling ordinance. Indeed, it takes very seriously the vague, ambitious language of its legal charge, and works for the "public's welfare."

The HARB members participating in this study have a very weak concept of "community." Rather than a more conventional view of face-to-face contact, individuals bound

together by collective interests, our respondents tend to regard the community glue as economic rather than cultural. There is a certain irony in this position, but it clearly is antithetical to the Delphi experts personal sense of community. The Delphi experts regard community as a closely woven fabric whose threads represent many values, each important to the overall fabric. The experts see the fabric as a tapestry, and this tapestry tells a rich tale unique to their town, city or county.

This may well explain the frustration experienced by many of our respondents who see themselves as champions of a cultural aesthetic that they have to defend on economic grounds.[39] Their language is that of the tapestry itself, not the single line within it. To overcome effectively this frustration, the public administration should bring the conversation to its terms. In the next chapter, this becomes eminently clear in the intimate visits to the four communities.

**NOTES**

1. Grant McCracken, The Long Interview, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1988.

2. For instance, Robert P. Abelson, "Differences Between Belief and Knowledge Systems," Cognitive Science 3 (4 1979): 355-366; John L. Pollock, "Defeasible Reasoning," Cognitive Science 11 (1987): 481-518; and Jerry R. Hobbs, "Coherence and Coreference," Cognitive Science 3 (1 1979): 67-90).

3. N. C. Dalkey and O. Helmer, "An experimental application of the Delphi method to the use of experts," Management Science (April 1963), pp. 102 - ; J. Pfeiffer, New Look At Education (Princeton, NJ: Western, 1969), p. 155; and S. Enzer, D. Little, and F. Lazaer, Some societal changes by 1985 and their impact on time/money budget (Middletown, CT: Institute for the Future, 1971).

4. Irving L. Janus, Victims of groupthink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972).

5. P. deBrigard and O. Helmer, Some potential societal developments: 1970-2000 (Middletown, CT: Institute for the Future, 1970).

6. T. J. Gordon. A forecast of the interaction between business and society in the next five years (Middletown, CT: Institute for the Future, 1971).

7. Several correspondents from Utah and Idaho complain that their boards were created through a blanket process in their states that virtually impressed upon local jurisdictions the adoption of a "model" ordinance so as to access federal funds in the certified local government process. When the funds did not come, these "preservation" boards simply returned to their private pursuit of preservation interests.

8. In March of 1898, the Historic Resources Commission of Columbus, Ohio, had a return rate of 25% on 340 questionnaires sent out to preservation commissions.

9. Available from the author.

10. Codified Federal Regulations 36:61.5 (c)(2).

11. In Codified Federal Regulations 36:61 Appendix A, titled "Professional Qualifications Standards," the professional categories are all at the graduate level or professional certification level plus additional experience.

12. Hugh Heclo, "Political Executives: A Government of Strangers," from A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977).

13. Available from the author upon request.

14. Christopher J. Duerksen, "Local Preservation Law," pp. 63-67 in Christopher J. Duerksen (ed.) A Handbook on Historic Preservation Law (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation and the National Center for Preservation Law, 1989).

15. Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972); and Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," The American Journal of Sociology 64 (November 1958): 251-261.

16. June McNulty of Eureka, Utah, personal correspondence, March 6, 1989.

17. Donlyn Lyndon, "Public Buildings: symbols qualified by experience," The Public Interest 74 (Winter 1984): 77-97.

18. David Lindsey, "Development Brings Fears of Displacement," and Stephanie Griffith, "I felt it was no longer my neighborhood," The Washington Post, 4 June 1990: D1.

19. Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975). Lamentably, very little academic or preservation interest has been shown in this resource.

20. Harry Middleton, "A Sense of Place," Southern Living (March 1990): 107.

21. Evelyn Hsu, "Arlington Wrestles With Historic Legacy: Development Pits Growth Against Virtues of the Past," The Washington Post, 8 February 1990: VA.1. Hsu writes of the creation of Arlington Heritage Alliance, a group "committed to historic preservation and conservation in Arlington County," Virginia. Trying to resist the governments efforts to demolish private buildings to create space for public buildings is a much different battle than the preservation of private buildings from private development. On the latter, Harry L. Parrott petitioned the county supervisors to declare all of Arlington County a historic district. After all, he complained, "if I'm going to suffer... I want everyone else to suffer."

22. John Berger, "You can't go home: The hidden pain of 20th century life," Utne Reader (May/June 1990): 85-87; and David Lowenthal, "The Pioneer Landscape: An American Dream,' Great Plains Quarterly 2 (Winter 1982): 5-19.

23. Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Hold, Reinhart, and Winston, 1976), and in his more seminal work, The Significance of the Frontier in American History (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1963). Subsequent scholars, primarily his students, have contributed to a complete erosion of the "frontier" theory. For instance, see Ray Allen Billington, The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity (Kingsport Tennessee Press, 1971). Nonetheless, the beliefs are still very much a part of our popular culture.

24. Tony Hiss, The Experience of Place (New York: Albert Knopf, 1990); and Brad Edmundson, "Making Yourself at Home: The Baby Boom Generation Yearns to Settle Down," Utne Reader (May/June 1990): 74-82.

25. Jennifer Moses Green, "Preservation... And of a Precious Part of Our Neighborhood," The Washington Post (Letter to the Editor, 22 April 1990): B8.

26. John Opie, "Learning to Read the Pioneer Landscape: Braudel, Eliade, Turner, and Benton," Great Plains Quarterly 2 (1982): 20-30.

27. Jennifer Moses Green, "Preservation... And of a Precious Part of Our Neighborhood."

28. William H. Whyte, Rediscovering the Center City (New York: Doubleday, 1988), especially chapters 7 & 8.

29. William Hubburb, "A meaning for monuments," The Public Interest 74 (Winter 1984): 17-30.

30. Annalee Saxenian, "The Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley: Regional Growth and the Restructuring of the Semiconductor Industry," pp. 163-197, esp. 184-6, in Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb (eds.), Sunbelt/Snowbelt: Urban Development and regional Restructuring (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). This value is notably associated with upper middle class, educated professionals.

31. Sherwin Landfield, "Preservation... Of Our Irreplaceable Past," The Washington Post, Letter to the Editor, 22 April 1990: B8.

32. Wendell Berry, "The politics of home," Utne Reader (May/June 1990): 83-84; J. B. Jackson, "The American public space," The Public Interest 74 (Winter 1984): 52-65.

33. David Alan Richards, "Downtown Growth Control Through Development Rights Transfer," Real Property, Probate and Trust Journal 21 (Fall 1986): 435-484.

34. Laura Beck, "New Market, Md., Just as They Like It: Frederick County 'Town That Time Forgot" Attracts Tourists, Tries to Resist Development," The Washington Post, 3 February 1990: E12; Pamela Babcock, "Herndon Acts on Downtown: Town Offers Land for Revitalization," The Washington Post, 2 August 1990: VA 1; and Betsy Anderson, "Finding the secret of a viable Main St.," The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2 September 1990: J1.

35. Henry S. Kariel, "The Feminist Subject Spinning in the Postmodern Project," Political Theory (May 1990): pp. 255-272.

36. In Yamhill County, Oregon, one county commissioner won public office on an anti-preservation platform. He maneuvered the placement of one of his supporters onto the architectural review board. Within six months, the preservation ordinance was sufficiently altered to rob it of any enforcement teeth.

37. John E. Rosenow and L. Gerrelo, Tourism, The Good. The Bad, and the Ugly (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1979). These authors tell a tale of woe: the precipitous fall of St. George, Utah from Garden to blight.

38. Annalee Saxenian, "The Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley..."

39. For instance, Amitai Etzioni, The New Moral Dimension: Toward a New Economics (New York: The Free Press, 1988); Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1985); and Hanna Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

> Its hard being a moralist all the time: "I've got the true vision..." That gets real exhausting.
>
> Ralston Cox, Preservation Planner

> There is a special connection between politics and the debasement of language, for in politics more than in any other realm language is less an instrument for expressing thought than a means for concealing or preventing thought.
>
> George Orwell - Selected Essays

# CHAPTER FOUR: THE POLICY ECOLOGIES

Historic architectural review takes place within a larger context which is an interplay between political and community actors, each pressed with a multitude of demands upon their individual time and resources. Surveys are not good at surfacing these tensions. So while the Delphi technique is an excellent technology for focusing on specific problems and teasing out positions on those problems, it tells us little about greater concerns: organizational and interpersonal dynamic relationships and individual personalities. For this the community case study is valuable. In this chapter I explore four communities using the case study, or as I prefer, the ecological perspective.

## Methodology Employed

In the case study methodology, the field interview is

indispensable. The case method requires an intimate working relationship with the target. Individuals in the communities get to know personally the investigator, and the usual range of personality influences and biases interfere with the cooperation of subjects. True, the blinded paper and pencil interrogation offers a certain degree of protection — a shield behind which ideas can be sounded out. On the other hand, the case study does allow personal interaction. It allows a closer study of the subject, and a reading of contextual cues hidden in the essay. Case studies allow follow-up and exploration of interesting points. They also allow the development of alternative information sources, such as a visual reading of the landscape and access to local archives.

There are a number of concomitant issues to address in the thorough field research exercise. The case study method implies a nearly exhaustive relationship with the target. What follows is not a longitudinal study. Nor are the four case studies simply "snapshots" or moments-in-time.

The extent to which any observer gains the confidence of the local policy community directly affects the quality of the information derived from that experience. In the four communities under study, observer participation in each of the four jurisdictions moved from observer-as-participant (Lynchburg, Jonesborough) to simple observer (Gettysburg,

Cobb County). The observer-as-participant "is one who identifies himself...as a researcher and interactor in the social process."[1] The observer-as-participant lends his expertise to the outcome of the events. The simple observer is much like a newspaper reporter. Like a newspaper reporter, the simple observer gathers information, but is essentially silent on the issues which drew him to the event. He or she "observes a social process without becoming a part of it in any way."[2]

In Lynchburg I became an active student of the review questions then active before the board, offered counsel when solicited, and allowed my relationships with several key actors to mature. Jonesborough offered similar opportunities, although the depth was not there. Nonetheless, several visits to Jonesborough provided opportunities to examine questions which developed in process. Because of their distance from Virginia Tech, Gettysburg and Cobb County were visited for a single block of time. Consequently, research activities were variously structured.

Data collection was accomplished through field interviews. Actors critical to the administration of historic preservation policy processes were identified with the assistance of a local contact. These contacts in Lynchburg and Cobb County were the planning department's

administrative liaisons, Annette Chenault and Ralston Cox, respectively. In Gettysburg and in Jonesborough, contact was made through the chairmen of the architectural review boards, Dr. Walter L. Powell and Dr. William Kennedy, respectively.

In this study, each of the four preservation boards was selected for a "close-up look" for a variety of reasons, including their participation in the Round I Delphi. Of these reasons, the most important was the structural relationship between appointed board and governing board. HARBs were selected on the basis of (a) strength of centralization in the local government and (b) strength of the local architectural review board in the policy cycle. Strength of centralization represents the degree of control the political council exerts over the policy process, especially the ability to screen policy input from the appointed boards. A strong, centralized power arrangement would assume very little policy input outside of the council and its top, paid administrator. At the other extreme, the HARB can potentially exert total control over the expertise domain of their enabling ordinance. The extent to which the HARB generates these policy initiatives represents the other side of the dynamic. A conventional 2 x 2 matrix in Figure 4.1 illustrates this model.

One factor is the degree of policy and administrative

Figure 4.1: Governance Matrix:
Degree of Historic District Policy Control in the Four Ecologies

| | | Local Government<br>Historic District Policy Control<br>Strong | Weak |
|---|---|---|---|
| HARB Historic District Policy Control | Strong | Gettysburg PA | Lynchburg VA |
| | Weak | Cobb County GA | Jonesborough TN |

control manifested by the council or board of supervisors over the local government. In Cobb County, this control is intense. An important indicator of the strength of the local preservation public board in the policy cycle is the degree of influence that the board exerts over the policy process, and their relationship to the political/administrative hegemony. Cobb County, Georgia has a very strong County Administrator and an equally strong elected County Chairman of the Supervisors. This Chairman was also the previous chairman of the HARB. Many of that board's apparent weaknesses are due to this political-central administrative relationship. The preservation board is essentially non-expert, and the successful preservation issues are mustered at the political level, not through careful public board "strategizing."

In Lynchburg, Virginia, the city council is weak on historic preservation. It tends to bend with the prevailing pressure upon it. The city manager/public administration is a key success element in the city council's overall goals. The elected political board is a mixed board, in which racial/social issues tend to dominate the agenda. While the HARB is strongly present in the policy cycle, its very weak political interface routinely stalls its well developed policy initiatives. This preservation board has a good mix of technical experts and community representatives, with a

weak sense of itself as a board, or its internal community.

In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the presence of the National Park Service brings a lot of attention to the HARB, although the real connections are mostly coincidental. The HARB is highly expert, drawing several of its members from Gettysburg College. In addition, the political board is active, and headed by a very energetic man whose entire focus is on the borough's development. The borough's administrative staff is sympathetic, but very weak. Only two administrative officers serve the borough: the manager and a code-enforcement officer. The code-enforcement officer is an ex-policeman with virtually no specialized training in public administration or historic preservation. Gettysburg's two boards cooperate, share membership, have similar understandings of what Gettysburg is as a community, and consequently both have a strong commitment to historic preservation.

In Jonesborough, Tennessee, a fairly active township council runs a very weak public administration. Each alderman heads a department. The township currently has no paid public manager. The HARB is fairly weak, but it is headed by an energetic orthopedic surgeon, a man who is impressively self-taught in preservation technologies. The board has sympathetic members but no real expansive expertise beyond their chairman. Historic preservation in

Jonesborough has a strong commercial content and very little economic growth to challenge the status quo.

Remaining fully cognizant of the research opportunities generated by the national policy Delphi, in each of the four field studies these basic questions were addressed:

1. What is the relationship between the public board members and the authority that appointed them?

2. What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that it serves?

3. What is the relationship between board members themselves?

Although this "master game plan" was pursued, each of the four sites offered a slightly different opportunity to study the relationship between public board, local government, and citizen participation. The field research required moderate flexibility in research design. Basically, the superficial procedures for investigation were:

1. Conduct site interviews with local leaders and architectural review board members;

2. Through interviews and local resource materials, identify local policy issues;

3. Ascertain the relationships between various actors in the local policy process; and

4. Participate as a friendly visitor in any local project of interest to the preservation board.

The Gettysburg field study took place from November 18

until November 22, 1989. The interview process in Gettysburg involved a member of the Borough Council, the chairman of the Architectural Review Board, a member of the Architectural Review Board, the past chairman of the Architectural Review Board, the Borough Manager, the Borough Code Enforcement Officer. In addition, considerable time was spent at the Gettysburg Times pouring through that newspaper's nicely indexed archive, and visiting the historic district.

The Cobb County, Georgia research took place over a four days – Labor Day weekend, 1989 – and then was followed by correspondence with key individuals. The interview schedule was strategically mapped out by my local contact, who was also thoroughly interviewed. In addition, I interviewed the county administrator, the chairman of the board of supervisors, a supervisor, the architectural review board en mass, and the director of planning.

Because of the propinquity of Lynchburg, Virginia to the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, I conducted an in depth case study of a historic district zoning process from the period October, 1989, until June 12, 1990.[3] In all, the entire architectural review board, four members of the planning staff, the city council, and several residents of the proposed historic district were met. I conducted a training session for the architectural review

board on nominal group processes prior to a March public meeting on the proposed historic district.[4]

Research in Jonesborough began with an invitation of the Jonesborough Civic Trust, the progenitor to the architectural review board. I gave a slide presentation/talk before the group's annual meeting, on September 30, 1989. The talk focused on a slide show of Lynchburg, Virginia's historic district, and Lynchburg's historic district policy process. Following the talk, the guests participated in a brief Delphi exercise which asked them to make a decision regarding a historic district question, and to explain their reasoning. Thirty-six guests participated in this exercise. Of this number, thirteen followed up with a mailed questionnaire based on their first Delphi. Earlier that day, I met with eight local preservation activists, including three board members, to discuss the preservation context of Jonesborough, Tennessee. The Jonesborough visit also allowed for an interview of the chairman of the architectural review board, and an alderman.

On a February 23, 1990 return visit to Jonesborough, an informal planning session was held with township council and several members of the architectural review board. We discussed strengthening the local preservation ordinance to allow for control of so-called "demolition by neglect."[5]

On the surface it would seem that each public board

operates under similar forms: a group of individuals periodically meets under the authority of a local ordinance which empowers it to conduct the public's business.[6] Normally HARBs conduct public meetings once a month. They meet to discuss applications requesting permission to alter historic properties falling under their authority. These meetings are open to the general public. If proposals to change the ordinance, or other substantive due process issues are before the board, the public meeting must be advertised in a local newspaper.[7]

Formally, the board members sit around a table with name plates before them. The citizens sit in the audience. Meetings are tape recorded. Except for Jonesborough, all public boards have a staff member (Gettysburg has a paid correspondence secretary) who prepares information packages and keeps the formal agenda.

Board members are allowed to enter new business to the agenda, but this rarely happens. The formal agenda is a negotiated document. During times of routine business, a phone call to the staff person gets an item up for new business. There is a filtering process. Bad ideas are reworked or dealt with outside of the formal agenda. During times of agitation, a strong chair will telephone each board member, work through each board member's concerns, and formalize the agenda based on negotiated compromise.[8]

## Policy Ecologies

Let us move into a detailed discussion of each community. In this research, the expression "ecology," taken from the work of Robert Waste, refers to a dynamic relationship in which the activities of the architectural review board can only be understood in a much broader context which includes personalities, the local economy, the strengths and weaknesses of the political structure, leadership roles, and regional values.

The ecological approach serves as a useful integrated process model. Robert Waste develops the fairly generic "ecology" structural concept in his discussion of the urban policy context.[9] For Waste, the public policy process flows in a life-cycle, and hence, has stages which, if not invariant, at least approach a level of predictability. His work is largely built on the life-cycle model of Anthony Downs' Inside Bureaucracy. For present purposes, Waste's structure serves as a useful technology of discovery and of discussion.[10] The ecological perspective is a system approach to analysis, and forces the analyst to look beyond the policy making process itself to discover the narrow policy process as a part of a larger process, that of the urban environment. This perspective proved particularly useful in the present study.

Before we look at each of the case studies, we review the political economy of the four ecologies. No two political economies are the same.[11] Each is shaped by a unique political culture which represents the collective values, customs and histories of the people whose presences contributed to that sense of place. No matter how crudely we define the boundaries of community, communities are institutions. The ecological perspective specifically allows us to narrow the definition of community as a political economy whose terms are at least a number of critical variables. An ecological perspective defines the community in terms of an issue or policy.[12]

HARBs operate within a local political economy that stresses economic growth or similar values. With the shifting of the nation's population and investment relocating in the so-called Sunbelt, roughly the geographic bottom one-third of the county, has had the most dramatic effect on urban policy making.[13] Sunbelt communities are characterized by their "good business climates."

In Sunbelt communities, and in communities trying to capture the economic prosperity associated with Sunbelt regions, zoning is pro-industrial growth, wages and benefits are subdued, and corporate taxes are low.[14] William Goldsmith captures these economic contingencies in his twist of phrase "bringing the Third World home."[15]

Cobb County, Georgia is a Sunbelt region. Pressured by the tremendous population growth outward from Atlanta Cobb County has two identities: one as a bedroom community; the second as a self-supportive industrial/ commercial region. The County resists providing the amenities that would make the County more attractive to suburbanites. For instance, the County does not participate in MARTA, the regional underground transportation system.

By contrast, Jonesborough enjoys its commuter population. Closely situated to both Johnson City and Knoxville, Jonesborough's population is middle class. Yet, the desirable small town character still allows the government to resist conversion to a suburb. This development pressure is beginning to make itself felt.

Gettysburg's reputation as the location of a major battlefield has never matched well the self-perception that old time Gettysburg residents have of their "at the cross-roads" market community. The town is still a cross-roads community. It thrives on tourism, and on a local college. Its economic base is entirely service sector. The population push northward from Washington, D.C. is putting great strains on the community, however. Once able to dodge residential demands for services, the northward movement of Washington bureaucrats is forcing up land prices, forcing out traditional home purchasers, and gobbling up the rural

landscape that once helped to define the national battlefield and to provide its character setting. The local government is ill-equipped to handle these diverse pressures.

Now we turn to a discussion of the political culture of our four case studies. In this study, certain elements of the political culture are common to all four of the ecologies studied: a calm, deliberative approach to the management of private property through the public sector; an interest in controlled economic growth; a willingness to consult the development interests in the area; and a regard of the historic preservation focus as merely one facet on a complex field of localized focuses. The members of each of the HARBs are individuals from diverse backgrounds, and with demanding other lives; their public postures are largely overshadowed by their private occupations.

What is the policy focus of these ecologies? Each of the different regions has a different policy focus.[16] While economic, school, and safety issues generally dominate the local policy conflict models, there are a growing number of conflict issues associated with the environment.[17] Most policy issues are short-lived.[18] The public's attention span is very short. In Lynchburg, the public interest in historic preservation is minimal, and limited to those directly affected by proposed or existing historic zoning

overlays.

In Cobb County, minimal public debate discouraged the proposed development of an overgrown Civil War Confederate Army redoubt. Acting through the Board of Architectural Review, the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors championed the project far more eloquently then the Board, or the board's enter level planner/liaison officer.

In Gettysburg and Jonesborough, interest in the activities of the architectural review board is much stronger. In both of these communities, and especially in Gettysburg, a sense of "civic self" is intimately woven into the historic fabric. Nonetheless, the almost frenetic work of the Chairman of Borough Council is directed toward the economic revitalization of downtown Gettysburg, and rehabilitation of the burnt-out Gettysburg Hotel on township square.

Jonesborough, Tennessee also directs much of its planning activities toward tourism events. The public agenda is not driven by historic preservation, although the preserved fabric is critical to the old town's economic survival. Gettysburg and Jonesborough also take proactive policy roles, but the political culture in these two communities is more sympathetic to the board's mission.

## Lynchburg, Virginia

Lynchburg provides an interesting reference point for students of public administration. It was selected by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Council, a precursor to post World War II academy public administration research programs, as a case study for the then new council/manager forms of government. In their monograph detailing their findings in Lynchburg, Harold A. Stone, Donald K. Price, and Kathyrn H. Stone provide an interesting and important backdrop for an examination of the current policy cycle. So while the authors can describe the 1938 political culture of Lynchburg at the dawn of "one of the most important social inventions in government" – city managers – they are equally mindful of the paternalistic aristocracy through which the wealthier men took it as a part of their roles as stewards of their society to govern the affairs of the community. "Men of wealth and social prominence in the city," they write, "have always taken part in the municipal government as a matter of course, and taught their sons and grandsons to follow their example. On the next page, the authors continue, "The upper-class families have been dominant politically because they took their political responsibilities seriously and paid honor to those who held municipal office. Their leadership has usually been accepted unquestionably by the rank and file of

the voters."[19] These two streams, the one now known as the scientific management movement, and the other, paternalistic elitism, are still present, if even symbolically, in Lynchburg's policy cycles. The Norwood Street historic district debates discussed below illustrate these streams.

The report issued by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Council describes the political environment of 1938 Lynchburg as conservative, quiet, and homogeneous. Students of Southern history will recall that the homogeneity of the electorate was assured by a heavy poll tax, and strict requirements for maintaining receipts of past poll tax payments. Poor whites, mostly field or mill workers, and all blacks, mostly iron foundry and agricultural laborers, were virtually excluded from political participation. Almost the entire vote turned out from the wealthier neighborhoods. The authors suggest:

> ...the men of Lynchburg with enough leadership and influence to become prominent in business and civic affairs have been ambitious for eminence in municipal service. Wanting a good city in which to live and do business, they have undertaken to assume the municipal positions in which they could influence the affairs of the community. Because the electorate **was homogenous in race, religion, and social background**, they have not fought among themselves over questions of fundamental policy but have shared the political honors and offices with good sportsmanship. [emphasis applied][20]

The barriers to participation in local government described by Stone, Price, and Stone in the Committee's

research took two forms. Both were artificial and deliberate. The demographic barriers were based on age, sex, community standing, wealth, education, race and religion. The other form of barriers to participation in local government was procedural. With the bicameral form of government, the administration of government was so complicated that citizen access was impeded. Representation, if any, depended entirely upon the willingness of those elected to serve, and hired to administer, to open the process for public input. The political/administrative process born in the era of scientific management gradually institutionalized these governance processes. To the extent that citizen participation is now welcomed, the channels by which citizen participation could have been legitimized never became a part of the institution of government.

Representation in Lynchburg is by wards. Prior to 1920, the wealthier classes lived in each ward, quite prominent in Lynchburg due to the population concentration around each of seven hills. While the wealthier dominated the political process, one or two smaller merchants or mechanics would be elected. Their voice was neither representative, nor raised in opposition. The conversion to city manager government essentially calcified power structures already in existence.

Stone, Price and Stone discuss the times in which the conversion from administration by legislature to

professional administrator took place. There were two prevalent views on changing the administrative scheme. "The first [view] was that the new plan, by eliminating the cumbersome machinery of the bicameral council and its many boards and committees, would fix responsibility more clearly, provide more efficient administration, and save time for themselves and everyone else concerned. The second was that it would make possible an expansion of the public works program of the city."[21]

Those in favor of the new plan, and those against the new plan, came from the same social and economic circles. On those opposing the plan, the authors write:

> These were men who obviously had no selfish motives in opposing the proposal to change the charter. They believed in the political philosophy of checks and balances, and wanted every governmental proposal thoroughly deliberated before adoption. They thought of the municipal government as a training in democratic processes for the leaders of the city, and were unwilling to sacrifice parliamentarianism, even if some dilatory, for the sake of a businesslike government.[22]

A number of Virginian cities had already adopted the city manager form of government.[23] In 1920, the conversion to city manager government in Lynchburg went smoothly. "The change to the city manager form of government did not upset the continuity of political leadership. The change was considered merely a change in the way of doing business, which was not important enough to divide gentlemen nor to unite those who disagreed over matters of policy."[24]

In 1928 a new charter was written expanding the board membership to seven. This charter gave the council the power to "control and manage the fiscal and municipal affairs of the city." The city manager was designated as the administrative head of government. Beginning with the election of 1928, Stone tells us that the "council has always included one or two members who have considered themselves champions of the under-dog and representatives of the common people."[25] This is no less true today.[26]

In order for the city to manage its affairs, and in response to special problems or concerns given voice by interest groups, city council appointed special committees to formulate public postures on these problems. The manager's relationship to each committee was advisory. He offered direction to each committee, which the committee took as technical expertise from the city's senior administrative officer. Committees made no effort to alter the structure or purposeful design of city government, nor to interfere with the routines of any department. In exchange, the manager did not take up any political cause. He remained a "neutral" officer of the political system that appointed him. This exchange relationship is important, for it provides a solid platform from which to regard the present administrative citizen board relationship.

The city manager prepared the agenda for the public

council meetings, and the various city department heads reported directly to the city manager, rather than to the city council, as had previously been the procedure. This strict bureaucratization was in the spirit of efficiency, and it still runs this course.

In Lynchburg, the locations of the historic districts on a series of hills, follow distinct historic socioeconomic demarcations.[27] (Appendix H) On the streets crossing the apex of each hill are the grander scaled mansions and homes of an era by-gone, residences of industrialists, merchants and commercial giants. On the perimeter streets, yet still a part of the historic districts, are the modest, vernacular homes of workers and servants.[28]

While gentrification has overtaken the market for the larger homes,[29] the small, modest frame structures remain the homes of the lower economic strata of Lynchburg.[30] This is an important contrast and resurfaces frequently. The demographic issues of the Old South so vividly described by Stone, Price and Stone are clearly present today. Although the aristocracy and ruling elite do not sit upon the crest of Lynchburg's hills overlooking the laboring classes, gentrification is a painful reminder to many of these class distinctions. While the old mansions absorb new life from the restorative energies of their upper middle class owners, those less distinguished houses continue their decline.

As was true of urban centers across the country, the availability of the automobile served as a convenient substitute for property maintenance. As Stone, Price and Stone write:[31]

> The character of Lynchburg's residential areas has been changing rapidly in recent years. Its wealthier families, who before the auto age lived in large homes close to the center of the city, have moved to exclusive new sections. These beautiful residential areas contrast sharply with the badly blighted sections of the laboring classes. Almost eleven percent of Lynchburg's families were found doubled up [i.e. sharing homes, today's marginal homeless] in 1934. And 10 per cent of the Negro living units were classed as unfit for occupancy.
>
> For the "better class," Lynchburg holds its own as a good place in which to live. Its old families, stable for generations, are concerned with preserving their gracious living rather than with growing into a larger and richer city. They live in the beautiful Blue Ridge mountain country...

The words of Stone, Price and Stone echo back resentments felt today. The poor blacks and whites living on Norwood Street surface to this point. The Norwood Street historic district debate begins the policy issue of the Lynchburg case study. At the beginning of this study, Norwood Street flanked the Daniel's Hill Historic District. One side of the street was in the District; the other side of the street was not. On both sides of Norwood Street live the urban poor.

Although Lynchburg was Virginia's first certified local government,[32] its historic preservation tradition, like that of Gettysburg, has been publicly sanctioned by

ordinance since 1972, when Daniel's Hill formed as a local historic district.[33] Daniel's Hill was added to the state inventory of historic buildings and sites in 1983.[34]

There was a spate of historic districts formed in the early years of the review Board, then the season dried until recently. There are currently five historic districts over which the Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review has some legal authority. (See maps in Appendix H) The board has been publicly active in the creation of other districts, notably a failed attempt to create a historic district along the James River,[35] and a moderately successful attempt in the recent Court House Hill Historic district. Spirited debate accompanied each.[36]

The Norwood Street redistricting policy follows the neighborhood fragmentation model.[37] In this model, neighborhood residents may coalesce around a critical issue and demand a shift in a public policy position. This type of demand breaks the city's perceived population homogeneity. The more diverse the interests of a population, the greater the heterogeneity. Herson and Bolland isolate the sources of disruptive policy pressures:[38]

> Poor public policy results when competing interests in the community distrust the motives of one another. This, essentially, is ... street-fighting pluralism. ... Mistrust engenders rancor, and rancor breaks down communication. In turn, uncertainty grows for political participants. Their ability to anticipate the course of community issues deteriorates, and their style of

> participation becomes defensive and reactive. With defensive reactions, groups become internally more cohesive... but externally more combative. And the agenda-setting process fragments still further as competing groups refuse to cooperate with one another.

As was true in the ecologies under study, small towns are more likely to be homogenous than large cities. While organized interest groups may dramatize their policy demands by attaching themselves to political opportunities (turf), the powerless in the policy cycle recruit a more powerful ally, or third party, to attach himself to their cause in exchange for the third party gaining an unrelated advantage.

Lynchburg has a characteristic mature council – that "go along and get along" atmosphere that Prewitt coined the "norm of reciprocity."[39] Prewitt found that a series of factors combine to relax or eliminate the connection between citizen and council. Factors which are of relevance in all our ecologies: low voter turnouts[40] and the unlikelihood of an incumbent being defeated.

Most council people retire voluntarily. The norm of volunteerism, then, is that most officeholders leave on their own schedule. Prewitt found a very strong, positive correlation between a high norm of volunteerism and council people who voted their own opinion as opposed to allowing themselves to be influenced by public opinion.[41]

Mature councils see themselves as service providers, that is, making sure that basic utility, road maintenance

and educational programs are provided. They do not stray far from firming up the pillars supporting the status quo.[42] Furthermore, there is a great reluctance to mingle in the routines of the technical experts running the various city or county departments.

Because of the mixture of grand homes on the crest of the hill with flanking homes of the poor, the Daniel's Hill historic district concept never touched the Norwood Street neighborhood directly. The "real" historic houses are one block over, and the Cabell House Museum at the point is safely removed from their neighborhood by another residential street and some open lands. The Federal period Cabell House is also a symbol, and it along with the fine old mansions on the crest of the hill. These were the houses of Lynchburg's merchants, industrialists, and commercial brokers. Their houses, just as old, are simple, perhaps even crude. In fact, houses just like these cover another hill in Lynchburg, College Hill. College Hill is not a historic district.

Several houses on Norwood street are abandoned. The street is a disquieting transition zone. It doesn't "feel" safe. The streets are old. The abandoned fields are unkempt. You wouldn't go there late at night.

The residents of Norwood Street coalesced under the nominal leadership of Joyce Lambert. Lambert's husband had

built a porch onto the house without a permit. Like most incorporated municipalities, Lynchburg required building permits for even minor alterations. Failing to get a building permit also excluded the Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review from assessing the porch's aesthetic value to the neighborhood. Had the Lamberts known the rules by which to play, then played by those rules, the Norwood Street issue would have remained mute.

The Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review demanded that the porch be removed. Lambert petitioned, and eventually city council gave her a waiver to keep the porch. Joyce Lambert was angry. She was angry because she felt as if she was treated badly at the beginning of the process. She felt as if her lack of understanding on governmental processes was not her fault. She felt that her presence in an historic district was arbitrary, and that she and her husband never knew the rules, or what a district involved. By the time government began to care, she was too angry to be persuaded.

Joyce Lambert pulled together her neighbors, and they formed a neighborhood group determined to defeat the historic district. Of course, it wasn't the historic district concept they wanted to defeat. They wanted to win one against government.

The Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural

Review initially resisted the declassification, and organized a series of public meetings designed to assuage the concerns of Norwood Street property owners about historic district membership. The pot may have cooked dry on a slow simmer except for two other critical incidents.

First, Norwood Street is a racially mixed neighborhood, although predominantly black.[43] Their council voice, Vice mayor Thornhill, an outspoken black man who runs a local funeral home, had just recently suffered defeat of his effort to have a main Lynchburg access street renamed from Memorial Drive/Fifth Avenue to Martin Luther King Drive. Ironically, the memorial aspect was to the Confederate redoubt and cemetery in this predominantly black area.

After these attempts to "educate" the neighborhood failed, a public hearing brought the neighborhood group before the architectural review board. In early October, 1989, at the regular 3:30 P.M. public hearing, approximately a dozen Norwood Street residents presented themselves. After some parliamentary discussion, the agenda opened to the petition from Norwood Street to have their street removed from the district. Without the testimony, the Board knew that Norwood Street would be removed. One by one, the residents came to the table at the front of the room.

Residents introduced themselves.

The board chair smiled, nodded, "State your name,

please."

Each resident expressed his/her dissatisfaction with something about Lynchburg government: the trash service, the police department, drug use in the neighborhood, abandoned buildings. An unscrupulous builder had taken advantage of one black man. Right or wrong, many of their complaints had nothing to do with the jurisdiction of the architectural review board. The residents may have known this, but my guess is that this hearing was the residents' day in court, and before them sat Lynchburg City government, not just the Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review, but the city government: planning department, water and sewage, police department, social services, and building inspection.

The board sat quietly. Its members nodded. Rather than probing, developing the issues, teasing out the facts, asking questions, the witnesses were impatiently heard, and dismissed. The entire neighborhood was dismissed. At issue were not historic districts, although certainly the review board sat only for that reason. At issue was government. The Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review had not failed independent of city government, it had failed along with city government.

Body language cues tell the story. Impatience, eyes rolling, forced smiles, awkward glances at wrist watches, and uneasy shifting of weight give evidence to process. The

decision to withdraw Norwood Street had been made. Indeed, prior to a public vote being recorded, maps with the new Daniel's Hill Historic district lines were taped to the walls. Whatever battles were to be won, there were no battles fought. Citizens didn't taste triumph over government. And while they shuffled through the ritual of public testimony, the jury acquiesced only to their verbalizations with pleasant assurances. These citizens were excluded from government.

A careful regard for the injured sensibilities of councilman and Vice-mayor Thornhill, the Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review regarded with trepidation the likelihood of their prevailing before city council on an appeal from Norwood Street residents to have their street removed from the district. Thornhill had built an impressive grass roots organization of the inner city black electorate. This organization, the Voter's League, could pull some weight at elections in at least two wards. No doubt City Council would be ready for a face saving gesture.

Clearly at issue was not Norwood Street. While the historic district concept required a reasonable effort to salvage the district lines, not many within the Board itself felt much kinship with the street.

A second historic district issue began to heat. Once again the professional men and women on Court House Hill,

address for many of Lynchburg's historic and current government buildings, and address to eight important churches and a handsome row of Federal period townhouses, mumbled about bringing their neighborhood under the watchful eye of the Review Board.

There were serious pockets of resistance on Court House Hill as well, particularly three churches and one very noisy absentee property owner. With the attachment to Norwood Street dwindling, and I would argue that the attachment was symbolic only in the first place, during private planning sessions, the Lynchburg Board of Historic and Architectural Review developed a strategy to snap victory from quick jaws. This was the strategy:

1. Build up the public suspense on the Norwood Street removal from the historic district, and let it run the course, but at the end, make a recommendation to remove. This would give the impression that the removal was a "victory" or at least "concession" to the lower economic neighborhood plurality in Lynchburg and to Councilman Thornhill's Voter League.

2. Proceed with re-submitting the Court House Hill District, but be very circumspect about the inclusion of the churches and the one vocal property owner, William Crank. Proceed with defining the district in a cautious manner.

3. Recommend the creation of the district during local council elections when the public's attention, minimal at best anyway, would be most focused.

4. Schedule a public information meeting which appeared to be solicitous, but actually was a soft sell of the proposed district lines.

While the Norwood Street zoning problem served as a focal point for this ecology inquiry, that historic district policy problem can only be fully appreciated through the frame of the larger policy issue. The larger issue was the creation of a new historic district, Court House Hill. My interests in Lynchburg began with the Norwood Street problem, then exploded into the larger issue. The interview protocol was shaped by the larger issue, as the distilled report from these interviews was returned to the policy actors in an effort to stimulate discussions beyond the immediacy of the zoning question. The three research questions provide a useful frame of reference to analyze the Court House Hill policy problem.

1. What is the relationship between public board members and the authority that appointed them?

Three viewpoints point the direction for a fruitful discussion of this question: the role of the budget, the support role, and the symbolic nature of public service. Board members Don Pendleton and Chair Penelope Salay fueled this fire. They are zealous in their commitment to the public role played by the review board. Mayor Jimmie Bryan tones down this role. Since he regards public service as merely an opportunity for stewardship and not as a valued part of the policy process, Bryan provides an interesting contrast to the service role identified by the comments of

Salay and Pendleton. They feel isolated, fractured from the policy process. Here are representative excerpts of their respective viewpoints:

Pendleton:

> [Allocation of funds for training] That's another issue or political question. Is there enough money in the budget to allow for that? The budget is a real political document that tells you where the priorities are. If you could change the priorities to public education and training, for public boards and the people that administer them, then that's a political act.

Salay:

> I am really aggravated. We are an arm of City Council and they are not supporting us. I feel slapped in the face about Court Street and Norwood Street and we just have lost some important battles. This thing should have been approved and done with three years ago when we were fighting for it.

Bryan:

> The historic district review board is an instrument of the government and they can make recommendations to the city government. We have 26 committees. I think governments have them because we get specialized people like these people who have the time and interest to really go into these things. The city manager and the city council people could not say, "Hey, we're going to take all this on. "I would not know anything about it to start with."

In Lynchburg, the relationship between council and review board is distant, or cool. Bryan captured the spirit of public administration nicely: they are experts. They provide expert guidance that the city could not otherwise afford. By juxtaposition, if they could afford to hire administrators to manage these various services provided

through volunteerism, they would be these kinds of experts. While Bryan expressed confidence in the technical expertise of public boards, he also operated from his own value framework which reinterpreted everything the Board recommended. The public service then becomes shallow.

Bryan was not alone. Every council member who participated in the interview series equally expressed confidence in the technical competence of the board. They questioned their value competence. Many felt that value decisions are political in nature while fact determination is an administrative function. Dr. Joe Freeman, then eighteen years on City Council, expressed some frustration at the policy meddling of these well, intended civic minded volunteers. "They should," he told me as he drew on his pipe, "simply give us the unadorned facts, then sit down. Then we can make our decisions."

This exclusionary vision undermines the self-worth of public boards. Refer back to Salay's comment: "I am really aggravated. We are an arm of City Council and they are not supporting us." Doesn't Mayor Bryan acknowledge this? Hollow praise.

2. What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that it serves?

Partly because board members live in historic districts, partly because of the board's advocacy role, and

partly because of the institutional nature of its relationship with the historic districts, the review board has a fairly good working relationship with the middle class owners of homes in the historic districts. Their relationship with the poor whites and blacks, as we have seen, is tenuous. Their relationship with absentee landlords is evocative and stressful.

Evidence of the stressful relationship between the Board and one absentee landlord points to the nature of these relationships in general. During the Court House Hill district debates, William Crank, an absentee landlord of several conspicuous pieces of property within the proposed district raised the ire of board members. In an interview Board Chair Salay relates the disruptive actions of Crank's attorney:

> We had the public hearing on Court Street last week and what a mess. The guy who was hired to represent Mr. Crank, who said he was going to sue and who is letting his building fall down. We started the public hearing and he stood up and said "I am sorry but according to your code such and such, we were not properly notified of this public hearing." We brought the city's attorney down. Big mess, room full of people waiting for the public hearing to take place and they ruled that the guy was right. We went ahead and let the people speak and continued the public hearing to another date and we have to notify everyone else again saying specifically why their house is to be included in the historic district. It was a mess. It was BOOM. I don't know how many people were in there. Embarrassing. We had to stop the meeting for twenty minutes while the attorney came down and all of us had to confer. It was something we had to deal with. I got over being embarrassed years ago. You have to go

> with the flow. The people who were against this thing came and read all of their letters they read to us three years ago saying we still stand by this letter. Yes, we will sue you if this happens and we don't want it to. I was saying thank you for coming, thank you for being there, and thank you for your comments. Later, the secretary of the Board [Annette Chenault] said **I think you should be addressing these people,** they are hearing all of the negative comments. I think you should be countering their positions. I did feel bad about that. I wish I had been told of this earlier.

This was a rather curious confession in that the decision to remove Norwood Street from the Daniel's Hill Historic District had been made long before public debate had closed. The key to understanding this conundrum is this: if it is an important issue, public debate is open. If the issue is not of consequence, decisions are not made before hand – the issue never warranted serious debate. How else do we explain the willingness of an **advisory** body to foreshortening the public policy process?

Was Norwood Street worth the prolonged debate? Was Court House Hill worth the continued debate?

In 1985, the review board decided to change its public juridical image by adopting an advocacy role. As Salay and board member architect John Owen explained to me:

Salay: [A]t least three years ago ... [t]he Historic Review Board members divided up the properties [in the historic district] and we actually went around and knocked on doors and talked to people. That really is not part of our job description. We have a real commitment and I really appreciate the commitment that the Board of Historic and Architectural Review members have about this

issue. It seems to me like we have just done everything we could think of to get the district approved. I feel good about the way we have worked on it.

John Owen also spoke to the advocacy role:

Owen: We ... proceeded with [this] program of advocacy. Each member of the board is assigned to a district so that anybody in that district who is considering something can stand with an advocate and see how they can best be accommodated with the least amount of red tape. And can any way help them. Along with it there is an architectural advocacy, and they would sit with any one in any district that had more of an architectural problem than anything else.

The board also attempted to transform itself from its staid, abrasive tribunal image to a more friendly, neighborly image. Salay elaborates:

> There was talk several years ago about people being intimidated to come before the Board of Historic and Architectural Review. So we did things to try to make that different. We put tables in a square, so that the person could sit right there at the same table with us. We started using name tags and just making more of a point of welcoming people and greeting them and making them feel welcome and more comfortable at our monthly meetings.

Of course, people may see these steps as disingenuous, and in my conversations with several Norwood Street property owners the consensus was that this board is distant and intimidating. In all fairness, at the point of my interlocutory, anyone tainted through association with city hall would have doubtless been given the same summary dismissal by the Norwood Street neighborhood.

Given the record, I would say that the Board, and its

allies, sincerely believed they had attempted to meet the people of Norwood Street on common grounds. Yet that perception of solution has always been the rub. My use of the expression "common ground" is not accidental, for it connotes a deliberate negotiating process. It also carries with it the implication that the first part of the negotiation process involved finding "common ground." For the Norwood Street neighbors, class membership and distance forbade the smooth discovery of a common ground, and no attempt was made to find it by the Administration, because it assumed this ground already existed.

3. What is the relationship between board members themselves?

The opportunity to work closely with a board provided insights into group dynamics that a cursory glance would never provide. On a note I heard sung many times, Chair Salay offered this cheerful appraisal:

> I think this is the best board we have ever had. Really, this is a committed group of people, who have really worked so hard on this Court Street thing. Breakfast meetings, lunch meetings paying out of our pocket to get together to try to figure out what the boundaries should be. We have gone way beyond minimum involvement and expectations. So I am not sure if I answered your question but I feel as though people who want to be involved there is a way for them to get in.

If the matter before it is perfunctory, this board works well. Rarely is a request denied. The board is helpful. Architects offer good advice on design questions,

the other board members are supportive. The real estate member, Don Pendleton, and historic district resident Salay are enthusiastic. Pendleton is a goal setter, close to a Downs zealot/advocate category. Pendleton is charged with purpose. He is broadly interested in cultural resource management. He regards historic districts as long-term community configurations, not simply old buildings worthy of supervision. The balance of the board basically shifts more toward solving day-to-day requests.

Charlene Cobbins, nine years on the board, is the only black member. She resists much of the policy direction of the board, and is generally open to having people make their own choices about style and design. She resists the board's aesthetic values, and perhaps for sensitive, social reasons: she is more sensitive to economic issues, personal property "rights," and social egalitarianism. Her voice is not forceful, but her contribution is consistent. While not quite the voice of virulent dissent, her voice is, nonetheless, a voice in dissent.

Architect John Owen has been on the board since its inception. He is a steward to the community, and not a preservation advocate. He sees his mission as architectural consultation. His advice can be taken or left. Penelope Salay, on the other hand, is the champion of the Lynchburg cultural ethos. She sees herself as the spokesperson for the

cultural heritage of the city. To this extent, her vision of that heritage leans toward the old mansions of the city, not the vernacular structures. She believes the people of Lynchburg, citizen or institution, have an obligation to discover and to protect their history.

Differences of opinion are generally constrained, but they reflect profound differences in value which directly affect on the ability of this board to coalesce around a clear mission statement.

The following exchange is typical of this mixed board vision. During April, 1990, at an informal meeting between Salay and Owen, I asked them to discuss their interpretation of the proper role between a public agency such as their board and a church on the issue of district code enforcement:

Owen: I don't think the government has the right to regulate aesthetics. I think they are involved in the safety of the people of the church. It is absolutely necessary to comply with getting people out of a building in case of an emergency.

Salay: John, why do you say they don't have the right to regulate aesthetics that is what the Historic Review Board is all about.

Owen: The government does not have the right, the court does not have the right.

Salay: Well, isn't that what a historic review board is about?

Owen: But that isn't the court, it's a board.

Salay: Well, we are an arm of city government.

Owen: Yes, but we are not the government itself. The church under our historic district governing codes can do anything it wants to. If any of these churches wanted to desecrate their buildings with an orange cross, a neon cross, they have the right to do it.

Salay: If it has to do with their religion.

Owen: If it has to do with what their code calls for, what their religion calls for. They can't do it arbitrarily.

Salay: In other words, the historic review board code would not take precedence over what needs to happen with their religion, to promote their faith.

This failed effort to arrive at consensus in an interview suggests little effort at internal dialogue prior to the interview. When internal differences are publicly exhibited, the credibility of the board itself is diminished. It is perhaps natural that disputes erupt. The exchange between Salay and Owen, although certainly good humored, indicates a profound difference of opinion regarding the purpose of the HARB.

## Cobb County, Georgia

Cobb County, Georgia and its Historic Preservation Commission provide a unique opportunity for a comparative ecology study. Bounded by the Chattahoochee River from Fulton County and Atlanta, Cobb County with its county seat in Marietta, groans under developmental growth pressures in

its own industrial/commercial base, and from the population explosion associated with the Sunbelt-revitalization of Atlanta.[44] Unlike the other policy ecologies, Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission, founded in 1985, does not monitor a narrowed described historic district. Instead, the Commission watches only the unincorporated portions of the 346 square mile county. (Appendix I: Map of Cobb County, Georgia)

Although the Historic Preservation Commission has only advisory jurisdiction over the unincorporated portions of Cobb County, as of 1980 77 per cent of the population of the County lived in them. In addition, 80 per cent of the County's 413,615 (1987) residents live in the eastern portion of the County, near Fulton County. In the mid-1980s, Cobb County was the fastest growing county in the United States. By the year 2000, the population of Cobb is projected to reach 667,367.[45] Quite unsuccessfully, Cobb County resists suburbanization, primarily by not participating in the building of the Atlanta underground rail, or MARTA. The demographics of eastern Cobb County settlement are much different than the much more affluent Fulton County residents. Cobb County suburbanites are young, family type commuters.

Pressures to develop the County compliment the economic interests of government. Pressures to restrain growth

compliment the so-called postmodern view, that is a concern tempered by quality of life issues. Politically these issues are the environment, open spaces, the ecology, and transportation congestion.[46] Both of these pressures, economic and quality, and the roles played by various policy actors in the urban ecology, are nicely illustrated in the litigation between Cobb County and Bessemer Securities Corporation, New York based developers of the Cobb County Discover Industrial Park. This case, currently in litigation before the Georgia Supreme Court, is illustrative of the issues and temperaments of historic preservation. It not only demonstrates the crisis management mentality facing amateur administrations, but indeed, the divisive nature of economic versus quality of life issues. This case serves well as a backdrop for a closer look at the administration of historic preservation in the allusive public interest.

On October 30, 1986, Bessemer approached the County before purchase of a 720 acre industrial site across river from Fulton County Airport - Brown Field to see if there would be a problem with the demolition of a row of Civil War trenches. These trenches, well known as Johnston's River Line, had been on the National Register of Historic Places since 1973. The Cobb County Department of Planning and Zoning told them there were no problems. The County's Planning and Zoning Department constitute one actor in the

policy arena, and one part of the County's administrative apparatus.

The County went ahead with the installation of the infrastructure - water, sewer, electric and gas. Bessemer agreed to construct the main boulevard. The property was zoned in July, 1987. At that time, the planning department directed a thorough archaeological excavation and retrieval of all artifacts. Bessemer contracted with a private archaeological firm to conduct the survey. The developer gave permission to the County to enter the property and excavate and keep all artifacts wanted.

The archaeological survey was given to the County archaeologist on November 16, 1987, at which time the 90-day inspection period or moratorium began. A letter from the Historical Commission dated February 24, 1988, eight days after the inspection period expired, was the first official notice Bessemer received that the Commission was considering a County historic designation. Privately Bessemer was well aware of the Commission's discussions.

Publicly, the Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission objected to the inclusion of the 60 acres — 30 in a flood plain and 30 acres incorporating the trenches and ambience — into the total Discovery Industrial park. Privately Bessemer offered to take $1.7 million for the contested acreage for which they originally paid $8,000 an

acre undeveloped. Now the land was graded. The County put in the infrastructure.[47]

The letter explaining the County's intent to delay the final green light on development of the remaining 60 acres (although Bessemer's contracted archaeological study had not warranted such a delay) came at the time the Department of Planning and Zoning had hired Ralston Cox to serve as the County's second historic preservation officer. The first officer had lasted only three months within the previous year. She had no impact on the Bessemer case.

Publicly the County's zoning attorney, Bob Webb, said the County could condemn the land under eminent domain, but they did not have the funds to do so.[48] The Preservation Commission voted to recommend that the County Commissioners vote to float a bond referendum on the August 9, 1988 election ballot in order to purchase the property. Bessemer Securities Corporation, frustrated over the stall, threatened to sue the County. Bessemer argued that its constitutional rights had been violated because it had not had free use of its land. This would be tantamount to a "takings" under the 5th and 14th Amendments to the United States Constitution.[49] Bessemer's position was supported by the Cobb County Chamber of Commerce, whose board passed a resolution to the effect that the new jobs and tax revenues "from the project make it worthwhile."[50] The policy camps

are becoming clear: preservationists with a variety of value sets, and the economic development group, now including the voice of the county business community, the Chamber of Commerce.

As Planner Cox reminisced during our interview, the Bessemer controversy "thrust the once obscure Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission into the public spotlight." Without precise knowledge of how much the land would cost the County under condemnation proceedings, and using the $1.7 million figure quite loosely (and wholly out of its original context), the Historic Commission recommended a bond referendum with an amount unspecified. This concerned a great many policy participants. County Commissioner Chuck Clay observed, "It will never pass... if you don't set some kind of limit on it. It would be foolish to ask the voters if we can raise an unlimited amount of money." He said the County should compile a list of historic sites and put a price tag on them in the same manner the County roads program was assembled before being put out for a vote in April 1985.[51]

Frank Duncan, then chairman of the Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission said "the referendum is doomed by putting it on the August 9 ballot because less than 10 percent of the voters would vote and 'it is unfair to put something of this magnitude before such a small voter

turnout.'" On the other hand, Clay said one advantage to putting it on the August 9 ballot was that the opposition organizational and campaign time would weakened.[52] He missed the mark on that assessment.[53]

In order for a bond referendum to be passed, the taxpayers would be minimally informed that an increase in their property tax would be required to service the debt. No one was willing to fix the debt, and no negotiations with Bessemer were officially on the table, so the media used an estimate of $5 to $30 million. At the low end, a very small increase in taxes would cover the debt, that is on a $100,000 house, elevating taxes by $10 to $1129 a year.[54]

At their May, 1988 meeting the County Commissioners asked for a dollar amount to be specified by the June 28 meeting in order to recommend an August 9, 1988 referendum.[55] The Commission did, however, act on the recommendation of the Historic Preservation Commission to add the Johnston River Line to the Cobb County Register of Historic Places. "The designation allows development but stipulates that changes must be approved by the County's Historic Preservation Commission." Upon hearing this, Bessemer threatened to sue the County.[56]

Sensing a hot iron, the Historic Preservation Commission took advantage of its recent publicity, and its newly acquired staff liaison Cox. With the survey of the

approximately 600 sites in the unincorporated County in hand, completed as a part of the certified local government process, Cox prepared a guide list, an abbreviated version of the Roth study.[57] Cox was to prepare a short list of sites worthy of acquisition. This turned into a failed strategy. It made the whole project unmanageable.

Bessemer initially resisted applying for a certificate of appropriateness in order to develop its 60 acre tract. While the newly acquired County historic designation would appear to the company as a stalling device, by not applying for a certificate the court system would question Bessemer's failure to seek administrative relief prior to judicial relief. Bessemer proceeded with the application.[58]

The Historic Preservation Commission has 45 days to decide a request for certificate of appropriateness. Upon presentation of the request, Chair Frank Duncan removed himself from the voting. The attorney for Bessemer showed him a newspaper clipping which quoted Duncan as saying that he would allow development on the site "when donkeys fly."[59]

Historic Preservation Commission chair Duncan's acerbic tongue got him into trouble again when he told a breakfast gathering of the Cobb County Developers Association that the Preservation Commission had the power to confiscate land. The breakfast meeting had been arranged to smooth over

differences arising from the Bessemer development project. Duncan later retracted, admitting that the Commission has no power whatsoever to designate without consent. Chairman of the Board of County Supervisors Dr. Secrist was present for part of the breakfast, and tersely labeled the comments as "unfortunate."[60] This unfortunate statement was uttered **before** any administrative hearings at all.

In his review of the certificate, Cox recommended to the Commission that the certificate of appropriateness be denied on these grounds:

- Bessemer does not intend to preserve the earthworks as recommended by the U.S. Department of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation.

- Bessemer does not address the retention and protection of unknown archaeological materials.

- The Interior Department standards call for preserving in place archaeological material when possible.

- Material change to the property would have substantial adverse impact on its historic significance and value.

Cobb's archaeologist, Ransom Bennett, concurred.[61] Yet, despite the contentiousness, rancor and discord, the private Cobb Landmark and Historical Society President James Corley hopefully proclaimed, "It can be worked out."

The Preservation Commission recommended to the County Commission in time for their June 28, 1988 meeting that the County consider a series of proposals. One was to float a $17.5 million bond issue on the August 9, 1988 ballot for

the purchase of the trenches, which they had designated to the County's historic register on May 24, 1988. They also proposed that the bond referendum be increased an additional $13.25 million for a 125 acre farmstead near the Chattahoochee River,[62] and also $1.5 million for a 12 acre site in the Concord Covered Bridge Historic District.[63]

The debate over the Civil War trenches points to the common foe for historic preservation — economic development. One writer makes his position adamantly clear: "There's little question that Cobb County should do everything reasonably possible to preserve Cobb County's historic treasures. But $8 - $20 million [for the proposed bond referendum] is a bit outrageous. ... [there are] greater needs in 1988 than 2,000 feet of trenches dug by slaves 124 years ago."[64] The Chamber of Commerce agreed, siding with the estimated 833 jobs and $617,000 tax revenue the industrial park would bring into the County.[65] These were powerful voices within the community.

Chairman of the County Commission Secrist shifted his position dramatically. When he conducted the initial Civil War survey for the County, he was a Civil War enthusiast looking to document threatened sites. Instrumental in forming the Historic Commission, when he was on the Historic Commission and running for public office, he took a more conciliatory stand. When the public lost interest and the

price tag including litigation grew out of bounds, he suggested that the Historic Commission make a deal.

Making a deal was out of the question. Consistently discounted by the Planning and Zoning management, and by the County Administrator, the Historic Preservation Commission sought their own council. One Historic Preservation Commission member confided:

> Our relationship with the Planning department is troublesome and has not improved during the time that I have been on the Commission. The Commission is attached to the Planning department for support and our staff member is located there. We got a staff member, not because Planning revered historic preservation but because the proposed staff member was committed to do half-time plan review for the department. The director of the Planning Department is an insensitive bureaucrat who was a trick to deal with during the budget cycle... He created a budget that, as always, included the operating pittance that we were granted yearly. We proposed an improvement project that required $50,000 over the year and he agreed to write that, but his hope was to convince the Commissioners to approve his two priority projects and to convince the Commissioners to cut the Historic Commission's budget request as a gesture of fiscal austerity. Upon hearing this plan, we cut our budget out from his department and submitted it separately and the improvement was approved unanimously by the Commissioners. **It is difficult to do business through an administrative department headed by an enemy.** Fortunately, the Planning Department head is recognized throughout the government as an incompetent manager and his lack of credibility made it easier for us to advocate our own budget. Naturally, administration would be easier and more effective if we could rely on a competent administrator who supported our program. (Emphasis added)

Planning Director John Moeller wanted a long range plan, and accordingly circulated a confidential memo to the County commissioners, probably at the behest of County

manager Salerno, whose attitude towards historic preservation was extremely negative.[66] Moeller's memo requested an 8 month to 1 year study period, at an estimated cost of $30,000. The public entrance of the Department of Planning and Zoning set up the third policy camp in this study. For the first time there was a direct link between County Administrator Salerno working one side of his administration against another side: Planning and Zoning employee Moeller's interests against the interests of their employee Cox, liaison to the Historic Preservation Commission.

The confidential memo was leaked to the press. Western district Commissioner Chuck Clay spoke against waiting for a long range plan. Western District Commission Harvey Paschal wanted a referendum serving as a "straw ballot" on a historic preservation purchase plan before a concrete proposal with specific monies could be floated in the November election. Eastern District Commissioner Emmett Burton wanted an alternative that simply set aside historic lands until the County could find alternative ways to develop the sites.[67]

At their June 28 hearing, the Commissioners killed both a referendum and an opinion poll for the August 9 primary. The motion for the straw poll was defeated by a split 2-2 vote. Eastern District Commissioner Powell was not

present.[68] Had she been there, she too would have voted against the resolutions.[69] Apparently the "secret" memo sufficed to the point.

Predictably, on July 8 the Historic Preservation Commission rejected certificate of appropriateness. For Bessemer, the next step in their administrative due process proceedings was the Cobb County Board of Zoning Appeals.[70] The appeals board rejected the appeal by 5-0.

Quite coincidentally, at the same time a national storm brewed over the Manassas (or Battle of Bull Run) Battlefield in Virginia.[71] This timely call for the preservation of Manassas Battlefield grounds by expanding the 4,513 battlefield acres with a public land purchase of 542 acres from shopping center developers focused the interest of the preservation community on the problems of encroaching urbanization and a demonstrable shift in political priorities. These priorities coalesced around the insensitivities of the Reagan administration toward non-economic, social issues. These insensitivities were reflected through a litany of events echoing through the Department of the Interior, the Environmental Protection Agency, and later to surface in the Department of Housing and Urban Development under Samuel Pierce.[72]

Bessemer filed suit in Cobb Superior Court October 10, and October 11, in U.S. District Court. Shortly thereafter,

seventeen preservationists and prominent preservation lawyers pledged to help defend Cobb County in these lawsuits.[73]

One writer asks these questions: "Why did the Historical Commission not take a position in July 1987 or during the 90-day inspection period mandated by the County commission? Why did they wait until the zoning had been approved? Why, after Bessemer has complied with all the other requirements for the issuance of a permit, did they suddenly call for the condemnation of 60 acres ... 60 acres on which are 400 feet of deteriorated, scavenged trenches?"[74] Several observations point to some answers:

First, the Historic Preservation Commission was created only to procure funding through the Georgia certified local government program in order to fund a survey of historic sites within Cobb County. Chairman of the Board of Commissioners Secrist loves history, and is a student of the Civil War history of Cobb County. He grew up there. He received his Doctor of Education at a nearby college. He also saw a County rapidly outgrowing itself, and looked for his own personal anchors through the past, and through his familial connections to the Civil War.

Secrist took on other opportunities. Yet as one inspiration for the historic preservation commission, Secrist's failure to incorporate trained preservationists

into the board is testimony to the fact that the early vision of the board was not to preserve anything, but rather, simply to serve as custodians for the vision of something long gone, an ethos. And what was the ethos? In an interview, Dr. Philip Secrist described a warm, glow that many of the old time county politicians felt when they talked about the Marietta and the Cobb County of their ancestors.

Three points emerge. First, the Historic Preservation Commission was created for one purpose, staffed to that purpose, and yet, struggled to find its own identity in light of a preservation crisis. It took a technical crisis of immense proportion to force the board to absorb a national preservation ethos that it could not legitimately claim.

Second, the County Manager and the County Department of Planning and Zoning clearly had a different vision for the County than the Historic Preservation Commission. Although both the County Manager and the Director of Planning approached their visions separately, their visions of the County blend. The vision is one of planned, methodical, progressive economic growth, fostered by their professional perspective, that is the development of an infrastructure to support it. For these public administrators, that is the **business** of planning and zoning; and that is the **business** of

county management. If evidence was needed that these two functionaries regarded the planner Cox and the Historic Preservation Commission with disdain, the failure of both Salerno and Moeller to seek their counsel or to encourage their technical growth through recruitment and training would suffice.

The third point to emerge is that, clearly, the public debate was ill-conceived. The Planning and Zoning Department cannot be culpable for approving the initial zoning in spite of the trenches if saving trenches was not a part of the planning and zoning department's operations. There are a number of considerations that follow: Cox came on board in March, 1988; the original application came in July, 1987; the ordinance creating the Historic Preservation Commission predated the application, true, but the mechanisms for reflective study were not in place; and the Roth inventory of historic sites in Cobb County was underway. If a healthy public debate requires reflection, then there needs to be a period of assimilation. And contrary to the advice of Commissioner Chuck Clay, or the volatile passion of Chair Frank Duncan, the public interest requires a slow stewing. If the public is poorly informed, then their education is a filtration process: their interest in becoming educated, the media's commitment, and private/public conversations.

Let us return again to our three research questions:

(1) What is the relationship between public board and the authority that appointed them?

Cobb County offers the clearest vision of how local administration can contort the policy process. Lacking a collective vision and the willingness to create one, various offices of government frustrate one another to the disservice of their public. While we recognize that a pluralistic society strikes for a representative voice in their local government, when those in government who control resources use those resources to silence that voice, the public is ill served. It is tempting to point only to a single individual, especially one whose management style frustrates so many people, and say, "It's his fault we don't work well together." But that would accomplish little, obscure much.

The interview with Ralston Cox provided the greatest insight into the relationship between the administrators, including the public board, and the Commissioners:

Cox:

> [In March, 1988], it was my perception when I was hired that I was indeed hired to be staff for the historic preservation commission, which is certainly an historic preservation advocacy oriented organization in addition to carrying out their quasi-judicial function in issuing certificates of appropriateness. At the same time, I can't really be a preservation advocate and a County employee. If the board of commissioners decides that they don't like so and so, then I'm carrying out the wishes of the Board of Commissioners no matter what my personal feelings are. There is a great deal of confusion within the planning and zoning department

about what it is I am supposed to do.

I then pressed Mr. Cox to discuss the expertise of the Historic Preservation Commission, and its link to the policy ecology:

Cox: [The Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission is anything but elitist.] Most of the remarks I get from the public are, "I can't believe so-and-so is on the Preservation Commission. He or she doesn't know her butt from a hole in the street." Legal arguments are often made about, "Why is this person on the Preservation Commission, they are not a preservation professional?" They are advocates. And that's what most of these people are, they're advocates rather than an architect or whatever...

Question: Their professional backgrounds lend strength to the board, do they not? I mean, don't they come out of that background in terms what they say in that board?

Cox: We have a housewife. We have a printer. We have a developer. We have an attorney and we have a high school history teacher. We don't have wording in our ordinance which says that we have to have an architect, or an historian.[75] We just happen to be lucky right now and have an historian, and to have an attorney, and to have a developer.

Question: So these people don't come into this public board with any sense of membership in the preservation community. They just happen to be people that like history, or old buildings. Where do they come from?

Cox: Each person on the Board of Commissioners has one appointment.

Question: So that person represents, or approximates, the views of the person that selected him in some sense... They were asked. They are in some way known to that commissioner.

Cox: Or they were appointed by that commissioner's predecessor.

Question: It is a rather curious thing to me, then, that a commission would say, "I took my representative to my district and had him tell me the historic sites in my district for preservation emphasis," when in fact, the person doing the prioritizing has no skills, or requisite skills in preservation to do that.

Cox: I am the person that gives them the skills.

The Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission wants to shake the constricted vision of its purpose at creation. The Commission wants to outgrow Secrist's narrow agenda. If they are to mature beyond this nascent stage, they need the support of the County Commission. Cox sees himself as the catalyst of change. To the extent that he, or any staff person, can nurture, educate and energize this board is highly dependent upon the board's desire to break free from its own institutional references. The Bessemer incident certainly catalyzed the metamorphosis. Secrist realized that the review board had statutory authority to act without the technical competence to act prudently. To this end, he recognizes that review board membership needs to reflect a professional composition sufficient to serve their mandate.

(2) What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that they serve?

Efforts to draw the citizens into the policy cycle were clearly a high priority for the Historic Preservation Commission, as it is for the Planning Department under the direction of John Moeller. While the board lacked in

technical, historic preservation competence, their goal setting priorities were outstanding. This is a board concerned about its community. Frustrated by County Manager Salerno, budgetary constraints, and certain other political realities, an Atlanta Constitution reporter writes:[76]

> Vice Chairman [of the Historic Commission] Richard Hutnick said... the budget cuts were an "insult" and suggested the [County] commissioners should consider resigning. Commission member Sally Thomas expressed frustration at the same session that the historic panel is discouraged from dealing directly with the board of commissioners "unless the County manager approves."

The job of involving the citizens in the historic planning process begins with the recognition that the management of an historic resource inventory begins with placing the historic inventory into a broad planning context.

Director of Planning and Zoning John Moeller facilitated the development of a long range planning proposal for the County, and for participating incorporated areas. Shortly after his arrival to Cobb County as their Director of Planning, this eastern Tennessee planner was invited to sit in on the routine county-wide tactical conference. Not unlike most county governments, a committee composed of representatives from the various political jurisdictions meets to discuss common problems. Occasionally (not frequently) they will agree on joint funding of a fire

station, or a rescue squad vehicle. But they will frequently disagree on water and sewer use, and solid waste disposal. Moeller relates what happened at his first County-wide meeting:

> But they went on for about an hour and a half. They took a break, got some food, sat down, and a councilman from Symrna stood up, and said, "I've gone to three of these, and I would like to go to just one of these meetings where I come with just one tangible thing that we could do together." With that, somebody said, "Why don't we combine all the zoning ordinances in the County?" I was sitting at the end of the table. I was there as an observer only. I about slid off my chair. I thought, "Oh, Lordy! That's not what we want to do. Not now. That's the ultimate goal.

This was the beginning of an important experiment in citizen planning. The planning department set up twenty public meetings. These meetings were held at high schools, middle schools and other public buildings. They were held at a variety of times. The purpose of these public meetings was to allow the various County residents to take a look at detailed County maps and talk about roads, development and the like. From these twenty public work sessions, the Department of Planning and Zoning drew together a rough long range planning document. Moeller tells the story:

> We went through a public input stage in October of 1987. We went out to twenty public input meetings. We didn't take anything out except some blank maps and some data reports and some basic information on the County. We talked to the citizens: "You tell us. What it is that you want to see Cobb to be? What's important to you." Most people you find would say, "Well, I live in Walker's ridge...and do you have a map? Yeah, that's where I live... I live right there." Once they could

> find their house on a plain map with nothing else on it, then their scope of interest widened. Self-interest is critical and their home is their greatest dollar investment. It wasn't until they found their house and knew that it was all right and was on the map then they look at their subdivision and the broader community. It was important to do that.
>
> We did twenty of those sessions and picked up a great deal of information. We then went into an inter-departmental committee structure where we took all the departments of County government that had anything to do with planning and development. Basically it was water and sewer, transportation, development control, building inspections, education, planning and zoning, fire and police. We put this inter-departmental committee together. Since the planner was going to be comprehensive, meaning cutting across functional lines, functional department lines, it had to include all these different agencies.

This document created goals for the County through the planning and zoning process.[77] Moeller explains:

> The [first draft of the Comprehensive] Plan is basically a staff effort, meaning that we did not go to a consultant. There are a couple of reasons for that. One is that we felt like it would take longer to do it staff-wise, but that the staff would be here, would be knowledgeable, and wouldn't have a document that was dropped off here by a consultant for the review of the commission, but rather we would create a document with the citizenry, with the commission that we would then implement and then we would have a good idea why we got it, and what's in it.

At this stage, Moeller took this ten-year plan and was prepared to go back into staff plenary sessions to hammer out the final document, but the County Commission wanted a filtration process. This process initially became the Comp-Plan-Task Force, a group of 15 County citizens who came together weekly for 2 to 4 hour work sessions. They reworked

the staff plan into language and form more readily comprehended than the original document. They were a Committee of Style, as it were.

In order to secure balanced interests, Moeller wanted control of the appointments to this Comp-Plan-Task Force, but the Commissioners wanted a citizen committee reflective of their districts. Consequently each commissioner had three committee chairs to fill. The final committee, which came to be called the Plan Advisory Committee, and known by an unfortunate acronym (PAC), was well balanced between developer and residential interests. Over the course of the three months this group worked the Plan; the group developed a real sense of ownership in the document. Moeller elaborated:

> [W]e wanted the ownership to come out. At this point we knew that there was a lot of jargon in the document. This was a team that we had put together that was relatively new in this County. For that reason, it had to be tempered by the citizen input, and yet, how do you get that input? We didn't want to go out to public meetings and get beat to death over this plan. We much rather have that happen in a small group setting where you get really refined input by people who have an interest in planning and development.
>
> The PAC idea worked and worked well. Like I said, the only thing was they could still meet today, they had so many issues they wanted to work on. The PAC finished their work, then it went back to the Planning Commission for their review, and the Planning Commission just finished their review Tuesday. And we've called for what we call public meetings.
>
> There is nothing in State law that says you have got to have public meetings, but again, we just feel like we

> could just jump right from here to public hearings. State law says you've got to hold a hearing. We felt like if we could go back out, and this time go to ten meetings, and try to tell the citizens a little bit, give them a status report, "Folks, two years ago we were out here and you told us these things, and since then these things happened, now we've got a draft plan document, and we've got draft maps, and it is a policy plan, and it is driven by policy and action statements, we want you to get a look at it. We want to tell you about it, but then we want you all to come up here and take a look at these maps. Tell us what you think."
>
> We're going to have blank maps here so that if someone says, "Well, that just seems to be wrong" and actually color it in on another map, put a citizen comment out to the side of it, put a telephone number on it, and at least take it back to the office to say, "That's a pretty decent idea," or "I see that that's a self-interest." If I lived on a major thoroughfare, maybe I think everybody ought to be re-zoned commercial, but that is not for the benefit of the whole. That's an individual benefit, and I don't think its going to work. But we want to be able to collect those things, take them back here, analyze them, and come back out with another document, a third draft to this document.

The success of the Comprehensive Plan strategy of creating public ownership in planning fueled a similar goal for the county Historic Preservation Commission. The proposed Preservation Incentives and Protection Plan drafted at Historic Preservation Commission request by Planner Cox mirrored the development strategy of the Cobb County Comprehensive Plan. Similar strategies have worked in other cities, for instance, Birmingham, Alabama.[78]

The Preservation Incentives and Protection Plan would provide for a multi-layered community input program designed to stimulate public debate over the cultural resources of

the County. The object of a series of public meetings would be to isolate concerns, define the community preservation ethos, and generate both short and long term policy statements. The objective of the plan is to create a historic inventory of **designated** sites. The designated site inventory would have the protection of the ordinance whereas the inventory listing only alerts the Commission to threatened losses.

In crisis management situations, the Commission would have a much stronger leverage to protect the property if the property is already listed. This is a lesson common to historic preservation,[79] and learned in Cobb County as a result of the Bessemer Securities Corporation Discovery Industrial Park development which threatened those Civil War trenches along the Chattahoochee River.

(3) What is the relationship between board members themselves?

This question is best answered by examining a minor fracas upon the board, and a recent appointment. Tension between Kathy Hoppe, head of Cobb County's Arts and Cultural Affairs Department, and some members of the Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission, especially Sally Thomas, the housewife member, became public when Thomas expressed irritation that a public festival called Heritage Alive

would use research materials gathered by the Historic Preservation Commission without including the Commission in the planning, development or execution of the countywide festival. The festival drew 65,000 people the previous year.

Said Thomas, "I have no quarrel with Heritage Alive unless they become the historical society of the county... We've worked ... hard to establish our credibility. I don't want to relinquish a bit of it." Frank Duncan was sympathetic, but cool to Thomas' reactions.[80]

Another Commission member, Jim Morris, felt that the Commission should encourage the Arts and Cultural Affairs Department. "I am inclined," he said, "to say that we should stay back. I think all we can do is sit back and encourage [Ms. Hoppe] and wish her well. Let her go at it." Mrs. Thomas wanted the Cultural Department to fall administratively beneath the Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission, to become their educational arm. Thomas believed that this would facilitate funding, and reduce competition.

Thea Powell's appointment to the Historic Preservation Commission, Richard Hutnick, felt at first that this project was something the Historic Preservation Commission should sponsor, but that the realities of staff limitations denied them this role.[81]

The replacement of Secrist on the Board illustrates a

second aspect of board dynamics. Outgoing Chairman of the County Commissioners Earl Smith appointed developer Don McAfee to replace Chairman-elect Phil Secrist. Secrist himself had been appointed by Smith. "With my insight from the development perspective, I think I can enlighten some of the members to the problems in the development business. I believe I can add some balance to the board. I don't intend to make any waves. We would just like for them to hear [the developers'] side of the issues."[82]

Jim Morris is an attorney. Don McAfee is a real estate developer. Ties to the planning and historic preservation issues are through the staff liaison. In the five years of Commission existence, they have had two staff members. The first lasted for three months, and totally alienated everyone with whom she worked. The second lasted eighteen months. Cox was so frustrated with county management, with the muzzle on his advocacy, he too resigned. The Commission desperately needs a professional cohesion.

## Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

During the Colonial Period, Pennsylvania was a proprietary state, with lands purchased from the Indians in 1736. The next five years marked a period of extensive settlement by the Scots-Irish. Among the 150 families living and working their farms and businesses in 1741, was the

Samuel Getty family. Samuel Getty operated a tavern.[83] Through son James, eventually this dusty crossroads village took the name Gettysburg.

In 1775 Getty's tavern stood at the crossroads of the old York and "Nichol's Gap" Road and the new road connecting Shippensburg to Baltimore. Crude as they were by any standards, these thoroughfares served as vital links in the movement of men and supplies during the American Revolution.

James began "Gettistown" by purchasing from a sheriff's sale some of his father's reclaimed land. Only one building remains from the crude wooden structures of the 18th century town. It is in the modern Ward Three which is predominantly black. The selection of Gettysburg as the county seat for the newly created Adams county on January 22, 1800 assured the new village a continuing prosperity as a market community.

Gettysburg is best remembered for the role its fields played in the American Civil War. Much has been written of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863, a bloody battle which turned the tide of war against the South and against Lee, whose last offensive battle was staged there. Precious little has been written about the impact of the battle on Gettysburg itself, and little has been noted of the impact on Gettysburg since the battle.[84]

While war exacts a precious toll regardless of the

soil, Gettysburg's powder was scarcely dry before the curious and the morbid began to arrive to inspect the fields — something of an amusement in the 19th century. Four months after the battle, more than 15,000 people poured into the little town whose population just tipped 2,400. On November 19, 1863 the President of the United States uttered the memorial at Gettysburg that would change history.

The most important event in this vein occurred the following April, when Gettysburg attorney David McConaughy organized the Gettysburg Memorial Association. The Association meticulously mapped the battlefield and organized tours. This organization also heavily promoted the acquisition of these fields as a national battlefield park.

The popularity of the battlefields among tourists and veterans, many organized into reunion companies, provided a tremendous tourist base for the community. Nearing the end of the century, tourism proved the borough's single largest revenue source. Yet, every blessing has its curse. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association could no longer manage the grounds and still fulfill objectives of acquiring more lands. In 1895, Congress created the Gettysburg National Military Park.[85]

The growth of a tourism service industry, financed by outside capital, pushed the native Gettysburgians into a diminished role. The battlefield became a major attraction,

and consequently were established other attractions, hotels, and livery businesses. The downtown square became a commercial district.

In time the town began to reflect a new wealth, so that by the end of the high Victorian period hugh behemoth frame homes, in Queen Anne, Stick, and carpenter gothic style appeared along the streets. At the turn of the century, columns propped up porticos on Greek revival facades. At the Battlefield's 50th Reunion, the 53,000 plus veterans and uncounted thousands of visitors visiting the park made it clear that Gettysburg was the most popular tourist site of America's Civil War itinerary. It still is.

In 1913, the building of the nation's first transcontinental highway, US 30, and the nascent interest in the automobile brought to Gettysburg another surge of tourists. Livery services became gas stations and auto dealerships. Never looking back when the dollar stood before them, local businessmen expanded their services and redressed their facades, this time with the popular Beaux Arts style — often using a stylistic line cut into concrete or stucco to depict, from afar, cut masonry blocks. There was little thought about preservation in boom cities at this time; when room was needed, form gave way to function.

Gettysburg had no land use planning. Its odd admixture of architectural styles is truly a market inspired study of

structural growth. Although Gettysburg was not unlike many other American cities during the Depression and the World Wars, the phenomenal growth and prosperity of the 1950s truly transformed it into distinctive commercial and residential sections.

Entrance to the battlefield is along Steinwehr Avenue. (See Appendix J: Map of Gettysburg's Historic District) Steinwehr Avenue is a gaudy, commercial strip. It is cluttered with souvenir shops, hotels and restaurants. Looming on the horizon is the "needle," the privately developed observation tower which stands as a beacon to poor judgement in scale.

The pressure to build continues. The rural character of the borough is gone, but pressures on rural Adam County mount yearly. Gettysburg is saturated with houses. The inventory of historic structures numbers surely into the hundreds. The interpretative work has hardly begun. US 15 was upgraded last year to provide for a smoother, and faster access to Washington, D.C., approximately an hour south. Lands that recently sold as farmland tracts are now being developed as suburban housing tracts. It is to this perspective that the Architectural Review Board was born.

Gettysburg created its Historic District and advisory Architectural Review Board in 1972. The creation of the board grew not from a particular incident, but the obvious

need to dampen the garishness of the downtown commercial corridor, especially along Steinwehr Avenue. The historic district has over 1700 buildings within its boundaries.

Selected as the board's first chair, Walter Lane was instrumental in getting things going. A resident and local businessman since 1946, once a photographer for Time and Life magazines, Lane came to Gettysburg to settle down, get married and raise a family. At the time he worked out of a little photography studio and wanted the town to do some minor landscaping of town square, or Lincoln Square.

Lane and several associates took it on themselves to put out some flower arrangements and plant some trees. Because he was visibly interested in this little beautification project, borough council asked him to assume the chair of the new board. Lane thought the board was a downtown landscape board.

Known then as a very public spirited man, more impatient visionaries found him too compromising. Nonetheless, Lane was proud of the review board's reputation of being palatable to the public and had long mastered the role of gentle persuasion. In this early phase a good job was done with sign ordinances and building facades. As board member Dr. Walter Powell relates it:

> [T]he transformation of the visible community, the exterior of the streets and buildings since 1972 has been dramatic. Only those with a short memory, or those

> that came here later would not recognize the immediate benefits. We have ample photo documentation of what Steinwehr Avenue looked like before the sign ordinance, before the historic district began to try to put some controls in place. So I don't think too many people who have been here for a long time would argue that point. Some regulation was needed.

In the summer of 1986 Gettysburg received certified local government status through the addition of a qualified Advisory Board. The failure of the architectural review board to respond to a clear preservation crisis demonstrated that the expertise on the extant board was inadequate to the task. Borough council member and liaison to the Board, Elizabeth Daniels, herself something of a history buff, heard about the certified local government program through the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission, and recommended to the Architectural Review Board that they take the necessary steps to acquire the status, and the access to grant monies through the 10 per cent set aside for certified local governments. But it was borough council president Harry Stokes, said Daniels, who took "a rag tag board, made them write resumés and by brute force made them into a certified local government."

Since the ordinance was already in place, the first step in securing the status for Gettysburg was to conduct a survey of the historic district and the town in order to have an accurate assessment of the historic inventory. The survey was conducted by Dr. Walter Powell, William A.

Frassanito, and Elwood Christ. Each of these men had written on local history, and had established credentials for knowing local source materials. The research material was reviewed by art historian Dr. Norman Furness of Gettysburg College. The research team received occasional assistance from David Ballard and Robert Voorhees, both with the National Park Service.[86]

A major emphasis in this research was to recognize the relationship between historic Gettysburg and the National Battlefield. True, 1.2 million visitors a year do not sojourn to Gettysburg, but they do pass through. Powell is a revisionist scholar: not satisfied with the popular Civil War role played by Gettysburg, Powell and his small committee focused on the social and cultural historic life of the community.[87] This focus placed a particular interest on the black community. In Gettysburg, the black community has contributed to a stable and coherent historic architectural fabric. That part of Gettysburg least subject to modernization, and least subject to demolition, has been the black community. The black neighborhood is within the downtown residential pattern.

To emphasize the revisionist framework for Gettysburg, and to stimulate a local attachment to the documentation process, meetings of the survey committee were advertised and opened to the public. Several members of the black

community formed a Martin Luther King Committee to collect oral histories, this done in the spirit of cultural preservation. Concomitant to the survey work, Powell made public appearances, worked directly with homeowners, and generally publicized the research as they proceeded. The Historic Gettysburg Survey ran a series of articles in the local paper highlighting Pennsylvania and Gettysburg history.[88]

Powell's survey committee put together a "critical short list" of buildings that needed immediate attention. Gettysburg received a $10,000 initial grant to conduct the historic survey. The survey includes buildings lying immediately outside of the historic district. Outbuildings, such as barns, sheds, and other buildings which define the district's total historic character.[89]

Gettysburg's survey work is the most thorough of the four ecologies studied. Driven by an insatiable appetite for detail, the Survey Committee, first meeting on September 28, 1987, conducted a reconnaissance survey, identifying 100 key buildings in need of an exhaustive research.

Among the 100 buildings are the Theodore T. Tate House and the Charles W. Hoffman Building, owned by Gary Brown. Brown had requested permission to demolish the buildings in 1985, and had been denied on appeal. Only a tremendous public response before borough council forced the Board to

reconsider, then withdraw, its authorization to demolish.

Based on preliminary findings, on reappeal in 1987, the Architectural Review Board denied the certificate of appropriateness in order for Brown to demolish his buildings to make way for a modern business/apartment complex with a colonial facade. To complicate the discussions, the architectural review board was influenced by member Arthur Stabler in his capacity as Brown's architect.

Initially the board voted to approve demolition. Daniels, present at the meeting, objected on procedural grounds. The board didn't have a quorum. Furthermore, Daniels argued, the Historic Gettysburg/Adams County people didn't have any information, although they thought that one of the buildings was a Civil War structure. Later, the chief historian for the battlefield, Cathleen Harrison, provided the needed information.

A special meeting of the Review Board was called. Thirty five people, an unheard of number of people to attend a review board meeting, protested the demolition order. The board reversed itself.

The same extensive research, preparation of resource survey forms and detailed photography of the buildings that persuaded the Architectural Review Board and Gettysburg Borough Council, put the Survey Committee on solid ground for marketing Brown's property to a professional couple

interested in restoration. Furthermore, these detailed survey portfolios helped attract a special financing package of low interest monies from sympathetic groups: the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, Historic Gettysburg/Adams County, and the Preservation Fund of Pennsylvania.[90]

The year 1987 was not without other problems.[91] A similar episode with the property of Stanley and Mary Patrick involved what some regard as the oldest building in Gettysburg. The Patricks wanted a demolition permit because the building was beset with typical problems of early 19th century houses, e.g. a clay foundation and no modern conveniences. Although they too were denied, failure of the architectural review board to deal adequately with the pressing need to curtail the loss of historic structures through demolition started the review board on a course.

Regardless, Walter Lane was the consummate promoter of downtown Gettysburg, and equally optimistic about efforts to revitalize Lincoln Square, the heavily trafficked but lightly shopped downtown square. Lane's small photography/framing studio is within the downtown Lincoln Square complex of buildings. Of particular concern was the Gettysburg Hotel, which had been gutted by a serious and suspicious fire several years earlier.[92]

The presence of the technically competent, zealous

Survey Committee changed the focus of the Review Board. Once simply a booster committee for historic downtown Gettysburg, the expansion of the vision for the review board with the creation of a certified local government status for Gettysburg placed new pressure on Review Board members. The resultant convulsion occurred over a messy ruling regarding a lighted business sign.

The HARB hastily approved the placement of an interior lighted sign request from the Plaza Restaurant, which is directly on Lincoln Square. This meeting was Council member Elizabeth Daniel's first meeting as a council liaison. Not familiar with the sign ordinance, she naturally asked what the ordinance required. None of the board members present could answer the question. A copy of the code was not available for review.

In fact, the owner had presented two sign designs. The alternative sign design sketch depicted a flat board with two hooded exterior lights on brackets. The Architectural Review Board denied this request. Chairman Lane said the reason was that it looked like "a contraption."

In the past, the Review Board adamantly had opposed the placement of lighted signs because they were out of character for a 19th century streetscape. Yet, this was not the first time the board had acted inconsistently in enforcing its ordinance, nor did the ordinance seem

particularly enforceable. For instance, on complaint, Code Enforcement Officer John D. Lawver Jr. asked the owners of the Brafferton Inn to explain before the Review Board why their lighted sign was not in the specifications approved by the board. They never made an appearance.[93]

Downtown Gettysburg Inc., criticized the decision by the HARB to allow the lighted sign in the window of a Lincoln Square restaurant.[94] Borough Council President Harry Stokes said he believed the decision would be rejected by Borough Council and remanded to the Historic Architectural Review Board. Bob Weiland, President of Downtown Gettysburg, Inc. recommended on a motion that Borough Council send back to the HARB the lighted sign request. Both Lane and Stokes are Downtown Gettysburg Inc. board members.

The local newspaper recorded the views of Lane and Stokes regarding the imbroglio. In defense of the HARB, Lane said,

> The only thing I can say is that HARB is a recommending committee, and (with) the facts as they were presented last night, they passed on a resolution, with modifications, to have the sign approved. In my own mind, I felt that it would be returned, which is the prerogative of the borough, for further study. And I expect we will get it back to reconsider it along the lines Bob (Weiland) speaks of. So we will take care of it when it come back."

Stokes continued the apology:

I thought it was a contradiction to have HARB approve

> the interiorly (sic) lit sign. I think one of the problems was that our code enforcement officer (John D. Lawver, Jr.) wasn't able to make the meeting because other demands placed upon him... I personally regret the recommendation."

When a similar request for a lighted sign came before the review board in June, 1989, the board paid more attention. The board rejected the request of the Gettysburg-Adams County Area Chamber of Commerce. Walter Powell, presiding in the absence of chair Arthur Stabler, said, "I don't see a need for it." Sign painter Joseph Reaver, the chamber's representative, countered that the board only disapproved of requests that came before it, while ignoring violations of those who did not ask. In any case, he questioned their interpretation of a vague standard of aesthetics.[95]

On March 15, 1988, the Gettysburg Times announced the mid-term retirement of Walter B. Lane.[96] For Lane, "it was time to leave." He noted that the issues associated with historic preservation and restoration are increasing in complexity. It is a very time consuming job.[97] Although resigning from the HARB, basically to make room for Dr. Walter L. Powell on the board, Lane continued his affiliation with Downtown Gettysburg, Inc., the Beautification Committee, and the Emergency Management Agency. In his own testimony, Lane noted that as a chairman

he was "proud of the fact that I held [HARB members] together."[98]

Arthur Stabler, an architect from a nearby county, assumed the chairmanship, and Powell was appointed to the board and elected to the position of vice-chair.[99] The work of the HARB is now energetic and multifaceted. In the Downsian model, the board has an extreme mix of types, but the enthusiasm generated by Powell has transformed a timid, staid board into a strong advocacy role.[100]

In his late twenties, Larry Weikert is the township's administrative representative to the HARB.[101] By ordinance, in his capacity as the township's code enforcement officer he is required to sit as a voting member. He has a good working knowledge of the municipal codes and serves to assure that they are enforced. This compliance is relatively low key. For instance, when citizens' require a building permit, Weikert compiles the paperwork. In his capacity as administrative representative, Weikert currently issues the requests for certificates of appropriateness that the HARB eventually reviews.

When he first became code enforcement officer, he attempted to make some judgments himself within the administrative discretion of the HARB. For instance, a resident of the historic district that wanted to repaint his

house would be given perfunctory approval if, in Weikert's opinion, the fresh paint color was within the same color family as the current house color. This was a short-lived authority.

One of the board members, Dr. Norman Furness, an art historian on faculty at Gettysburg College, publicly called him to task for this, and subsequently, Weikert desisted from making these judgments. At the meetings, Weikert sits at the table, but does not contribute to the process and votes with the majority. Weikert told me that if Furness were to go, he would take a more active position. In the meantime, Weikert is casting his net toward the water/sewage management area for future career growth. Weikert has no professional training as a zoning officer. He came into this position having served as a policeman in nearby Cumberland Township.

Weikert is one of the seven voting members of the HARB. It was quite clear that Weikert is not enthusiastic about his relationship with the review board. He does not disdain what they do, he simply questions whether what they do is of any particular use to the citizens of Gettysburg historic districts. In his view, the citizens think of the HARB as a cumbersome tribunal, yet one more link in an otherwise meddlesome process of residence in the district.

As a complete contrast, Elizabeth Daniels, borough

liaison to the Review Board, is a seasoned observer of Gettysburg. Having lived in Gettysburg for 35 years, she has served two discontinuous terms on borough council.[102] Elizabeth Daniels was on the Council in 1982 for four years, left for two years when they moved to another ward, and she is now back on.[103]

Although Arthur Stabler is not a resident of the borough, he has served as the HARB's architect member since the board's inception eighteen years ago.[104] In 1989, he became chairman following Lane's resignation. Mr. Stabler is a very congenial man in his early sixties. He is a person dedicated to community service, and by his own admission, enjoys the recognition given to those who serve in the public eye and he believes that it is in his business interests to stay visible. He sees no conflicts between self-promotion and board service.

The composition of the Review Board is set by ordinance. The Board must have an architect, an historian, a realtor, a resident of the district, a non-voting representative from borough council, the code enforcement officer and the zoning administrator. Currently the historians are Walter Powell and Norm Furness, although only Furness is a trained historian. He is not a preservationist. Powell is largely a self-taught preservationist. He is the current driving force behind the Review Board.

In an interview, I asked Stabler to reflect upon a number of board governance and organizational issues. He is proud of the manner in which the Review Board is perceived as a professional body whose judgments should be heeded. He acknowledged the strict advisory capacity of the Board, but since only two (in his recollection) decisions had been overturned during his eighteen years – one of which he served as the architect of record – he clearly regarded the Review Board as the virtual final say.

I explored this idea with Stabler: since he is the borough's only architect, in order to circumvent his professional advice, wouldn't the borough have to hire an architect? In truth, Stabler and the other professionals are able to give advocacy advice without challenge. This is so, and again, it is because the elected council **recognizes** his professional expertise and accepts as **fact** his technical advice.

What bonds a board to its community? Stabler and I discussed the vision he and others have for Gettysburg. Most members have long-term ties to the township. They have families with roots in the vicinity. They have a deeply rooted sense of what Gettysburg should not be, and they use their board membership as a vehicle for living out that shared vision. The buildings and historic walkways are snapshots in time. Each represents a part of Gettysburg's

past. They attempt to flag an individual house with a dominant theme, although it is not clear that there is really an agreed upon way of doing this, or any sense of where this begins and ends. I suggested that since houses represent a living tradition which is ongoing, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to nail a building down to one architectural period without violating another. Here he admitted that personal tastes would dictate final outcomes.[105] And although Review Board members always deny any desire to model themselves after Williamsburg, they generally bring it up.

The board has no review standards.[106] For instance, the approval process of plans for a new six story hotel to replace the old four story, fire gutted Gettysburg Hotel involved looking at the building in the context of its place on Lincoln Square. The Review Board accepted a structure that is simple, plain block facade with a light stucco (the current building is stucco). Rather than making a statement about any particular architectural period - or taking off in a new direction — the new design goes nowhere, and says nothing.[107]

What does Stabler get out of his public service? He sees himself as a man working for the betterment of his community. He is driven first by a sense of civic duty, a kind of paternalistic stewardship. Most people are not

capable of self-government. He wants to have a hand in shaping the future direction of the community. He wants to impart his sense of what works and what doesn't work. He also has an economic self interest. He believes his work keeps his name and profession in the public's mind. When they think architect, he wants them to think of him. People are more likely to trust someone they know. He also sees his work as a stabilizing force in the community's land values.

I asked him why the same names stay on these public boards for years. He thinks that most everyone will let someone else do it if they think the job is being performed in a satisfactory fashion. He knows that there are limited opportunities for public service, and appointing boards are not likely to replace someone whose work they know, and with whom they feel comfortable. Appointing boards want to minimize their risks in public appointments. It has little to do with an "inner circle of elites." The public is more likely to demand change of a political officer than of a board member. In this sense, public boards are very much like mini-agencies. Stabler believes the public is not disadvantaged. Citizens can always speak up.

According to Daniels, the agenda for the review board is set up by a part-time secretary who is also an employee of the Historic Gettysburg/Adams County Society. The Historic Gettysburg/Adams County group did a lot of early

identification of historic buildings. Their approach had more to do with social status than with researched history. They took the word of the owner, accepted an $18 fee, and handed out the plaque. The Society showed some interest in preserving buildings, and with paving the Square with bricks. There was no conscious effort to identify historic buildings, but the group's efforts did begin to foster a sense of community pride.

The relationship between Historic Gettysburg/Adams County and the Review Board is cordial, but distant. By several accounts, they serve different purposes, and the historic society serves a general social function. Daniels explained one interaction: in the early 1980s, the historic society owned an old house. The adjacent house was the oldest building in town and was collapsing. Historic Gettysburg/Adams County wanted to sell their old house, but the sale was conditioned on the demolition of the next door building. The Society came to HARB to demolish the building, which was approved. Historic Gettysburg was not interested in saving anything.

The HARB consumes itself in several directions. There are routine issuances of certificates of appropriateness[108], demolition[109], and continued work on the borough survey. A project of focused interest to Powell was the creation of a walking, lighted tour route which

would begin at Lincoln Square, weave its way through some of the Victorian neighborhoods and close at the Battlefield.[110]

In September, 1989, there was a successfully negotiated effort to extend the historic district lines, but the Planning Commission balked at the inclusion of several more modern streets and the notorious Steinwehr commercial strip.[111] These changes were accepted by the Review Board. The portions not added consisted of neighborhoods where the survey work was not exceptionally thorough, and where the neighborhoods were very stable, hence destruction of historic properties was not regarded as a serious problem.[112] Borough Council gave its nod for the HARB to advertise its new district proposal, and have local attorney Donald Oyler draw up the ordinance. This proposal also had to go before the state Historical Museum Commission for certification. Only Borough Council member Paul Witt went on record in opposition to the proposed district, saying, "We have zoning ordinances and sign ordinances, and don't need another layer of bureaucracy."[113]

Concurrent to the rigorous activities of the Review Board, representatives of Downtown Gettysburg, Inc. promoted the rekindling of their Main Street Program with funding of a renovation project for Lincoln Square. This body is a group of merchants who formed to lobby for increased

government interest in their sagging retail sales. It cooperated with the National Trust for Historic Preservation in creating a Main Street Program.

At this juncture, Downtown Gettysburg's last manager, Robert Wright, resigned as local funding stopped, and the three-year-old program came to an end.[114] Acting head J. Frank Sapp told the borough council that the Main Street program needed financial help to survive. Money was needed to hire a manager. Gettysburg College agreed to a one-year, one-third funding scheme if the borough could fund another third. The balance would be private. Another participant in the funding request, Jim Behm, referred to the funding plan as a "public and private partnership" which moves forward in a "cooperative spirit."[115]

Council president Harry C. Stokes announced that the Pennsylvania Department of Community Affairs awarded a matching grant of $100,000 for the Lincoln Square project. Since $65,000 had been locally pledged, only a small balance was sought from public funds.[116] The total cost of the renovation is in excess of $1 million.[117]

(1) What is the relationship between the public board and the authority that appointed it?

The relationship between the HARB and the Gettysburg Borough Council is cordial, and positive. To understand

this, understanding the management context of Gettysburg is useful. Charles Starnes, the Borough manager, has a tiny, glass cage office in the borough's municipal building, a building drawfed by the impressive Adams County buildings attached to the original County Courthouse. The Courthouse is a National Landmark property. The borough's building is on a side street. It is very small, and was doubtless once a private residence. The basement (with rear entrance) houses the police department. The main floor houses the council chamber and the administrative offices.

The main administrative office has a small antechamber with two female staff persons. The room is further partitioned into a small room on the right which is the office of the code enforcement officer. The room to the left is the office of town manager. The clerical area has the only computer. There is an old Royal upright typewriter to the right of it. An electric typewriter is on one of the borough secretaries' desks; on the other is an old manual typewriter. The women exchange desks as needed.

On both visits to the municipal building Charles Starnes was found working at the computer station. A fourth generation resident of Gettysburg, Starnes is in his late 30s, and has a very affable, pleasant demeanor. He took criticism for being too agreeable. Anxious to discuss public administration, Starnes confessed a re-occurring thought to

pursue a master's degree in public administration.

Starnes was wholly pre-occupied with the management of municipal services, with the management of public funds, with investigations at borough council request, and with his administrative support network in Adams County Administration (two blocks away in a very large, very modern building) and in Harrisburg, the state capital.

Starnes held the service of public boards in high regard, and saw that they provided valuable administrative services to the township, services which the town could otherwise ill afford. Further, Starnes believes that participation gives people a sense of ownership in their communities.

Indeed, the Gettysburg management model is one in which volunteer service fills the administrative needs of the township. This approach is clearly endorsed by central administration, and by the aldermen. The demands of his job limit the amount of time Starnes has. He is consumed by the routine detail of his job. The government is highly decentralized with council at the hub only to integrate board functions. Each alderman sits on a number of public boards. It is the energy and enthusiasm of the council president that also energizes those around him. But, one wonders, when Stoke's energy wanes, will Gettysburg slip back into the complacency which had become its mark?

(2) What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that it serves?

Borough council member and HARB liaison member Elizabeth Daniels sees the citizens of Gettysburg as facing pressures from all directions. In our interview she expounded:

> The people of Gettysburg have a narrow vision. They have always been subject to outside pressures, first from the battle itself, then from people moving in to capitalize from the tourist traffic. Gettysburg is a small town which received a lot of attention from the national battle and the cemetery. They are criticized from inside the college and from the outsiders of the National Park Service. The townspeople just clutch. They can't deal with this. They are being forced to live to someone else's standards. Who bails them out?

For her, and a great many other people, the answer to that question was Borough Council President Harry Stokes. A charming and persuasive man, Stokes had been successful in obtaining outside funds to rebuild the Gettysburg Hotel, and to construct the historic pathways. He had the job of selling the people of Gettysburg a vision - his vision, of what the town should be. A young (mid-40s), charismatic, energetic man, Stoke's personal fortunes have made it possible for him to absorb himself full-time as council president.[118] He is a crusader for the cause of Gettysburg.

The review board's posture shifted dramatically under the zeal of Borough Council President Stokes, and leaders of kindred spirit absorbed themselves in the work of their

respective boards. Gettysburg was certainly ready for the infusion of energy.

Gettysburg is atypical. Its government has a weak central administrative core, both technically and experientially. The borough's hands off attitude towards its business community had for years fostered the attitude of laissez faire entrepreneurialship. But then the borough's annexation powers were exhausted, and the borough's economic stability shifted to rely entirely upon its fragile relationship with the tourism industry.

Tourism demands marketing a polished symbol. The Confederate and Union guns are long silent. The blood stained soil has long ago returned to its natural state. All that is left are images and fantasies, captured in space age needle towers, well rehearsed battlefield guides, markers, monuments and souvenirs. Gettysburg borough resisted being captured. Its merchants looked to themselves for support. With economic stagnation, the borough now finds itself taking a serious inventory of its resources in materials and people. For most people in Gettysburg, the key is tourism. Tourism in Gettysburg **is** the National Battlefield Park.

Men of the calibre of Lane and Stabler were nurtured with a sense of moral responsibility, to care for the town that economically sustains them. In exchange for their willingness to assume public service responsibilities, their

towns would patronize their businesses. Consequently, their service outlet, the HARB, had always been accommodating to the citizen's interest, and perhaps generously so. Instead of teaching their wards to be **homo sapiens**, thoughtful men, they merely nurtured them in a cautious, paternalistic indulgence. Of course, good deeds were done in the name of the community, and not everyone walked away unhappy. But it was not a consistent vision of Gettysburg. It was a vision sponsored by inspiration and fatigue, and always with a great deal of spontaneity. In fairness, we should recall that the public administration of the Lane and Stabler generation was one that left the tough calls to the elective boards.

The new generation brought with it a shift in community perspective. That perspective is refined and schooled in the language of the expert. The newcomers are sensitive to citizen participation lending legitimacy to their administration. As a result, the Board has taken its meetings to the building site in order to get a "visual" sense of the plan.[119] The board routinely involves itself in educational programs. The board advantages itself as a player in a complex political-administrative network that reaches far beyond Gettysburg: to Harrisburg, to Philadelphia, to Washington, D.C.

This new age of expertise and legitimacy makes demands

of a public and their representatives. This board is not content with complacency, with a "everyone is entitled to their own taste" philosophy. The board was created by an ordinance and empowered through that ordinance to carry out the public's business. The certificate of appropriateness is the imprimatur of that review board. When it is reduced to paper alone, the board is reduced to public contempt and scorn, it's ministrations no longer taken seriously. It is technical competence and enforcement strength in the enabling ordinance that lends credibility and legitimacy to public boards.

Angry that the "spirit" of their certificate of appropriateness for some renovation had been violated, Dr. Norman Furness, board member and art historian on faculty at Gettysburg College, complained that windows and gable alternations were done in a larger scale than the board had approved. Following investigation, another four buildings were discovered undertaking alterations without a certificate of appropriateness from the HARB, or were doing what they pleased with their certificate of appropriateness.

Board vice-chair Dr. Powell said the issue raised the larger question, "Does the board have any teeth or not?" Chairman Arthur Stabler said this was a problem for borough council. Council liaison Elizabeth Daniels noted it was serious. Board members expressed a desire that the code

enforcement officer follow-up on the certificate of appropriateness and follow borough zoning ordinances more closely.[120] In an effort to break through the "go easy" on the historic property owners value of the original review board, board members discovered the source of that value was not from the values of the previously composed board, but from the borough council itself. Hence, the relationship of board to citizens is the vicarious relationship of citizens to borough council.

(3) What is the relationship between board members themselves?

The process of building a professional board has not been without its personal costs. The interviews in Gettysburg touched some nerves, but in the main, my impression was that this board was so committed to their task, and inspired through the good example of key members, that petty differences were fairly set aside.

Clearly boards can rejuvenate themselves. Rejuvenation comes at the expense sacrificing the tenure of older members, a decay of that institutional memory that tends to protect the old order from challenge and change. When a board redefines itself, its members are equally active in the process. The process energizes them, and excites them to the newly discovered purposes. During this time of

rejuvenation we would expect a great deal of cohesion, a firm sense of shared purpose, a dialogical process. In Gettysburg I found it.

Code enforcement officer Larry Weikert tried to assume the dual responsibilities he thought went with his job as officer **and** board member. He thought his discretionary authority allowed him movement and choice in the issuance and surveillance of certificates of appropriateness. Attempts to exert some authority resulted in a major confrontation between himself and member Furness. Furness basically read to him his job description.

In Gettysburg, members of the review board are clearly cleaved along the lines drawn through the creation of the original survey committee whose leadership was drawn into the review board. There is a technical core which speaks one language; there is the citizen as volunteer which speaks another. These members clearly value their public purposes much differently.

## Jonesborough, Tennessee

Jonesborough is a small village in eastern Tennessee, the state's first historic district. It enjoys the distinction of being the state's first permanently settled town. With initial settlement during the last quarter of the 18th century, the town began as a commercial crossroads

for both stagecoaches and the Watauga and Nolichucky Rivers. As was the custom of the frontier counties, Washington county had indeterminate western boundaries when Jonesborough became the county seat in 1777. The town was incorporated in 1786. The county seat distinction gives the town its unique flavor of a central business district pivoting on the large 1913 court house, flanked by commercial, religious and residential structures, all tightly woven into an architectural fabric.[121]

Surviving a major fire in 1873, and subsequent floods due to the building on the floodplain, Jonesborough's architectural character is late nineteenth century commercial, with a number of surviving antebellum churches and homes built in a modest Greek revival style. The central business district is primarily oriented toward a tourist market, and there are a number of gift/antique stores. More modern shopping facilities are located on a highway strip flanking the town, and in nearby Johnson City and Knoxville. Indeed, Jonesborough is nearly a bedroom community for these nearby cities, and a number of the active community members are associated with East Tennessee State University in Johnson City.

On paper, Jonesborough has a council-manager form of government, but because of the town's small population (less than 3,000), and limited tax structure, its government

consists mostly of water and utilities workers, a small police department, and staff to support revenue collection. The town provides water and sewer services for parts of nearby Johnson City, Tennessee.

In practice, Jonesborough has a commission form of government. In an interview Alderwoman Tobie Bledsoe related that attempts to recruit a town manager resulted in a disastrous public relations imbroglio and subsequent dismissal of the newly hired manager. In order to provide administrative services, each of the five councilpersons wears the hat of administrator, such that one is in charge of water and sewer, one is in charge of library and recreation, one is in charge of police functions and so forth. This arrangement served as the administrative arm prior to the hire of the town manager, and may have contributed to a willingness to let him go.

Jonesborough's historic district was formed in 1972 (Appendix K: Map of Jonesborough's Historic District). The Historic Zoning Commission has nine members. The chair, William Kennedy, an energetic orthopedic surgeon, is a self-taught architectural historian. Kennedy's preservation focus is historic building material conservation. He is clearly the driving force behind the board, although he does defer to their consul. His self-effacing, participative leadership style engenders for him a great deal of respect, and allows

him broad latitude in the tone he sets for board policy.[122] Kennedy works closely with elected officials, board members, and affected citizens. He is highly visible within the community, and sits on other boards as well. He owns commercial and residential property in the historic district. He has nearly single handedly championed the restoration of a stage coach inn which is the town's "crowning jewel" of historic preservation. He has been the board's chair since 1982. He brings to the board a distinctively forthright goal of transforming Jonesborough's historic inventory into a commercial base. To some extent, this has occurred. The board is an autonomous review board, and citizen appeal is through the Circuit Court, rather than through a planning commission-city council arrangement as is the general rule for appeal.

Jonesborough's preservation problems are minor compared to many areas because the town is fairly removed from development pressures, and the historic inventory, although hardly reminiscent of the town's founding period, at least forms a fairly contiguous architectural landscape. The board's primary oversight is with minor maintenance requests and occasional building alterations. Although the board did force a local church to stop work until appropriate applications had been obtained, attempts to enforce zoning compliance rely mostly on a "good neighbor" persuasion

technique.

The Jonesborough Civic Trust is a private organization which serves as a social outlet for the town's senior citizens, and as a focal point for the town's private preservation efforts. This group has an active board of directors, but a very inactive membership roster. Its main goal is to restore the "Duncan House" as their office and library.

Jonesborough was selected for inclusion in this study because it has a strong commercial interest in historic preservation directed under a weak board and a weak, decentralized elected government. After an initial contact, the Jonesborough investigation began with an invitation to give an address at their annual meeting, on September 30, 1989. The slide show/talk was an architectural tour of the Lynchburg, Virginia historic districts, with attention focused on the Norwood Street dividing line of the Daniel's Hill historic district. The actual resolution of the Norwood Street exclusion process had not matured. At the close of the talk, a simple Delphi paper questionnaire and pencils were passed around. Those in attendance were asked: "Should the Norwood Street neighborhood be allowed to disassociate itself from the Daniel's Hill Historic District?" This required a yes/no response. Then the questionnaire asked, "What logic do you follow?"

Of course, the grandeur that was once Lynchburg, Virginia, sets a comparative disadvantage when cast against Norwood Street, or perhaps even the local frame of reference. Of those in attendance participating, ten said "Yes, Norwood Street should be allowed to withdraw," and twenty-six said "no." The "yes" responses were a surprise! The Jonesborough Civic Trust is a preservation league whose charter dedicates them to the preservation of historic Jonesborough. It would follow that an organization whose sole organizational principle is structure preservation would be more uniform in their response to a threatened destruction of those structures.

The "yes" group relied on the "rights of property" and "majority rules." One thoughtful respondent wrote:

> Compliance with historic district regulations is depriving owners of use of their property. Some success has been realized in areas where the 'blocks' are purchased by a trust and restored, then sold. At present the buildings are beginning to endanger the whole area — what happens when they burn down or have to be [bull]dozed down?

Another respondent suggested that the relative poverty of the area created a special class of owners. While yet another rightly acknowledged that if cities can't enforce housing standards outside of the historic district ordinance, what are they to do within the historic district ordinance?[123]

Civic Trust members provided reasons for their answer

"no" on whether Norwood Street should be allowed to secede from the district which reasonably matched those values evoked by the national Delphi. These respondents could be classed from avid preservationists on the one hand,[124] to those having an open concern for the town's future on the other.[125] This highly skewed sampling of the Jonesborough political culture along a single dynamic foretold the range of responses that the three research problems would generate as a result of the field interviews.

The Jonesborough interviews took place over two long weekends. During the first weekend in group settings I met with several review board members, members of the Civic Trust, and a planner. Mrs. Carolyn Moore, Historic Zoning Commission secretary, dominated these preliminary discussions, which were at times quite animated. Individually, I met with William Kennedy, president of the Historic Zoning Commission, and with Tobie Bledsoe. Mrs. Bledsoe is a three term alderwoman, and actively represents the preservation interests on the council.

On February 23, 1990, the second interview sessions began with an open meeting attended by approximately 30 people, most of whom were drawn from an invitation extended to members of the Civic Trust. The balance of the group, and the active participants in the evening's discussions, included the mayor, his father, an ex-mayor, several members

of the Historic Zoning Commission (but not Mrs. Moore), and a representative of the Johnson City Regional Planning Department.

I had been specifically asked to help the community develop their preservation zoning ordinance, but our discussion topic focused on the role of the local public board in administering historic preservation interests.

The conversation was lively, and was conducted by an inner circle of men, while the women, including Alderwoman Bledsoe, took chairs in the outer circle they created. They generally occupied themselves with other topics and activities. The women automatically took these distant chairs, from which they could not possibly participate in the inner circle discussions.

Our discussion moved quickly from a lesson in ordinance management to one of administering in the public interest. This group represented the town's active leadership. They value their stewardship, and take it seriously. They also regard with a great deal of suspicion the lack of "community" vision held by some resistent citizens. They are, of course, addressing **their** vision, and as Thomas Sowell writes, even well formed visions are often in conflict.[126]

Based on these discussions, and their formal interviews, some broad observations regarding our three

investigatory questions, and the political culture that supports them, can be made.

1. What is the relationship between the public board and the authority that appointed it?

In Jonesborough, there are approximately a dozen public boards. Each of these public boards serves an administrative function, generally setting the policy tone and serving as a check on the top manager. The Historic Zoning Commission is autonomous, but arises out of a pressing administrative need to suffice in the absence of a code enforcement officer.

Small towns are replete with volunteer administrative opportunities. The members of the Historic Zoning Commission regularly patrol the historic district and bring before the board incidents of ordinance violation. Unless the violations are gross and irreparable, the Commission follows Kennedy's dictum: paint colors can always be changed. Buildings are hard to replace.

The Board of Alderman, however, is equally sensitive to the pressures from property owners for the Zoning Commission to tread lightly. As the mayor said, "These people are my neighbors, and my constituents."

Alderwoman Tobie Bledsoe ran for public office because she wanted to have a voice in the historic preservation movement. She actively supports the work of the Commission,

and she herself owns several historic commercial properties. She sees the interests of the Alderman as diverse, and not all attuned to the downtown historic district. Jonesborough is also an agricultural district, and two of the five aldermen represent that constituency. This forms the economic split: downtown tourism and out-of-town conservative, rural concerns: astray livestock, wild dogs, road repair and surfacing, water and sewer facilities.

Jonesborough also fired their public manager last October after the young man had a run-in with the popular, but Mayberryish sheriff. As it turned out, the young town manager was forcing an aggressive leadership style and it backfired. As Bledsoe said, "You learn quickly in a small town to go slow and learn their rules. Otherwise, you're gone." Following his dismissal, the Aldermen conducted an inquiry into the manager's past employment record only to discover that he had been dismissed from his previous job for similar reasons.

In Jonesborough, each of the aldermen is responsible for the administration of at least one town department. Bledsoe has the library and the recreation department. She serves in an advisory capacity on others. The water and sewer department is the most technically demanding. When asked if perhaps the aldermen would resist any town manager superintending departments to which they had grown attached,

Bledsoe shrugged and smiled. "That has been suggested," she said.

Of course, failing to have a trained administrator has its public costs, and among these are the lost opportunities, or in Waste's terms, exogenous factors. Jonesborough is ill equipped to apply for Community Block Grant Development monies, doesn't have a town attorney to press for their state level legislative concerns, and must rely on the planning services of nearby Johnson City which can only offer routine administration.

The relationship between aldermen and the Historic Zoning Commission is verbally supportive as long as the Zoning Commission is simply the purveyor of a Jonesborough cultural ethos.

2. What is the relationship between the public board and the citizens that they serve?

The Jonesborough Historic District only covers several blocks. At the very center of this district is the downtown commercial district. On the outer rims are the historic properties of Kennedy and Bledsoe. The downtown community thrives on its historic charm which serves as a backdrop for several nationally recognized events, most noteworthy of which is the Story Telling Festival in the Fall. Its travelogue brochure captures this sentiment:

> Jonesborough's townspeople take pride in preserving their history. They do it through restoration efforts, their work, and even in play. Celebrations abound in this colorful Tennessee town all year long. There's an Independence Day extravaganza, Christmas in Olde Jonesborough, road races, concerts, Halloween haunts, an Old Time Country Radio Reunion, and even a National Storytelling Festival. Yes, every October since 1973...

As Kennedy correctly summed, you don't live in downtown Jonesborough without being aware of this mind set. But the relationship is also subtly resistent. With a shrug, Carolyn Moore confessed, "When we object to the color they choose, they paint it anyway. They say, 'What makes your color choices any better than mine?' I think they're right."

> 3. What is the relationship between board members themselves?

The board members are cleaved into two camps. There are three to four "workers."[127] They are Downs' advocates, with Kennedy performing as a well-focused zealot/advocate. The other members are certainly conservors: their course is the slow steady course, the "go along/get along" approach to public policy. They are not likely to introduce innovative ideas, they are not likely to champion a new vision for Jonesborough. But Jonesborough is not threatened. As a community, it has a clear sense of itself. Its downtown merchants are very much a part of a historic preservation ethos. Their livelihoods are tied to it.

## The Ecologies Summarized

There is a substantial literature on neighborhoods, neighborhood empowerment, and neighborhood players in the pluralistic urban political context.[128] In this study, three HARBs superintend through an ordinance designed to protect the historic integrity of neighborhoods. In the fourth policy ecology, Cobb County, an historic preservation commission has a broader, county base, but historic structures are often in neighborhoods. In each of these boards, a majority of the members are intimately bound to these neighborhoods – professionally or residentially. They have an interest in serving these neighborhoods which goes quite beyond some esoteric interest in supervising an ordinance.

Essentially, what did we learn?

Gettysburg In Gettysburg we learned that the professionally constituted board, making decisions from a technical core carries more clout in the political arena, garners more public support for itself, than the folksy, well intentioned board. In Gettysburg we learned that an ordinance without teeth cannot bite the vicious dog back. Teeth means code enforcement. The technical core is required by the certification process: a survey of the material culture; a board with strong interests in preservation; and if not

represented on the board, local specialized preservation allied professions available on contract. The board must evolve a set of standards which has survived public scrutiny. The board must be publicly accountable.

In Gettysburg we also learned that the creation of a HARB is not from dust. Good public administration evolves and is matured through a process that only begins with its creation, but the creation is always with it. Gettysburg's review board began with the idea of providing an opportunity for stewardship to the jurisdiction through public spirited pride then matured into the need to pull into their fold a technical core. A marriage of the two seem to me to be necessary for general community acceptance. The key is **evolvement**. Boards need to be reflective of their communities, responsive to change, and adaptive. They need to embrace their communities in a dialogical exchange which makes the reflection natural.

Lynchburg In Lynchburg we learned that HARBs need to assess seriously the role that they play in the community, and then to define that role aggressively. Although the board has a narrowly ascribed purpose, the service of the board demands (a) self-education and (b) outreach.

Self-education requires that boards constantly reappraise their technical competence, and learn their

lessons as they come. For instance, it is impossible for a middle-class, well educated public board to understand the needs and culture of poor black/white neighborhoods without allowing those neighborhoods to teach them, and to help that board define its relationship to it. Without this cooperative enterprise, the board and the neighborhood are doomed to go their own way.

Outreach requires that boards include all their constituents into their agenda; historic preservation agenda building requires solid listening, proactive planning, and no crisis management. All to often, historic preservation has been plagued by crisis management. Consequently, our historic preservations have evolved the language of the moment, the impassioned plea, rather than the reflective language of discourse.

Cobb County In Cobb County we learned how critical it is for public boards to have professional membership on board; a commitment to the ordinance; a strong working relationship with the paid public administration, especially land use planning; a good working relationship with the politicos; and budgetary presence. Failing in any is failing in all.

The budget allows the public board to plan, to idealize, to develop public programs. The working relationships with politicians and with administrators

allows the board to be a part of the total community network, not just a disconnected satellite. Professional competence is a reflection of the politicos' confidence in the service of public boards, and the board's ability to carve out a technical niche for itself.

We also learned that public boards need responsible, thoughtful leadership. In a negative fashion, we learned in Cobb County that an ill spoken phrase, an inappropriate, hasty repartee can undermine the entire board. A group of hard working, conscientious, public servants can become a cluster of buffoons over a single luncheon. Each member represents the other. Public service carries with it many joys, and this major fault: private lives are public lives, and private thoughts are best kept that way.

Jonesborough In Jonesborough we learned that strong leadership can bring a board from one stage of its development to another, but it can also usurp the character of the board. The transition from one phase to another need not be convulsive. In Jonesborough, the shift is slow and easy, because the leadership demands participation and endorsement.

In Jonesborough we saw the advantages of a small town in terms of planning. They do not have the economic development resources, they miss opportunities for grants,

and their public management is certainly questionable, but they do have a sense of common purpose.[129] In other words, their "plan" has evolved from non-technocratic, common usage. Jonesborough appears to have a homogenous political culture. This highly educated, preservation-minded community, like historic Gettysburg, can hardly afford to ignore their history.

Jonesborough teaches us the importance of articulating goals, building an administrative network to support public values. These networks are a part of a government process. Administration by proxy is too indefinite, too undetermined. Without an administrative leader, each section of local government serves a different master, each with a different agenda. Differences between political masters manifest in public meetings at which no clear direction for policy takes hold. The preservation efforts of Jonesborough revolve around a loosely defined commercial ethic, and a narrowly prescribed cultural conservation ethic. While values certainly play at all levels of local government, there is no center for public debate. This debate is too broadly diffused.

In the main, these four ecologies clearly demonstrate two potentials. First, the administrative potential of a well tuned public board comes from boards that reflect the qualities demanded of good professional public

administrators: high ethical standards, high professional standards, a commitment to serving the common weal, and a desire to further the defined collective purposes of the service itself. Defining the purpose requires a commitment to **process**, in other words to discovering the nature of the enterprise itself as an ongoing preoccupation.[130]

Second, these boards are excellent resources for discovering the workings of public administration, and for a closer study of local government as policy ecologies. Clearly boards evolve through cycles. Boards rejuvenate. They are subject to internal and external ecology environments that alter the dynamics of the organization.

The list of service duties is long for the public board, and for the function that it serves in as public administration. Public administration is about the business of stimulating public debate; these public boards are evidence of the potential that public administration holds for a citizen participation in the business of public policy making. They possess technical skills needed to satisfy the expertise demands of their public charge. They possess a spirit of volunteerism and stewardship that satisfies the clarion call of democracies, that of public participation in and public access to the workings of government.

1. Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, Fourth Edition, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1986, pp. 238-264., especially p. 243.

2. Ibid.

3. This research was done in conjunction with the researcher's urban politics class as a class project. The class is a part of the political Science curriculum at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia. This material will be reported elsewhere. On June 12, the Lynchburg City Council voted to create the Court House Hill Historic District.

4. James L. Bowditch and Anthony F. Buono, A Primer on Organizational Behavior (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1985); Wendell L. French and Cecil H. Bell, Jr., Organization Development: Behavioral Science Interventions for Organization Improvement (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), pp. 45-53, 138-154.

5. See the discussion in Chapter Two. Also, Oliver A. Pollard III, "Demolition By Neglect: Testing the Limits and Effectiveness of Local Historic Preservation Regulation," Notes on Virginia (Winter, 1988/89): 31-35.

6. Cyril O. Houle, Governing Boards (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990).

7. Alice Meriwether Bowsher, Design Review in Historic Districts (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1978).

8. Houle, Governing Boards, p. 172. Houle writes, "A board operating under some of the state sunshine laws may be able to find a number of ways to escape their rigors. A good deal of clearance of a board's business can be done by telephone or other private conversations." In March, 1990, Gayle Griisner, formerly a reporter with the Lynchburg News and Daily Dispatch was interviewed for this research. She complained that in her efforts to cover public boards she was often frustrated by the lack of public debate. Acknowledging that board members probably discussed issues privately, she suggested that the public's lack of interest in board activities revolves on the appearance that outcomes are predetermined.

9. Robert J. Waste, The Ecology of City Policymaking (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); this is largely based on the work of Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy (Boston:

Little, Brown, 1959).

10. Giovanni Sartori The Theory of Democracy (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987): p. 263.

11. Charles T. Goodsell, "Political Economy as a Research Focus," Public Administration Quarterly 8 (Fall 1984): 288-301; and Gary L. Wamsley and Mayer N. Zald, The Political Economy of Public Organizations (Lexington, MS: Lexington Books, 1973), specifically Figure 1-2 ("Major Components of Political Economy for Typical Public Organizations.")

12. This stipulative definition of community allows us to examine the nature of interactions viewed through a specific policy frame of reference. See the research of Robert J. Waste, "The Early Years in the Life Cycle of City Councils: A Downsian Analysis," Urban Studies 20 (1983) ; Value systems in communities is based on the original sketches of Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," American Political Science Review 64 (November 1958): 251-61; after David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley, 1965), a policy is the authoritarian allocation of values.

13. Kevin Phillips coined the term "sunbelt" in The Emerging Republican Majority (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969).

14. William K. Tabb, "Urban Development and Regional Restructuring, an Overview," pp. 3-15, in Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb (eds.) Sunbelt/Snowbelt: Urban Development and Regional Restructuring (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

15. William W. Goldsmith, "Bringing the Third World Home: Enterprise Zones for America?" pp. 339-352, in Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb (eds.) Sunbelt/Snowbelt: Urban Development and Regional Restructuring (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

16. Paul Peterson, City Limits (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Theodore Lowi "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies and Political Theory," World Politics 16 (July 1964): 677-725; and "Four Systems of Policy, Politics and Choice," Public Administration Review 32 (July/August, 1972): 298-310.

17. James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (New York: Free Press, 1957); and John H. Mallenkopf, "On the Causes and Consequences of Neighborhood Political Mobilization," and "Neighborhood Political Development and the Politics of Urban Growth; Boston and San Francisco 1958-1978," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 5 (1981): 17-38.

18. For instance, James Q. Wilson, American Government: Institutions and Policies, 3rd ed. (Lexington: MS, 1986), p. 430, uses the distinctions of narrow versus wide participatory patterns.

19. Harold A. Stone, Donald K. Price, and Kathyrn H. Stone, City Manager Government in Lynchburg, Virginia (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1939), p. 4; a Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce brochure dating from around 1925 reads in part:

> The walking delegate, the labor agitator, the wild-eyed bolshevik and radical have no place in this city, for Lynchburg labor is too busy giving a dollar's worth of service for a dollar of wage to worry about unions and organizations.

20. Ibid., p. 6 (emphasis mine).

21. Ibid., p. 13.

22. Ibid., p. 14.

23. For instance, Staunton, Richmond and Roanoke. The 1919 Virginia Code provided that "all legislative powers of the city" rested in the council, while the "administrative and executive powers of the city, including the power of appointment of officials and employees," should be given to a chief executive, or city manager. The city manager served at the pleasure of the council.

24. Stone, Price, and Stone, City Manager, p. 17.

25. Ibid., p. 20.

26. Vice-mayor Thornhill considers himself the voice of the inarticulate and poor.

27. The city council created a Board of Historic and Architectural Review in January of 1976. This board conducts historic legislation in conjunction with the

overall zoning ordinance of the city. Since the inception of the Board of Architectural Review, various individual structures and five residential neighborhoods: Daniel's Hill, Federal Hill, Diamond Hill, Garland Hill, and Court House Hill.

28. Jayne Griffin, "Federal Hill placed on historic register," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 31 October 1980; Gary Kearns, "Lynchburg's brightest architectural gem" Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 15 November 1980; Gary Kearns, "Garland Hill -Pride in neighborhood blends with" Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 22 November 1980; Gary Kearns, "Federal Hill: Smallest hill is in downtown's backyard," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 30 November 1980; and Gary Kearns, "Franklin Hill: Presbyterian Cemetery is one of more intriguing features of neighborhood," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 27 December 1980.

29. Marie Gresock and Jimmy Ripley, "Neighborhood on the rebound," Lynchburg News and Daily Dispatch, 24 June 1984; Albert Fink, "Spirit's alive in city neighborhoods," Lynchburg News and Daily Dispatch, 28 May 1987; and Anita Blacksburn, "Federal Hill: City's first suburb in cycle of renewal," Lynchburg News and Daily Dispatch, 20 March 1988.

30. Gary Kearns, "College Hill: Largest in area, most diversified in character," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 20 December 1980; and Gary Kearns, "White Rock Hill: Residents' Pride makes up for lack of material riches," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 3 January 1981.

31. Stone, Price, and Stone, City Manager, p. 3.

32. Marie Gresock-Elium, "City receives historical certification," Lynchburg News and daily Advance, 6 January 1987.

33. The ordinance was strengthened later: see Craig Nesbit, "Revised historic district ordinance sent to Council," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 28 January 1982.

34. Gary Kearns, "Daniel's Hill: Neighborhood has historic houses, but still has its share of problems," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 6 December 1980; and "Daniel's Hill granted landmark status," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 3 March 1983.

35. Brad Kutrow, "Planning unit opposes historic district," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 14 October 1982; Marie Gresock,"Landmark decision coming soon," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 4 February 1986; Robert Wimer, "Historic district negates private property rights," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 17 February 1986; and Marie Gresock, "Group ends bid to have Rivermont named historic area," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 17 April 1986.

36. Marie Gresock-Elium, "City considering declaring another district," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 20 November 1986; Marie Gresock-Elium, "Court Street rejected as a historic district," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 15 October 1987; Gayle Griisser,"Fifth district sought - Court Street, Clay Street areas targeted," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 30 April 1989; Gayle Griisser, "Students submit ambitious plans for downtown," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 2 May 1989; "Historic district designation due for Court Street," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 9 May 1989; Gayle Griisser, "District's designation debated," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 22 May 1989; Gayle Griisser, "Historic review board sees preservation as goal," Lynchburg News and Daily Advance, 22 May 1989; and video "Lynchburg City Council Meeting," June 12, 1990.

37. Michael Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," American Political Science Review 62 (December, 1968): 1155.

38. Lawrence J.R. Herson and John M. Bolland, The Urban Web: Politics, Policy, and Theory (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1990), pp. 211-212.

39. Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Ambitions, Volunteerism, and Electoral Accountability," American Political Science Review 64 (March 1970): 5-17.

40. Darell Laurant, "Cobb joins incumbents on council," "Voters like low profiles; 29 per cent cast ballots," Lynchburg Daily Advance, 2 May 1990: A1.

41. Heinz Eulau, "From Labyrinths to Networks: Political Representation in Urban Settings," in Robert Waste (ed.), Community Power: Future Directions in Urban Research (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1986). Despite this connection to public opinion, Eulau found that mature councils can take a rather fixed, long term orientation toward public policy; also, Robert Eyestone, The Threads of Public Policy: A Study in Policy Leadership (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971). Mature councils more reactive to the

urban geographical context, that is, self-regarding as but one policy board in a network of mutually defining boards.

42. Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian, "Community Types and Policy Differences," pp. 17-37, in James Q. Wilson (ed.), City Politics and Public Policy (New York: John Wiley, 1968).

43. Only one side of Norwood street, the side abutting the Daniel's Hill Historic District, was in the district. They used this point to embolden their petition. Splitting a district along a street is not that unusual. The Vieux Carré district is thus split. For a discussion, see Russell V. Keune, Russell Wright, John P. Conron, W. Philip Cotton, Jr., Bernard Lemann, and Robert B. Rettig, A Guide to Delineating Edges of Historic Districts (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1976), p. 30.

44. Bernard Wysocki, Jr, "The New Boom Towns," Wall Street Journal 27 March 1989, ranked Cobb County (Marietta/Roswell) first in overall projected job growth from small establishments for the period 1988-1993. The indexed growth rate is 59.9 per cent. As discussed by Michael J. McCarthy, "Small Businesses Blossom Near Atlanta," Wall Street Journal, 28 March 1989, this is principally a Sunbelt phenomenon.

45. "1988 Cobb County Data Report," Cobb County Department of Planning and Zoning.

46. Andy Bowen, "Park help sought – Preservationists ask for historic site act," Marietta Daily Journal, 25 June 1988: 2B. Bowen writes, "Green space, recreation and historical preservation are necessary to the quality of life in America and deserve to have federal funding restored under the American Heritage Trust Act." A hearing of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, chaired by U.S. Rep. Buddy Darden, D-Marietta, heard testimony from area preservation/conservation types. The chair of the Cobb County Historic Preservation Commission Frank Duncan spoke, referring to Bessemer issue. At the time of the hearing, funding for community parks was down to less than 1% of the funds allocated in 1965 during the Great Society visionary period.

47. Cathy Cleland-Pero, "Battle Line: Remains of Confederate defense line threatened by new development," Marietta Daily Journal 10 April 1988: 1B; "Cobb seeks way to save Civil War trenches," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 10 April 1988: 3B;

and James Budd, "Developer temporarily kept from bulldozing Civil War trench," Atlanta Journal/Constitution 20 April 1988: 2B.

48. Danielle Herubin, "Cobb refuses development of Civil War site," Marietta Daily Journal, 20 April 1988: 1A; Jeff Gill, "Planning Cobb's future: Cobb historic planner caught in a trench," Marietta Daily Journal, 28 April 1988: 1B; Cathy Cleland-Pero, "Cobb putting historic lands under its wing," Marietta Daily Journal, 1 May 1988: 1A; and Jeff Gill, "Opposing sides gear up for clash over Civil War trenches," Marietta Daily Journal, 5 May 1988: 1B.

49. Richard J. Roddewig and Christopher J. Duerksen, Responding to the Takings Challenge: Takings (Chicago: The American Planning Association, 1989).

50. Danielle Herubin, "Civil War land leads to fight: voters decide property's fate," Marietta Daily Journal, 11 May 1988: 1A.

51. Jeff Gill and Danielle Herubin, "History in hands of Commission," Marietta Daily Journal, 18 May 1988: 1A.

52. Ibid.

53. Katie Long, "Cobb historians fighting developers to preserve county's rich heritage," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 23 May 1988: 11A.

54. Jeff Gill, "Tax hike needed for proposed bond: Issue would allow county to protect historic sites from development," Marietta Daily Journal, 24 May 1988: 1B.

55. Katie Long, "Cobb votes to hold back on referendum to fund historic work — Wants dollar amount established by June 28 to get on Aug. 9 ballot," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 25 May 1988: 2D.

56. Jeff Gill, "Commission designates south Cobb development target as historic site," Marietta Daily Journal, 25 May 1988: 1B.

57. Roth, Architecture, Archaeology and Landscapes was only in draft form at the time; "Planner divulges few details on historic sites," Marietta Daily Journal, 14 June 1988: 2B.

58. Jeff Gill, "Opposing sides gear up for clash over Civil War trenches," Marietta Daily Journal, 5 May 1988: 1B.

59. Jeff Gill, "Protecting historic sites: Historic Commission to back bond referendum for buying properties," Marietta Daily Journal, 17 May 1988: 2B; and Jeff Gill, "Board delays Civil War site decision —Asks for more information," Marietta Daily Journal, 17 June 1988: 1B. (Marietta Daily Journal June 8, 1988).

60. Katie Long, "Cobb Developers Irked by Commend on Confiscation — remark by Historic Panel's Chairman on Land Rights Called 'Unfortunate'," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 15 December 1988: 2B; and Cathy Cleland-Pero, "'Conciliatory' meeting turns confrontation, Marietta Daily Journal, 15 December 1988: 1B.

61. Rebecca Nash, "Sniping tapers off as ruling awaited on Civil War site," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 23 June 1988: 1G, Cobb Extra.

62. Sam Hays, "East Cobb's last holdout: Land on river worth millions, but J.C. Hyde, 76, not about to sell beloved one-mule farm," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 13 July 1986: 1H, Dixie Living.

63. Rebecca Nash, "Plan to Chop Down Trees At Historic Site Rejected," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 28 July 1988: 1F.

64. "Historic land too expensive," editorial, Marietta Daily Journal, 12 May 1988: 10A.

65. Danielle Herubin, "Civil War land leads to fight: voters decide property's fate," Marietta Daily Journal, 11 May 1988: 1A.

66. Interviews with Salerno and Cox. County Manager Patrick Salerno was fired in January, 1990.

67. Jeff Gill, "Commission may put $17.5 million bond issue on Aug. 9 ballot," Marietta Daily Journal, 28 June 1988: 1A.

68. Jeff Gill, "Panel kills bond issue for sites," Marietta Daily Journal, 29 June 1988: 1A.

69. Interview with Commissioner Powell. While she was clearly sympathetic to the Civil War history aficionados, she had visited the Bessemer site and was unconvinced. It bothered her that the county had waited so long to show an interest in this property. Her suggestion was that the keep a small portion of it as a model, but she admitted that the idea had not received serious consideration.

70. Jeff Gill, "Stage appears set fort trench battle," Marietta Daily Journal, 8 July 1988: 1B.

71. "Don't Let Our Heritage Die at Manassas," editorial, Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 11 July 1988: 10A.

72. The other side of the debate was represented too. See the rebuttal of Washington Post columnist Coleman McCarthy, "Spend funds to save parks, not battlefields," Marietta Daily Journal, 24 July 1988: 4D.

73. Among them, Dr. Timothy J. Crimmins, director of Georgia State University's Heritage Preservation program; Paul W. Edmondson, assistant general counsel for the National Trust for Historic Preservation; Melvin B. Hill Jr. of the University of Georgia's Carl Vinson Institute of Government; Dorothy Miner of the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission; and Katherine Soffer, associate general counsel for the Advisory Council on Historic preservation. Rebecca Nash, "Cobb's Fight For War Site Gains Allies - Preservationists Come to County's Aid in Suit," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 8 December 1988: 1G: Cobb Extra; and Cathy Cleland-Pero, "Cobb gets reinforcements in battle over Civil War site," Marietta Daily Journal, 8 December 1988: 1B. The battle to save Civil War sites is not limited: Brooke A. Masters and Alice Digilio, "Preservationists, developers Battle Over Civil War Sites," The Washington Post, 10 June 1990: 1D. For instance, developers currently have a request to re-zone their battle field land at Brandywine Station, Virginia, to manufacturing. While there is currently a bill before Congress to authorize $2 million to survey Civil War battlefields in Virginia, some preservationists feel the project will take longer than safe to protect these lands. In Virginia alone, five major Civil War battlefields are under or near development. Preservationists have some conservancy arrangements, but they are truly modest.

74. Mark Van Brooks, "Site of trenches long ago designated as industrial," Atlanta Business Chronicle, 3 October 1988: 20B. Letter attacking Hoover's "diatribe," in Kent Hoover, "Developer, Cobb engaged in trench warfare," Atlanta Business Chronicle, 5 September 1988: 15B.

75. The five board members only have to demonstrate a "special interest" in historic preservation. Section 3-21-22(c), Cobb County Code. For example, when I asked Mrs. Sally Thomas what she found of value in historic

preservation she told me that her grandfather's house still stands, and it meant a lot to her. She went on to tell me, and the Board, that she would like to have a gargoyle theme park.

76. Rebecca Nash, "Commission Chief Touts Coordination of Preservation Jobs," Atlanta Constitution, 29 August 1990: Cobb Extra.

77. Section 5.0 of this planning document ("Cobb County Comprehensive Plan, Policies and Actions, July Draft") provides for resource management. Subsumed under this heading are 25 policy recommendations. Seven of these policies are historic preservation content related. The rest are environmental issues.

78. Steven H. Haeberle, "Neighborhood Identity and citizen Participation," paper presented at the 1984 Southeastern Conference on Public Administration.

79. Susan Wells, "Preservation panel devises plan to protect city's landmarks," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 18 May 1988: 1B.

80. Rebecca Nash, "Heritage Alive Draws Criticism of Historic Panel's Members," Atlanta Journal/Constitution, 11 August 1988: 1G.

81. Jeff Gill, "Historical board member critical of Heritage Alive," Marietta Daily Journal, 9 August 1988: 1B.

82. Danielle Herubin, "McAfee appointed to historic panel," Marietta Daily Journal, 27 August 1988: 1B.

83. Traci A. Lower, "Downtown study uncovers artifacts," Gettysburg Times, 4 October 1989: 1A. There is an old saying, "the history of Jamestown, Virginia was written in fire." Towns constructed of adjacent wooden buildings lost much in serious fires. Gettysburg was no exception. Major fires in 1880 and again in 1906 leveled large portions of the town.

84. Ary J. Lamme's America's Historic Landscapes - Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites, University of Tennessee Press, 1990, is an unnotable exception. In this book, Lamme discusses the role of historic landscapes in shaping community policy. Unfortunately, he neglects to interview anyone in the city.

By limiting his interviews to National Park Service personnel, his argument is poor gruel indeed.

85. "An Act to furnish the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with specimens of arms, accouterments, and so forth, used by the armies in the battle of Gettysburg, for exhibition and preservation at the Gettysburg Museum, approved July 27, 1982 (23 Stat. 276);" and then, three years later Congress set aside $75,000 to fulfill the provisions of "An Act to establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, approved February 11, 1895 (28 Stat 651)." Current efforts to extend the battlefield again, for a final time resulted in a excellent impact study, "Boundary Study: Gettysburg National Military Park - Draft Report to Congress Environmental Assessment," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, Division of Park and Resource Planning and Gettysburg National Military Park, August, 1988. Of particular interest in this study is the professional and thorough manner in which the Park Service conducted public hearings.

86. "Preliminary Research Report -- Gettysburg Historic Building Survey," undated.

87. A number of small press publications have begun a modest shift in the recorded history of Gettysburg the battlefield to Gettysburg, the town. Among these books, William A. Frassanito's Gettysburg Bicentennial Album, Walter L. Powell's The Alexander Dobbin House: A Short History, and Elise Scharf Fox, The Hotel Gettysburg.

88. For example, David E. Trott, "Our hidden past," Gettysburg Times, 14 March 1988: 8B.

89. Robert Holt, "HARB inspects 10 'urgent' sites," Gettysburg Times, 30 January 1987: 1A.

90. "Gettysburg Historic Building Survey Committee data Analysis/Final Report/Historic Contexts, Project Year #2 (1987-1988)," December 23, 1988.

91. Robert Holt, "Lane recalls good year for HARB," Gettysburg Times, 27 November 1987.

92. Jeff Thoreson, "Lincoln Square Building destroyed during early morning fire Thursday," Gettysburg Times, 11 February 1983: 1A. Baltimore Savings and Loan giant Jeffrey Levitt owned the building. He was later convicted of embezzling

millions from his bank, and exposing the tip of a very large, very corrupt iceberg. Levitt had purchased the pre-Civil War building and its 1926 annex from Carroll Zentz for $1.5 million. Jennifer Wright, "Memories of landmark linger following fire," Gettysburg Times, 11 February 1983: 6A.

93. Robert Holt, "HARB sets precedent," Gettysburg Times, 28 January 1988: 1A.

94. Robert Holt, "DGI and borough officers criticize HARB sign ruling," Gettysburg Times, 4 February 1988: 3A.

95. Robert Holt, "HARB eyes lighted signs, 'newsracks,'" Gettysburg Times, 29 June 1989: 1A; Robert Holt, "Historic district expansion plan revised," Gettysburg Times, 24 August 1989: 1A. In August, both Stabler and Weikert listed several instances of code violations on lighted signs or unshielded lights. One property owner said that the contractor had failed to obtain the Review Board's permission; Robert Holt, "Arthur L. Stabler chosen HARB chairman," Gettysburg Times, 28 April 1988: 1A: Perhaps board member Dr. Norman Furness recognized the curse of the aesthetic when he indicated "a desire that HARB not give so much approval to requests to paint buildings Williamsburg Blue." In his plaintive plea he captioned the trend, "the bluing of Gettysburg."

96. "Lane resigns as HARB chairman," Gettysburg Times, 15 March 1988: 1A.

97. "Randall Inskip resigns from HARB," Gettysburg times, 28 April 1989. Slightly more than a year later, Randall B. Inskip suddenly resigned. He said, "I resigned for personal reasons. I've been a member for this board for 11 years and that's enough." He sent Stabler a letter. Daniels classified Inskip as a bench warmer.

98. Robert Holt, "Lane say it's time to leave HARB," Gettysburg Times, 24 March 1988: 1A; also, "In Appreciation... Retiring Gettysburg Historical Architectural Review Board Chairman," Gettysburg Times, 12 April 1988: 12B.

99. Robert Holt, "Arthur L. Stabler chosen HARB chairman," Gettysburg Times, 28 April 1988: 1A.

100. November 21, 1989 interview with Dr. Walter Powell, Director of Interfaith Housing Authority, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The Authority is located in a restored house

in the Historic District. This gives Powell excellent visibility in the downtown community. His connection with housing programs for the poor allows him to enjoy an intimate relationship with historic structures.

101. Interviewed on November 20, 1989.

102. Elizabeth Daniels is a council member and Council representative to the Historic Architectural Review Board.

103. The three wards each elect three council members. The borough elects the ceremonial mayor at large. The borough has a manager-council form of government. As Daniel's quipped, "Gettysburg thrives on tourism and apple orchards."

104. I met with Arthur Stabler, Architect and Chairman of the Gettysburg Historic Architecture Review Board, in his McSherysville office. Because of the difficulty at the time in recruiting qualified personnel, the original ordinance allows the board to go outside its jurisdictional boundaries.

105. Samuel E. Poole, III, "Architectural Appearance Review Regulations and the First Amendment: The Good, the Bad, and the Consensus Ugly," The Urban Lawyer 19 (Spring 1987): 287-292; Poole severely criticizes review boards for subjective standards.

106. Robert Holt, "HARB panel to seek grant," Gettysburg Times, 30 March 1989: 1A, reported that the cost to hire a writer, researcher, and possibly an artist/illustrator were estimated at $10,000.

107. Robert Holt, "HARB reviews hotel plan, sixth floor," Gettysburg Times, 13 April 1989. The board reserved approval to a proposed $7 million dollar renovation pending a waiver on the building height ordinance to allow the sixth floor. Board chair Arthur Stabler said he would like to see some modifications to plans, including some alternatives on the facade. Mary W. DeNadai, architect from John Milner Associates in West Chester, Pennsylvania, a Gettysburg College representative, and Borough Council president Harry C. Stokes argued in turn that the sixth floor was necessary to make the project financially feasible. Stabler told DeNadai that the board "will look to Milner Associates to provide leadership to the downtown community in creating harmony in building designs and colors that enhance the borough's historic appearance;" Reflecting a change of heart, the board approved the plans, which basically called

for the same considerations that the board had rejected in 1985; Robert Holt, "HARB OKs Hotel Gettysburg renovation," Gettysburg Times, 25 May 1989: 1A.

108. Traci A. Lower, "Fraternity proposes changes to HARB," Gettysburg Times, 29 September 1988: 2A. Thetha Chi Fraternity appeared before HARB to explain drawing board changes to their historic property. The fraternity wanted to join the 1864 Buehler House and the 1964 single story brick structure at the rear into one building. Although the buildings lie outside the historic district, the Powell expressed his appreciation to the fraternity for its good citizenship. Gettysburg was then debating removal of all fraternities from residential districts.

109. Robert Holt, "Train station demolition OK'd," Gettysburg Times, 28 September 1989. HARB approved demolition of a 100-year old Western Maryland Railroad freight station to clear the grounds for the construction of a new fire station. Advisor William Frassanito warned the board that they were close to establishing a new precedent. He told them to make the wording explicit that the permit was warranted because of very special circumstances. While the old structure, possibly a warehouse dating from the Civil War era is old, it would cost between $250,000 to $450,000 to move the structure and to preserve it. Moving it defeats the purpose of saving it. Code Enforcement Officer Weikert abstained from voting inasmuch as he is a member of the Gettysburg Fire Company that obtained the permit. Passed 7-0.

110. Traci Lower, "Steinwehr Avenue Renovation Approved," Gettysburg Times, 26 January 1989; Robert Holt, "HARB panel to seek grant," Gettysburg times, 30 March 1989: 1A. The Borough received a $14,000 state grant to be used for the downtown walking tour brochure. The Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission received approximately $42,000 for certified local government projects in 1986.

111. Robert Holt, "Historic district expansion proposed," Gettysburg Times, 23 February 1989: 1A. The process began in February with a recommendation from the Survey Committee. Its five page recommendation to expand the district grew from its reconnaissance work of the previous year. That request was forced after board members discovered that officials at Gettysburg College planned to demolish a house at 233 N. Washington Street, known locally as the Alexander Tate House.

112. Robert Holt, "HARB seeks larger zone," Gettysburg Times, 13 July 1989: 3A.; Bill Neil, "HARB votes to double size of historic district," Gettysburg Times, 27 July 1989: 1A; Robert Holt, "Historic district expansion plan revised," Gettysburg Times, 24 August 1989: 1A. Gettysburg College also filed an objection with the Planning Commission on the inclusion of some of their frontal property in the proposed historic district.

113. Traci A. Lower, "Main Street program seeks borough funding," Gettysburg Times, 11 October 1989: 1A.

114. Traci A. Lower, "'Downtown Bob' Wright working to promote pride in Gettysburg," 28 July 1988: 1A. Director of Gettysburg-Adams Chamber of Commerce Peg Weaver said, "Successful promoting downtown Gettysburg involves more than just organizing sales or sponsoring events. It requires careful planning, a sound understanding of the local market, concern for adequate parking, and a commitment to the beautification of the downtown area. Bob Wright is 'right' on target." Wright is from Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

115. Traci A. Lower, "Main Street program..."

116. Traci A. Lower, "Gettysburg gets $100,000 grant for Lincoln Square," Gettysburg Times, 11 October 1989.

117. "Lincoln Park Nears reality with grant, but more is needed," Gettysburg Times, 26 October 1989: 4A.

118. Or a zealot—that individual who energies a "new" organization but burns himself up as the organization reaches stable management. Zealots thrive on challenge; Downs, Inside Bureaucracy.

119. And on several occasions: Traci Lower, "Steinwehr Avenue Renovation Approved," Gettysburg Times, 26 January 1989: 1A; and Traci Lower, "HARB goes to the streets," Gettysburg Times, 25 August 1988: 1A.

120. Robert Holt, "Historic ordinances questioned," Gettysburg Times, 26 October 1989: 3A.

121. Paul M. Fink, Jonesborough: The First Century of Tennessee's First Town (Department of Housing and Urban Development, Springfield, The National Technical Information Service, 1972).

122. Stanley M. Herman and Michael Korenich, A Gestalt Orientation to Organizations and Their Development 8th printing (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 96-101; see especially, Gary A. Yukl, Leadership in Organizations 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), pp. 83-87.

123. This view was confirmed in my own national telephone survey of 28 government authorities with strict code requirements. See also Oliver A. Pollard III, "Demolition By Neglect: Testing the Limits and Effectiveness of Local Historic Preservation Regulation," Notes on Virginia (Winter, 1988/89): 31-35.

124. For example, one enthusiast begins his response, "Interests of the community are more important and dominate over individual property owner and the two are not in conflict." In a similar vein, another writes, "Government should protect these historic areas, regardless of the socio-economic levels of those who live in them in the hopes of guiding the residents over the coming years in upgrading their neighborhood and developing pride..."

125. As in the instance of the individual who writes, "The historic district will become further fragmented and eventually be lost to future generations. Douglas Yates explores neighborhood fragmentation in The Ungovernable City: The Politics of Urban Problems and Policy Making (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 23-25.

126. Thomas Sowell, A Conflict of Visions: Ideological Origins of Political Struggles (New York: Quill, 1987).

127. As the research of Waste, "The Early Years in the Life Cycle of City Councils: A Downsian Analysis," Urban Studies 20 (1983): ;and Downs, Inside Bureaucracy would suggest, these advocates are fairly recent arrivals to the Jonesborough community.

128. Elaine Sharp, Citizen Demand-Making in the Urban Context (The University of Alabama Press, 1986); Elaine Sharp, Urban Politics and Administration (New York: Longman, 1990); Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage Books, 1961); Robert W. Kweit and Mary Grisez Kweit, People and Politics in Urban America (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks\Cole, 1990); Peggy Wireman, Urban Neighborhoods, Networks, and Families (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Company, 1984); and William M. Rohe and Lauren B. Gates, Planning with Neighborhoods (The University of North

Carolina Press, 1985).

129. The pressures toward homogeneity in a small town are tremendous. Standard references are Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in Rural America (Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor, 1960); Granville Hicks, Small Town (New York: Macmillan, 1947); and Claude S. Fischer, To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

130. Brian Fry, Mastering Public Administration: From Max Weber to Dwight Waldo (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1989).

> This modern promotion of the use of experts echoes a tradition which goes back at least as far as the eighteenth century, when Condorcet ... used the term 'social science' and urged that quantification and theories of probability be used in formulating social policies.
>
> William Godwin, Enquiry Concerning Political Justice

> Bureaucracy itself is a method for bringing scientific judgments to bear on policy decisions; the growth of bureaucracy in modern government is itself partly an index of the increased capacity of government to make use of expert knowledge.
>
> Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom
> Politics, Economics and Welfare

# CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CLOSING THOUGHTS

The larger issues driving this study can be cast into two questions. First, how should students of public administration and government properly regard the role played by HARBs? Are they simply busy citizens filling in the volunteer core?[1] Second, how can these public boards be brought to serve a higher purpose, that of spiriting public discourse toward questions of governance? In addition to an examination of these questions, I present some recommendations to strengthen these relationships between the board members, the community members, and the elected officials. Finally, I offer my closing thoughts on historic preservation and the citizen as administrator.

## Public Boards and Public Service

This work began by suggesting that in a democracy, public boards provide opportunities for citizens to involve themselves in the public's business. I labeled these people "citizens as administrators." I labeled as access administration the role played by a government which protects avenues of citizen participation in government, regardless of whether or not these citizens actually avail themselves of these opportunities.

Under the rubric of historic preservation, those who enter into public administration are widely motivated as to why they seek the public duties, yet all are obliged by those duties to seek out the public interest in what they are charged to do. The public administration perspective developed in Chapter One suggests that citizen as administrative participants take their public obligations seriously, and believe that they fill an important function. This function envelops a sense of community, however idealized or eclectic that sense of community may be.[2]

This study began by underscoring the vague private notions of community which HARB members have, yet nonetheless become a filter for the services performed by these citizen administrators. We discovered that despite prognostications to the contrary in some literatures,

beliefs in communitarian values are much with us.[3]

This project began by suggesting that the citizen as administrator should seek out the public interest in his/her administrative domain by encouraging public dialogue. The research exposes a highly individualistic assessment of this public interest. Regardless, public service demands good public administration. And many citizens demand full-time skills of those who serve the public on a minimal, part-time basis. This study emphasizes that good local administration requires more than an available pool of part-time expertise. There must be a link between the citizen as administrative participant and the local, career administration and the elected government. There must also be linkages between the citizen and the HARB. The HARB needs to work on internal board dynamics, recognizing that a commitment to internal processes can further deliberative processes. HARB members bring commitment and skills to the table. The group dynamics can either inhibit or enrich those attributes. These three linkages reappeared throughout this study as research questions.

Many students of the American public administration value the role played by our public administrators, and as I have argued throughout this work, those who lend their expertise to HARBs are numbered in among the public administration players. Yet, the volunteer administrator is

not a local public administration careerist. This admission has many sides. On one side, the volunteer is not constrained by organizational considerations, for instance, career advancement and bureaucratic routines. The volunteer need not worry about offending the senior administrators, showing up on time, or preparing staff reports in lieu of some other priority. On another side, the volunteer enjoys some security in his appointment tenure as well as some decision flexibility. His/her decisions are a part of a group process. He/she doesn't even have to make routinely sound decisions. Of course, the volunteer can be slothful and unprepared for public discourse.

We must be cautious in our assignations for public administration values. As citizens, we expect more from careerists. This interpretation is time honored.[4] Writing in 1940, John D. Lewis offers us a view that still has full value as currency. He reminds us of the importance of having a professionally constituted public administration under our scheme of government. While this public administration is only one actor in a plan of checks and balances, it is the actor whose competence must be at the highest level. For students of public administration, Lewis' instruction warrants review:[5]

> It is the task of the democratic representative to educate his constituents in the relation between their ends and the specific and possible policies which are

> means to these ends. But, like the voter, he cannot have an expert knowledge of every issue he must face. It is his task to discover from those who have expert knowledge how much of the necessarily vague program of his constituents can be realized, and how it can be realized. This brings us to the importance of administrators in their constructive and advisory capacity. . . . Voters need not be experts, representatives need not be experts, but administrators must have expert knowledge of what can be done and how it can be done most efficiently. A well trained and well experienced administrative personnel is perhaps even more important in a democracy that in a system designed to manipulate popular consent into conformity with the views of a ruling group. And a well trained and experienced personnel cannot be maintained in the face of a popular opinion that government administrators are by nature clerks, or crooks, or, according to the more recent version, visionary meddlers.

While the local HARB serves as a weak contrast to the federal agency model, the HARB, and possible other forms of local boards, are an important laboratory. We have much to learn on the issues raised in the terms profession, service, stewardship, citizenship and administrative function. It is my belief that the study of the local board, unencumbered as it is with the layers of administrative responsibility, the complexity which oftens accompanies federal and state administration, can supply much needed insights in public administration as a process.

Many writers have clearly seen this potential. Paul Appleby, for instance, looked quite favorably upon the character-shaping influence on the local agency brought by local citizens and the community. Appleby would be

sympathetic to the role played by the HARB in terms of its administrative competence, and citizen input.[6]

Appleby was also concerned about good government. Good government is possible only when there is a free exchange of ideas, when the various actors in the business of government recognize their shared responsibilities to furthering services in the service of a greater constituency. Good government is three distinct things, illustrated by the three research questions which drove this study. These things are like paths in that they provide a guide to the public administration opportunities offered by the HARB. And more, each path fulfills a different purpose in a broader plan of government. Indeed, this research endorses the responsible roles for each path: the role in good government served by the relationship between elected officials and the HARB; the role in good government served through the HARB's administration and the citizen interface it provides; and the role of good government served by providing opportunities for citizens to work together as a board as they fashion public policy.

The relationships of the HARB to the elected officials, and the HARB to the citizenry-at-large serve the ends of the **external community** of the HARB. The relationship of citizen administrator member to another citizen administrator member defines the **internal community**, or organizational dynamics.

External community is defined in the relationship between the citizen administrator board and the elected officials, and by extension, to the career public administration. The appointed board fulfills an important administrative function: it lends expertise and balance to government. It brings into government a perspective which is not shaped by the institutions of government. Rather, this perspective is shaped by the professional and community lives of its members.

Because this perspective is broad, it is a perspective which encompasses many concerns within the community. It is less likely to be narrow ideologically. Indeed, the values espoused by the various board members in the national policy Delphi and in the community ecology studies point to the rich diversity of these value sets. Consequently, the HARB is likely to incorporate the issues of growth, management, and political survival into its membership. These HARBs are in an excellent position to select the tools necessary to influence their future survival.[7] These boards also consist of members with a variety of value constellations. It is not as if a majority of American HARBs hold a certain value set. Indeed, the key to understanding the American historic preservaiton ethos is to recognize that individual boards are highly eclectic. No two boards are truly comparable when the broad range of attitudes expressed in the Delphi and

evidenced in the community studies serve as the base.

HARBs immediately define their service roles through their expertise. They allow their expertise to shape the public dialogues. Communities with highly expert HARBs, such as Gettysburg, describe their public agenda in terms of the architect, the historian and the archeologist on the board. Other HARBs, such as that in Cobb County, tend to see their role in more general terms, perhaps as a focal point for social activities. Public administration is not selective listening to the complaints, or dutiful resignation to the ubiquitous "system."[8] When dealing directly with the public, public administrators typically only hear from unhappy citizens, but it is false to believe that no complaints equates to good administration. Nor can the public administrator shrug off the problems of working within a public mandate to the tedium of bureaucracy. Even more important, volunteer public administration is a recognition of the point that the benefits of citizenship and the moral obligations of service go hand-in-hand. The HARB volunteer is in no sense dependent upon the state for a paycheck. The choices are much more clear.

Volunteer citizen boards cannot hope to displace a career public administration. Nor is the public board in any sense the administrative superior to the career public administration. In the context of this research, the HARB is

not the appointed watchdog for any planning department employee. While we would naturally expect excellence from employees at any rank, the HARB should encourage excellence in its own performance, yet not overburden the career administrator with consuming, petty detail. This is a lack of administrative maintenance on the part of the HARB.

The career administrators of this study, such as those in Lynchburg and Cobb County, play a much larger role than their mere service to the HARB. They continue from one appointed HARB to those reconstituted HARBs as terms of respective members expire. Careerists work in buildings where they lunch, meet, and pass individuals from other departments, and with other career responsibilites. These career administrators have a broader sense of the municipal government.

Whereas the potential is greater than the reality, HARBs provide opportunities for citizen participation — both as a public forum and as a public policy making body, and serve as a vital link to good government, not **better** administration. The administration can be good whether the service is volunteer or paid. Because HARB members are volunteers, they are primarily something else beside a public board member.

In common, all board members share their membership as citizens in some broader community. It is not necessary that

a career administrator live in the neighborhoods over which he/she has some interest. It is not necessary that career administrator draw the community into his/her administrative routines. They rarely do. It is not necessary – although it would probably be useful – for the career administrator to develop a sense of the community under the charge of the legislative mandate.

In Chapter One the HARB member's concept of community is loosely framed. I suggested that definitions of community are highly egalitarian. These definitions are shaped by shared interests. The Delphi project strongly supports this concept. The community framed by political boundaries is not the one to which service on the architectural review board is offered, yet our board members are sensitive to the legal restraints placed upon them as board members. They recognize that the tax-paying community is their audience. But the entire tax-paying audience does not come to public meetings. It is the affected neighborhood/historic district or individual property owner that serves as an immediate sociological or moral community, or more precisely, perhaps, as a constituency or client base.

Because they are citizens, HARB members bring into the public board their shared sense of citizenship, and a broadly shared political culture.[9] Consequently, the public board member is attuned to the dual nature of his/her

communitarian counterpart. When non-public board members approach them, they approach them as citizen-for-citizen, neighbor-for-neighbor. They are not identified as members of the career administration. But they are members of the local government. When they sit on the dais, they represent all the good and the bad of their local government. When they walk down the street, they are teachers, architects, historic district residents and so forth. Nowhere was this clearer than in the case study interviews.

Earlier it was argued that the HARB serves an important linkage, and that this linkage can be compared to the same linkage served by the career administrator. The HARB then serves as an important channel between citizen and legislator/executive government; first, because public boards are always service opportunities; secondly, because affections for community are shared, a citizen stands on more equal footing with the HARB whose members are not representatives in any sense, nor are they hirelings in any sense. HARB members have chosen to serve those seeking their counsel. In some ways this may disadvantage the public board member. He/she may indeed be more sensitive to the pressures arising out of neighborhood regulation. Indeed, ecology participants are testimony to this pressure.

Internal pressures are even more at issue. On the board, Delphi participants and ecology participants do not

develop a sense of themselves as a board-gestalt, only as board members. Earlier I sugested that board cohesiveness would facilitate board processes. The evidence to support this contention is tenuous at best. It is not clear that an enhanced internal sense of membership would likewise enhance public purposes. Arguably, while by definition the board's relationship to its external community provides broad avenues for the business of government, the internal community defined by its interaction as a collegial body may serve little purpose except to facilitate process. After all, internal community demands face-to-face interaction. It demands mutually defining concepts. It demands at least conversation.

Someone might suggest that members of HARBs want to limit their board interaction to an occasional meeting and their conversations to the content of their public business. The critical question, however, is not what they want out of their participation — this study suggests a plethora of desires — but how that participation can serve the ends of good government. Recall that I put the onus on government to guarantee the opportunities of service as a requisite for access administration. This follows directly from Madison's charge in the opening epigraph. Government is obliged to govern itself for the very reasons we create governments at all.

While broad at the base, members have different purposes in service. They have general views of community which are distinctively different.[10] The third question in this study tapped directly into this wealth of energy. Putting aside abstract notions of citizenship and public administration, the HARB provides people with yet another opportunity to work with other people toward common ends. As this study indicates, the extent to which HARB members mature as individuals hinges on their own sense of this opportunity. Some members are very much committed to their stewartship. They give tirelessly for what they view as a collective effort.

## Serving Nobler Ends

Public boards are in a state of transition. With a downshift in budgetary capacities, municipalities should look toward their expert base to solve problems now passed on to their own staff or contracted to third parties. In light of the overall questions used to focus this research, I offer a number of recommendations for developing this expert base.

Conduct periodic workshops. This book found little evidence of the citizens as administrative participants working within an overall community plan. Boards, elected officials,

career administrators appeared to be operating somewhat independently of one another. Sometimes at cross purposes, generally uninformed about the functions and services of government, citizens as administrative participants must communicate with one another. Active participants in government must understand what each does. To this end local governments should sponsor quarterly workshops of all public board members, elected officials, and key administrative officials in order to formulate municipal goals, to recognize areas of difference, and to help chart the future course of the municipality. While these activities provide for a sharing experience, they also provide for the common ground of "what is community." There is a substantial literature on community agenda building, and the impact that this has on creating commitment and alliances.[11] At a mimimum, these workshops educate participants on the reservoir of expertise at their fingertips. These workshops provide the opportunity for participants to get to know each other.

While workshops are not new for individual groups of members of the administrative/political corps, I am suggesting community-wide workshops in which participants lay aside their mutually exclusive interests and focus on community interests which appear inclusive. Since each community will have an unique constellation of values which

define it, the first issue before these community-wide workshops is to build their public action agenda.

Along these lines, an architectural review board in Casper, Wyoming, reported that it had a community-wide board that served as a sounding-board or ear-to-the-ground panel. This board consisted of volunteers from neighborhoods and various groups throughout the town. It met periodically to share what it viewed as public issues. This board has no authority, but it serves as an important conduit. Casper's wide ranging public and non-public boards are equally informed.

By extension, periodic community development workshops provide opportunities for the active administrative/political corps to work with one another, to exchange information, and I think at least as important, to soften public postures which would appear to be at cross purposes. Public boards make demands on similar resources. Hence, boards working on different agendas will begin to see themselves as a part of a larger governance process. Likewise, elected officials must see themselves as a part of this overall project. Election is no assurance of familiarity with the overall services available through local government, or with the breadth of expertise working for this government. No one is exempt from education in government.

Code of ethics. The development of ethical standards provides for a normative base inside of the organization to which members can ascribe. The process of developing these standards creates a meaningful exchange opportunity for discussing the nature of service. Many codes exist, such as that used by the American Society for Public Administrators. At a minimum, a code of ethics should define conflicts of interest and the rules governing the conduct of public business.

While most individuals ascribe to codes of ethics in their own professional lives, or have at least a personal code of ethics, the process of developing this code as a board serves to recognize and reenforce those values on an institutional level. As the American Society for Public Administration's Code of Ethics & Implementation Guidelines explains:[12]

> Perceptions of others are critical to the reputation of an individual or a public agency. Nothing is more important to public administrators than the public's opinion about their honesty, truthfulness, and personal integrity. . . . The best insurance against loss of public confidence is adherence to the highest standards of honesty, truthfulness and fortitude.

What ethical norms should an architectural review board embrace? Conflicts of interest are always foremost. The architect whose expertise demands that matters before the board should finally be resolved through his/her

consultation serves as an obvious illustration. A more subtle ethical norm arises from the values and traditions of historic preservation and from the legislation which empowers the public supervision of historic preservation interests. When does a set of values defined by an historic preservation ethos take precedence over a local property interest? In order to address this question, HARB members need to be thoroughly familiar with the historic preservation ethos. This ethos is drawn from the history and traditions of the national movement.

Likewise, board members are obliged to adhere to the standards associated with their professional practice, and to give due respect to the practice of others on the board. When a board member publicly devalues the content of another's service, that board member has undermined the integrity associated with the professional competence of the board itself. A word of caution is not sufficient, that is, it is not sufficient to acknowledge that public statements can injure the board's activities. Members should take consul from Lewis' injunction: "Voters need not be experts, representatives need not be experts, but administrators must have expert knowledge. . ."[13] This is no simple wisdom. Administrators are the key to good government.

In addition to subscribing to a code of ethics, the process of implementing, reinforcing and studying the

lessons culled from this process must be in place. Board members need to reflex with this code, and this means to engage other members in discussions with the code of ethics as a routine board process. One approach is to include administrative ethics as one section of a basic in-service training program, such as that discussed next.

Professional development of the board. A major finding in this study is that our HARBs lack a common sense of purpose; a common understanding of their mission; a common sense of the public interest in their work; and an unfocused action agenda. Creating a process by which HARB members progress as a board to address these common shortcomings can achieve three things: legitimacy, internal cohesion, and professionalism. A professional citizen administration is bound to improve legitimacy, and certainly will improve internal cohesion as members strive toward common ends.

Legitimacy entails a citizen and political recognition that the service rendered by the volunteer public board is a part of a constitutional order. Public boards are created by acts of law. The power that creates law is sanctioned by an electoral process. Consequently, the public board has a legitimate pedigree: it represents a part of a legal, constitutional process. There is an intimate relationship between having the people's sanction to act in their

interest, and the expertise to best serve that interest. These HARBs are good at this. Under the certified local government process, they meet both tests – expertise and power.

Internal cohesion for a public board creates opportunities for boards to function as a collective rather than as separate voices within some cacophonous gathering. Public debate serves the public interest in democratic processes. Effective groups openly debate without the mean-spirited, vituperative recriminations often marking public discussions. Mutual respect for representative expertise can easily be camouflaged by this public noise.

Professional development neither begins nor ends with public service. HARB membership is not typically recognized as an outlet for professionalism. Indeed, while professional skills are requisite for service, they are not sufficient. If they were sufficient, that service justly could be seen within the minimal light of self-interest. The HARB is an opportunity to forge under a social contract divergent professional skills into a new professional unit. A recent example illustrates one technique.

Following a series of historic preservation management seminars that I developed in the summer of 1990, a proposal for the HARB development was presented to a combined meeting of the Lynchburg Architectural Review Board and the

Lynchburg City Council.[14] This proposal called for a HARB certification process.

The HARB certification is a process by which the board demonstrates a commitment as a board to achieve certain high standards of service. Once achieved, these high standards of service:

> 1. remind the appointing board of the HARB's excellence and determination to serve in an enlightened fashion;
>
> 2. serve to give the board a common vocabulary as a board and to bring them together as a group with a common focus; and
>
> 3. provide a common professional base. No matter what each board member's individual contribution is to the policy process, the certification process trains them as a group to serve as citizen public administrators.

While the direction, appropriateness and process of HARB certification demands discussion at a later date, some of my own earlier work and especially existing school board certification programs provide a useful starting point.[15]

Over the summer 1988, I developed a prototype model of self-instruction modules for supervisors of the Virginia Division of Child Support Enforcement. After some diagnostic meetings, five core study areas were isolated. The model developed called for providing supervisors with a synopsis of a current article from their professional literature. Discussion questions followed each synopsis. While professional enhancement was one goal of this process, other

goals were identified. Specifically, these discussion questions were designed to be useful for employee meetings or employee seminars; and feedback to the supervisor from an academic coach or facilitator provided a professional dialogue for the supervisor interested in career/ professional development.

School board certification processes follow more traditional lines. Several states currently either have or are in the process of mandating certification for both elected and appointed school board members. Legislators are tired of incompetent board members making important decisions regarding the present administration and future growth of local schools, school board member certification processes require school board members to demonstrate competence by taking a pre-set number of workshops or seminars per year in an approved curriculum.

Kentucky, Michigan and South Carolina are illustrative. In Kentucky, school members are required to take a minimum of 24 hours of training per year in school finance, school law, superintendent/board relations, and contract (labor) negotiations. The state attorney general has the statutory authority to remove members reluctant to go through the training.[16] Although he exercises this authority infrequently, it appears to be a powerful negative reinforcement.

In 1989, following intensive lobbying from the Michigan Association of School Boards (MASB), the Michigan legislature passed Public Act 25 to provide local school boards with financial incentives for improving their school board members.[17] Developed in coordination with Michigan State University in East Lansing, one program to train school board members was initiated by the MASB, an affiliate of the National Association of School Boards. It is a voluntary program which they monitor and certify. Although the programs have been established by the MASB, they are too new to offer any assessment. Instruction is at regional locations.

In 1980, the South Carolina School Board Association chartered the Board Membership Academy. The Academy has a rigorous program of seminars and other programs, which board members attend. Members acquire points through various activities. Points translate into rewarded achievement levels. The strength of the program is highly related to the commitment of the local funding authorities and the school superintendent.[18]

I am convinced that certification is both timely, useful, and marketable. Many professional institutions and individuals are certified as to their competence and sense of purpose. To be effective, however, certification requires both external and internal maintenance. Early lessons from

the school board experience and studies of board operations suggest that internal maintenance results from the board having sufficient cohesion to generate peer response, and the leadership to monitor the board and encourage reluctant members.[19] Some independent external agent is required to assure that the certification process meets standards sufficient to the purpose.

To emphasize: the certification of the HARBs takes the shape of any certification process with these two key features: a commitment to a continuous board development program and the maintenance of certain standards of excellence.

Expand the vision of the board to community resource development. The HARB's self- defined focus is much too specific. It is casework, or handling one appeal at a time. Occasionally it is coordinating a larger historic district policy process. This is rare, and when it does occur, the evidence weighs in strongly against the HARB as the public policy leader. To overcome process inadequacies, the interests of the HARB should be broadened to allow an extension of its defined mission beyond their procedural role.

It was clear from this study that the narrow administrative focus of architectural review often worked

against the board's efforts to sensitize the broader community to the issues of historic preservation. By serving a focus in isolation from other related community concerns, the HARB often found itself defeated by those various concerns which overwhelm the HARB. That is, the architectural review board was not a part of a larger community context in formulating goals. When cross purposes became revealed, turf battles erupted between various community leaders, and no public purpose could be served. For example, individuals publicizing historic preservation in Cobb County confronted individuals publicizing historic Cobb County. Bitter accusations of scene stealing and petty jealousies dominated the press coverage. No public good came of it, and it could easily have been avoided by the type of networking recommended here. Community workshops would sensitize both to their shared values. Often organizations find that by articulating their goals more precisely they are able to find a greater public purpose in their mission. The architectural review board may be about the business of deciding appropriate house paint colors, or exterior house lighting, or signage, but its **purpose** is to pursue a sense of building a better community.

Lack of focus is especially evident in older communities with diverse economic and population stratifications, and limited resources. Cobb County is an

excellent example. It brought together a general citizen input board in an effort to coordinate diverse planning goals. Following its example, the architectural review board took the planning issues appropriate for its mandate and pulled together a community-wide planning group with a more narrow, yet expansive focus in terms of the agenda. Lynchburg used a similar planning strategy in an effort to isolate issues of interest to its community.

There are traps in these planning sessions. For while communities that create these area wide citizen participation vehicles are generally pleased with the results, administrators often build in fail-safe mechanisms that defeat these citizen input panels. Administrators give them a narrow charge, they constrain their existence by limiting the life of the group, or they attempt to control the agenda. The activities of the citizen group are largely symbolic. There are many reasons for this, but organizational development literature suggests that a more effective strategy would be to create legitimate mechanisms for recognising the broader community's agenda into the public action agenda and to allow the board to run its own course.

In addition to its technical competence, the public administration duties of the HARB carry the privileged burden of educating good citizenship. Clearly, these citizen

administrators need to be trained as well. The commitment to civic education is bilateral. While councils, commissioners and the like must allocate resources, encourage – even mandate – participation in training programs for their citizen administrators, they must listen to the expertise they have demanded.

Citizen administrators must want to be expert. While encouraging those who already serve with a group ethos or even threats of removal might provide fuel for some sluggish administrative engines, in the main, elected officials must seek out the most energetic, the most qualified to sit on these HARBs. Then, elected officials must take care to balance this service by looking for the right combination of talents and motivations. It might even be useful to allow the HARB to participate in the selection process.

The work of the HARB would be better understood if blended with a total community program of cultural resource management. Cultural resource management suggests more than a single management charge. As this research demonstrates, HARB members are generally concerned about developing a better community. They give of their time, energy and expertise to this end. And they are not alone. Planning boards, library boards, housing authorities, neighborhood organizations and others each have a vision. The directions taken to achieve those ends vary greatly.

There are also people with property interests which are at odds with these visions. Their visions are certainly more narrowly prescribed, but in a liberal democracy, these are the visions that we want most to protect. A view of community is not a blessing bestowed upon the enlightened while those deprived of this view horde their fortunes. The economic viability of the community demands workable relationships. Too often the property owner is seen as an enemy to be conquered by ordinance or public pressure. In a liberal democracy there are limits, and these limits need to be carefully inscribed through public processes.[20]

No one can visit a city like Lynchburg and fail to be touched by the ominous, foreboding, ruinous condition of the center city: abandoned, often burnt out buildings; overgrown lots; weathered and sagging buildings; idle teenagers lingering on corners. The lack of choice between high value housing and substandard housing is perhaps the single greatest social issue facing urban Americans. It is no coincidence that inner cities, such as Lynchburg, are predominantly Black, and that these houses are owned by predominately absentee landlords. It is to this end that I recommend that communities reconceive their historic preservation narrow focus into a broader cultural resource management focus. With a conception of their broader mandate, a cultural resource management board provides a

forum for discussing the problems of historic preservation, and references to quality of life, housing codes, cultural outlets, and neighborhood development.

Failing to encompass the entire complex, urban vision only fractures public policy into narrow interest group scrambling. HARBs have too narrow a scope, and their link to the broader community pattern is currently defined too narrowly. But it is narrowly defined by those administering their mandate, not by the mandate itself. As a consequence, competing demands easily shift the public's attention away from the architectural review board's agenda. By having the board actively participate as an actor in a network of allied community interests, a more broadly conceived community emerges for all the actors, including the HARB. For instance, museums, libraries, music conservatories, public parks, recreation, open spaces, neighborhood associations, historic districts should be regarded as integral parts of a healthy community, not as interest groups each competing for scarce resources.

Consensus building stimulates dialogue, because it requires conversation. While perfect consensus never exists, and an imperfect consensus rarely lasts, participants who embrace the notion of stimulating public conversations, engaging in some dialogical processes, can take satisfaction in their service to good government. They are at the heart

of democratic participation. This study clearly pointed to this sentiment, but it was an unarticulated part of our participants' service. Making them aware of the potential for service is not difficult, that is, they already seem to be speaking "participatory administration" by other words, or even failing to find some label for participation, value it in fact.

These concerns overshadow the narrow mission of the HARBs created through the certified local government process. Yet, each HARB is local public administration. Their public administration is trivialized by the HARB itself.

## Closing Thoughts

HARBs cannot **make** the public pay attention to their messages. This research suggests that the business of stimulating public dialogue is within the rightful domain of the citizen public administration I describe. HARBs created through a legislative process, empowered with discretionary authority through an ordinance, are a part of the public administration that others have rightfully balanced within our constitutional scheme of government.[21]

Not able to **make** the public converse, the HARB must "create the listening."[22] Creating the listening is a process by which the board prepares the public to pay

attention to what is said, that is, the board sets the stage for dialogue. Stoner, Taylor and Wankel tell us that two factors are important:

> [The] first [factor] is determining what is important to the listener. . . . Second is creating a platform for speaking to the listener, that is, establishing credibility through such behaviors as **performing excellently, utilizing the techniques of [successful] management**, and so on.
>
> And finally, in speaking into the listening, the task is to address the objectives the listener cares about, to show how the philosophy and techniques of [successful] managing can assist him or her move toward those objectives, and to offer practical first steps to start that movement.

How can we move this HARB forward without depending upon a public crisis? Recall that like many public and private management units, the HARB (like the national and state counterparts) tends to be reactive rather than proactive. Often it takes the threatened demolition of an important local landmark, or an energized neighborhood to awaken the public to seek available administrative tools. Stoner, Taylor and Wankel offer these two salient suggestions. First, organizations should continually try to be innovative, to "try on promising new management approaches and discard old ones which are no longer effective."[23] Second, the organizational formula for effective management may already be in place. The missing parts needed to catalyze the organization may not be hard to come by or very disruptive once acquired. In other words,

organizational transformation need not be threatening.

An important, neglected area for developing board excellence is through ongoing educational programs. In the Fall of 1988, a small conference jointly sponsored by the National Park Service and the National Alliance of Preservation Commissions ended their proceedings with a series of recommendations, most of which were directed toward the National Park Service. The training needs of local preservation managers drove the recommendation package. The conference participants acknowledged that[24]

> boards and commissions are often responsible for interpreting a local ordinance or planning document and may lack, especially in smaller cities, professional expertise, staff advice, or knowledgeable volunteer assistance with which to arrive at logical decisions. Local officials need to be educated about the need for some type of preservation planning and methods for integrating it into their cities and locales.

From among these recommendations, the most useful advisement reads:[25]

> Collect preservation planning information nationally and publish it in a "digest" format for public dissemination... The "digest" should be separated into topical sections, such as planning, regulation, and property acquisition. Information is needed on all local government efforts in preservation planning, whether such efforts are <u>called</u> planning or not.

On a more local level, writing to its architectural review boards, the Nebraska State Historical Society Historic Preservation Office suggests that

> Certified Local Governments should undertake preservation planning activities designed to monitor past and present and to project future activities. This plan should discuss the philosophy and rationale behind local preservation efforts, reporting on current status and effectiveness with a projection of future concerns, and outline the organizational framework for the program including the composition and qualifications of the professional staff and Review Commission. It should discuss procedures for local preservation activities and survey and inventory methodology and the progress of these efforts. It should report on National Register and local designation activities, progress made in integrating preservation planning efforts into general planning processes at the local, State, and federal levels, and public information and education activities."
>
> Certified Local Governments should seek to integrate local preservation planning into the broader planning activities of the local, State, and Federal levels...

Above all, members of public boards are carriers of a public vision, those purposiveful constructions[26]

> that guide us through a tangle of bewildering complexities. Like maps, visions have to leave out many concrete features in order to enable us to focus on a few key paths to our goals. Visions are indispensable — but dangerous, precisely to the extent that we confuse them with reality itself. . . .

Public administration demands of its participants an explicit discourse on the content of these visions. There are not only social solutions to public problems, but obvious solutions. "'Truth, and above all political truth, is not hard of acquisition.' What is required is 'independent and impartial discussion' by 'unambitious and candid' people."[27]

Despite historic preservation's detractors,[28] this

research suggests the HARBs offer an excellent opportunity to further these discussions. Once brought to full appreciation of their administrative linkages to a legitimate administrative state, the next step is "not hard of acquisition." Public discourse conducted by experts does not limit public debate, rather it elevates the content of that public debate.

NOTES

1. Jeffrey L. Brudney, "The Availability of Volunteers," Administration and Society 21 (February 1990): 413-424; Sydney Duncombe, "Volunteers in City Government: Advantages, Disadvantages and Uses," National Civic Review 74 (September 1985): 356-364, and in "Volunteers in City Government: Getting More than Your Money's Worth," National Civic Review 75 (October 1986): 291-301.

2. John Berger, "You can't go home: The hidden pain of 20th century life," Utne Reader (May/June 1990): 85-87.

3. Wendell Berry, "The politics of home," Utne Reader (May/June 1990): 83-84.

4. The earliest call I have discovered for a recognition of the expert cadre of American public administrators is in the review of John Stuart Mill's Considerations on Representative Government in North American Review 196 (July 1862): 228-255. The anonymous authors write, in part (p. 231):

> [W]e cannot lose sight of the efficacy of free and popular institutions as educators of public sentiment and of individual intelligence, capacity, and energy.

The authors later defend the creation of a professional public administration (pp 250-1).

5. John D. Lewis, "The Elements of Democracy," The American Political Science Review 34 (3 1940): 470-1; in a similar vein, see Charles A. Beard, "Administration. A Foundation of

Government" The American Political Science Review 34 (April 1940): 232-5; H. W. Dodds, "Bureaucracy and Representative Government." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (January 1937): 165; and the best known piece, Norton Long, "Power and Administration," **supra.**

6. Paul H. Appleby, Power and Administration (University of Alabama press, 1949), especially chapter V, "Administrative Power."

7. David J. Brower, Candace Carraway, Thomas Pollard, and C. Luther Propst, Managing Development in Small Towns (Washington, DC: Planners Press, American Planning Association, 1984), p. 5.

8. Sharp, Urban Politics and Administration, p. 1.

9. Lawrence J. R. Herson, The Politics of Ideas: Political Theory and American Public Policy (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1990).

10. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart.

11. Nea Carroll Toner and Walter B. Toner, Jr., Citizen Participation: Building a Constituency for Public Policy (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1978); Julian L. Greifer (Ed.), Community Action for Social Change: A Casebook of Current Project (New York: Praeger, 1974); Donald R. Fessler, Facilitating Community Change: A Basic Guide (La Jolla, CA: University Associates, 1976); Willis D. Hawley and James H. Svara, The Study of Community Power: A Bibliographic Review (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 1972).

12. Available from ASPA, 1200 G. Street N.W., Washington, DC 20005.

13. **supra.**

14. July 27, 1990.

15. John Nicolay, "The Personnel Box: Building Bridges Within the Agency," Proceedings of the 12th National Conference on Teaching Public Administration, 14-16 March, pp. 431-448. Charlottesville, Virginia: The Federal Executive Institute, 1989.

16. Interview with Dr. Ken Scott, Assistant Executive Director, Kentucky School Board Association, November 15, 1990.

17. Lisa Bond-Brewer and Gail M. Braverman, "Back to School: School Board Members learn how to lead," Michigan Association of School Boards Journal (September, 1990): 10-12; Justine King, "Effective board leadership begins with your CBA!" Michigan Association of School Boards Journal (March, 1990): 5; and "Board member certification: Wave of the future?" p. 2.

18. Interview with Jeannie Henry, Director of Board Development, South Carolina School Board Association, December 5, 1990.

19. Charles R. Schwenk, "Devil's Advocacy and the Board: A Modest Proposal," Business Horizons (July-August, 1989): 22-27; and I. Kesner and D. Dalton, "Boards of directors and the Checks and (Im)balances in Corporate Governance," Business Horizons (September/October 1986): 17-23.

20. Philip Abbott, Political Thought in America: Conversations and Debates (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1991), p. 1-10.

21. Wamsley, Bacher, Goodsell, Kronenberg, Rohr, Stivers, White and Wolf, Refounding Public Administration.

22. James A. F. Stoner, Arthur Taylor and Charles Wankel, "On Waiting for Neither Godot Nor the Apocalypse: Practical First Steps to Move U.S. Managers Toward World Class Managing," p. 192, in Martin K. Starr (ed.) Global Competitiveness: Getting the U.S. Back on Track (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc, 1988). I have substituted "Successful" for the authors' expression "World class."

23. Ibid.

24. "Planning as Process and Product: A Report on the Local Preservation Planning Forum," A Conference sponsored by the National park Service and the National Alliance of Preservation Commissions, 3-4 October, 1988, Washington, D.C., p. 3.

25. Ibid., p. 4.

26. Sowell, A Conflict of Visions, p 13-14.

27. Ibid., p. 72.

28. Robert Bruegmann, "What price preservation?" Planning 46 (June 1980): 12-16.

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## Appendix A: Round I Questionnaire

What is your professional relationship to the board (architect, historian, planner, archeologist, community leader, elected representative, interested citizen, preservation activist, and so forth)?

Please answer the following questions based either on your past or current relationship to the historic preservation movement.

1. Your board has an overall mission with regard to your community. What do you see as that mission and how effective is your board?

2. Historic preservation means many things (for instance, economic development, social standing, academic enrichment, nostalgia, and so forth). What do you find of personal value in historic preservation and what values do you hope your community receives from your efforts?

3. Preservation boards have a variety of personality types and professional backgrounds. What do you regard as the strengths and weaknesses of your board's professional (including ethnic and gender) composition?

4. What is your group's working relationship to the elected board that created you?

5. What is your assessment of your community's attitude toward historic preservation? How do they demonstrate this attitude? What is your group's position on involving the community in your work (if you do)?

6. Are there any critical management issues facing your organization for which other preservation groups across the country might have insights? (In Round II I will share these with you for your shared responses.)

7. Is there an issue that I have failed to address that is of interest to your historic preservation efforts?

Thank you for your time and effort. When I have finished tabulating these responses, I will send to you Round II. May I hear from you within two weeks?

## Appendix B: Round I Delphi Invitation

Dear Preservation Board Member:

This letter is to ask you to participate in the research phase of my doctoral dissertation. My dissertation topic is: "Historic Preservation: In the Public Interest?" I am interested in the relationship between appointing boards, appointed boards, and citizen-clients.

The attached survey form is the first phase of a "Policy Delphi." A Policy Delphi is a problem solving device in which experts are asked to respond to a number of open-ended questions. Respondents are selected because of their expertise. At a minimum, your expertise is your present or past public service. Your public service may be as an elected representative, an appointed board member or as a civil servant. Once the first phase surveys are compiled into a single report, this report is sent back out to all of the first phase participants. This second report constitutes the Round II. At this time, the same experts review the condensed report and make additional reactions or clarifications. None of the experts knows the specific output of the other experts.

Round III of my Policy Delphi will be a final compilation of Round II responses and suggestions. This report will be based upon the shared insights of virtually every participating certified local government in the country. Round III will require no response from you, yet I hope that this research will assist your board in finding ways to further your organizational purposes.

Finally, might I ask you to return this survey within two weeks? And thanks for sharing the postage expense.

I look forward to hearing from you,

John Nicolay

## Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire Sheet

For my records:

For mailing Round II, your name and address (if a label is attached, would you mind correcting it?):

Roughly, what is the population of your preservation jurisdiction?

Is this jurisdiction rural, metropolitan, suburbian?

How old is your jurisdiction?

Is your preservation focus: buildings, landscape, cultural, and/or educational? Other?

Is your jurisdiction's economy based on a mixed economic base, agricultural, light industry, heavy industry, tourism, or residential (retirees or suburbian)? Something else?

Would you say that the local economy is stable, growing, declining, weak or strong? Something else?

## Appendix D: Jurisdictions Participating in Study

The following Towns, Cities or Counties sent information on their certified local government programs. In (#1/#2), #1 is the number of certified local governments responding either to an initial or follow-up inquiry; #2 is the total number of reported certified local governments in that state as of June, 1989).

Alabama (3/5)

Mobile
Huntsville
Tuscaloosa

Alaska (3/3)

Juneau
Palmer
Barrow

Arizona (6/10)

Florence
Wilcox
Kingman
Phoenix
Prescott
Jerome

Arkansas (3/3)

Eureka Springs
Helena
Little Rock

California (9/12)

Alameda
Carlsbad
Glendale
Pasadena
San Diego
Santa Clara
Santa Cruz
Saratoga
Woodland

Colorado (6/7)

Denver
Boulder
Longmont
Aspen
Lake City
Aurora

Kenned (1/4):

East Hartford

Delaware (0/2)

Florida (13/15)

Coral Gables
Gainesville
Miami
Dade County
New Smyrna Beach
Orlando
St. Augustine
St. Petersburg
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Tampa
Lakeland
Palm Beach

Georgia (10/19)

Ashburn
Augusta
Carrollton
Marietta
Dalton
Jefferson
Milledgeville
Thomasville
Valdosta
Winder

Hawaii (1/1)

Kauai County

Idaho (7/31)

American Falls
Lake Fork
Lava Hot Springs
Meridian
Moscow
Nampa
Placerville

Illinois (9/12)

Bloomington
Chicago
Evanston
Galesburg
Mount Carroll
Orland Park
Quincy
Rockford
Rock Island

Indiana (0/2)

Fort Wayne

Iowa (9/26)

Iowa City
Waterloo
Ft. Madison
Strawberry Point
Guttenberg
Lake City
Dubuque
Oskaloosa
Amana

Kansas (2/2)

Kansas City
Wichita

Kentucky (16/29)

Bardstown
Bellevue
Burlington
Carrollton
Covington
Frankfurt
Louisville (2)
Maysville
Newport
Perryville (also Danville)
Shelbyville
Bowling Green
Hopkinsville
Harrodsburg
La Grange

Lousianna (4/6)

Natchitoches
Hammond
Franklin
Minden
Jennings

Maine (2/4)

Topsham
York

Maryland (9/10)

Annapolis
Baltimore County
Bel Air
Calvert County
Chestertown
Hagerstown
Montgomery County
Prince George's County
Talbot County

Massachusetts (8/13)

Boston
Hingham
New Bedford
Quincy
Salem
Winchendon
Worcester
Brookline

Michigan (4/5)

Holland
Saline
Ann Arbor
Kalamazoo

Minnesota (13/20)

Carver
Cottage Grove
Edina
Excelsior
Faribault
Fergus Falls
Fulda
Hibbing
Lanesboro
Minneapolis
Pipestone
St. Paul
Stillwater

Mississippi (5/9)

Hattiesburg
Laurel
Meridian
Natchez
Pascagoula

Montana (5/7)

Lewistown
Red Lodge
Bozeman
Butte
Missoula

Missouri (8/10)

Blue Springs
Independence
Joplin
Kansas City
Kirkwood
Liberty
St. Joseph
Washington

Nebraska (1/2)

Omaha

Nevada (1/2)

Carson City

New Hampshire (2/8)

Somersworth
Derry

New Jersey (5/9)

Lawrenceville
Montville
Plainfield
Long Valley
West Milford

New Mexico (3/4)

Albuquerque
Santa Fe
Las Vegas

New York (10/15)

Binghamton
Buffalo
Rochester
Saratoga Springs
Syracuse
Lake Placid
Manhasset
Lancaster
Ossining
Kingston

North Carolina (8/13)

Graham
Winston-Salem
Raleigh
Asheville
Wilmington
Hickory
Wilson
Greensboro

Ohio (5/10)

Aurora
Canal Winchester
Hudson
Lorain
Montgomery

Oregon (5/9)

Oregon City
Roseburg
Eugene
Salem
Yamhill County

Pennsylvania (6/9)

Bellefonte
Bethlehem
West Chester
Gettysburg
Reeding
York

Rhode Island (5/10)

Newport
N. Kingston
Providence
Warwick
Woonsocket

South Carolina (6/6)

Charleston
Cheraw
Chester
Conway
Greenville
Mount Pleasant

South Dakota (6/14)

Sioux Falls
Watertown
Mitchell
Brookings
Aberdeen
Lead

Tennessee (6/8)

Knoxville
Greeneville
Nashville
Clarksville
Memphis
Jackson

Texas (8/9)

Abilene
Corpus Christi
Dallas
El Paso
Forth Worth
Georgetown
Lubbock
Nacogdoches

Utah (13/34)

Castle Dale
Eureka
Moab
Ogden
Park City
St. George
Sandy
Blanding
Spring City
Springville
Tooele
Vernal
Wellsville

Vermont (1/5)

Bennington

Virginia (6/9)

Culpepper
Petersburg
Lynchburg
Suffolk
Manassas
Herndon

Washington (8/17)

Cheney
Kennewick
Steilacoom
Seattle
Tacoma
Yelm
Everett
Pierce County

West Virginia (3/4)

Martinsburg
Lewisburg
Huntington

Wisconsin (5/10)

Milwaukee
Mequon
Janesville
Stevens Point
Eau Claire

Wyoming (6/9)

Casper
Cheyenne
Glenrock
Lander
Laramie
Mills

## Appendix E: Round II Delphi Invitation

February, 1990

Dear....

I hope this finds you well. Thank you for your responses.

Enclosed you will find a summary for the 315 respondents. I sent out 1100 surveys to approximately one-half of the historic architecture review board members\staff in the United States. Because the typed responses added to 250 pages of text, I am not able to print and mail this manuscript. However, I have enclosed what I trust is a fairly accurate picture of the answers to my questions.

As I explained in my first letter to you, a policy Delphi is designed to allow the participants to exchange expert advice on a set of problems. The enclosed document has two parts. My summaries are one part. Edited responses to Questions 6 & 7 comprise the second part. I need for you to review the enclosed summaries, but not the combined answers. You will find a tally sheet. On this tally sheet, check off those items that fairly reflect your sentiment. In light of the responses from others, you may see more texture to the question than you did before.

When you return your final answers, I will again tabulate them, look for consensus, and prepare a final report. I will again send some type of report back to you. After this return, you will need to do nothing further with this Delphi, except that I hope you will schedule a special work session with your own group, share this information, and allow it to drive some of your own policy discussions. You may also wish to expand on some of the questions or statements made by your fellow American board members. Your returned responses will complete your direct work with the policy Delphi.

Again, will you be kind enough to return your responses within the next two weeks? I sincerely appreciate all the work you have done for me. I know that it is considerable.

Warmest appreciation,

John Nicolay

## Appendix F: Round II Delphi Questionnaire
## Front Side

Please complete this page and return it to me in the enclosed envelope. On the backside, would you check off the responses that most closely capture your viewpoint? I encourage you to write separate reactions if you so desire. Again, I will pull together a final report for you.

Do you wish your name and address shared with other participants on the final report? yes [ ] no [ ]

Your task is to design the ideal architectural review board. You need to have ten members. Allocate these members according to the categories listed below. Write [1] if one person from this group would balance your ideal board. Write [2] if you would like two individuals from this group, and so forth. Remember, this is only an ideal board and is not designed to reflect the availability of certain professional groups in your community. Your list should add to ten.

[ ] Anthropologist
[ ] Architect (preservation)
[ ] Architect (general)
[ ] Archaeologist
[ ] Art historian
[ ] Architectural historian
[ ] Professional historian
[ ] Local historian
[ ] Writer (journalism)
[ ] Resident of historic district
[ ] Elected representative to city (county) government
[ ] Professional planner
[ ] Designer
[ ] Realtor (or member of this profession
[ ] Builder (or developer)
[ ] Legal profession
[ ] Representative of historical society
[ ] Civil engineer
[ ] Interested, lay person (community representative)
[ ] Recognized community leader
[ ] Representative of business sector
[ ] Preservation activist
[ ] Other _____

What gender mix would be useful (in percentages) for this board?
Male [ %] Female [ %] Unimportant [ ]

Is it important that your ideal board have representative membership from ethnic and racial minorities?
yes [ ] no [ ] Unimportant [ ]
If you were to resign today, would your appointing government have a difficult time replacing you?
yes [ ] no [ ]; I would like to think so [ ]

Obverse Side

Use this page to check off as many of the "summaries" (which follow) as you think **fairly and accurately** capture your sense of things. This need not mirror your previous answers, but rather, should reflect your thoughts in light of the total response package. If I have failed to capture your point of view, please clarify this for me on an additional page.

Question 1:

Self Image 1 [ ]
Self Image 2 [ ]
Self Image 3 [ ]
Self Image 4 [ ]

Effectiveness 1 [ ]
Effectiveness 2 [ ]
Effectiveness 3 [ ]
Effectiveness 4 [ ]
Effectiveness 5 [ ]
Effectiveness 6 [ ]

Question 2:

Personal Value 1 []
Personal Value 2 [ ]
Personal Value 3 [ ]
Personal Value 4 [ ]
Personal Value 5 [ ]
Personal Value 6 [ ]

Personal Value 7 [ ]
Personal Value 8 [ ]
Personal Value 9 [ ]
Personal Value 10 [ ]
Personal Value 11 [ ]

Question 3:

General Concept 1 [ ]
General Concept 2 [ ]
General Concept 3 [ ]
General Concept 4 [ ]
General Concept 5 [ ]
General Concept 6 [ ]
General Concept 7 [ ]

Question 4:

A difference 1 [ ]
A difference 2 [ ]
A difference 3 [ ]
A difference 4 [ ]
A difference 5 [ ]
A difference 6 [ ]
A difference 7 [ ]
A difference 8 [ ]

Question 5:

Community 1 [ ]
Community 2 [ ]
Community 3 [ ]
Community 4 [ ]
Community 5 [ ]
Community 6 [ ]
Community 7 [ ]
Community 8 [ ]
Community 9 [ ]

Again, I deeply appreciate your thoughtful reading and response to these materials. Would you be very kind and return this page within the next two weeks?

John Nicolay

## Appendix G: Delphi Feedback to Round I

**Question 1: Your board has an overall mission with regard to your community. What do you see as that mission and how effective is your board?**

**The Review Board's Mission**

What is a mission? All viable organizations have a sense of purpose around which they plan their activities. This sense of purpose is often set forth in a preamble, such as that found in the language of the enabling ordinance or in their by-laws. For an organization to set forth policies, it must have a clear sense of itself, and its role with other members and organizations comprising their "community." A mission statement then becomes a forced articulation of purpose. On the board itself, the first step in maintaining a meaningful dialogue is an agreement on this sense of purpose. Question 1 is an attempt to see if there is agreement among historic preservation board members on purpose, or mission. These boards have goals, objectives (long term and short term), but these should not be confused with a mission statement. While a mission statement might change over time, it is never fulfilled without the collapse of the organization. In this case, a community that is wholly committed to the purposes of historic preservation, fully educated on the tools and appropriateness of preservation, probably will not need the active involvement of a review board. That mission (to preserve and protect) has already been fulfilled. Typically what happens in such instances is that we see boards redefine their purpose. For instance, when a vaccination for polio was discovered, the March of Dimes changed its mission.

Quite clearly, the vast majority of you have the preservation of local architecture as your main mission. Landscapes were often noted, but it seemed pretty obvious that buildings dominate your concerns. One respondent (051) drew directly on the language of the enabling ordinance, and an examination of the enabling ordinances supports a strong relationship between the goal provided for you in the ordinance and your own sense of purpose.

Two words seem to capture the essence of the various mission statements: management and stewardship. Management involves the direct supervision of a historic inventory. Stewardship involves the attempts of the review boards to convey a purposeful sense of community. In other words, architectural review board members see themselves as charged with a mission of perpetuating an aesthetic.

In most jurisdictions, historic architecture review boards are strictly advisory. They give policy advice to planning commissions and councils. Citizens can appeal the decisions of review boards most often to the elected tribunal.

Finally, while "education" was always equally important, it was not clear how boards with little or no budgets go about the business of educating people. Indeed, many board members expressed this very frustration.

Based upon your responses, historic architectural review boards have one or more of the following **self-images.** Please use your answer sheets to check off those that closely apply to your board:

1. as a part of the national historic preservation process: local, state historic preservation office, and the National Register. This view point tends to minimize the local political environment in favor of a more global sense of ownership in the national preservation movement. Boards tend to see their local architectural, landscape and cultural heritage as a part of a larger national picture. As a consequence, these boards assume a historic preservation advocacy role;

2. as but one layer in the overall local zoning (governmental) scheme. In this case, the board is empowered through the ordinance and sees itself as legitimate only within the framework of that ordinance. They see themselves as a code enforcement tribunal;

3. as one of the community's economic development boards. These boards see their role as finding ways to enhance the community's economic life through tourism, rehabilitation of tax generating properties, the stabilization of economically depressed areas, and occasionally, the issue of displacement; or

4. as champions of an aesthetic. They were created as a board by the ordinance, but the existence of the ordinance is incidental to the values held. These board members have a unique sense of community which incorporates "time and place" phenomena. These values are difficult to articulate, but usually involve high emotional content words: tradition, belonging, sense of participation, culture, private v. public ownership in the historic property and so forth. As champions, these board members think it appropriate to serve as the public cautionary flag on economic development. They

are most concerned that others share this vision, and place a high value on educating their community to this aesthetic.

**The Review Board's Effectiveness:**

About half of the respondents answered the second half of this question, that is the group's effectiveness as a public board in fulfilling its mission. From your comments, six issues directly impact on your board's effectiveness. On your answer sheet, please check off those with which you agree:

1. the economic environment. In areas with high economic development pressures and in areas of extremely depressed economies, historic preservation issues are less likely enjoy good reception;

2. the professional composition of the board. It would appear that boards with a large number of historic preservation allied professions seem to enjoy more influence within the community than those with a preponderance of people who care about preservation for personal, familial or reasons of nostalgia;

3. the cooperative nature of the HARB to the elected council, and to the planning commission. It would appear that those of you that have a good relationship with your elected body or reporting commissions seem to perceive greater effectiveness for your own group;

4. whether your board has a paid staff member. Effective boards generally have a paid staff member whose time and commitment are to the historic preservation processes in your community;

5. the policing strength of the local ordinance. Enforcement of the ordinance is a major problem. A lack of enforcement power undermines the board's effectiveness; and

6. the historic inventory is a driving force in the local economy. This force changes the nature of the public discourse. In those communities which depend upon historic preservation as a part of their economic base, the board enjoys much greater effectiveness.

These statements reflect the extremes that I observed:

Depressed: We are "not very successful because conservative property rights advocates dominate the board and their appointees are reluctant to go against owner protest."

Modest: "The overall mission was to document all the historic homes in our town and develop a district and ordinance."

Exuberant: "Preserve, protect, and use cultural resources in the context of comprehensive land use and development planning. The city is a major player in local historic preservation, both in terms of its police powers, and its stewardship responsibilities. The preservation commission's primary role is advisory, but it is also active in public education, the key to successful community heritage preservation programming."

**Question 2: Historic preservation means many things (for instance, economic development, social standing, academic enrichment, nostalgia, and so forth). What do you find of personal value in historic preservation and what values do you hope your community receives from your efforts?**

This question clearly touches on the mission of the board. An individual board member's sense of self should coincide with the organization's sense of itself if there is to be effective participation. While it is true that individuals contribute to the organization's culture (self-identity) over time, an organization develops an identity which is stronger than the perceptions of any one individual. For this reason, it is very difficult to force change on organizations, and also, for this reason, a lot of people just don't seem to "fit" in and for no apparent reason. There is no right or wrong identity. The most effective organizations, though, are the ones whose member, organizational, and community perceptions coincide.

These are the values respondents listed. Since very few of you differentiated between personal and community values, these values are presented as a single set. You may share in one or more of them. Read them over and on your answer sheet, check off the ones with which you basically agree.

**Personal Values**

1. The artistry, craftsmanship, design or architectural qualities which define the community. Clearly this is the dominant category. Most respondents have a very positive affection for the presence of clean, well maintained structures which are representative of architectural high points for their communities. They are concerned about the uniqueness of their communities, but not in the sense of what it is so much as what it symbolizes.

2. Maintaining housing which affords various income groups with housing options. Although there was little sentiment expressed for vernacular ("bungalow" or non-ornamented, late frame houses, of lower economic stratum neighborhoods), many respondents are involved in the actual rehabilitation of this housing for commercial purposes;

3. Maintenance of a cultural legacy (buildings, ambience, traditions, continuity, sense of place, belonging or membership to a self-defining collective). Respondents from Alaska and Hawaii in particular are sensitive to the native culture, which predates the built environment;

4. Maintenance of the environment (including the built environment). This view values static over dynamic interaction. Preserving the environment reduces uncertainty, which enhances personal comfort. We commonly think of this as nostalgia;

5. An appreciation for history and/or architecture. This runs deeply to a professional, academic level or on lighter, amateur level. The community's past provides an anchor in an otherwise chaotic world. Understanding the elements of this past provides a language useful in articulating the present and future community. These elements constitute the diversity of the community's built and cultural aspects;

6. An insider's track on what's happening within this area of the community. This might be as benign as an "urge to know," the prestige associated with "being in the know," or as forthright as enhancing a professional posture;

7. Being an active participant in the American historic

preservation movement. For some, this value extends to participation in regional and national preservation activities;

8. Being recognized within the community as a participant in the community's government. For some this is the role of stewardship (a moral obligation to return a portion of one's good fortune to the source of that good fortune) or civitas (the requirement of good citizenship). This is an administrative dimension;

9. Being in a position to have a voice in neighborhood and community standards. Often this arises because of a vested interest (such as residence or property) within a historic district, and a desire to press some control over the direction taken for future growth;

10. Participation in the community's economic growth, development, and strategic planning. Several respondents value having a voice in the community's economic vitality or growth; and

11. A rejection of economic determinism. This post-modern view of man accepts the necessity of "earning a living" but embraces a constellation of values that press social and political urgency on what is seen as a total disregard for the environment (the "throw away society"), the advantage taken of human frailty by less scrupulous individuals, the glorification of money and resultant adornments, and ill-conceived progress. This view resents an influence in community definition exercised from a distance, such as absentee landlords or absentee industrial control. They are not against progress, but they are cautious and side with conservation.

**Question 3: Preservation boards have members with different personality types and professional backgrounds. What do you regard as the strengths and weaknesses of your board's professional (including ethnic and gender) composition?**

Curiously, one board's weaknesses were often another board's strengths. So as one board valued the voice of professional representation, another found it elite and domineering. Nonetheless, most of the respondents regard the professional diversity represented on their boards as their

main asset. In the main, coupling a balance of architects, historians, and real estate occupations with enthusiastic preservation-minded aficionados denotes the typical board. Occasionally one individual will tend to dominate the board's proceedings. Some respondents are concerned about self-styled preservation purists ("save everything at any cost") undermining the board's effectiveness in a hostile political environment.

In some areas, a ward system is used to appoint service members. Although this gives the appearance of a democratic representation, this seems to work against professional categories being fully represented on the review board.

A representative balance of race and gender is important, particularly if the historic district has a preponderance of a none represented race. Gender diversity was important for female respondents who are the only woman on their board. Some male respondents recognize the need for the "female perspective." Ethnicity was particularly important for boards representing a particular cultural bias, as with native Americans in Alaska, Hawaii, and the Southwest states of Arizona and New Mexico. Mexican-American and Cuban-American representation was not viewed as a particular problem.

One respondent captures this concern nicely:

> The community we serve is enhanced by the professional expertise which is available through the commission and task forces. The directness and special interest of the professionals are tempered by the scholars. We have a blend of the practical and the dream. The ethnic mix has been especially helpful in personal relationships outside the commission in understanding the difficulties still encountered by minorities.

Most of you appreciate the presence of a paid staff member to handle the grit of day-to-day operations, and bemoan the time constraints placed upon volunteer service. Even with this, some of you expressed resentment toward those board members who do not share service responsibilities, do not attend or participate regularly, or those members who simply occupy a chair on the board for self-serving (or no-serving purposes).

Of the following general concepts, please check off on your answer sheet those with which you agree:

> 1. public service requires specialized training to the policy responsibilities of the board; in other words, a majority of the board members should be selected because they offer some applicable expertise. This

system advocates selection based on skills rather than representation;

2. public boards should evolve a code of ethics which establishes guidelines for public service. These ethics should cover issues such as conflicts of interest, public interest service, and citizenship standards;

3. board members should have ongoing training in preservation and service issues. Most of you recognize the need for ongoing training programs both in historic preservation allied areas (building problems, preservation law), in program management, and in working within the political environment. A great many of you are frustrated by the lack of clear guidelines and the tendency for members to allow personal tastes and values to dictate decisions. This sends the wrong message to the public;

4. boards seem to have a difficult time staking out a political turf, then defending it against other political squatters. For instance, many expressed a real dismay at the temerity of their board in the face of conflict. This problem has two fountainheads. One is linked to the lack of a strong leader. The other is a preponderance of "lay people who have time and like old buildings" but who are too conservative, too wed to other interests in the community to take controversial stands;

5. a three member board is too small and a sixteen member board is too large to be effective. Most of you seem to like a board of seven to ten active members;

6. many of you expressed concern for the lack of a comprehensive, strategic plan for board and its preservation mission. You see yourselves drifting toward the year 2000; and

7. the relationship between the board, city\county\township council and local interest groups is important. Many of you advocate a formal relationship with these "outside" bodies. The issue of citizen control (allowing people to act through and effect their own policy choices) and citizen participation (voters acting through their representatives) plays here.

**Question 4: What is your group's working relationship to the elected board that created you?**

The relationship between appointed boards and appointing bodies (city councils, county commissioners, alderman and so forth) runs at extremes. At one end, the relationship is a partnership in governance. At the other, it is distant and indifferent. Members eloquently voice these attitudes:

(a) There is a satisfactory working relationship between the commission and the county's elected officials, but the elected officials have more pressing concerns than preservation. For the most part the elected officials have been supportive, but this has not been tested recently by a clear contest of preservation v. development. Elected officials and commission members know each other and can talk on a personal basis.

(b) The Planning and Development (P & D) Committee, one of the Standing Committees of the Council, oversees the activities of the Preservation Commission. A member of the P & D Committee is an ex-officio member of the Commission. Additionally, the Director of the Department of Planning, whose department has responsibility for providing the city staff (in the person of the Preservation Coordinator) serving the Commission, is an ex-officio member of the Commission.

Over the years the relationship between various Council Members and the Commission has progressed from disinterest and ill- concealed antagonism to a reasonable working relationship. At present, through patient efforts of the Commission, the relationship is quite good and may now be productive enough to help the Commission achieve its goal of rewriting and strengthening its enabling Ordinance.

(c) We advise the city council. They are free to accept or reject what we do. Are there shared expectations? That is hard to say. They leave us alone and go along with us unless someone powerful disagrees - or, sometimes, unless someone, powerful or rich disagrees loudly.

(d) We are appointed by the City Council - and then ignored.

For most of the respondents, answer "d" comes closer to the mark. There are a number of contingencies that seem **to make a difference** in this relationship. Please select those which are applicable to your experience and check them off on your answer sheet.

1. Review boards which make an effort to keep elected officials informed through regular, informal personal contact, prepare presentations, and/or budget requests report having greater influence (than those who do not).

2. Review boards which have paid staff who regularly serve as a liaison within the halls of government report having greater influence (than those who do not).

3. Review board members who have a high personal regard for the mutual responsibilities of voluntary, public service report having greater influence (than those who do not).

4. Review boards who draw themselves into the town's planning process, report having greater influence (than those who do not).

5. Review boards with elected officials sitting on their boards (either as voting or non-voting), report having greater influence (than those who do not).

6. Review boards who found ways of making preservation a politically attractive issue report having greater influence (than those who do not).

7. Review boards who "educate" politicians and citizens on economic and social issues of preservation report having greater influence (than those who do not).

8. Review boards who plan regular work sessions with planning and zoning, planning commission and elected representatives report having greater influence (than those who do not).

Nearly all boards cite two process problems: code enforcement and money. Of the responding groups, only a few have a regular budget. Most of these boards must make special appeals in order to procure seed money or matching funds for grants. Even jurisdictions with "teeth" in their ordinances find their teeth dulled by a lack of consistent

enforcement, by a lack of enforcement staff, or by a local government that is unwilling to risk averse publicity arising from private property disputes. Since most preservation boards serve in an advisory capacity (only one board reported being autonomous), successful boards have found that prevention is easier than the cure and try to forestall enforcement problems through public awareness and preservation sensitivity training. The most powerful tools preservationists have are their own expertise, their standing within the community, and their power to persuade. Ideology is rarely at issue, although some correspondents report their elected officials using preservation as a political platform.

It is very clear, as one of you said, "[Acceptance] is a long slow process."

**Question 5: What is your assessment of your community's attitude toward historic preservation? How do they demonstrate this attitude? What is your group's position on involving the community in your work (if you do)?**

These three questions focus on a respondents sense of "community" and the relationship between this community and the board itself. For most people, community consists of those individuals with whom they interact or impact. It is loosely defined as the residents of a specific geographic region, generally with very vague borders. For instance, someone who lives just outside of the electoral district may still think of himself as a member of the electoral community. Often people who relocate to another part of the state or country still attach themselves to another community. For most of us, people with certain characteristics are members of our community, while others with less desirable characteristics are not. While the term is used with some common perception of meaning, it is very slippery. For a non-elected board to represent their community's interest in a policy domain, they must come to terms with their relationship to this community. The historic architecture review board's community generally consists of those individuals who are directly impacted by historic preservation ordinances, the greater communitarian ethos (in terms of defining community, not in terms of defining membership to that community), and a vague public who may be enriched by the preservationists' efforts, perhaps potential tourists or more often, future generations of community members.

Respondents with a broad sense of community probably feel that their community is apathetic and distant. Poor

attendance at sponsored public functions and public hearings, a lack of common understanding as to the board's purpose, even a kind of internal lethargy will certainly fuel a sense of isolation. On the other hand, a community defined as a specific historic district, whose members share a common community-anchor will result in a much different perception. Some members will think that 30 residents attending a public meeting is a sign of great public interest. Relatively speaking, it might very well be. Bearing this semantic difficulty in mind, our board members have varying attitudes about community acceptance of their work, and the extent to which they attempt to bring the community into contact with their mission.

Most of you agree that community involvement is minimal, but not threatening to your work. Several of you pointed out that you have special programs on historic preservation techniques, and that you distribute information on various advantages of preservation as well as your own work. Several of you mention the crisis nature of citizen interest, that is, when a negative impact is pending, interest is aroused. These two respondents offer sage observations for their communities:

> [P]art of the community supports historic preservation, but economic pressures appear to motivate other parts of the community more strongly. The commission attempts to encourage property owners to protect their heritage through use of county historic preservation ordinances, but this is not as successful as would be desired. Public appeals through letters and newspaper articles have been made by the commission with some small success.

> [C]ontroversy brews when a specific building is proposed for demolition, or the owner is asked to go to extra expense to maintain an historic facade. For the most part, everyone is aware that the Historic District places constraints on what a property owner can do, but many resent the timetable involved in obtaining HARB approval for a facade change, sign, or paint job. One local business recently went ahead with $30,000 worth of improvements to two properties within the District without obtaining prior approval, then expressing resentment that the Board should even raise the issue in view of how much she had "improved" the area.

The following observations were gleaned from your responses regarding the community's attitudes towards the work of preservation commissions. Please check off on your

answer sheet those observations with which you generally agree.

1. Except for limited number of directly affected individuals and organizations with preservation interests, the community is unaware of historic preservation.

2. There is a general misperception within the community regarding the role of the commission and the service of its members. This misperception surrounds historic preservation in general. Historic preservation means saving mansions and creating museums.

3. For the most part, in the community, economic interests (including individual property interests) take precedence over preservation arguments. In other words, there is a reluctance within the community to defend the aesthetic when private ownership or development are also at issue.

4. In the community, there is widespread support for the work of thoughtful historic (cultural) preservation. This might be for a variety of reasons: tourism is an integral part of the community's economic infrastructure; there is a real strong attachment to the historic inventory of the city; or, the historic fabric has simply not been threatened.

5. The community's attitude toward historic preservation is positive. This attitude is sometimes demonstrated by monetary support or certainly through moral support through volunteer work. Our group's position on involving the community is positive.

6. Some of you reported great success with taking your meetings and message directly to the impacted neighborhoods. One person reported visiting each new resident of a historic district to "brag" on their purchase. This posturing would most likely be read as advocacy.

7. For the most part, the preservation commission meets fairly infrequently and historic structure residents come before the panel to make a formal request. In this sense, the board is an advisory and/or regulatory group rather than an advocacy group.

8. "Among affluent people, the attitude is good. Among

poor people, they want nothing to do with us and our standards. Especially blacks do not appreciate the [white] history and want nothing to do with preserving it." This problem, and the associated problem of housing displacement (gentrification) is a major dilemma for many preservation boards.

9. Some communities have very active, and vocal, local preservation or historical societies that do a lot of the front, public relations and educational work. This private interest group releases the pressure from the public group to function as an advocacy group.

This completes your answer sheet. Please return the answer sheet to me soon so that I can complete the research phase. Again, I sincerely appreciate your graciously giving of your time and your stamp. I hope the information you have received has helped your board achieve a closer definition on the complexity of historic preservation. I will send the final report as quickly as I can.

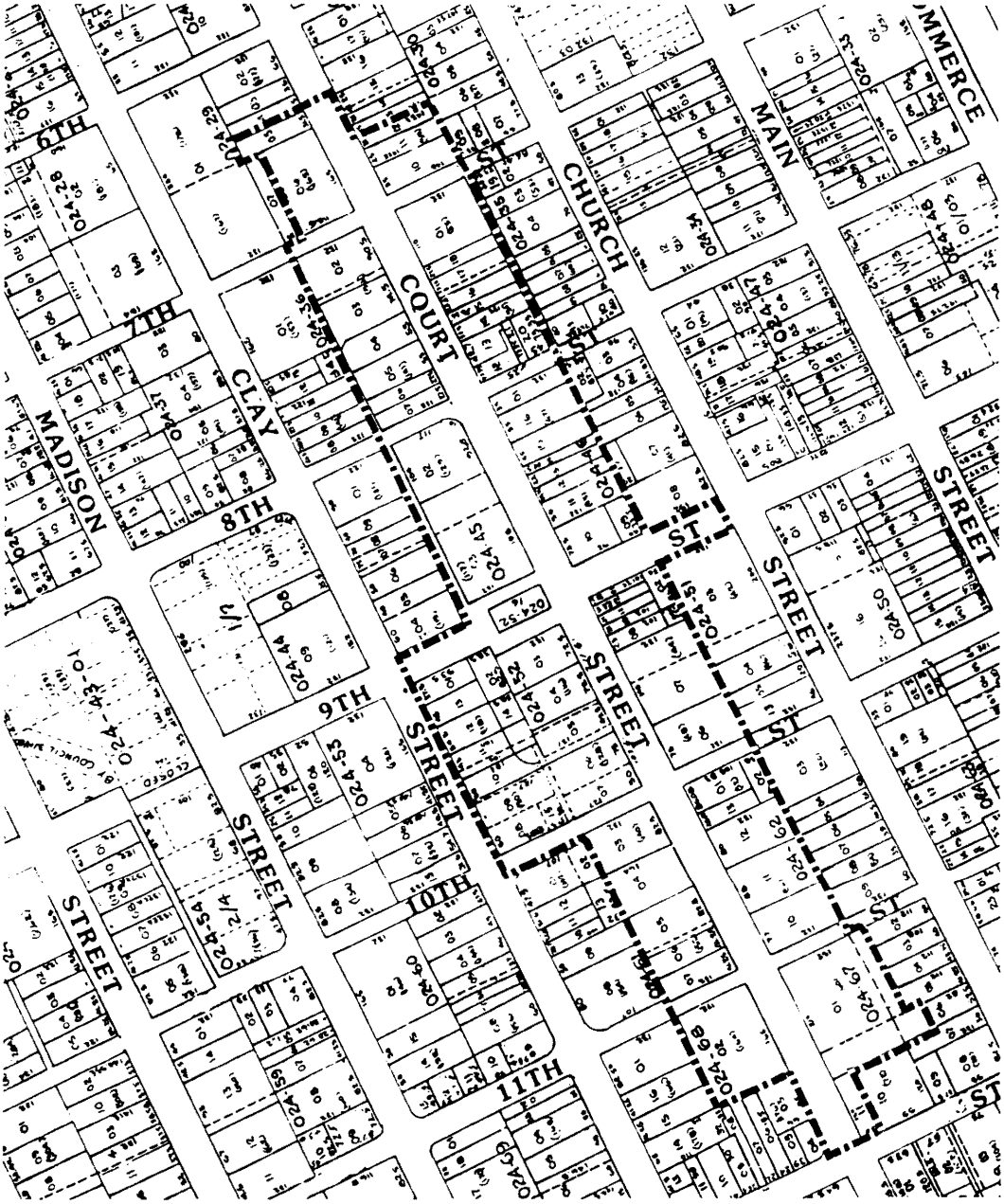
Again, I would like very much to read your expanded thoughts on this Delphi, including your shared responses which follow. It does not have to be a part of the answer sheet return, although I encourage you to do it. We all have a tendency to put non-routine activities off.

Appendix H: Maps of Lynchburg's Historic Districts
Daniel's Hill Historic District

Garland Hill Historic District

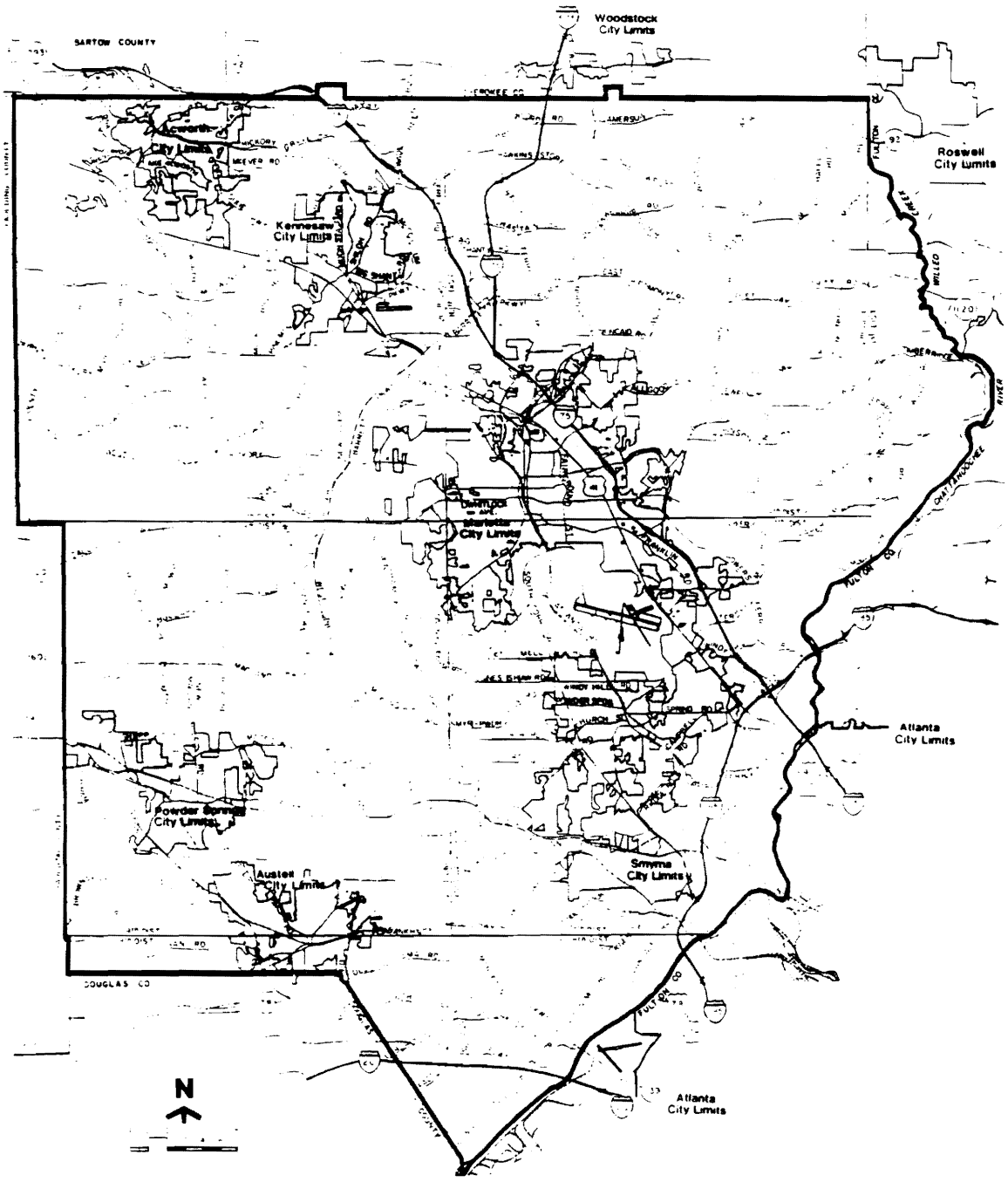
Diamond Hill Historic District

# Court Street Historic District

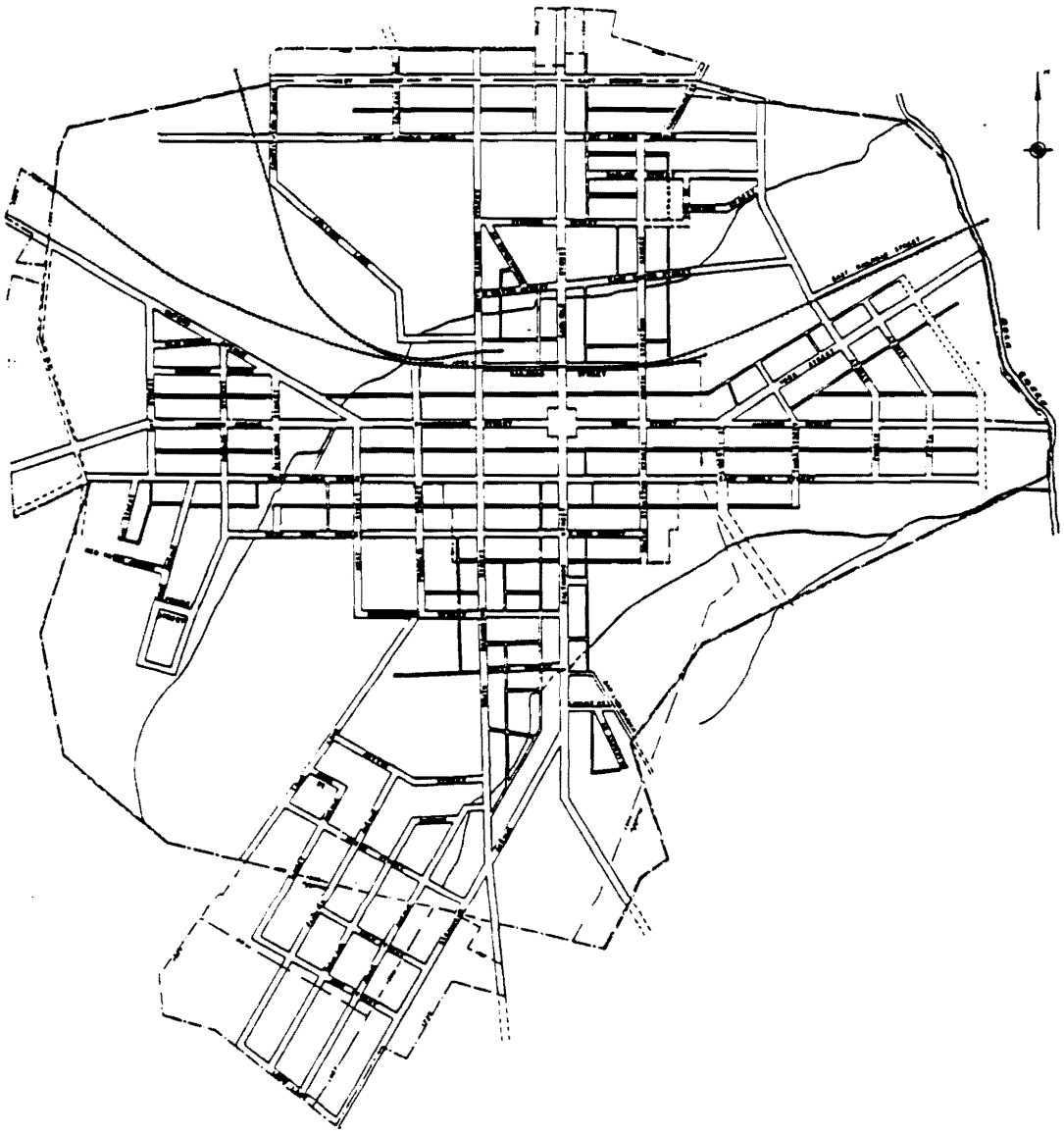


Federal Hill Historic District

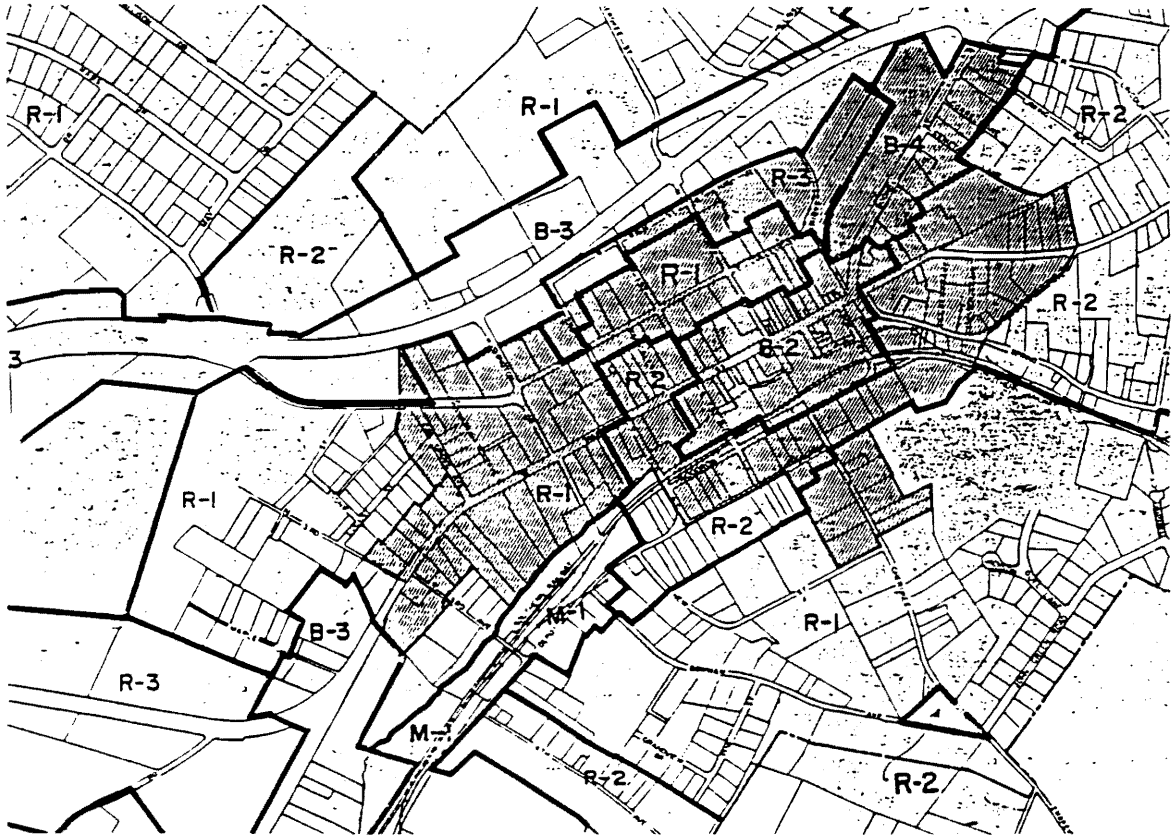
# Appendix I: Map of Cobb County, Georgia



Appendix J: Map of Gettsyburg's Historic District



Appendix K: Map of Jonesborough's Historic District



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