Between January and May 2017, seven American cities were analyzed to measure how governance, initiatives, incentives and partnerships is impacting attempts to revitalize urban core neighborhoods. Three interim reports offered in-depth profiles of each city. This report summarizes effect practices by category from across all cities.

Heart of the City: Revitalization in Heritage Neighborhoods

Summary Report

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Overview

The purpose of this independent study was to explore how cities are tackling the impact of deterioration and disinvestment of infrastructure within their urban core neighborhoods which include, but are not limited to, recognized historic districts. The author has chosen to describe these as "heritage neighborhoods.

"Heritage neighborhoods" is a term that captures both officially designated historic as well as older, non-designated residential neighborhoods. Designated historic districts are often surrounded by nearby neighborhoods of similar age without historic designation or protection. Cities do not use the term "heritage" to define or measure their historic infrastructure and typically provide the highest level of conservation protection for designated historic districts that draw their protections from nationally recognized historic preservation tenets. For the cities in this study, heritage neighborhoods tend to be located in urban areas that were affected negatively by disruptive events such as mid-20th century flight to the suburbs, urban renewal efforts and loss of jobs. These neighborhoods have tended to suffer disinvestment and deterioration. All of the cities surveyed are already experiencing redevelopment within their central business districts, much of it fueled by historic tax credits, both state and federal. This redevelopment has not always spread into surrounding heritage neighborhoods.

The study was undertaken as part of the research for a Master's thesis which will have a particular focus on challenges faced by such neighborhoods in Davenport, Iowa. The thesis takes as a basic premise that classic historic preservation management is not adequate to address the issues in these areas; further, that cities, using their broad municipal powers, must lead efforts to affect change, working with individuals, private investors and not for profit organizations, through strategic planning and effective city policies and ordinances.

The study was conducted by doing online research of local preservation, zoning, and land use ordinances; in-person and telephone interviews; and a review of current literature on the subjects. Prior conducting interviews, relevant websites for the cities, local preservation organizations, redevelopment

groups, and local media articles were reviewed. Interviews provided background not just on what the relevant policies and tools were, but also how effective they had proven to be. City staff and public and private partners were part of the conversation.

Most of the literature reviewed was published after 2010 in the years following the subprime mortgage crisis. It was then that the national discussion about abandoned buildings expanded and the time during which states like New York and Ohio enacted legislation to enable land banks or allow cities to intervene more aggressively in the sales of tax-distressed properties.[1] Property owners across every economic spectrum suffered, but the impact was greater in urban settings where many heritage neighborhoods are located.[2]

The study sought to uncover effective practices, a term used here to describe policies and procedures that are helping cities manage and revitalize heritage neighborhoods. What works in one community may not in another; some practices may be so new that their long term impact cannot be measured. Ideally, effective practices should produce outcomes that can be duplicated and are scalable. They should be within the means of a government entity—a city, a county, a state—to sustain. The outcomes they generate should contribute to specific objectives that support strategic revitalization.

The independent study explored elements of city life pertaining to both historic preservation and overall neighborhood revitalization across seven cities. It sought to discover how effectively cities were:

- Making public information, including local ordinances, accessible.
- Measuring and managing historic assets, including legal enforcement mechanisms.
- Employing governance to encourage positive change.
- Making use of financial incentives.
- Engaging community preservation/revitalization partners and assets.

The Cities

The cities studied included five that have been defined as "Legacy Cities:" They are:

- Buffalo, New York;
- Cincinnati, Ohio;
- Dayton, Ohio;
- Macon, Georgia; and
- Syracuse, New York.

"Legacy cities" is a term that has replaced an older, pejorative term for towns once called "Rustbelt Cities.[3] In a 2011 report, legacy cities were identified as most often located in the Mid-Atlantic, New England and the Midwest. [4] More recent reports and initiatives have expanded the list to include several southern locations.[5] Writer Alan Mallach describes them as former "industrial powerhouses and hubs of business, retail, and services,"[6] rich with natural and cultural resources, sharing attributes like strong universities and medical centers.[7] These cities are often also filled with heritage neighborhoods.

Over the past fifty to seventy years, many have experienced catastrophic manufacturing job loss, an exit of people and business to outlying suburbs and population shrinkage in core areas resulting in an over-abundance of historic building stock. Cities like Cleveland, Ohio, experiencing "sprawl without growth"[8] are left with issues like an eroding tax base, areas of concentrated poverty and deteriorated vacant homes and commercial buildings.[9] Many of these communities have been forced to turn to innovative or even extreme practices to slow or reverse these trends.

Two more cities, Dubuque, Iowa, and Davenport, Iowa, the focus city for the thesis, were also included.

- Dubuque, Iowa
- Davenport, Iowa

While their challenges have not been as extreme as those found the other five cities, they, along with many other Iowa towns, suffered dramatic loss of manufacturing and industrial jobs and population as a result of the Farm Crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. For many, recovery has taken decades and some

have never regained their historic populations or vitality. This struggling economic environment coupled with Iowa's continued slow growth rate of less than 3 percent per decade since 1920, including one decade where the state's population dropped by 4.7 percent,[10] has left Iowa cities struggling to maintain a balance between upholding the quality of historic housing stock and addressing issues within frequently decaying heritage neighborhoods.

The New York, Ohio, and Georgia cities, all previously identified as legacy cities, share similar characteristics of poverty, vacant properties and population loss. The case for the two Iowa cities is less extreme.

Buffalo, New York

Buffalo is New York State's second largest city; its population peaked at 580,000 in 1950 and then began a rapid decline.[11] Urban renewal in the 1960s split the city's core and destroyed historic elements.[12] Its population continues to shrink.[13] In 2014, its vacant housing units estimated at over 18,000.[14] While prosperity is returning to its west side, much of the east side of the city remains in what one writer calls "utter disrepair."[15] More than thirty one percent of its residents live in poverty; a 2014 U.S. Census Department report listed it as the fourth poorest city in America.[16]

Cincinnati, Ohio

Issues with vacant buildings and extreme poverty challenge the city. Cincinnati lost 34.1 percent of its population between 1960 and 2000.[17] In 2010, across a city hit hard by the mortgage crisis, more than 4800 buildings stood vacant.[18] Heritage neighborhoods have faced threats. By 2010, Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood, one of the largest historic districts in the country, had lost more than half of its pre-1930 buildings.[19] Almost one in three residents lives in poverty, many in the city's historic districts.[20]

Dayton, Ohio

"The City of a Thousand Factories,"[21] as Dayton was once labeled, most famous as the birthplace of American aviation, was once a hub for many inventions. At the beginning of the 20th century, Dayton had more patents, per capita, than any other U.S. city.[22] Population peaked in 1960; during the 1970s, the city lost 46 percent of its manufacturing positions;[23] by 2010, its declining population dropped below that of 1920.[24] Loss of population led to an estimated 7,000 to 10,000 vacant homes.[25] More than one third— 35.5 percent-- of those remaining residents live below the poverty level and 52.3 percent rent their homes.[26]

Macon, Georgia

Macon has a rich architectural history. Growth due to annexation between 1960 and 1970 was not sustainable;[27] between 1970 and 2010, it lost 31,072 residents[28] and between 2000 and 2010, city population fell by 6.07 percent in a state where population grew by 18.34 percent.[29] The number of residents below the poverty level is 27.4 percent and many census tracts exceeding 50 percent.[30] Four thousand Macon buildings are abandoned, a relatively high number for a city of just over 90,000 people.[31]

Syracuse, New York

Between 1960 and 2000, the city lost 31.8 percent of its residents.[32] Syracuse is a city challenged by a 15.5 percent residential property vacancy rate; 61.4 percent of its residents rent and do not own their homes and 34.8% live in poverty.[33]

Davenport, Iowa

Davenport was hurt by the farm crisis, losing 8,000 residents in ten years; it has taken more than thirty years for it to approach 1980 population levels.[34] During these decades of severe economic

challenge, heritage neighborhoods lost 20 percent of their population and 25 percent of their infrastructure in thirty years.[35] Davenport's overall vacancy and poverty rates are relatively low.[36] Both these numbers are considerably higher with the city's heritage neighborhoods. There, the poverty rate rises to 27.6 percent,[37] and the vacancy rate to 11.4 percent.[38]

Dubuque, Iowa

In the aftershock of the farm crisis, Dubuque suffered the highest unemployment rate in the state—23 percent[39]--and city population fell by 7.8 percent within a decade.[40] The city's vacancy rate of 6.2 percent is the lowest of the seven cities surveyed; Its poverty rate was also a lower 16.2 percent.[41]

City	Population 1960 – 1970 - 2010[*]	% Housing stock built before 1960[**]	National Register Listings (Est.)[***]	Total Housing Units[**]	% Vacant[**]
Buffalo, NY	532,759 - 462,768 - 261,310	84.7%	3,707	132,134	16.3
Cincinnati, OH	502,550 - 452,524 -296,943	63.7%	2,415	162,398	18.1
Davenport, IA	88,981 - 98,469 - 99,685	48.6%	1600+	44,638	7.9%
Dayton, OH	262,332 - 243,601 - 141,527	58.8%	3,000	74,254	22.8%
Dubuque, IA	56,606 - 62,309 - 57,637	50.5%	1,000	25,483	6.2%
Macon, GA	69,784 - 122,423 - 91,351	40.3%	6,000	69,957	18.5%
Syracuse, NY	216,038/ - 197,208 - 145,170	72.5%	1,236	64,866	15.5%

Sources:

*Population.us, "Population of Buffalo, NY," accessed April 20, 2017, at http://population.us/ny/buffalo/ and "Population of Cincinnati, OH," accessed February 20, 2017, at http://population.us/oh/cincinnati/ and "Population of Davenport, IA," accessed March 3 2017, at http://population.us/ia/davenport/.. The city's peak population was 103,264 in 1980. "Population of Dayton, OH," accessed April 20, 2017, at http://population.us/oh/dayton/ and Population.us and "Population of Dubuque, IA," accessed February 20, 2017, at http://population.us/ia/dubuque/. Dubuque's population peaked in 1980 at 62,374. Due to the farm crisis, its population had dropped to 57,753 in 1990 and has averaged a .163% growth rate per decade since. Population.us, "Population of Macon, GA," accessed March 13, 2017, at http://population.us/ga/macon/ and "Macon, GA Population and Races," accessed April 4, 2017, at http://www.usa.com/macon-ga-population-and-races.htm#PopulationGrowth. Macon population increase 1960-1970 due to annexation. Population.us, "Population of Syracuse, NY," accessed February 20, 2017, at http://population.us/ny/syracuse/.

** United States Census, Buffalo city, NY; Cincinnati, OH; Davenport, IA; Dayton, OH; Dubuque, IA; Macon, GA; and Syracuse, NY, "Selected Housing Characteristics, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," *American Factfinder*, accessed February 20 2017and March 13, 2017, and April 20, 2017 and, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF.

***National Register Properties are included so as to give a sense of surveyed historic assets. Getting estimates is challenging. Buffalo's estimate comes from a 2011 list "Locally Designated Historic Properties in the City of Buffalo By Address," accessed April 10, 2017, at http://www.ci.buffalo.ny.us/files/1_2_1/city_departments/SPlanning/PreservationBoard/DesignatedProperties.pdf. Dayton's estimate comes from the city Preservation Officer. Rachel Banowitz, in discussion with author, April 26, 2017. Davenport's is an estimate based on historical numbers. Macon's estimate comes from the Historic Macon Foundation website, accessed March 17, 2017, at http://www.historicmacon.org/national-register/. Cincinnati's based on author's Ohio SHPO database of National Register properties. Dubuque's figures based on the author's review of online databases and surveys on the city's website. Davenport's is an estimate based on historic numbers.

Effective Practices

Effective Practice-Accessible Public Information
Dayton, Cincinnati, Dubuque

Well-organized municipal websites that are rich with information and links to other sources offering in depth explanations or back ground material are a definite plus in terms of accessibility. City websites not only help residents navigate available services but also can make a statement to potential developers and investors about a city's capability to share information. For instance, the inclusion of original National Register of Historic Places surveys on the Dubuque and Buffalo sites allows users to easily gain access to more information on a particular area of the city. Mapping, particularly interactive mapping software such as that found on the Dayton and Cincinnati sites, is another useful tool.

- Dayton offers an interactive map that highlights the city's local historic districts and individual landmarks. Clicking on a particular district brings up a short descriptive paragraph; clicking on a landmark brings up its address.[42] Its "Lot Links" program, which offers the public vacant tax delinquent properties also uses interactive technology that drills down to individual properties and relevant tax information, including the location of historic districts.[43]

- Cincinnati's easy-to-navigate site has fewer interactive features and depends more on classic links to reports and static maps for its "Historic Conservation" web pages.[44] Within its Code Enforcement pages are also found a list of vacant and condemned buildings; this list includes a notation as to whether or not the structure is historic.[45]

- What Dubuque lacks in interactive maps it more than makes for in the sheer amount of well-organized information it offers site visitors. Its historic preservation pages are accessed from a drop down menu. Maps of historic districts and conservation districts are available along with National Register district nomination forms.[46] Revitalization taking place in heritage neighborhoods is accessed in another section of the site under Community Development.[47]

Effective Practice-Historic Preservation Management
Dubuque

Every city surveyed has an historic preservation commission (HPC) charged with carrying out duties as defined by city ordinances. Each city also had a staff person who serves as a liaison to the

commission and the SHPO and is the contact for the public. Most cities had one staffer assigned and some

officers had responsibilities that extended beyond their preservation duties. These staffers are most often

located within planning departments; in Cincinnati, the position was moved to Code Enforcement.

Several HPCs had delegated routine decision-making power, such as requests for new roofs, to

preservation officers to permit the commission to focus on broader matters.

- Dubuque extends demolition oversight that once included its five locally designated districts and landmarks to include buildings in nine conservation districts. Bringing the total number of protected buildings to more than 2,900.[48] By doing so, the city seeks to retain the essential character of areas that may or may not be designated historic in the future.

  In 2006, the city rallied around the goal of becoming an international model for sustainability. Within that broad umbrella, the city took a fresh look at its considerable historic infrastructure, viewing it as an asset and an integrated part of this new initiative. The program envisions economic prosperity, social and cultural vibrancy, and environmental and ecological integrity combining to create a viable, livable and equitable community with sustainable future. Within that sustainability context, preservation of historic infrastructure finds a place. [49]

Effective Practice-Tracking Individual Historic Assets
None-All Surveyed Cities Need Improvement

No city surveyed had a solid method for tracking all historic assets; that is, no preservation officer

was able offer more than an estimate; sometimes that number was very broad. That may be because of

how cities choose to classify historic properties. Locally designated districts and properties tend to

experience better management because of greater oversight. In several cities, demolition review was

required for locally designated properties and offer no review for properties simply listed in the National

Register. Davenport is the exception, requiring HPC approval of demolition of all its National Register

properties. Three cities required review of some properties that are fifty years or older.[50]

This lack of tracking may be due to priorities and lack of personnel to do that work. Tracking

every asset can be very time consuming. That's unfortunate since, in three of the states surveyed,[51] both

residential and commercial properties listed in the National Register are potentially eligible for state

historic tax credits, a financial incentive that could enhance an historic property's salability to a prospective buyer or probability for redevelopment.

There is another danger when historic assets are not tracked. Without oversight, districts could be losing historic assets; with enough demolition, the integrity of an entire district could be lost. None of the surveyed cities offered an all-encompassing historic asset mapping system that drilled down to specific parcels. Such a system that might allow overlaying various characteristics such as historic assets, abandoned properties, or low-to-moderate census tracts, creating a potentially powerful redevelopment or planning tool.

SHPOs in Ohio and New York offer online databases of National Register districts and individual sites; users can access historic resources on the county and state level. The Ohio site is somewhat slow and unwieldy.[52] New York's CRIS National Register mapping system has similar functions but is fast and easy to use. Both Syracuse and Buffalo could easily boosted the local robustness of available information by linking to the state site.[53] The National Trust's Atlas of Reurbanism initiative is mapping American cities and their historic assets. [54] In an ideal world, these state and national databases could be expanded to include other dimensions and be overlaid with local information that shows land use regulations, zoning designations or condition issues- such as abandonment- for individual parcels.

Effective Practice-Governance
Cincinnati, Davenport, Dubuque, Buffalo, Syracuse, States of Ohio, New York, Georgia

City ordinances as well as state enabling legislature can have powerful impacts on heritage neighborhoods. Rental and vacancy property registries or inspections, or fines for properties violating ordinances are some of the ways cities are attempting to manage issues in neighborhoods impacted by issues of deterioration and abandonment. Remarkably, several of the surveyed cities with a higher percentage of renters than home owners do not inspect most rental properties.[55] Only one city, Dubuque, requires registration of all vacant properties. Macon, with an estimated 4,000 abandoned homes, has contracted with Detroit-based Loveland Technologies to map their vacant properties to allow them to

better manage this challenge.[56] Several states within the survey have enacted legislation that allows greater local control of tax-distressed and abandoned properties, a chronic issue in many heritage neighborhoods. The historic model of local banks holding ownership of distressed properties has given way to national finance companies whose models often favor bundling individual properties into portfolios that are used as collateral in securing loans.[57]

Inability to enforce city standards can reduce the value of nearby properties and hurt neighborhoods. A good example of this is found in Macon; Georgia state law is particularly restrictive. It limits fees for vacant property registry fees to a one-time cost of $100; Macon's ordinance further reduces local fees to $10. Before 2015, Georgia code did not permit inspectors to levy even simple fines for code violations until a case has been presented in municipal court; code violations still do not carry civil penalties. In contrast, some of the surveyed cities have more tools at their disposal.

- Code enforcement in Cincinnati has become an effective change agent for heritage areas. After preservationists in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood grew concerned over the loss of historic infrastructure and city neighborhoods took a hit during the mortgage crisis, code enforcement was strengthened with the additions of new tools and practices.[58] The city's Vacant Foreclosed Property Registration (VFPR) program requires registration and fees for more than 1,000 residential buildings; a list can be accessed through an interactive online map.[59] Another tool, the Vacated Building Maintenance License (VBML) requires owners of buildings ordered vacated by the city to pay a minimum annual $900 fee, maintain insurance, and protect the structure from decay.[60]

  Ohio enabling legislation allows cities to file foreclosure claims against properties requiring abatement.[61] Cincinnati's legal department refocused and formed a Quality of Life/Affirmative Litigation Division that works closely with code enforcement officers, filing several hundred civil and criminal cases against non-compliant owners each year.[62]

- Dubuque has also implemented enhanced enforcement tools directed at reducing issues with vacant properties and demolition by neglect. The city has implemented a demolition by neglect ordinance, extended demolition review oversight to include not just properties in local historic districts but also those in conservation districts, and increased conditions that owners must meet to receive a permit from the HPC.[63] The city requires all rental properties to be licensed and inspected.[64] It also requires that all vacant properties be registered with the city.[65] Both registries require an annual fee with civil penalties for non-compliance. Both Dubuque and Cincinnati also prohibit boarding vacant properties on façades facing thoroughfares.[66]

- Davenport requires annual registration of rental properties and a schedule for re-inspection; new landlords must attend an eight-hour orientation session presented by the police department.

  Additionally, both Davenport and Dubuque have available to them a powerful state statute that permits cities to petition the court to be given properties deemed abandoned. Section 567A 10A of the Iowa Code, was added to the state's abandoned property code in 2006. It defines "abandoned" by several characteristics and provides a relatively rapid process that can take a few months to accomplish in contrast with property acquisition processes dependent on tax delinquency, which can take years.[67]

- In 2016, Syracuse implemented a vacant property registry for vacant properties with exterior code violations. Fees range from $100 to $1000 a year per residential unit on a scale that increases each year. By year four, a 7-unit residential building would pay $7,000 a year. Penalties apply for non-compliance.[68]

- Buffalo recently introduced the Buffalo Green Code. This new form-based zoning ordinance seeks to reverse regulations developed over the past sixty-five years that favored suburban style development and hurt heritage neighborhoods. The new code reinstates statues that again permits mixed uses and protects against demolition.[69]

- Georgia, Ohio and New York passed state enabling legislation to that permits creation of land banks. Georgia's 2012 amending legislation to its 1996 statute[70] and New York (2011) and Ohio (2008) land bank legislation are a direct response to the impact of the mortgage crisis on foreclosures. All three provide services to county-wide areas and permit the transfer of tax-distressed properties to land bank ownership which clears titles and allows for redevelopment, transfer to a new responsible owner or for demolition. These land banks are also permitted to do new construction.[71]

- New York also passed legislation that permits municipalities and land banks to intercede in sales of tax-distressed properties prior to tax auctions which can reduce sales to financial speculators with little intention of rehabilitation.[72]

Effective Practice- Financial Incentives
States of New York, Georgia, Iowa, Ohio

All cities offered some version of tax abatement for property rehabilitation located within low to moderate income census tracts or historic districts. Several cities assisted purchases or rehabilitation of homes within the city, but most programs were income-restricted. Several cities offered programs sharing information on available tax-delinquent properties.[73] Historic tax credit programs in New York, Georgia, and Iowa include residential properties.

- Iowa's historic tax credit is a refundable 25% of qualified rehabilitation expenses for residential properties and income producing buildings, meaning that owners can take a cash refund in lieu of a tax credit. The required rehabilitation must be at least $25,000 or 25% of the assessed value of the building. The refundability feature makes it attractive to not-for-profits who have no tax liability. There is no requirement that residences in the program be owner-occupied.[74]

- Georgia offers a 25% historic tax credit for residential and commercial properties which rises to 30% in low to moderate income census tracts. Its residential program is limited only to owner occupied homes but it is transferable and, in targeted areas,[75] a low threshold of $5,000 is all that is required to participate.[76] The transferability option allows other rehabilitation entities to perform the work and transfer the credit to a new owner. The credit reduces tax liability for up to ten years.[77]

- New York's Historic Home Ownership Rehabilitation Tax Credit offers a 20% state tax credit. Buildings must be listed in the National Register, owner occupied and be located in low to moderate income census tracts. It offers extra incentives for homeowners earning less than $60,000 per year; the registration fee is waived and some of the tax credit may be returned as a cash refund. New York purposefully made the homeowner application simple, requiring a limited number of photographs and documentation.[78] Applications for both the Iowa and Georgia tax credit are more detailed and complex.[79]

- The city of Buffalo was an early adaptor of the state historic tax credit.[80] To boost greater participation, the city created an extensive 348-page "Preservation Ready" document of buildings that includes historical surveys as well as photos, addresses and a site's current or likely status for accessing historic tax credit programs. The document essentially cues up properties for prospective developers and homeowners.[81]

Effective Practice-Preservation Partners
Macon, Dayton, Buffalo

Several of the survey cities are fortunate to have investors, foundations, not-for-profit and

institutional partners playing significant roles in revitalization of heritage neighborhoods.

- Macon rehabilitation efforts receive support from two foundations, one founded locally and another with a national footprint. The Peyton Anderson Foundation (PAF) was established by the long-time owner of the city's newspapers prior to their sale to the Knight Ridder Newspaper Company. PAF funding helped establish the NewTown Macon redevelopment organization focused on the city's historic commercial district. It also helped establish a community foundation that funnels grants for planning efforts offering "transformational ideas" for revitalizing in-town and downtown areas.[82]

  The Knight Foundation, funds initiatives in cities where Knight Ridder once owned newspapers.[83] The foundation focuses on urban renewal in Macon and contributes down payment

assistance funding for new home owners in a targeted heritage neighborhood as well as dollars for planning initiatives.[84]

- Mercer University is located near some of Macon's most challenged heritage neighborhoods. It has worked with the city and other preservation partners to revitalize the Huguenin Heights and Beall's Hill neighborhoods in initiatives partnerships that include planning, tutoring, and a down payment assistance program to encourage staff to purchase homes in these neighborhoods.[85]

- The Historic Macon Foundation (HMF) emerged from earlier groups with a focus on saving historic infrastructure and share history. The combined efforts of these groups have enabled the purchase, rehab or sale of almost 150 buildings.[86] It has been the construction and rehab partner in the Huguenin Heights and Beall's Hill initiatives. It makes use of state historic tax credits during rehab, following the Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation, and then transfers the tax credit benefit to new owners.[87]

- NewTown Macon focuses on downtown areas with goals of growing businesses, increasing residency, and facilitating rehabilitation and new construction. It offers loans, workshops and recruits investors and assists in syndication of tax credits, preferring to work with local investors and developers to keep dollars in the local community.[88]

- In Dayton, institutional medical partners, working with community development corporation Citywide have focused on rehabilitation of several neighborhoods near their campuses. The Genesis, Phoenix and DaVinci Projects provide various incentives for home construction, repair and rehabilitation as well as business assistance and outreach programs to enhance the quality of life in these heritage neighborhoods.[89] Citywide also played a role in the development of Tech Town in downtown Dayton, a revitalized area targeting knowledge-based industries and its workers.[90]

- The University of Dayton, a Catholic educational institution, in additions to neighborhood revitalization, operates a leadership center focused on community engaged learning (CEL) and building stronger relationships between students and staff and Dayton's urban neighborhoods.[91]

- Buffalo gains support from PUSH, a community-based advocacy and housing group engaged in a west side neighborhood originally built between 1880 and 1930 for immigrant populations. The group focuses on reducing rapid gentrification to control the loss of existing residents in revitalized areas and in green construction to offset the sometimes staggering energy costs of Buffalo's extreme winter conditions.[92]

The Buffalo Urban Development Corporation (BUDC) promotes available downtown sites with an easy to use guide laying out opportunities.[93] It also is engaged a redevelopment plan that includes housing, training and business development opportunities for a blighted area in the city's northeast sector.[94] This ambition project is one of the initiatives being funded by the "Buffalo Billion" pledge made to the city in 2012 by New York Governor Andrew Cuomo, who committed the state to an investment of $1 billion in tax credits and grants to the area.[95]

Summary

This independent study summary report provides a snapshot of how seven different cities are addressing issues in their heritage neighborhoods. The current conditions and challenges of each city are unique as is the ability of each to find solutions and a way forward. Despite these differences, several commonalities are apparent.

States play a key role. For many cities surveyed, the issue of abandoned housing is a source of continuing concern in heritage neighborhoods. As the presence of a national investment industry engaged in purchase of these building has grown,[96] enabling legislation allowing cities to manage tax-distressed property issues on a local level is of critical importance. While the impact of these laws might be greater in urban areas, they can also provide benefit for smaller communities whose resiliency and asset base may not be as extensive as their larger cohorts.[97]

The mortgage crisis sparked changes in both state and local statutes available to many municipalities. Although some of the "Effective Practices" identified in this report grow directly from that new legislation, it may be too soon to access its long benefit. It is worth noting what cities believed to be effective practices in one decade may reap disaster in succeeding years. Efforts to revitalize city centers during the urban renewal period by clearing neighborhoods to introduce highways is the best known example. Buffalo, New York's highway construction into its urban center destroyed not just sections of its legacy park system, but isolated some heritage neighborhoods to such an extent that they still struggle to recover. Closely tracking the impact of new management practices is advised.

Use of technology, particularly mapping programs, will play an increasing role in allowing cities to more easily access information, track assets, and overlay interrelated factors as they plan for the future. Public access to this information could spur citizen participation, investment and commitment. A healthy future for our cities will require transparency and the efforts of all stakeholders.

Endnotes

[1] Alan Mallach, a city planner who once served as the Housing and Economic Development Director for Camden, New Jersey, has authored a wide range of insightful reports on the subject neighborhood revitalization, housing issues and legacy cities. Several of these are cited in this summary.

[2] Kristopher S. Gerardi and Paul S. Willen, "Subprime Mortgages, Foreclosures, and Urban Neighborhoods," February, 2009, 8. Accessed March 22, 2017, at https://www.frbatlanta.org/-/media/Documents/filelegacydocs/wp0901.pdf.

[3] Susan Milligan, "An Urban Revival in the Rust Belt," *U.S. News and World Report*, September 2, 2014, accessed May 14, 2017, at https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2014/09/02/an-urban-revival-in-the-rust-belt.

[4] Allan Mallach, ed., "Reinventing America's Legacy Cities. Strategies for Cities Losing Population," *The American Assembly*, 2011, accessed March 29, 2017 at http://www.achp.gov/docs/Reinventing_Americas_Legacy_Cities_0.pdf.

[5] Alan Mallach and Lavea Brachman, "Regenerating America's Legacy Cities," *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*, 2016, 2. Accessed March 1, 2017, at http://ti.org/pdfs/LegacyCities.pdf and "Legacy Cities Partnership," accessed March 20, 2017, at http://www.legacycities.org/.

[6] "Regenerating America's Legacy Cities," 2.

[7] Ibid, 3. Cities included in "Regenerating America's Legacy Cities" Baltimore, MD; Camden, NJ; Newark, NJ; Philadelphia, PA; Akron, OH; Birmingham, AL; Buffalo, NY; Canton, OH; Cincinnati, OH; Cleveland, OH; Dayton, OH; Detroit, MI; Flint, MI; Milwaukee, WI; Pittsburgh, PA; St. Louis, MO; Syracuse, NY; Youngstown, OH.

[8] Alan Mallach and Lavea Brachman, "Ohio's Cities at a Turning Point: Finding the Way Forward," *Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings Institution*, May 2010, accessed July 19, 2016, at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0518_ohio_cities_mallach_brachman.pdf, p. 10. The authors attribute first use of the phrase within Rolf Pendall's 2003 report for the Brookings Institution, "Sprawl without Growth: The Upstate Paradox."

[9] Ibid and "Legacy Cities Partnership."

[10] "US Population by State from 1900," accessed May 5, 2017, at http://www.demographia.com/db-state1900.htm and "U.S. Population, 1790-2000: Always Growing," accessed May 5, 2017, at http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h980.html.

[11] Edward L. Glaeser, "Can Buffalo Ever Come Back?" *New York Sun*, October 19, 2007, accessed April 20, 2017 at http://www.nysun.com/opinion/can-buffalo-ever-come-back/64879/.

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[13] "Population of Buffalo, New York, accessed April 10, 2017, at http://population.us/ny/buffalo/.

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[18] Cara Bertron, "Between a Rock and a Historic Place: Preservation in Postindustrial Urban Planning," University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 2011, 83. Accessed December 12, 2016 at http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/181.

[19] Ibid, 84-93.

[20] "10 Poorest Neighborhoods," accessed March 3, 2017, at https://citylinkcenter.org/about-us/the-need/10-poorest-neighborhoods. Among the neighborhoods listed are historic districts Over-the-Rhine, West End (Dayton Street), and Walnut Hills.

[21] Christine Negroni, "Pitching in to Preserve Aviation History," *The New York Times*, December 13, 2016, accessed April 20, 2017, at https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/13/realestate/commercial/pitching-in-to-preserve-aviation-history.html?_r=0.

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[23] "Regenerating America's Legacy Cities," 4.

[24] The city's 2010 population was greater than it was in 1910 (116,577) and less than it was in 1920 (152,559). Population.us, "Population of Dayton, OH."

[25] Alex Heckman, in discussion with author, April 27, 2017. Heckman is Director of Education and Museum Operations for Dayton History and a member of the Dayton Landmarks Commission.

[26] United States Census, Dayton city, Ohio, "Individuals below Poverty Level," 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, *American Factfinder*, accessed April 20, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml# and "Selected Housing Characteristics 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates."

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[28] Anne Carpenter, Emily Mitchell, Shelley Price, "Blight Remediation in the Southeast: Local Approaches to Design and Implementation," *Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta*, November, 2015, accessed April 14, 2017, at https://www.frbatlanta.org/-/media/documents/community-development/publications/discussion-papers/2015/05-blight-.

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[30] United States Census, "Macon-Bibb County, Georgia," *American FactFinder*, accessed March 15, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml#. And United States Census, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," *American FactFinder*, accessed March 15, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_15_5YR_S1701&prodType=table. In Macon-Bibb census tract 105, 74.9 percent of the population lives below the poverty level.

[31] John Baker, in discussion with author, April 3, 2017. Baker is Macon-Bibb's Building Abatement Manager working in the Property Maintenance Division.

[32] Population.us, "Population of Syracuse, NY," accessed February 20, 2017, at http://population.us/ny/syracuse/.

[33] United States Census, "Selected Economic Characteristics. 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates," *American FactFinder*, accessed February 20, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF.

[34] "Population History for Iowa's 25 Largest Cities 1850-2010,"accessed April 20, 2016, at http://urbandale.org/DocumentCenter/Home/View/1008.

[35] "Davenport 2025: Comprehensive Plan for the City," [Long Version], August 10, 2005, 91. Accessed January 12, 2016, at http://www.cityofdavenportiowa.com/egov/documents/1392134374_41965.pdf.

[36] Davenport's vacancy rate is 7.9 percent; its poverty rate is 16.6 percent. United States Census, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months," 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, *American FactFinder,* and United States Census, "Selected Housing Characteristics 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," *American FactFinder*, accessed May 5, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF.https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF

[37] 2015 figures accessed by census tract, then calculated as an average percentage per city area. United States Census, "2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Trend," *American FactFinder,* accessed March 22, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_15_5YR_DP03&prodType=table. Core poverty rate calculated by author by adding up figures from all Core census tracts.

[38] "Legacy Cities Partnership."

[39] "History," accessed February 20, 2017, https://imaginedubuque.com/about-2/history-of-planning/#more-103.

[40] The City of Dubuque, "Creating an International Model for Sustainability. Dubuque, Iowa," Revised September 2015. Pamphlet.

[41] United States Census, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months," 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, *American FactFinder*, and United States Census, "Selected Housing Characteristics 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," *American FactFinder*, accessed May 5, 2017, at https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF.

[42] "Historic Districts," accessed May 9, 2017, at http://www.daytonohio.gov/710/Historic-Districts.

[43] "Lot Linker," accessed April 19, 2017, at http://www.lotlinker.com/.

[44] "Historic Conservation," accessed January 24, 2017, at http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/buildings/historic-conservation/. This is the front page of the Historic Conservation section. Links to other pages in the section are located on the left column of this page. The website overall has very well organized and in-depth sections on conservation as well as code enforcement that appear to have current information.

[45] "Vacant and Condemned Buildings," accessed May 5, 2017, at http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/buildings/property-maintenance-code-enforcement/vacant-hazardous-buildings1/.

[46] "Local Historic Districts," accessed February 27, 2017, at http://www.cityofdubuque.org/387/Local-Historic-Districts.

[47] "Neighborhood Revitalization Programs," accessed May 11, 2017, at http://www.cityofdubuque.org/714/Neighborhood-Revitalization.

[48] Dave Johnson, in discussion with author, November 2, 2015, and March 6, 2017. Johnson is Assistant Planner and HPC liaison for Dubuque. And "Conservation Districts," http://www.cityofdubuque.org/1461/Conservation-Districts.

[49] The City of Dubuque, "Creating an International Model for Sustainability. Dubuque, Iowa," Revised September 2015. Pamphlet in possession of author.

[50] Syracuse and Buffalo require review of all properties that are older than fifty years. However, according to interviews with their preservation officers, in Syracuse, demolition due to a dangerous situation, which overrides HPC review, is often cited as the reason for action. Buffalo's demolition review of non-locally designated structures is non-binding. Cincinnati requires that all properties fifty years or

older owned by the city and where demolition is proposed undergo a review to determine historical significance. Chris Hawley, in discussion with author, April 13, 2017. Hawley is Buffalo's Preservation Officer. And Ed Cunningham, in discussion with author, February 20, 2017. Cunningham is a Division Manager for the Cincinnati Department of Buildings & Inspections, Property Maintenance Code Enforcement Division. And Kate Auwaeter, in discussion with author, February 3, 2017. Auwaeter is Syracuse's preservation officer.

[51] Georgia, Iowa and New York historic tax credit programs offer a residential component. Ohio's does not.

[52] "Ohio National Register Searchable Database," accessed March 1, 2017, at http://nr.ohpo.org/Details.aspx?refnum=88002536. Accuracy of these state websites is dependent on the how well the databases are updated.

[53] "CRIS," accessed February 28, 2017 at https://cris.parks.ny.gov/. Neither Buffalo nor Syracuse offer links on their city websites to this comprehensive resource.

[54] "Atlas of Reurbanism Buffalo," accessed May 5, 2017, at https://nthp.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=1a0006180f284681b34960e89074a554.

[55] Dayton, Buffalo, Syracuse, Cincinnati all have a high percentage of renters but either have no interior rental inspection, a limited program, inspect exteriors only, or upon receipt of a complaint. Hawley interview and "Property Maintenance Code Enforcement," accessed May 16, 2017, at http://cincinnati-oh.gov/buildings/property-maintenance-code-enforcement/ and "Unfit Premises," accessed February 28, 2017, at http://www.syrgov.net/UnfitPremises.aspx. And Tony Oppy, in discussion with author, April 27, 2017. Oppy is a Conservation Specialist with the Dayton Housing Department.

[56] Alison Goldey, in discussion with author, April 4, 2017. Goldey is the Executive Director of the Macon-Bibb County Land Bank Authority, a position she has held for twenty years and "Loveland Technologies: Putting the World Online One Parcel at a Time," accessed May 16, 2017, at https://makeloveland.com/company.

[57] Paul Bernard, in discussion with author, April 17, 2017. Bernard, General Manager of Residential Equity Partners, LLC, a California-based company that purchases real estate portfolios across the country, explains that there is always value in real estate through the assessed value assigned to it. For example, several years ago, Bernard paid a fixed price for a portfolio of about forty properties across Iowa, knowing that the value of individual properties varied greatly. While one was a commercial building valued at $60,000, another was a small house assessed at only a few thousand dollars. It was bundled with other properties to secure a $500,000 rehab loan for a California property. Bernard says these national purchasers have a presence at local tax sales, even in relatively small cities like Davenport.
[58] Bertron, 83-94.

[59] "Vacant Foreclosed Residential Property Registration," accessed February 21, 2017, at http://cagismaps.hamilton-co.org/cincinnatiServices/VacantForeclosedRegistration/).

[60] "Vacant Building Maintenance License," accessed February 21, 2017, at http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/buildings/assets/File/VBML%20Information%20Rev_%203-3-2017.pdf.

[61] Jessica Powell, in discussion with author, February 21, 2017. Powell is Assistant City Solicitor with the City of Cincinnati Department of Law.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Demolition by Neglect Prohibited," accessed May 16, 2017, at
http://www.sterlingcodifiers.com/codebook/index.php?book_id=803.

[64] "Rental License," accessed May 16, 2017, at http://www.cityofdubuque.org/796/Rental-License.

[65] "Vacant Building License," accessed May 16, 2017, at http://www.cityofdubuque.org/2376/Vacant-Building-License.

[66] Ed Cunningham and Dave Johnson interviews.

[67] "657A.10A Petition by City for Title to Abandoned Property," accessed May 16, 2017, at
http://coolice.legis.iowa.gov/Cool-ICE/default.asp?category=billinfo&service=IowaCode&input=657A.10A.

[68] "Unfit Premises," accessed February 28, 2017, at http://www.syrgov.net/UnfitPremises.aspx.

[69] Chris Hawley interview.

[70] "Georgia Land Bank Resource Manual," June 2013, accessed May 16, 2017, at
http://www.communityprogress.net/filebin/pdf/new_resrcs/GA-LandBank-ResourceManual.pdf.

[71] Taking Stock of Ohio County Land Banks," *Greater Ohio Policy Center, May, 2015*, i and 1, accessed April 28, 2017, at http://greaterohio.org/files/policy-research/greaterohiolandbankreport5-15-15.pdf and Office of the New York State Comptroller, "Land Banks Enter the Fight against Blight," accessed March 3, 2017, at http://syracuselandbank.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/landbanks1016-1.pdf and "Georgia Land Bank Resource Manual."

[72] Tax sale legislation links. "Mayor Brown's Push for Legislation to Combat Blight Gets Governor Cuomo's Signature," accessed April 28, 2017, at http://www.city-buffalo.com/Mayor/Home/Leadership/PublicRelations/Press_Releases/Mayor_Browns_Push_for_Legislation_to_Combat_Blight.

[73] Most programs seeking to connect potential buyers with tax delinquent homes are discussed in "Preservation Partners" section below.

[74] "State Historic Preservation and Cultural and Entertainment District Tax Credit Program (HPCED) Instructions" accessed May 16, 2017, at https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/History%20-%20Preservation%20-%20Tax%20Incentives%20-%20State%20Tax%20Credit%20-%20Guide%20%28PDF%29.pdf.

[75] Per state code, "Target area" is a qualified census tract under Section 42 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, found in the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development document number N-94-3821; FR-3796-N-01. 2010. Georgia Code, "§ 48-7-29.8 – Tax credits for the rehabilitation of historic structures; conditions and limitations", accessed May 16, 2017, at http://law.justia.com georgia/2010/title-48/chapter-7/article-2/48-7-29-8./codes/.

[76] Historic Macon Foundation, a not-for-profit, routinely prepares tax credit applications for homes it is rehabbing, and transfers them to purchasers. This has the effect of reducing state tax liability for new

owners. Kim Campbell, in discussion with author, March 15, 2017. Campbell is HMF's Preservation and Education Coordinator.

[77] "Georgia State Income Tax Credit Program for Rehabilitated Historic Property," accessed May 16, 2017, at http://georgiashpo.org/sites/uploads/hpd/pdf/State_tax_credit_fs.pdf.

[78] Larry Moss, in discussion with author, February 21, 2017. Moss is an architect who works with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP.) He indicated that unpainted aluminum storm windows would be an acceptable replacement; federal HTC and Iowa SHTC reviewers require painted storms. He also noted the limited number of pictures that the New York program requires. This is in sharp contrast to requirements in Iowa or Georgia.

[79] The author has prepared Iowa historic tax credit applications since 2007 and attests to the increased requirements. Kim Campbell interview. Campbell described a similar comprehensive submission process.

[80] Beth Cumming, in discussion with author, February 16, 2017. Cumming is a Senior Historic Site Restoration Coordinator with (OPRHP).

[81] "Preservation Ready Study of Buildings Downtown, Northland and Fougeron/Urban Survey Areas City of Buffalo, Erie County, New York," City of Buffalo, December 2013, accessed April 10, 2017.

[82] "Welcome to the Peyton Anderson Foundation," accessed April 4, 2017, at http://www.peytonanderson.org/ and "History and Mission," accessed April 4, 2017, at http://www.newtownmacon.com/powering-newtown/history-mission/ and "Downtown Challenge Revitalizing Macon," accessed April 4, 2017, at http://www.cfcga.org/DowntownChallenge.

[83] "Macon," accessed April 8, 2017, at https://www.knightfoundation.org/communities/macon.

[84] "College Hill. Project History," accessed March 25, 2017, at http://collegehillmacon.com/index.php/about/project-history, and "College Hill. Master Plan," accessed March 25, 2017, at http://collegehillmacon.com/index.php/about/master-plan and "Beall's Hill Neighborhood Revitalization Project," accessed March 25, 2017, at https://community.mercer.edu/partnerships/beall/.

[85] "Beall's Hill Neighborhood Revitalization Project." and "Mercer University Down Payment Assistance Program," accessed March 25, 2017, at http://dpa.mercer.edu/www/mu-dpa/upload/Mercer-DPA-Final-2015-2.pdf.

[86] "About," accessed March 10, 2017, at http://www.historicmacon.org/who-we-are/.

[87] Kim Campbell interview.

[88] Joshua Rogers, in discussion with author, April 6, 2017. Rogers is President/CEO for NewTown Macon and former executive director of Historic Macon Foundation.

[89] The Genesis Project," Accessed April 20, 2017, at http://citywidedev.com/community-development/genesis. "The Phoenix Project," accessed April 20, 2017, at http://citywidedev.com/community-development/phoenix. "DaVinci Collaborative," accessed April 20, 2017, at http://citywidedev.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/DaVinci-Winter-2015-Update.pdf.

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[91] "Fitz Center for Leadership in Community," accessed May 16, 2017, at https://www.udayton.edu/artssciences/ctr/fitz/.

[92] "Building Green and Affordable Housing," accessed April 1, 2017, at http://greendevelopmentzone.org/housing/ and "The Neighborhood," accessed April 14, 2017, at http://greendevelopmentzone.org/introduction/the-neighborhood/.

[93] "Downtown Buffalo, NY 2016 Development Guide," Buffalo Urban Development Corporation, accessed April 10, 2017, at http://www.buffalourbandevelopment.com/documents/ Downtown/2016_Downtown_Buffalo_Development _Guide.pdf.

[94] "Northland Corridor Public Outreach," accessed April 14, 2017, at http://www.buffalourbandevelopment.com/northland-corridor-public-outreach.

[95] "Buffalo Billion," accessed April 28, 2017, at https://buffalobillion.ny.gov/about-buffalo-billion.

[96] Paul Bernard interview.

[97] "Ohio's Cities at a Turning Point. Finding the Way Forward," 21.

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