

CONTENTS

Preface	xv
Acknowledgments	xvii
Introduction: What D’ya Know?	xix
PART I: PRESERVATION & THE POLITICS OF HISTORIC DISTRICT DESIGNATION	
1 Before You Take Another Step	3
2 Thinking Politically about Historic District Designation	7
3 How It Starts	13
4 A Walk through the Designation Process: A Guided Tour with Planner Kaye Graybeal	17
PART II: CAMPAIGN STRATEGY	
5 On Planning and Strategy	27
6 Our Strategic Line: A Community in/within Conflict	33
7 Makers, Breakers, Takers, and Shapers: The Political Field of Play	37
8 Leadership and Organization	44
9 Working with a Local Historical Society: A Conversation with Annapolis’ Greg Stiverson	49
10 A Practical Vision	54
11 Gentrification and Social Justice: An Exchange with University of Georgia’s James Reap	61
12 Thinking Politically about Design Guidelines	67
13 It’s Personal	71
14 Sticks and Stones	76
PART III: CAMPAIGNING IN THE COMMUNITY	
15 The Campaign Kickoff	81
16 Twitter Campaigning	85
17 Community Meeting Arrangements	92
18 Your Community Presentation	98
19 FAQs: Frequently Asked Questions	104
20 Thinking Politically about Q&A: The Moving Pattern of Opponents’ Challenges	107
21 Our Reframing Q&A Strategy	114
22 Answering Opposition Questions I: From “Distrust of Them” to the “Pivotal Shift”	117
23 Answering Opposition Questions II: From the “Pivotal Shift” to “Distrust of Us”	130
24 Property-Rights Extremists	142
25 Petition Politics	148
26 Reaching Out to the Opposition	157
PART IV: MANAGING THE FORMAL DESIGNATION PROCESS	
27 Moving on to City Hall: Preparing for Commission Hearings	163
28 Behind-the-Scenes Intelligence	168
29 Working with the Press: Guidance from a Reporter	174

30	A Civic Vision	182
31	The Top Tier of Local Government	187
PART V: WINNING THE CITY COUNCIL VOTE		
32	The Politics of Public Hearings	193
33	Lobbying City Hall: A Conversation with a Lobbyist	198
34	Speaking Mayor to Mayor: A Dialogue with Charleston's Joseph P. Riley, Jr.	204
35	A Checklist for One-on-One Meetings	209
36	Our Public Hearing Presentation	212
37	The Politics of Compromise	218
38	Winning the Vote	223
PART VI: THE POLITICS OF ADMINISTERING THE HISTORIC DISTRICT		
39	Our Transition to the HPC	227
40	On Public Service	231
41	Our Community Compact for Rooted Growth	235
42	Drawing up Our Design Guidelines: Tackling the Problem with Consultant Peter Benton	240
43	Fusion Preservation: Thinking like a Districtist	247
44	Political Maintenance: Delivering Good Government	252
PART VII: POLITICAL DEMOLITION BY NEGLECT		
45	Dispositional Gatekeeping	261
46	The Temptation of Administrative Legalism	265
47	Municipal Neglect	269
48	The View from City Council: A Talk with a Council Member	273
49	Districts under Threat	276
50	State-Level Interventions	282
PART VIII: NAVIGATING THE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION		
51	The Role of Your Preservation Planner: A Discussion with Raleigh's Dan Becker	291
52	Relations with Your Mayor: The Views of a Mayor's Adviser	299
PART IX: THE POLITICS OF AGING HISTORIC DISTRICTS		
53	The Crisis of Second-Generation Districts	309
54	OIMBYism	318
55	Getting Helpful Local Coverage: The Perspectives of a Newspaper Executive Editor	321
56	Our New Strategic Line	328
57	A New Political Who's Who: An Overview	330
58	Who's Who, Part One: District Rooters	332
59	Who's Who, Part Two: District Rotters	337
60	Confronting Polarizers	344
61	Gentrification's Dissidents: On Displacement with Baltimore's Eric Holcomb	351
PART X: DISTRICT DECLINE AND ITS REVERSAL		

62	Political Personalities: Who Leads?	361
63	The Stages of Declining Districts	368
64	The Politics of Decision Making: Defensible and Defendable	372
65	Enforcement: The Third Rail of Historic District Politics	377
66	The Politics of Appeals	381
67	Choosing Our Battles	385
PART XI: REPAIRING OUR COMMUNITY COMPACT		
68	Transformative Education	391
69	Reconstructive Programs	393
70	Institutionalizing Community Relations	400
71	Renewal through Revising Design Guidelines	404
72	A Preservation Plan? Looking Ahead with Consultant Elizabeth Watson	410
73	Our Sustaining Vision	418
	Epilogue	421
	Index	423