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
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