URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND REVITALIZATION RELATED TO CITY AND REGIONAL POLITICS IN UTICA, NEW YORK

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between urban development and revitalization as related to regional politics, through past and current examples in order to identify key issues that are preventing the City of Utica from embarking on, and sustaining long-term revitalization.

The work begins with a comprehensive look at settlement patterns, transportation infrastructure, industrial development, regional politics, and shifts in government and industry as related to changing population and market conditions in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Chapter 2 investigates recent and current methods that the City of Utica is using to encouraging revitalization, through analyzing the present administrations initiatives, how the recent revitalization of a small area downtown is influencing future plans, and by examining the current funding programs available that promote revitalization. Chapter 3 looks at a case study of Greenville, South Carolina, a comparable city to Utica, in order to highlight issues that Utica faces, but to offer an example of how a city and region worked together to overcome obstacles and achieve sustainable long-term revitalization.

This work seeks to identify key issues that are preventing Utica from moving forward with revitalization efforts, along with providing information and case studies that support why overcoming these obstacles is critical for the future development of the city. Utica has an opportunity with a new administration focused on correcting past problems and establishing regional connections, along with utilizing the momentum of recent rehabilitation and revitalization projects, to encourage future redevelopment that benefits the city and region.
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ross Pristera was born in Frankfort, New York on April 2, 1985. He attended grade school there and graduated from Frankfort-Schuyler High School in 2003. In August of 2003, he moved to Clearwater, Florida to attend St. Petersburg College where he received his Associates of Arts degree in 2005 with a major in Architecture.

In 2005, he continued his studies of Architecture at the University of Florida when he also pursued studies in Historic Preservation after attending the Preservation Nantucket Program, where his initial interest in preservation was formed. Returning to Utica for the summer months, Ross became involved with the Landmarks Society of Greater Utica, a local historic preservation advocacy non-profit organization. In May 2007, he graduated summa cum laude from the University of Florida with a Bachelor of Design in Architecture.

In the fall of the 2007, Ross began his studies in Historic Preservation Planning at Cornell University. During the summer of 2008, he worked for the Central New York Conservancy, a local non-profit organization focused on restoring the Olmsted Jr. designed parks in Utica, along with volunteering with the Landmarks Society of Greater Utica. He will graduate from Cornell University in August 2009, with a Master of the Arts in Historic Preservation Planning.
This work is dedicated to my Grandmother Margaret Pristera, who in the 1920s had to leave the eighth grade to work in the textile mills of Utica.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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<tr>
<td>UED</td>
<td>Department of Urban and Economic Development</td>
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<td>HUD</td>
<td>U. S. Department of Urban Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDBG</td>
<td>Community Development Block Grant</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESG</td>
<td>Emergency Shelter Grant</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>Home Investment Partnerships Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHDO</td>
<td>Community Housing Development Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>RP1</td>
<td>Redevelopment Project No. 1</td>
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<td>MVRCR</td>
<td>Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>GE</td>
<td>General Electric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMED</td>
<td>Light Military Electronics Division</td>
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<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUNY</td>
<td>State University of New York</td>
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<td>SUNYIT</td>
<td>State University of New York Institute of Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLBT</td>
<td>Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Utica, New York at the turn-of-the century was a thriving industrial center that produced a number of this country’s important technological advances and manufactured goods. Throughout the decades since then, the region has undergone a mass deindustrialization that has resulted in a long economic decline. In attempting to reverse this decline, elected officials have often taken drastic and ill-conceived actions that have permanently scarred the city. It has been left for future generations to correct these short-sighted interventions.

The city is currently at another crossroads, faced with whether to embark on projects that could revitalize Utica or to continue the practices of the past. The current administration has begun working on a Comprehensive Master Plan, with the goal of completing the planning phase in the next two to three years. This is welcome news, since the previous plan was completed in 1950. In addition, working on correcting longstanding problems, city departments, such as the Codes Department, have been the focus of modernization aimed at improving efficiency and record keeping.

In the past ten years, there has been an increase in revitalization projects in Utica. Though typically small and uncoordinated in their potential impacts on each other and the city, these projects have begun to yield positive results. The two areas that have been the primary focus of revitalization efforts are Bagg’s Square and Varick Street, with two other areas currently in the planning phase. Through increased partnerships with community organizations, public awareness and education regarding programs focused at encouraging revitalization have begun to be more widely used. Conducting a majority of this work is the Landmarks Society of Greater Utica, which not only educates the public, but also is the city’s largest advocate of rehabilitation and revitalization.
As the city moves forward in developing plans for the future, the moment has come to reverse past practices and adopt a new strategy for social and economic revitalization. Although the current economic and social conditions within the region have fostered a mentality of “anything is better than nothing,” this has proven to be corrosive to the city’s physical and social fabric. The deteriorating consequences have been ever harder to reverse. However, the momentum generated by successful rehabilitation projects, coupled with neighborhood revitalization, is beginning to counter these damaged physical and social conditions, and create new economic opportunities for the area. Being written at this junction in the city’s history, this thesis seeks to investigate the key issues that are preventing revitalization efforts from spreading and becoming long lasting, within Utica.

To investigate this subject, research began in the summer of 2008 by conducting preliminary interviews of important key figures within the community to determine the project’s scope. Beginning with the area’s largest advocate for revitalization, the Landmarks Society of Greater Utica, interviews of the current President, Mike Bosak, and past President, Mike Rizzo, resulted in further contacts within the community, consisting of elected officials, developers, citizens, and organizations that might prove to be helpful.

The archives of the Oneida County Historical Society (OCHS) proved to be a valuable resource. The OCHS holds a large collection of newspaper article, publications, documents, maps, and photographs regarding the development of the textile industry, the loom-to-boom era, urban renewal and highway plans, and area histories. Beginning in the summer of 2008, bi-weekly visits to the OCHS were conducted and continued into the early spring of 2009.

Visits to the Utica City Hall, beginning in the summer of 2008, yielded physical material including images, maps, revitalization plans, and reposts, but also
interviews with important city officials, such as the Mayor, the Commissioner of the Urban and Economic Development Department, the Commissioner of the Codes Department, the City Planner, and two Grant Writers. The officials interviewed provided hard-copy data relating to current and past projects that the administration is focused on. A visit to the Oneida County Office Building resulted in similar findings, but obtaining personal interviews proved difficult.

The Utica Public Library, Utica College Library, and Mohawk Valley Community College Library all hold primary and secondary source material regarding area history. The 1960 Master Plan, Redevelopment Project 1 Master Plan, the John Bleecker Urban Renewal Plan, a study of Bagg’s Square, and a report on the old Utica City Hall were found in the libraries. The largest amount of information found on Utica and the case study of Greenville is in the Cornell University library system: mainly in Olin, Fine Arts, and the library Annex. Source material includes county and city histories, census data, street reports, urban renewal plans, books on immigrant settlement pattern in each city, and books on political histories. The electronic search engines available through the University allowed for the finding of newspaper and journal articles.

The approach of this thesis involves evaluating the past to inform the future. Many existing published works regarding Utica focus either on the past or current day, with few analyzing the relationship between different periods and events. Information regarding local and regional political history is most often focused on the Democratic Political Machine, which has over time through its overwhelming presence, taken credit for the majority of the projects and achievements completed during the late 1920s up to the late 1950s. Separating fact from fiction has proved to be difficult, but beneficial in understanding the true reality of what was occurring in Utica at the time.
This thesis consists of three chapters. Chapter One examines area history, focusing on industrial and urban developments as they relate to city and regional politics. The chapter establishes the framework necessary to understand aspects in the next two chapters, with an emphasis on following city and regional connections. Chapter Two examines current methods of encouraging revitalization through first looking at three recent revitalization projects, second by describing federal, state, and local government programs that encourage revitalization, and concluding with how these example projects and funding programs are influencing the development of a Comprehensive Master Plan. Chapter Three connects the previously discussed ideas in a case study example of how a comparable city, with a similar industrial and political history, overcame problems that Utica currently faces. The second half of the chapter evaluates specific Utica cases that relate to Greenville and the other chapters, with a focus on varying scales of projects in hopes of identifying common issues.

The conclusion summarizes the main idea of each of the previous chapters, first discussing the problems identified in the history, second by examining the current methods and initiatives that promote revitalization, and third, by extracting key points for the case study of Greenville and how they can be utilized by Utica. Throughout the conclusion, points are presented that can be utilized by the city in assist in achieving sustainable revitalization.
CHAPTER 1: THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT RELATED TO CITY AND REGIONAL POLITICS IN UTICA, NEW YORK

The City of Utica, New York, is located forty miles west of Syracuse and ninety miles east of Albany in Oneida County, and is the county seat. The city is best known for its industrial history, as a leading producer of textile good in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Similar to other cities in Central New York, Utica’s industrial development was a result of the Erie Canal and railroads, which spurred economic growth with their completion in the nineteenth century.

The growth and success of the city’s main industry from 1846 to the 1940s, was a result of two factors: the business elite seizing an opportunity with the development of infrastructure and technology improvements and an influx of immigrants providing the necessary labor force to supply this rapidly increasing industry. These factors established the framework that would later create a dynamic political and economic environment in the city. The development of Utica, in relationship to the rise and fall of the textile industry and settlement of immigrants, along with the shifting of political power at city and county levels, offers insight as to how the current state of Utica was developed.

This chapter will focus on industrial and urban development as they relate to city and regional politics. First, it will focus on the establishment of Utica as an industrial center led by the business elite and the settlement patterns of immigrants shows how the city developed into a dynamic urban center. Second, these dynamics and urban conditions, along with economic decline, created the momentum required to shift local and regional politics. Third, the impact of the establishment of organizations and universities in helping diversify industry and retrain unemployed textile workers will be examined. Fourth, the restructuring of the city through urban
renewal and highways in response to suburban expansion, with a focus on the political landscape that shaped the broader area. The history in this chapter, particularly from suburban expansion in the 1950s onward, provides the background necessary in which to understand the current conditions of the city and region in later chapters.

Establishment of Utica as an Industrial Center

Industrial growth in Utica was the result of the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, and the Chenango Canal and the first railroad line in 1836.1 These two waterways and the railroad provided the means for transporting raw materials and finished goods from Utica across New York State and Pennsylvania, and thus to a large portion of the Northeast. This was a draw for industrial development in Utica, which was centrally located in New York State. In the first ten years after the opening of the canals the population of Utica nearly tripled from around 2,900 to 8,400 people, and with the addition of more railroad lines, by 1840 the population had reached 12,700 people.2

In 1832, the village of Utica was incorporated as a city, and the first leaders were the business elite, who controlled a majority of the land and commerce within and around Utica.3 These individuals capitalized on the location and infrastructure that the area provided to grow their enterprises, which included such businesses as banking, hotels, stagecoach lines, agriculture, lumber, and real estate.4 By 1840, industrial and commercial development had reached a plateau and a four percent population loss occurred between in the next five years.5 This slowing of the local

1 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 243.
2 Frank E. Przybycien, Utica: A City Worth Saving (Utica: Dodge-Graphic Press, 2004), 42.
3 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 43.
4 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 105.
5 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 47.
economy was due in part to two reasons: the loss in business in stagecoach and hotel
markets with the expansion of the railroad, and that the areas topography did not allow
for water-powered industries. The business elite, aware that their financial success
relied on the continual growth of the area, created a committee to deal with these
issues. They investigated the possibility of establishing textile mills using steam
power for energy, allowing these mills to be located away from water, and determined
how the railroad and the rest of Utica would support this new industry.

The report that the committee published, “The Motive Power of Water and
Steam as Applicable to Manufacturing,” provided convincing evidence that suggested
that Utica was the right location for steam powered-textile mills. The report found
that the area had the necessary infrastructure that allowed for economical
transportation of coal from Pennsylvania, raw materials from the south, and the
exportation of finished goods to regional markets. The report also found that Utica
had the capital necessary to immediately invest in this industry, and because of this,
the city could emerge as a regional textile leader before there was competition from
surrounding towns and cities.

Convinced by the findings, the business elite backed the proposal with capital
and established the city’s first textile mills: Utica Steam Woolen Mill (1846), Utica
Steam Cotton Mill (1847), and Utica Globe Mill Co. (1847). Around twenty of the
city’s most prominent and wealthy men invested in two or more of these textiles mills,
along with other various support industries and businesses. The locations of these
mills were in the neighborhood of West Utica, along the Chenango and Erie Canals at

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6 Ibid.
7 Moses M. Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica.* (Utica: Curtis and Childs, 1877), 300.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
the western edge of the city. Supplying the labor force for these mills was an influx of German immigrants, skilled in textile production.\(^{13}\) The Germans settled near the mills in West Utica, which was settled by the Irish who had moved to Utica during the construction of the canals.\(^{14}\)

Adding to the rapid growth of the textile industry, investors such as Alfred Munson, Nicholas Devereux, Theodore Faxton, and Horatio Seymour were involved in the development of the region’s railroad.\(^{15}\) As Governor of New York State in 1853, Seymour was able to broker an agreement with the many railroads located between Buffalo and Albany to merge and form the New York Central.\(^{16}\) This merger allowed for a more efficient and cheaper system of transporting materials and goods throughout the region, therefore benefiting the emerging textile industry. Seymour was also instrumental in establishing Utica as the redistribution center for the New York Central Railroad, which further added to the growth and importance of the city.\(^{17}\)

Utica by 1860 had grown to a population of 22,529 with close to half of the population being foreign born, largely Irish and German.\(^{18}\) The neighborhood of West Utica was the center of industry and in 1862 close to seven-hundred acres were annexed from the towns of New York Mills and New Hartford.\(^{19}\) This marked the first annexation in a series that continued for the next one hundred years as the city expanded further outward. (Figure 1 and Figure 2)

From 1863 to 1890 the business elite continued opening mills, including Utica Steam Knitting Mill (1863), Oneita Knitting Mill (1878), Mohawk valley Cotton Mill

\(^{14}\) Ibid.
\(^{15}\) Thomas W. Clark, *Utica, For a Century and a Half* (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 44.
\(^{16}\) Nancy Bashant, ed., *History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence* (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 105.
\(^{17}\) Ibid.
Figure 1. Map of the Utica area. Utica is situated adjacent to the Oneida and Herkimer County line, surrounded by rural country side and small towns. Source: Urban and Economic Development Department, City of Utica.

(1880), Shenandoa Cotton Company (1881), and Utica Knitting Company (1890). This period saw the most significant growth of the city’s textile industry, which was largely a result of the success of Oneita and Utica Knitting Companies. The success of these two companies, who produced knit goods, sparked a “knit goods craze” in the city that resulted in new factories opening and the city gaining the title of “knit good center of the world.” This period of sustained growth proved to be very prosperous for the mill owners and stockholders. (Figure 3) The new mills built after 1860 were located in the neighborhood of East Utica, along Broad Street, due to the lack of available land suitable for industrial development in the neighborhood of West Utica. Just as how the previous mills were responsible for developing West Utica in the mid-1840s, these newer mills were responsible for developing East Utica.

In the 1880s, the city witnessed an influx of Italian and Polish immigrants. The Italian immigrants arrived in Utica to construct the West Shore Railroad, lay bricks for street paving, and work in the East Utica textile mills. The Polish immigrants, largely relocated to Utica from New England textile towns, worked in the textile mills in the neighborhood of West Utica and towns of Whitesboro, Yorkville, and New York Mills. These two groups provided the necessary labor force to sustain the growth of the textile industry, which had grown to employ 6,700 workers in eight knitting mills and an additional 4,500 workers in thirteen clothing factories. The population of Utica had reached 56,383 in 1900, and the city was showing no signs of slowing in economic and population growth.

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20 Ibid. 286.
21 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 60.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
25 Allen G. Noble, An Ethnic Geography of Early Utica, New York (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 64..
26 Ibid., 43.
Figure 3. 1873 Bird's eye view of Utica. Industrial development was focused along the Chenango Canal and Erie Canal.

Source: Oneida County Historical Society.
The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of exceptional development for Utica. The textile industry was earning record profits and many factories had to continually expand their facilities to keep up with demand.\textsuperscript{28} The industry experienced a wave of mergers, resulting in two of the companies, Utica Knitting Company and Frisbie-Stansfield Knitting Company, emerging as the two largest knit-goods corporations in the world.\textsuperscript{29} The city itself was expanding, annexing large tracks of land along its southern edge from New Hartford.\textsuperscript{30} By 1910, the population of Utica had reached 74,419, marking the largest increase of twenty-nine percent over a ten-year period.\textsuperscript{31}

The newly annexed and opened areas of the city were quickly being built up by the wealthy and Utica was experiencing difficulties associated with the increased growth. (Figure 2) In 1908, the Chamber of Commerce commissioned Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. to conduct a study to examine physical and civic improvement that could be made.\textsuperscript{32} A recommendation made by Olmsted Jr. was that the city should consider future transportation routes and needs for expansion at the current time, rather than wait until such a need was a pressing issue.\textsuperscript{33} He explained that the city should try to prevent buildings from being built on tracts of land adjacent to the city limits and that no improvement should be made that would increase the value before the land was officially owned by Utica.\textsuperscript{34} The report provided recommendations on what areas should be annexed, potential land uses, an evaluation of the street grid, and potential problems that could hamper development. This report marks one of the first

\textsuperscript{28} Thomas W. Clark, \textit{Utica, For a Century and a Half} (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 85.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 86.
\textsuperscript{31} United States Census, 1910.
\textsuperscript{32} Utica Chamber of Commerce, \textit{Report of the Committee on Improving and Beautifying Utica of the Utica Chamber of Commerce} (Utica, 1908), 1.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
comprehensive studies of Utica that warns of future problems associated with expansion and adjacent towns. In 1913 and 1916 the city followed a number of the report’s recommendations and annexed large tracts of land from New Hartford, New York Mills, and Deerfield.35 (Figure 2)

The continual economic prosperity that Utica experienced from 1846 to 1910 was due in part to a select group of elite men who were in control of the city’s industry, development, and politics. These men were primarily concerned with earning profits and less concerned with the needs of the residents, and this is what led them to develop Utica into an industrial center. They first made their money and gained dominance in the 1830s through canal-based business, but when faced with the signs of impending economic decline in the early 1840s, they joined together and established a new industry in the area. As the textile industry proved to be profitable, they worked to expand upon the industry to earn larger profits. In a sense, they ran the city as a business, similar to that of a corporate-owned industrial town.

Though these elite men maintained a high level of control over the city, they were not fully prepared to deal with the complications of its rapid growth. As large waves of immigrants entered Utica to provide cheap labor for mill owners, the ability of the business elite who controlled the city to maintain a level of content with these groups became difficult. In conjunction with social issues, the textile industry itself would prove to be a problematic business, as new technology and market shifts changed the way business was conducted.

**Political Shift in Response to Changing Industrial and Urban Conditions**

The City of Utica in the first and second decade of the twentieth century experienced great prosperity and civic expansion, with this period marking the height

of the textile industry. The business elite had amassed large fortunes, with a number of the families, primarily the Proctors and Munson-Williams, entering philanthropy and transforming Utica from an industrial city to a sophisticated center of commerce. The population of the city continued to grow due to large waves of Italians and Polish immigrants and by 1920 the population had reached 94,156.36 Though this decade began strong, the signs of looming economic and social trouble were becoming evident.

The peak year of the textile industry in Utica was 1910, with close to two-thirds of the city’s population employed directly as well as indirectly in textile-related businesses.37 With the perceived notion that the industry was healthy, mill owners were, however, aware that major changes were in store due to changing market conditions.38 The northern textile industry began experiencing competition from southern mills that employed newer manufacturing technologies. They were more efficient than the older northern factories, closer to the cotton crops, and employed cheaper non-union labor.39 The production and sales of the Utica mills started to decline after 1910, with this trouble only being hidden by World War I, the national prosperity of the 1920s, and later World War II.40 (Figure 4) Through the 1920s and 30s the textile industry slowly moved out of Utica, but after World War II the industry appeared to suddenly collapse leaving the general population wondering what happen.

38 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 105.
39 Ibid., 106.
40 Ibid.
The first significant downturn in the textile industry occurred in 1922, when the areas principal market, knit underwear, experienced two sudden market shifts; the first occurred in the market of women’s knit underwear and the second in men’s knit underwear. During World War I a high number of women were employed throughout the county to meet the demand for war-time goods. When the war ended, these women, with their higher wages, began purchasing new, shorter underwear styles to match the newer clothing styles of the time. The sudden shift in women’s clothing styles was unexpected by the textile industry and left the Utica mills overstocked with product. Also with the end of WWI, the United States Government canceled all orders of men’s knit underwear and placed its surplus stock on the market at reduced prices. This move by the government caused the bottom to

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41 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 125.
42 Ibid.
43 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 106.
44 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 125.
As the textile industry began to decline, the city continued to expand in both population and area. In 1921, a street survey was conducted, similar to the report published by Olmsted Jr. in 1908, that examined the problems and conditions that the city must overcome to continue to develop. Expanding upon the recommendations made by Olmsted Jr., this report stressed the importance of annexation and how the city could use this tool to become a stronger entity. Nothing that the city could not easily expand further east, due to the adjacency of Herkimer County, the most practical expansion must occur along the southern and western edges to incorporate the towns of New Hartford (adjacent areas not including the Village of New Hartford), New York Mills, Yorkville, and Whitesboro. Although Utica had annexed large portions of these towns previously, the complete consolidation of these adjacent towns into Utica was suggested as a way to overcome future problems associated with expansion and regional competition between these towns and the city.

Following a number of the recommendations made in the 1921 street survey, the city annexed large tracts of land on the southern boundary from New Hartford. This land was bought by development companies who created residential subdivisions for the upper-class. These areas were developed rapidly for residents who wanted to escape the noisy, densely crowded downtown neighborhoods to live in a semi-rural

45 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
49 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 126.
Figure 5. Population density map from 1921.
A population density map from the 1921 street survey depicts the distribution of people within the city. (Figure 5) Examining this map provides a better understanding of the development of the city and the conditions that were present at that time.

The neighborhood of West Utica, which was largely Polish, had the densest population surrounding the textile mills. Originally, an Irish and German neighborhood, these two groups slowly moved to the less dense outskirts of the neighborhood along the western and southern boundaries leaving the in quickly growing Polish population concentrated in the older, denser sections. Largely settled by Italian immigrants, the neighborhood of East Utica was developing around the intersection of Bleecker and Mohawk Street, forming what was known as the “Italian Colony.” The neighborhood of Corn Hill, to the southwest of East Utica, was a mix of German, Irish, and Polish. Over time, the lower-class was concentrated in the densest, oldest sections of the city, while the wealthiest continually moved outward inhabiting the semi-rural areas of Utica.

By 1928, the combination of continual layoffs by the textile industry, overcrowding of neighborhoods, and the underrepresentation of the immigrant population in politics, began to come to a head. The ruling Irish Republican political machine (the Irish had risen from a poor immigrant population to owning many of the textile mills) and the business elite were unable to maintain political and economic control over the city and by the early 1930s the Italian population, with support from the Polish population, represented close to half of the city’s votes. During The Great

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50 Ibid.
Depression, the East Utica Italian ward leaders further united the Italians and Polish by providing them Works Progress Administration jobs, along with other New Deal jobs in return for votes for the Democratic Party.\textsuperscript{54} It was not until 1945, with the election of Boyd E. Golder as mayor, that the Italian-backed Democratic Political Machine was able to fully control the city government.\textsuperscript{55}

As the political landscape in Utica shifted to a Democratic machine supported by the city’s immigrant working class, Oneida County politics remained largely in control of the Irish Republican business elite.\textsuperscript{56} Upstate New York, with the exception of Albany and Utica, predominantly voted Republican.\textsuperscript{57} In the 1940s, the Democratic machine of Utica made slight headway in challenging Oneida County’s political position, but this proved difficult to sustain.\textsuperscript{58} The towns, villages, and county remained principally Republican, and as the Democratic machine grew in Utica, the more polarizing it became in the region. As in the way the machine rose to power through uniting separate groups, the adjacent towns and villages surrounding Utica began doing the same. Working together to maintain a higher level of influence, so not to be overtaken by Utica, surrounding towns throughout the 1940s and 1950s began establishing themselves as alternatives to the corrupt dealings of Utica.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{54} Thomas W. Clark, \textit{Utica, For a Century and a Half} (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 136.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
Diversifying Industry and Retraining the Workforce

Utica in 1940 had a population of 100,518 (a decrease of 1.2% since 1930) and had an unemployment rate of 15%. The decline of the textile industry, which also led to the decline of associated industries, was primarily responsible for the city’s loss in population and its economic downturn. Leading the effort to diversify the area’s industry through attracting outside corporations, the Utica Chamber of Commerce established two new divisions: the Utica Industrial Development Corporation (1945) and the Industrial Business Development Division (1946). Responsible for establishing these divisions was James Capps, a retail clothier and president of the Chamber of Commerce, along with Vincent Corrou, a former mayor of Utica and state senator.

The Utica Industrial Development Corporation acted as a land broker and developer in assembling property to assist in the expansion of local companies, along with providing buildable land and existing buildings for new companies. The corporation worked to prevent the city from financing speculative building of new plants based on the possibility of companies locating to the area, if no firm agreements had been arranged. Working as the area’s promoter, the Industrial Business Development Division was established to seek-out and persuade companies to locate to Utica and the adjacent towns.

The first large company to locate in Utica was General Electric (GE) in 1944, which opened a radio-tube-works plant that employed several hundred people.

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
Though the two divisions of the Chamber of Commerce were not officially established at this time, the Chamber’s business dealings with GE initially prompted the creation of these divisions.\textsuperscript{67} In 1946, GE leased an existing industrial building and established the Receiver Works, employing six hundred people.\textsuperscript{68} In 1950, working with the New York State Department of Commerce, the two divisions of the Utica Chamber of Commerce were pursuing GE’s interest in building a new plant for its Light Military Electronics Division (LMED). Completing a complex business deal, the Utica Industrial Development Corporation assembled a package for GE that included: buying a $108,000 site in New Hartford, rezoning and annexing the site to be included in the Utica city limits, building $94,000 worth of storm sewers and pavement, and guaranteeing protection by Utica fire and police departments.\textsuperscript{69} In 1951, GE began building on the site and in 1952, the plant opened. This division of GE was entirely based on defense contracts and became the largest employer in the area, with fifty-eight hundred employees by the late 1950s.\textsuperscript{70}

In March of 1946, the New York State Department of Commerce was pursuing the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company (CP) to locate in the state after hearing that the company was looking to expand operations. The Utica Industrial Development Corporation and the Industrial Business Development Division quickly organized a meeting with company executives and state officials shortly after hearing about the news. The initial meeting went well, but CP was interested in seeing what other cities had to offer before making a decision.\textsuperscript{71} While the Utica Industrial Development

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{68} Thomas W. Clark, \textit{Utica, For a Century and a Half} (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 163.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
Corporation was assembling an incentive package, CP was in talks with the New York State Department of Commerce and Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions to change the unemployment compensation law to allow out-of-state companies to establish labor stability records.72 After months of legislative procedures, the law was changed and CP was estimated to save between $400,000 and $500,000 in payroll taxes over a three-year period.73

By early 1947, the Utica Industrial Development Corporation had assembled an incentive package for CP that included a deed to a seventy-seven acre site located just outside of Utica in the Town of Frankfort (located in Herkimer County), architectural plans for a 500,000 square foot building, an agreement by the city to extend water and sewer lines outside the city limits, guarantee city fire and police protection, and a detailed statistical analysis of the area.74 After a year of talks, CP announced in 1948 that they were going to accept the deal and in 1949, the new plant opened and employed 2,000 people.75

The incentive packages accepted by GE and CP represented the longest and most complex deals that the Utica Industrial Development Corporation had to make, compared to the companies that followed in the 1950s. (Table 1) Throughout the decade, the two divisions of the Chamber of Commerce were successful in attracting a new economic base to the area, replacing the textile industry with electrical machinery, nonelectrical machinery, and transportation-equipment industries.76 The unemployment numbers dropped from 15% in 1940 to 6.9% by 1960, with Utica’s

73 Ibid., 126.
75 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 163.
76 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 107.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Assistance Given</th>
<th>Year Started</th>
<th>1961 Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GE-Radio Receiver Dept.</td>
<td>Purchased, renovated and leased building</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GE-LMED</td>
<td>Provided site, streets, sewers, fire and police protection outside city</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6,800¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.</td>
<td>Donated site and building, plans, provided sewers, fire and police protection</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendix Corp.</td>
<td>Rezoned site, trained workers</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sperry-Rand Corp.</td>
<td>Renovated building</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk Airlines, Inc.</td>
<td>Developed site, constructed and leased buildings</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utronics, Inc.</td>
<td>Provided building</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hess Oil Co.</td>
<td>Sold site</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendix Radio Division building</td>
<td>Renovated and leased building</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneida Electronics, Inc.</td>
<td>Helped find building</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Electric Co.</td>
<td>Renovated and leased building</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk Valley Sold site Cement Co.</td>
<td>Sold site</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>11,961</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Griffis Air Force Base</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>11,282</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL EMPLOYMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23,243</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

¹ The 6,800 represents total employment at all GE plants in the area.
population remaining stable at slightly over 100,000 people during the “loom-to-boom” era of 1945-1960.77

As Utica shifted its industrial base toward technical fields requiring a higher skill level than that of the textile industry, the areas workforce needed to be transformed. The region prior to World War II only had one higher-learning institution, Hamilton College, a private, liberal-arts college located eight miles to the south in Clinton, NY. Beginning in 1943, the New York State Department of Education announced that it planned to open five industrial colleges throughout the state and in 1944 Utica was selected as a site for one of the five colleges.78 In 1946, the New York State Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences opened in the County Day School building.79 The institution was a post-secondary, two-year public college that the state established on an experimental basis.80 In 1950, the college became part of the State University of New York (SUNY) system, which was created in 1948, and in 1953, Oneida County assumed sponsorship of the college (renamed Mohawk Valley Technical Institute) under the Community College Law.81 From its creation in 1946 up to 1960, the college was scattered in buildings in downtown Utica and New Hartford, but in 1960 moved to a new 80-acre campus at the head of the Parkway in the southeastern-most corner of the city.82 In 1963 the college was renamed Mohawk Valley Community College.

In 1944, Syracuse University announced that it would open a branch college in Utica.83 By 1946, Utica College of Syracuse University was founded as a two-year

78 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 166.
79 Ibid.
80 Nancy Bashant, ed., History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 70.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Thomas W. Clark, Utica, For a Century and a Half (Utica: Widtman Press, 1952), 166.
Located in Oneida Square, attendance at the college quickly increased and within a year it became a four-year institution. As attendance increased, the college began a funding campaign in 1957 to expand to a new campus located on the southern portion of the abandoned New York State Hospital grounds in West Utica. In 1961, the college moved to its new 128-acre campus. In order to contain the entire campus within the city limits, a portion of the site had to be annexed from New Hartford in 1965.

In 1946, Governor Thomas E. Dewey announced that the Utica area would be granted a new college, part of the Associated Colleges of Upper New York. Located on the grounds of the old Rhoads Army Hospital in New Hartford, on the city line of Utica, the college (renamed Mohawk College) maintained an enrollment of close to 2,000 students until it closed in 1948. The original site of the college was annexed from New Hartford in 1965 as part of the Utica College and St. Luke’s-Memorial Hospital campus facilities.

The last major college to be located in Utica was the State University of New York Institute of Technology (SUNYIT) in 1966. Established originally as a graduate and upper-division institution, this is the only institute of technology in the SUNY system. The college began in the old headquarters of the Globe Mills on Court Street and in the late 1950s was looking for a location to build a new campus. In 1980, the institution moved to a 530-acre campus in Marcy, adjacent to North Utica.
In 1952, Utica began to address the shortage of experienced metalworkers and electronics technicians. The Chamber of Commerce, working with the New York State Department of Labor, established a re-training program for unemployed textile workers.\textsuperscript{92} The Chamber of Commerce formed the Utica Action Committee to provide assistance in the job-training programs. Utica College of Syracuse University, Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, and the city’s high schools all offered classes in the fields of metalworking and electronics.\textsuperscript{93} The program re-trained slightly over 1,000 textile workers in the two years that it was in place and established long-running programs in metalworking and electronics in both of the higher-learning institutions.\textsuperscript{94}

The actions by the Chamber of Commerce, along with assistance from the state provided the necessary measures for Utica’s economy and population to remain relatively stable during the loom-to-boom era. Though the Democratic political machine assumed a large portion of the credit for attracting new industries and higher learning institutions to the area, this is not completely true. The city government played a minor role in the process, while the Republican-controlled state and county governments, and local business elite, completing much of the work. As the political machine in Utica was increasing in corruption and not focusing on the future, the adjacent towns, in conjunction with the county were beginning to position themselves for future expansion.

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
Restructuring the City in Response to Regional Competition

At the same time as the region was undergoing a shift in industries, at the same time a second shift was taking place: suburban development and downtown urban renewal. Utica in the mid-1940s was experiencing a residential building boom, even as the population of the city remained stable at slightly over 100,000 residents. The increase in building was occurring along the periphery, in the areas of North, South, and East Utica where the city’s remaining tracts of cleared land were located. As foreseen as early as 1908 in the report published by Olmsted Jr., and later in the 1921 street report, the problems associated with expansion and an aging urban core became a reality in the mid-1940s.

Utica’s downtown central business district, which was the region’s major center of commerce and government, had remained relatively unchanged even as the city witnessed an increase in automobile usage. The urban core consisted of narrow streets and dense blocks, and also had a lack of parking.\(^95\) As in the downtown, the adjacent densely populated neighborhoods largely contained older, multi-family housing stock. With the beginning of the baby-boom in 1945, and rising employment in the area, people were able to afford new suburban-style houses and automobiles. This shift towards suburbanization began to emphasize the problems associated with the city’s older urban core.

Up to the late 1940s, suburban style expansion remained largely within the city limits, but by 1950, the land needed for such growth was primarily found in the adjacent towns.\(^96\) With the suburbs having an advantage over the city with large open tracks of buildable land, they quickly capitalized on their position by offering a low-density, automobile centered lifestyle. This suburban approach provided an

\(^{95}\) Utica Urban Renewal Committee, *Urban Renewal Project no 1* (Utica, 1957), 1.

alternative to urban-style residential and commercial development. In 1953, the first shopping plaza was built in New Hartford, which proudly advertised as having five hundred parking spaces. As the 1950s progressed, four additional suburban shopping plazas were opened, along with numerous adjacent subdivisions.

Adding to the growth of the suburbs was the construction of three state arterial highways: the North-South Arterial (Rt. 12), the East-West Arterial (Rt. 5s), and the Sauquoit Valley Arterial (Rt. 8). Planning began in 1950, with the state surveying the Utica area to determine possible routes. The State devised a master plan that called for the proposed highways to be located along the filled-in Erie and Chenango Canals. (Figure 6) The State also proposed changes to the northern end of Genesee Street, to provide improved access to the central business district and northern industrial area. The arterials were designed with the intention to better connect Utica with the outlying towns, along with providing direct access to the proposed Mohawk Thruway (later known as the New York State Thruway). The arterials were fully completed in the early 1960s.

As the adjacent towns were experiencing rapid growth in the 1950s, Utica was undergoing urban renewal to reverse the loss of retail and residence to the suburbs. Unlike the openness found in the suburbs, Utica had developed into a dense city with few places for expansion. This forced growth to occur outside the city limits. This growth is what Olmsted Jr. and the 1921 Street Report warned would happen when

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98 Ibid.
100 Ibid., 6.
Figure 6. New York State Department of Public Works proposed arterial highway system for the Utica urban area.
they recommended that Utica seek annexation of the adjacent towns to better control future expansion.

The practice of urban renewal in Utica began in 1950 when the city developed its first Comprehensive Master Plan. Within this plan, areas were designated as potential redevelopment sites.\textsuperscript{102} The planning for the first project, Redevelopment Project No. 1 (RP1), began in 1954 with construction starting in 1957.\textsuperscript{103} RP1 represented the first of four such projects that were intended to correct substandard and blighted areas, eliminate overcrowding in dense neighborhoods, prevent a reduction in collected taxes, and modernize the central business district to accommodate modern needs to keep the city competitive.\textsuperscript{104}

The area designated under RP1, located adjacent to the Downtown Central Business District, covered a 22-acre site.\textsuperscript{105} (Figure 7) The master plan called for the removal of 159 individual properties, redirecting the street grid, and building residential and governmental buildings.\textsuperscript{106} Also included in the plan was the demolition of the old City Hall, which was built in 1853 by famed architect Richard Upjohn.\textsuperscript{107} A new modern City Hall would be built to the west, with the site of the old City Hall being designated as parking.\textsuperscript{108}

The John Bleecker Project was the second and largest urban renewal project, encompassing 194-acres.\textsuperscript{109} Located adjacent to the central business district in East Utica, the project included four low-rise public housing buildings, a public housing complex consisting of sixteen two-story buildings, a fire station, and an enclosed

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item[102] Daniel A. Fusco, Michael C. Fusco, Ralph Rushmore, ed., \textit{A City Reborn} (Utica: Fusco, 1959), 32.
\item[103] Utica Urban Renewal Committee, \textit{Urban Renewal Project no 1} (Utica, 1957), 1.
\item[104] Daniel A. Fusco, Michael C. Fusco, Ralph Rushmore, ed., \textit{A City Reborn} (Utica: Fusco, 1959), 32.
\item[105] Utica Urban Renewal Committee, \textit{Urban Renewal Project no 1} (Utica, 1957), 12.
\item[108] Utica Urban Renewal Committee, \textit{Urban Renewal Project no 1} (Utica, 1957), 11.
\end{thebibliography}
Figure 7. Redevelopment Project no. 1. Top image: 22-acre project site as it relates to the central business district and arterial highways. Bottom image: proposed master plan for the site.
shopping mall (Towne East Mall) with underground and surface parking lots.\textsuperscript{110} As with RP1, much of the site was cleared of existing buildings, along with the street grid being redirected to accommodate the East-West Arterial running through the middle of the site.\textsuperscript{111} The centerpiece of the project was the Towne East Mall, which developers hoped would compete with the suburban shopping plazas. Within three years after opening, the mall closed due to poor sales and further competition when Riverside Mall in North Utica opened.\textsuperscript{112}

The Oriskany Plaza Project was the smallest of the four urban renewal projects, but was in the heart of downtown. The plan included the demolition of a historic theater and hotel along with a number of other buildings in a one-block site.\textsuperscript{113} Constructed in their place was a 280-car parking garage and a one-story annex to the Boston Store, which was one of the largest department stores in downtown.\textsuperscript{114} The project “marked a major step forward in Urban Renewal towards assisting local businesses to expand in the downtown area.”\textsuperscript{115}

The last of the urban renewal projects was the East Arterial Industrial Park, which was located adjacent to the newly constructed East-West Arterial.\textsuperscript{116} (Figure 8) The site for the industrial park was the location of a small, fourteen-block neighborhood that was home to middle- and low-income residents. The area was cleared of buildings with the residents being displaced, and the site was prepared for future development.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{112} Alexander R. Thomas, \textit{In Gotham’s Shadow: globalization and community change on central New York} (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 103.
  \item \textsuperscript{113} Report, Utica Urban Renewal Agency (Utica: Author, 1970), 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{116} Utica City Planning Board, \textit{The Master Plan, Utica, NY, 1960} (Utica: 1960) 45.
\end{itemize}
Figure 8. Urban Renewal proposal for the East Arterial Industrial Park.  

Figure 9. 1967 redevelopment projects in downtown Utica.  
Figure 10. Comparison maps showing regional growth, density, and urban renewal target areas. Top image: 1921 map of population density of developed areas. Bottom image: 1960 Urban Renewal Plan (Dark gray represents urban renewal target areas, and light gray represents rehabilitation target areas)
In 1960, additional plans were under development by the state and county to build two new government office buildings: the Oneida County Office Building and the New York State Office Building.\(^{117}\) (Figure 9) These projects, much like the urban renewal projects, cleared multiple urban blocks for suburban type buildings. Both buildings were completed in 1970.

The urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s were reactionary measures to the broader regional picture; people were leaving the dense, aging urban environment for a new, modern lifestyle in the suburbs. As the city became less able to cope quickly with the changing needs of the population, the suburbs seized upon an opportunity and provided the necessary infrastructure and land needed to support residential and commercial development. (Figure 10) Providing assistance to the suburbs was the State, through the construction of arterial highways which provided direct access to the new industry parks, business parks, colleges, and retail centers located along the arterial routes. As people moved further away from the city’s downtown, becoming increasingly reliant on automobiles, the urban core became unable to handle this increase in traffic.

Also providing assistance in suburban growth was Utica politics. The corrupt Democratic political machine had polarized the region since gaining power in the early 1940s and had reached its peak in 1957. The fall of the machine began in 1958 as a result of a series of State-led investigations into the city’s business dealings and association with organized crime.\(^{118}\) The investigations created a bad reputation for the city, which in turn drove current and prospective residences to the Republican suburbs. As the machine lost its control over the city, there was no strong political party to take control, and what resulted was a Common Council and Mayor who all


acted separately from each other.\textsuperscript{119} With this sudden shift in politics and unwillingness to compromise in order to reach decisions, the city soon lost the ability to spot and solve potential problems.

While suburbanization and urban renewal occurred in the 1950s, the regional impact of these actions would not be fully seen until the 1960s, first in the Census records and second in a regional shift in power. Comparing the population numbers of Oneida County, Utica, New Hartford, and Whitestown (encompassing Yorkville, New York Mills, and Whitesboro) for the years 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 the regional population shift becomes evident. (Table 2)

Table 2. Population figures from 1940-1970.
Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
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<tr>
<td>Oneida County</td>
<td>203,636</td>
<td>222,855</td>
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<td>273,037</td>
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<td>Utica</td>
<td>100,518</td>
<td>101,531</td>
<td>100,410</td>
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<td>New Hartford</td>
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<td>6,950</td>
<td>19,185</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whitestown</td>
<td>8,538</td>
<td>10,893</td>
<td>19,185</td>
<td>21,382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Utica prior to 1940, held half of Oneida County’s population and the surrounding towns remained stable at under ten thousand residents. In 1950, however, as Oneida County grew in population, Utica for the first time did not proportionally increase with the county, but rather the suburbs increased slightly in population. In 1960, the county increased by over forty thousand people, which all occurred outside of Utica in the suburbs. By 1970, the population of the county continued to increase while Utica’s population fell below 100,000. This change in population, mainly in

middle- and upper-income residents, provided the suburbs with greater influence in the region.

In 1963, Oneida County voters approved a charter that established an executive branch, a planning department, and a Department of Public Works (previously the Highway Department).\textsuperscript{120} This charter changed how the county was run, with a board of supervisors being replaced by a 29-seat county legislature headed by a county executive.\textsuperscript{121} The shift in population, gave the suburbs the advantage in electing county officials that worked in their favor controlling the county, the suburbs were able to direct large amounts of funding to support their growth.

While the suburbs and county were working together, Utica became crippled by an ineffective city government. The political talent needed to unite and rebuild the city was largely missing, due in part to the years of corruption that turned Utica’s young talent away from political careers.\textsuperscript{122} The people who did become involved in politics carried with them years of “heavy baggage,” in the form of personal disputes and bitterness that got in the way of conducting business.\textsuperscript{123} The subsequent mayors after the machine were unable to provide leadership or control over the Common Council, which consisted of nine members acting independently and who were often unwilling to compromise.

During the years from 1960 to the mid-1990s, the city slowly began to fall into disrepair. The loss of the middle- and upper-income residents, combined with the loss of the city’s retail sector, resulted in a significant decline in tax revenue. Adding to this problem, after refusing to follow a 1947 state mandate to reassess city property

\textsuperscript{120} Nancy Bashant, ed., \textit{History of Oneida County: Commemorating the Bicentennial of our National Independence} (Utica: Oneida County, 1977), 101.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 115.
taxes, a citywide reassessment was completed in the early 1990s, which resulted in a large loss in tax revenue.\textsuperscript{124} Faced with tax losses, an increase in socially and economically dependent citizens, and an aging infrastructure designed for a population of over 100,000, the city raised taxes and imposed fees for garbage services.\textsuperscript{125} Also experiencing significant budget deficits, the school system in the 1980s began a program to consolidate the city’s schools. As the demographic in the city changed, so too did the school system. Having two middle schools and one high school, which were overcrowded and facing large budget cuts, retaining and attracting families proved to be difficult as the suburban schools continually outperformed Utica’s schools by provided better learning environments, funding, and programs.

In 1995, Edward Hanna, who had been mayor between 1974 and 1977, replaced Louis LaPolla as mayor. Hanna was a controversial and polarizing mayor. He radically cut and merged city departments, imposed a gag order on city employees, and continually fought with the Common Council and local media.\textsuperscript{126} His eccentric behavior overshadowed and undermined the projects that he attempted to undertake. Throughout his time as Mayor, he focused on “cleaning up” the downtown (not officially calling his proposals revitalization plans) by removing dilapidated buildings, selling buildings for one dollar, and building small parks on vacant lots.\textsuperscript{127} Although his efforts to improve the physical aspects of downtown were relatively successful, he was unable to attract people and business to the area. This was largely because of two reasons: his polarizing character created barriers between him and the people needed

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 121.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
to accomplish such a task and he contradicted his downtown initiative by building a suburban business park on the city line, adjacent to New Hartford.  

Through all of his antics, Hanna was able to leave a positive lasting legacy with the city. When he sold a number of buildings to developers and business owners for one dollar, some saw it as a poor business deal. By doing this, however, he was able to lower the costs of rehabilitation for these projects and encourage downtown development. This approach proved to be successful in rehabilitating buildings, such as the Adirondack Bank Building, Hotel Utica, and Byington Mill Building, but this method was not without problems. Because the buildings were sold at such a low cost and the Hanna administration was poor at communicating their ideas, the projects were surrounded in controversy. As Hanna tried to continue this practice, his presence turned away potential developers and business owners who did not want to be associated with the Mayor. Although widely debated at the time, this method of rehabilitation was successful in saving a number of important downtown landmarks, along with creating tax producing properties and saving the city money for not having to demolish these buildings.

The other lasting legacy that Hanna left behind was his initiative to encourage refugees to relocate to Utica. With the population declining rapidly after 1960, Hanna saw potential in “opening the doors of the city” to new immigrants. Other cities were rejecting immigrants and refugees from Bosnia, Vietnam, Belarus, and Russia, but Utica welcomed them. Seeing these people as assets to the city, Hanna often

129 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
stated, “they are people who start businesses, buy houses, and keep up their properties,” and “new people means new talents and more growth, meaning a better life for everyone.”\textsuperscript{134}

Many of the refugees had been brought to the city by the non-profit Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, (MVRCR) which has processed more than 2,000 people since 1983.\textsuperscript{135} The City has experienced the largest impact with the estimated forty-five hundred Bosnians that came to Utica.\textsuperscript{136} The Bosnians have changed the look of the city by rehabilitating hundreds of vacant and abandoned homes in the Corn Hill and East Utica neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{137} The Bosnian refugees pool their labor together and help each other to create livable homes in otherwise neglected areas of the city.\textsuperscript{138} Between 2001 and 2006, housing values have increased fifty-two percent.\textsuperscript{139} In addition, the initial costs of refugee resettlement was high, but after fifteen years, the city’s investment has proved beneficial in developing an efficient long-term strategy for its economic survival.\textsuperscript{140} Hanna’s influence on the city would not be fully seen until after four to five years after he left office, when: the controversy surrounding his administration had dissipated and the projects he started were completed and proving successful.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
Conclusion

The current condition of Utica is the result of a long history of development and decisions made as reactionary responses to impending or ongoing hardships. These actions, beginning with the business elite’s response to a decline in canal-based industry, resulted in their investigation and establishment of a new industry that utilized emerging technology and the area’s strong infrastructure network. The development of the textile industry, assisted by the expansion of the railroad and influx of immigrant workers, allowed the business elite to overcome an impending economic decline.

The rapid growth of Utica and large immigrant population that followed, however, led to social issues tied to industry and politics. Issues such as the mistreatment and under-representation of the immigrant population, along with the slowing of the textile industry, began to change the dynamics of the city. Through the organization of the Italian and Polish populations, the Italian Democratic machine replaced the Irish Republican machine. This change affected both city and regional politics, with the Democratic machine controlling the city and Republican machine controlling the county and rural towns. With both machines being polarizing figures in the region, the relationship between the city and county was strained.

Acting separate from the two machines, the Chamber of Commerce focused on rebuilding the city’s economy after the decline of the textile industry. Through the establishment of educational intuitions offering retraining programs, the area’s workforce was transformed from textile to metal and machinery workers. The Chamber, through incentive packages, was able to attract new companies to the city. These new educational intuitions and companies allowed workers to earn higher wages and the ability to afford a new lifestyle focused on the automobile and suburban shopping and living.
The growth associated with this new lifestyle, highlighted longstanding problems between the city and county. Utica, containing dense blocks of aging housing and commercial buildings, along with a lack of open land suitable for new construction, was unable to retain and control development. The polarizing nature of the Democratic machine had eliminated the relationships between the city and the surrounding towns and county, therefore, limiting Utica’s ability to annex land or create regional partnerships that would control and plan the area’s growth. What resulted was a competition between Utica and the suburbs for development.

The surrounding towns, assisted by county and state highway projects, developed rapidly due in part to large expanses of open land. The development of shopping plazas and subdivisions designed around the automobile offered an attractive alternative to city shopping and living. Also aiding suburban expansion, companies such as General Electric and Chicago Pneumatic, along with higher learning intuitions relocated to the edge of the city from the downtown.

City leaders in a reactionary response to suburban development participated in the practice of urban renewal. Targeting the central business district for redevelopment, plans focused on suburbanizing the city’s urban core. The downtown was the center of four different urban renewal projects, with each demolishing large blocks of buildings, redirecting the street grid, and adding large parking garages and surface lots. The urban core suffered a significant loss of urban fabric, with the projects having little impact on the city’s ability to compete with the suburbs in the retail and residential markets.

Adding to the difficulties that Utica was facing, the collapse of the Democratic machine in the late 1950s, left the city without the political leadership and expertise needed to overcome such problems. What followed was a long period of ineffective governing that further drove citizens and businesses to the suburbs. The importance of
Above: Downtown Utica late 1930s, pre-Urban Renewal.
Source: Oneida County Historical Society

Above: Downtown Utica 2008
Source: Microsoft Virtual Earth

Figure 11. Downtown Central Business District before and after Urban Renewal.
this point will be later discussed in Chapter Three, through the case study of Greenville, SC.

The result of all of these actions have severely weakened the city, with the physical evidence of this being apparent in the urban fabric of the city. When comparing an aerial photo of the central business district from the late 1930s with one from 2008, the severity of the city’s decline can best be seen. (Figure 11) What is most noticeable first, is a significant loss of urban fabric. The suburbanization of the downtown has largely left the area disconnected and non-conducive to pedestrian traffic. This is due in part to the abundance of surface parking lots, which separate the remaining buildings and create an unattractive urban landscape. What cannot be easily seen in the 2008 aerial, is the neglect and abandonment of the remaining buildings. With a majority of these buildings empty, with some on the verge of collapse, the unappealing condition of the downtown represents the area’s level of disinvestment and lack of attention towards the city. What will later be seen in the case study of Greenville, the image of the downtown is the symbol of the region, whether positive or negative.
CHAPTER 2: A SNAPSHOT OF UTICA TODAY

The City of Utica presently has an opportunity to develop in a new direction. With a recently elected Mayor who is focused on downtown and city-wide revitalization, coupled with a number of successful rehabilitation projects, the momentum currently in the city is in favor of revitalization. The ability of this administration to maintain and build upon this momentum is critical for long-term success.

In this chapter, some recent and current strategies for encouraging revitalization will be examined. Looking first at a case study of the Bagg’s Square area, followed by two shorter case studies, a picture of revitalization efforts within the city can be developed. (Figure 12) The second half of this chapter will examine the available funding programs offered by the federal, state, and local government to encourage revitalization. The chapter will end on a brief discussion of the development of a Comprehensive Master Plan, as it applies to the first and second half of this chapter, along with the history in Chapter One. By examining these different areas, an image of the city can be constructed that offers insight as to how affective current revitalization efforts will be.

Case Study: Revitalization of Bagg’s Square

The Bagg’s Square neighborhood, which is adjacent to the central business district, is an example of a downtown revitalization project that incorporates the concepts associated with developing a small target area. The five buildings in the project area represent a range of restoration and rehabilitation techniques that can be utilized throughout the city. Though city officials did not formally choose this site as a focus area, individual private and public projects began a small movement that
Figure 12. Example revitalization and rehabilitation projects located in Utica.
Source: Urban and Economic Development Department, City of Utica
inspired further revitalization. The lessons learned from this project area are currently being integrated into the Comprehensive Master Plan, which will include a revitalization plan as part of the overall scheme.

The four brick buildings in addition to the train station, Union Station, have been the focus of revitalization by private developers for years, with the most activity occurring in the past six years. The buildings surrounding the Union Station are the Children’s Museum, the Utica Daily Press Building, the Doyle Hardware Building, and the Hurd Shoe Building. The area is located in the local Scenic and Historic District, and with the Union Station, Utica Daily Press Building, the Doyle Hardware Building, and the Hurd Shoe Building on the State and National Register of Historic Places. (Figure 13)

Union Station, the centerpiece of the area, served hundreds of people a day back in the early 1900s. When the automobile, interstate highway, and air travel became available, passenger rail and freight traffic saw a decline. By the 1970s, the station was in disrepair and close to being demolished for a small generic Amtrak station. The recently formed Landmarks Society of Greater Utica focused on saving the station in the late 1970s and convinced city leaders that the building was an important and irreplaceable landmark that should not be lost.141 The Society’s efforts paid off, with the station receiving grants for restoration and rehabilitation work in 1978. Recently the station has undergone additional restoration and rehabilitation work on the interior and exterior. In the past decade the upper floors that were once offices for the railroad have become offices for Oneida County, and the ground floor the Department of Motor Vehicles. The restoration and rehabilitation of the station

141 Mike Bosak, President of the Landmarks Society of Greater Utica, interviewed by Ross Pristera 26 September 2008.
Aerial view from Microsoft Virtual Earth
Photographs by Ross Pristera, 14 August 2008.
has brought millions of dollars of grant money into the area and has become the center of redevelopment in the Bagg’s Square area.

The second building to be rehabilitated was the Children’s Museum, constructed in the late 1880s, which is adjacent to the train station and was once a dry goods store. The Museum purchased the five-story building in 1979 and for years only occupied the bottom three floors. As the collection increased, the museum began to occupy the upper floors as well. Because of the building’s original use, the interior provides large open spaces perfect for museum exhibits. The decorative brick architecture also adds to the building’s character and has become a recognizable symbol for the Museum.

In 2002 the Hurd Shoe Building was purchased by JetNet and rehabilitated into a mixed-use office/residential building. The structure was constructed in 1911 as a warehouse for Hurd Shoes. As with the Children’s Museum, the building’s architecture and layout provided an attractive space allowing for easy future expansion. The owner of the company was attracted to the building because of the large, open interiors and location in Bagg’s Square. The rehabilitation project called for the lower three floors to be office space and the upper two floors to become residential units for the owner and his brother. The project totaled around six million dollars to complete.

The JetNet Company began in Utica in 1988. It maintains a database of owner, operator, and contact information regarding airplanes and helicopters worldwide. This company is an example of the type of business Utica should try to retain; a local company that can locate anywhere because they conduct business largely over the internet and telephone. To retain such companies, the city must focus

142 East Utica, Richard Enders, Mohawk Valley Living, WKTV Video, Episode 184, 12 October 2008, videocassette.
143 Ibid.
on the needs and concerns of these companies and maintain a strong working relationship to prevent them from relocating. The successful and attractive rehabilitation of the Hurd Shoe building is a prime example of the potential that these historic warehouses and light manufacturing buildings hold. They allow for large open spaces, contain numerous windows providing considerable natural light, and are easily renovated due to the absence of interior walls and other interior features.

A third rehabilitated building is located opposite the Children’s Museum, across Main Street. It is the Utica Daily Press Building, the original location of the Utica Daily Press newspaper, which began in 1882. The newspaper operated in another structure from 1905 until its closing in 1987. Over the decades, the original building was occupied by various owners and started to fall into disrepair in the late 1980s. In 2008, the non-profit group Kids Oneida purchased the building to allow for expansion of the organization. The group had a limited budget for rehabilitation, but this did not prevent them from pursuing the project. The first two floors of the building were renovated into office space with the third floor remaining as a future flex space. The organization was attracted to the building for the same reasons that the Children’s Museum and JetNet were attracted to their buildings: location, building layout, and architecture.

Located between the Hurd Shoe Building and the Utica Daily Press Building, and across the street from the train station, is the Doyle Hardware Building. This building was built in the early 1900s for clothing manufacturing. It became the Doyle Hardware store in the mid 1920s. In 2007, the building was purchased by Argyll Developments, LLC (Argyll) after the Doyle family decided to close their business.

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The Doyle family had maintained the building in good condition, making the property attractive to developers interested in rehabilitation. The plans that Argyll developed for the site were to convert the building into high-end residential loft apartments.\textsuperscript{146} The location within Utica was attractive due to the proximity to the train station, the downtown area, and the atmosphere of the Bagg’s Square area. On a larger scale, with Utica being between Toronto, New York City, and the Adirondacks, the location provided the potential to market the property towards second-home buyers living in Toronto and New York City.\textsuperscript{147} A smaller focus would be on attracting local professionals looking for an alternative to suburban living.

As the project developed, feasibility studies were conducted along with evaluating the 2005, Zimmerman / Volk Report. Funded by the City of Utica, the Report examined the viability of converting underutilized commercial buildings into market-rate housing mixed with retail/office buildings.\textsuperscript{148} The study found that the market in Utica could support around one hundred housing units per year, over a five-year time span.\textsuperscript{149} The target market for these downtown units includes young singles and couples along with empty nesters and retirees.\textsuperscript{150} The study also identified the market rates for such units if created. (Table 3)

Table 3. Market units for downtown Utica.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unite Type</th>
<th>Base Rent/Price Range</th>
<th>Base Unit Size Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rental Lofts</td>
<td>$750 - $1,450</td>
<td>500 – 1,300 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For-Sale Lofts</td>
<td>$80,000 - $150,000</td>
<td>600 – 1,200 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury Apartments</td>
<td>$165,000 - $275,000</td>
<td>950 – 1,750 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townhomes</td>
<td>$145,000 - $250,000</td>
<td>1,000 – 2,000 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 13.
The sixty-six page Report provided base evidence that showed the area could handle a different type of housing unit that would attract a new and underutilized market. The units that the study identified for the downtown were shown to not currently exist and that this marked a missed opportunity for the city in retaining and attracting new residents.\footnote{Ibid., 11.} City leaders, with support from this study, were able to show developers that the market demands in Utica supported redevelopment of existing buildings, and that they should feel confident in investing in the downtown area.

Evidence was provided with the Zimmerman/Volk study that supported the proposal by Argyll Developments. Still, the data was untested and this created skepticism among developers. The current condition of the downtown area with numerous buildings in a state of disrepair, along with a feeling that people are not attracted to urban living, presented obstacles to area developers un-acustomed to urban development.

Because of the recent downturn in the national economy, the financing and economics no longer support the project.\footnote{Mike Rizzo, project architect, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 25 October 2008.} Unless there are large subsidies from the city, state, and federal government that make the economics of the project feasible, the project will remain dormant.\footnote{Ibid.} Currently, Argyll is looking for a commercial tenant to occupy the ground floor, with hopes of attracting a restaurant, bar, or other use that will cater to the future residential aspect of the project. As discussed in previous sections, these uses are more likely to follow residential development after a density has been established to support such uses.

The Bagg’s Square area has experienced a small revitalization within the past few years, but the area is still lacking the density needed to create a healthy

\footnote{Ibid., 11.}
\footnote{Mike Rizzo, project architect, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 25 October 2008.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
revitalization. Currently, even with the buildings that have been rehabilitated, the area remains fairly empty with few pedestrians. This is because there are numerous parking lots located between the buildings, discouraging pedestrian traffic. All of the described projects, with the exception of the Children’s Museum, were led by architects involved in the Landmarks Society. David Bonacci, of Bonacci Architects, has worked on the Union Station, the Hurd Shoe Building, and the Utica Daily Press Building, while Mike Rizzo, of Ward Associates, has worked on the proposal for the Doyle Hardware Building. These men, along with the Landmarks Society, are trying to express to the public that there is potential in these warehouses and manufacturing buildings and that they are perfect candidates for rehabilitation. Utica has other sections of the city that contain these types of buildings that could be potential areas for revitalization as well. (Figure 12)

The area of Varick Street, located in the neighborhood of West Utica, has been the focus of neighborhood revitalization, similar to that of Bagg’s Square. Begun by the city and Landmarks Society of Greater Utica in 2002, a three-block focus area along Varick Street was identified as a target area for revitalization. This area was selected due to it architectural character, intact street facades, and the presence of the F. X. Matt Brewery. Focusing on establishing a distinct district for nightlife and entertainment, along with highlighting the city’s most notable company, the Brewery District was created. With assistance from the Landmarks Society, the city hosted a number of workshops aimed at local developers and business owners to become involved in the project. ¹⁵⁴

Utilizing available city, state, and federal funding, such as the Façade Improvement Grants, New York State Main Street Grant, Restore New York Community Initiative, and Community Development Block Grant funding, the worked

¹⁵⁴ Pam Jardieu, City of Utica grant writer, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 26 September 2008.
Table 4. Varick Street Revitalization.
Source: City of Utica Department of Urban and Economic Development, Landmarks Society of Greater Utica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Varick Street Revitalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location and Focus Area</td>
<td>Three-blocks of Varick, in West Utica, Brewery District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Features</td>
<td>F. X. Matt Brewery (1888), St. Joseph &amp; St Patrick Church (1891), Globe Woolen Mills (1847, currently offices)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Background</td>
<td>Originally settled by Irish immigrants in the 1830s, and later expanded by German and Polish immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Area Decline</td>
<td>1960 through the 1990s seeing widespread neglect and abandonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Initial Interest in</td>
<td>2002, when city officials and the Landmarks Society focused on redeveloping the area as the Brewery District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revitalization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects Goals</td>
<td>Utilize existing building and neighborhood character to establish a district unique to the city. Create a tax-producing district that is economically stable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Funding</td>
<td>New York State Main Street Grant ($600,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restore New York Community Initiative ($2 million)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CDBG funding ($160,000), HOME Program ($250,000), Façade Improvements Program (2:1 match, $10,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Focus</td>
<td>Street improvements, façade improvements, and public education and workshops on utilizing existing vacant buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing the Brewery</td>
<td>Showcasing Utica’s most well known business, the development of bars, restaurants, night clubs, and housing for college students, and young professionals become the focus. Holding events such as concerts and festivals that relate to the brewery have proved successful in drawing people to the district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Outcome</td>
<td>A majority of the buildings located in the target area have been rehabilitated, with the area becoming a center for nightlife. The city and business owners have supported many events in the district, aimed at drawing large crowds, which have brought new interest into the area. The district has become an example of what can be accomplished when the public and private sectors engage in partnerships. The adjacent blocks surrounding the target area have recently begun to be revitalized, largely through the private sector, showing signs of future redevelopment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to complete street and infrastructure improvements, along with working with private developers and business owners on rehabilitating buildings and improving street facades.\textsuperscript{155} In combination with focused redevelopment projects, the brewery working with the city, held summer concerts and weekly events drawing people to the area. Saranac Thursday, named for one of the beers that the brewery produces, has become the districts largest event.\textsuperscript{156} Running throughout the summer, it draws around a thousand people each week to Varick Street to drink, socialize, and listen to live music. The increasing success of the event has encouraged bars and restaurants to open along Varick Street and has driven the revitalization of the area. Though relatively early in the revitalization process, the area has increasingly seen more private investment, further driving neighborhood revitalization. (Table 4)

The most recent large-scale rehabilitation project in Utica, and longest ongoing project, is the Stanley Theatre of the Performing Arts. Built in 1928, the Mexican-Baroque style theatre was one of six theatres located in Utica, and currently is the only remaining intact theatre in the city. Threatened by neglect and demolition, the Central New York Community Arts Council (Arts Council) purchased the theatre in 1974. Raising an initial $5.5 million the Arts Council began rehabilitating the building in the min-1970s, focusing on stabilizing the structure, restoring architectural elements and spaces, and reopening the theatre to the public.\textsuperscript{157} (Table 5)

The Arts Council was successful in promoting the theatre and by 2004, the need for expansion and further rehabilitation of the building was necessary.\textsuperscript{158} The theatre’s small stage size, lack of adequate dressing rooms and support space, along with not being handicap accessible was limiting the theatres ability to attract

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Dana C. Silano, “Saranac Thursday brings everyone together.” Observer Dispatch, 5 June 2008 5B.
\textsuperscript{157} Kevin Marken, Stanley Theatre Director of Development, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 24 September 2008.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
Table 5: Stanley Theatre Revitalization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Project</strong></th>
<th><strong>Stanley Theatre</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Southern edge downtown Utica, New York in the city’s theatre district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Opening Date</td>
<td>September 10, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Use</td>
<td>2,963 seat movie palace and live performances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Neighborhood Decline</td>
<td>1960s and 1970s all local theatres were demolished during the Urban Renewal era, but the Stanley remained opened during these times while still being neglected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Initial Interest in Revitalization</td>
<td>1974 when the Central New York Community Arts Council raised $135,000 to purchase the property in order to save it from demolition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Initial Restoration</td>
<td>1974-2004: $5.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas of Initial Restoration</td>
<td>New roofs, electrical retrofit, interior carpets, seat refurbishment, restoration of decorative finishes, new restrooms, new stage draperies, new sound and lighting equipment, and safety improvements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status After Initial Restoration</td>
<td>Continued to be operational, gained a lot of public interest, but did not have adequate accommodations for stage performances or appropriate backstage areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion Capital Campaign</td>
<td>Funding campaigns began in 2006 to raise money for the $18.5 million “2008 Stanley Expansion Project”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private/Public Campaigns (Boards, Affiliates, Foundations, Individuals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Sector Support (City, County, State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Federal Contributions (Federal, Tax Credits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(see Table 6 for further detail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas of Improvement for 2008 Stanley Expansion Project</td>
<td>Stage expansion, stage modernization (fire safety and HVAC systems), stage support (dressing rooms, bathrooms, and support spaces), stage loading (access for truck deliveries), streetscape improvements, initiation of the Stanley Endowment Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs Generated by Expansion Project</td>
<td>149 construction jobs and 174 permanent direct and indirect jobs (90% of project done by a regional market in order to keep money in area and support job market)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes Stimulated Project</td>
<td>$1.7 million in state and local taxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Grand Reopening</td>
<td>April 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals of Expansion Project</td>
<td>Increasing the theatre’s regional economic impact, investing in the revitalization of the area, making a working historic landmark more viable, and serving as a catalyst for the creation of a downtown arts and entertainment district</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Stanley Theatre Expansion Capital Campaign History.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanley Theatre Project: Funding Sources</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Private</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board/Affiliates</td>
<td>$1,190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundations/Corporations/Individuals</td>
<td>$2,226,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Campaign</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telethon Pledges &amp; Community Appeal</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York State</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. Pataki 2006 Budget Line Item</td>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. Pataki 2004 EOF Grant</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senator Meier 2001 SIP Grant</td>
<td>$1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senator Meier 2002 CCAP Grant</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly Woman Destito/Silver CEFAP Grant</td>
<td>$750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly Woman Destito 2004 CCAP Grant</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly Woman Destito 2004 Multi-Modal</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYS Parks &amp; Recreation 2005 EPF Grant</td>
<td>$160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYSERDA HVAC Incentive</td>
<td>$65,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYSCA</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oneida County</strong></td>
<td>$2,750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Utica</td>
<td>$280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boehlert/Schumer HUD EDI 2004</td>
<td>$3,543,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boehlert/Clinton HUD EDI 2005</td>
<td>$198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton Dept. of Int./SAT 2005</td>
<td>$246,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Trust</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Rehab Tax Credit</td>
<td>$2,768,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Development Council</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Market Tax Credit Allocation</td>
<td>$1,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Committed</strong></td>
<td>$20,476,516</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
performing arts productions. 159 Beginning in 2006, the Arts Council began a funding campaign to raise $18.5 million for the building’s expansion. Utilizing city, state, and federal grants, along with private and corporate donations, $20.5 million was raised by the spring of 2007. 160 (Table 6) After a year and-a-half of construction, the Stanley reopened in the late summer of 2008.

Since the theatre’s reopening in the mid-1970s, and continual expansion and success of attracting people downtown, the surrounding blocks have slowly developed into an Arts and Theatre District. The close proximity to the Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institution, the Pratt Arts Institute (a satellite campus for the Pratt Arts Institute located in New York City), and smaller theatres and galleries have attracted stores, restaurants, and housing focused towards the arts and art goers. The Urban and Economic Development Department, working with the Landmarks Society are both focused on further revitalizing the area through similar means used for Varick Street. 161

**Encouraging Revitalization Through Available Governmental Funding**

A city such as Utica, which is currently experiencing an economic decline and significant population loss, has limited resources – time, money, and staff – to put towards revitalization. 162 On the other hand, private developers and individuals who are interested in revitalization are hesitant in implementing projects due to their uncertainty in the local market. 163 For the revitalization process to be effective, these groups need to work together to overcome each other’s difficulties. The city can

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159 Ibid.
160 Ibid.
162 Pam Jardieu, City of Utica grant writer, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 26 September 2008.
initiate the revitalization process by offering various incentives – financial and/or other deals – that attract private developers and individual investors by lessening their concerns and helping them follow through on these projects. Each party can benefit from these deals; the developer makes a profit on the building and the city has a taxable, utilized building that contributes to the overall improvement of the area.\textsuperscript{164}

Utica’s Department of Urban and Economic Development (UED) is responsible for urban planning, community development, and the allocation of federal, state, and local funding throughout the city. The department receives around four million dollars annually from the U. S. Department of Urban Development (HUD) in three forms: Emergency Shelter Grants (ESG), Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), and Home Investment Partnerships Acts (HOME).\textsuperscript{165} These funds are distributed to programs and organizations throughout the city, including non-profit organizations, the Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO), and emergency shelters.

The department is led by an appointed commissioner who oversees a staff of eight employees, including a city planner, grant writer, program specialist, finance administrator, network technician, and aides. Three city boards, Zoning, the Scenic and Historic Commission, and Planning, along with the Common Council, approve or reject department actions. The department runs a number of the city’s important programs with its small staff, including: the HOME program, Façade program, Lead-Safe Utica, CDBG, ESG, the Economic Reinvestment Program, JumpStart Loan program, Rutger-Steuben Park Historic District, Consolidation Plan, Main Street Program, and the Empire Zone Program.

\textsuperscript{164} Pam Jardieu, City of Utica grant writer, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 26 September 2008.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
The primary source of funding that the department uses towards revitalization efforts comes from the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG). Averaging around three million dollars annually, this money has been cut four to eight percent a year by HUD. This available money is not directed exclusively towards revitalization, but is further divided among numerous other programs. (Table 7)

The funding dedicated towards streetscape, demolition, parks and recreation, and façade programs is what the department can use in revitalization efforts. Since this money is from the federal government, it comes with rules and regulations regarding how it can be spent. HUD has established three national objectives, requiring all CDBG projects to meet one or more of them. The projects must (1) benefit low- and moderate-income people, (2) prevent or eliminate slums or blight, or (3) address community development needs having a particular urgency because existing conditions pose a serious and immediate threat to the health or welfare of the

Table 7. CDBG 2009 – 2010 Budget.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs</th>
<th>Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated 2008-2009 Entitlement from HUD</td>
<td>$2,871,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDBG Program Income</td>
<td>$277,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,148,367</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration Costs</td>
<td>$629,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan Programs</td>
<td>$932,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streetscape, Demolition, Parks and Façade Programs</td>
<td><strong>$1,310,000</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior and Youth Programs</td>
<td>$277,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,148,367</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

166 Ibid.
community for which other funding is not available. UED can use this funding for:

- Acquisition, relocation, and rehabilitation of real property
- Rehabilitation of residential and non-residential structures
- Construction of public facilities and improvements to infrastructure
- Preservation and restoration of historic properties in low-income neighborhoods
- Public services targeted towards low- to moderate-income people
- Activities relating to energy conservation and renewable energy sources
- Assistance to profit-motivated businesses to carry out economic development and job creation and retention activities

In the 2009-2010 budget, UED has decreased funding for rehabilitation-focused programs, such as street improvements (cut by $120,000 or 15%), parks and recreation (cut by 50%), and the Economic Reinvestment Program along with other loan pool funding (cut by 60%). A program that saw the largest increase in funding was the demolition program, which increased from $61,000 to $285,000.

UED has provided assistance to organizations, developers, and individuals who qualify for additional federal programs, that includes: Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credits, Low-Income Housing Tax Credits, and New Market Tax Credits. Intended for commercial and income-producing properties, these programs offer an effective tool in assisting the costs associated with rehabilitation. The recent rehabilitation and

168 Pam Jardieu, City of Utica grant writer, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 26 September 2008.
170 Ibid.
expansion of the Stanley Theatre is the city’s best example of how federal, state, and local funding sources can be combined. (Table 5 and Table 6)

Besides federal sources of funding, the department receives state level grants, including: the New York Main Street Program (overseen by the New York State Office of Community Renewal), and the Restore NY Community Initiative (overseen by the Empire State Development Corporation). These programs have provided the extra funding needed to accomplish many rehabilitation and revitalization projects. The best example found in the city is utilizing these programs, along with local funding sources is the revitalization of Varick Street. (Table 4)

To accomplish projects under the New York Main Street Program, Restore NY Community Initiative, HOME program, and Lead-Safe Utica, UED works with the local community development housing organization (CHDO), GroWest. This non-profit organization attempts to worked closely with the neighborhoods to promote a “safe, economically viable community through promotion of home ownership, business opportunity, and neighborhood pride.” GroWest receives funding from city, state, and federal sources, and employs four people. Currently the organization is being spread thin across the city due to the failure or closing of other CHDOs.

At the local level, the city has encourages revitalization in sections of the city through the establishment of a Scenic and Historic Preservation District. This designation is intended to help preserve the city’s most historic sections, but has also acted as a tool to encourage businesses, homeowners, and developers to invest in these areas. The district was created in 1994 and contains more than fifteen hundred parcels and is overseen by the city’s Scenic and Historic Commission. (Figure 14)

171 “GroWest paves way to urban renewal.” Observer Dispatch, 22 May 2003, 13A.
Figure 14. Scenic and Historic Districts including local and National Register properties. Area includes: Proctor Park System, Genesee Street, Rutger-Steuben Park, Varick Street, Bagg’s Square, and Herkimer Road. Source: Urban and Economic Development Department

Table 8. Tax breaks and incentives offered by the City of Utica
Source: City of Utica, Urban and Economic Development Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of Utica Tax Break Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>485-a Real Tax Law</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows 100% abatement of the value-added real estate taxes for the residential portion of mixed-use buildings, with a phase-in to full assessment over twelve years. This applies to City and School taxes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>485-b Real Property Tax Law</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows 50% abatement of the value-added real-estate taxes for the commercial portion of mixed-use buildings, with a phase-in to full assessment over ten years. This applies to City, School, and County taxes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>444-a Real Property Tax Law</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic property that is altered or rehabilitated in accordance with local historic preservation laws is exempt from taxation to the extent of any increase in value attributable to the alteration or rehabilitation. An exemption of 100% in years 1-5 is applied then stepped up to full assessment by year 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. I. L. O. T.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial tax abatement program available to non-housing portion of projects. This program is available through the Utica Industrial Development Agency, and may be combined with 485-a real property tax law benefits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>City of Utica Empire Zone (EZ)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects located within Utica's Empire Zone and which convert vacant upper floors for residential re-use and create jobs on the lower floors may be eligible for property tax credits, sales tax benefits, and utility discounts. EZ benefits may also be combined with 485-a real property tax law benefits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The district allows property owners the ability to access funding along with other benefits that help them maintain, rehabilitate, or restore their properties. The programs offered include technical assistance grants, façade improvement grants, outdoor café program, and tax breaks. These grants work on a match basis requiring a 1:1 or 2:1 match depending on the desired program. In addition to grants, tax breaks are a widely used incentive in encouraging revitalization. (Table 8)

For property owners to access these funds they are required to submit a proposal that follows the district’s design guidelines has to be approved by the Commission. The Commission was not formed to be an adversary in these neighborhoods, but an ally that provides guidance and assistance to property owners.

As the city promotes downtown revitalization, educating the public about these various federal, state, and local funding programs becomes increasingly important. Due to the complexity of guidelines, regulations, and funding application processes to receive such funding, the city estimates that a large number of eligible people are not making use of these programs. Learning from past experiences, UED, with assistance from the Landmarks Society, has actively begun to educate the community on how to utilize these available funds. Providing the public with workshops, lectures, publications, and tours, both groups hope that these services will encourage citizens and developers to participate in available funding programs, along with supporting revitalization efforts.

174 Ibid.
175 Ibid. 6.
176 Ibid. 7.
177 Pam Jardieu, City of Utica grant writer, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 26 September 2008.
178 Ibid.
Conclusion

After more than fifty years without updating the existing Master Plan, the city has begun developing a new Comprehensive Master Plan. Saratoga Associates P.C., a landscape architecture, architecture, engineering, and planning firm in Saratoga Springs, NY, was hired by the current administration. They are scheduled to complete the plan by January of 2011.179 According to the Request for Proposals (RFP) that was released in June of 2008, the goal of the Master Plan is to “establish a framework by which future planning initiatives at the neighborhood level can occur,” and “incorporate innovative planning strategies and recommendations (aka zero growth, smart decline, planning shrinkage) to address the excess capacity in all of the city’s infrastructure systems.”180 The Plan will include a revitalization plan and implementation plan, which both utilize aspects of existing neighborhood and revitalization plans.181

Though information regarding the development of the Master Plan is limited to what the Urban and Economic Development Department releases, which so far includes a six-page RFP, the city is focused on establishing a collaboration between all involved parties, including the citizens, businesses, non-profit organizations, and City of Utica School District.182 The plan hopes to address longstanding issues along with utilizing existing revitalization and redevelopment initiatives by learning from past approaches, as what has been discussed thus far in this thesis.

In the recent past, city leaders, organizations, developers, and citizens have begun to take a more active role in revitalization efforts. Largely beginning as a reactionary measure to save landmarks from demolition, buildings such as Union

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179 Bryon Ackerman, “Master plan under way for city.” Observer-Dispatch, 11 March 2009, 1A.
180 Urban and Economic Development Department, “Citywide Neighborhood-Based Comprehensive Master Plan.” City of Utica, June 2008, 2.
181 Ibid., 3.
182 Ibid.
Station and the Stanley, the success of these projects has begun to stimulate district-wide revitalization. Learning from past experiences and taking a more proactive approach, city leaders identified Varick Street as a strong candidate for revitalization. Through education, community involvement, and utilizing available funding, the three blocks along Varick Street has begun to be revitalized, establishing this section of the city as the brewery district. Using past projects as examples to encourage future development, city leaders and the Landmarks Society are focused on revitalizing additional areas of Utica.

The success of recent revitalization efforts has provided the momentum needed to promote future projects. Preservation of landmarks and reuse of existing buildings has moved past just being a reactionary measure to save buildings from demolition and has started to become seen as an investment opportunity. Citizens, developers and business are beginning to realize the benefits that the city offers, by creating districts that offer unique services not found outside of the city. As more buildings are rehabilitated and revitalized areas become successful, this relatively small movement will hopefully grow encouraging future projects.
CHAPTER 3: USING COMPROMISE TO OVERCOME DIFFERENCES

Continuing and expanding upon the ideas presented in the discussion of Chapter Two, developing a focused downtown revitalization plan requires more than just the participation and involvement of a small groups of individuals, but rather partnerships on varying scales. As Chapter One illustrated, Utica has lost its political influence over the county. The result has been regional development that favored suburban expansion while the city was left struggling. As the suburban towns in the county united to support efforts that benefited their expansion, Utica remained in a state of disarray, with a lack of leadership, political infighting, and declining social and economic conditions preventing the city from redeveloping.

In this chapter, a case study of Greenville, South Carolina, will be examined to highlight how a comparable city has overcome such obstacles. An evaluation of Utica follows. Greenville was chosen due to its similarities to Utica as a leading textile-producing center; its history of early political leadership, economic decline and abandonment; and comparable population size in relationship to Greenville County. However, once we turn to a discussion of Greenville’s focus on downtown revitalization, the stories of the two cities separate into opposite paths in response to economic decline and suburban expansion. Identifying how one city was able to overcome these obstacles is beneficial to the other. Taking what is learned from the Greenville case study and applying this to Utica, problems that are preventing revitalization and development begin to become apparent. Specific cases have been identified in the evaluation of Utica, with a focus on varying scales.
Case Study: Greenville, South Carolina

Greenville was settled in the 1770s as a small village centered on agriculture and trading. By 1800, the area was becoming a popular summer retreat for prominent Low-Country planters who wanted to escape the heat and disease of the mosquito-ridden swamps and rice fields. The county became home to an increasing number of New England emigrants after the War of 1812, in search of new opportunities because the economy of the North was undergoing an economic decline due to the war and loss of trade with England. Among these New Englanders, were several with knowledge of the textile industry. They looked for suitable sites to establish mills in their new home. Greenville County provided an ideal location, with swift-flowing rivers and cheap land.

In 1820, Thomas Hutchings and William Bates erected the county’s first water-powered mills. Shortly after, additional mills were built by New Englanders, but the emerging industry was constrained by a limited supply of cotton and a poor transportation network. Not until 1852, with the coming of the region’s first railroad line, the Columbia and Greenville Railroad, was the industry able to grow. The railroad allowed for greater amounts of both raw cotton and the finished goods to be transported throughout the region. However, in 1860, the Civil War prevented the industry’s growth into becoming the area’s leading business.

184 Ibid.
185 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 15.
186 Ibid.
Greenville, unlike other Southern cities, emerged from the war relatively unharmed, which provided an advantage over other textile-producing cities.\textsuperscript{190} The local textile industry in 1872 grew rapidly with the coming of the region’s second railroad line, the Richmond and Danville Air Line Railway, and the emergence of steam-power technology in textile production.\textsuperscript{191} With the arrival of the third railroad line in 1882, the Greenville and Laurens Railroad, Greenville County became a hub for cotton trade, spurred by an increase in regional cash-crop farming.\textsuperscript{192} The wealth generated from this agricultural trade was invested in the textile mills, which further added to the industry’s growth.\textsuperscript{193}

As the textile industry developed, higher learning institutions were being established in Greenville, including Furman University (1825, locating to Greenville in 1850), Greenville Baptist Female College (1856), and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1859, which relocated to Louisville, KY in 1877).\textsuperscript{194} Locating their campuses in or adjacent to downtown Greenville, the school helped attract new residents and businesses to the area, provided higher learning to the region’s business-elite, and established influential ties in the political and business realms.\textsuperscript{195}

The textile industry was largely developing on the outskirts of towns and cities within the county. This allowed mill owners to self-govern their established mill villages and not have to pay city taxes.\textsuperscript{196} Within these “Company” villages one typically found a church, school, store, and worker housing centered around the mills.

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{191} Ray Belcher, \textit{Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World} (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 29.
\item\textsuperscript{192} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{193} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{196} Ray Belcher, \textit{Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World} (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 100.
\end{itemize}
and rail depot. White men, women, and children, worked the factories; blacks were excluded from textile manufacturing. 197

The importance and prosperity of the textile industry gave the business elite political power in South Carolina’s Upcountry. 198 These men included owners of mills, railroads, banks, and cotton-trading businesses who maintained control over local, county, and state government to ensure that their businesses would not be affected by new legislation. 199 The conservative Democratic Party maintained control over the state, with the mill workers, influenced by mill owners, voting Democratic in elections. 200 In the mid-1880s, this structure of power was challenged by Benjamin Tillman, founder of the Farmers’ Association. 201

Tillman was a strong supporter of the agricultural community, and blamed the farmers’ hardship (low commodity prices, high cost of farming, and under-representation in the local and state government) on the industrial focused controlled state government. 202 Through the Farmers’ Association he believed he would be able to gain control of the State Democratic Party. 203 In 1886, he organized a Farmers’ Convention in Columbia that demanded the establishment of a state-supported agricultural college, repeal of the lien law, closure of the Citadel, an industrial college for women, and a new state constitution. 204 From 1886 to 1890, Tillman was unable to elect a Farmers’ supporter, but in 1888 the State Senate did narrowly pass a bill

198 Ibid., 229.
199 Ibid.
200 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 86.
201 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
204 Francis B. Simkins, Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 133.
establishing Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College, which was the first victory for Tillman’s political efforts.\textsuperscript{205}

In March of 1890, Tillman was nominated for Governor by the Farmers’ Convention and despite strong opposition by conservatives, he became Governor later that same year.\textsuperscript{206} As Governor, Tillman first proposed child-labor legislation that would prevent children under the age of sixteen from working and limit women’s work to ten hours a day.\textsuperscript{207} The mill owners, pressured the House to change the law to only limit work hours; the law was passed, but was defeated by the State Senate.\textsuperscript{208} In 1892, Tillman aggressively went after corporations again, stating that they had too much control and they took advantage of their workers. Proposing similar child-labor legislation, the mill owners and state law-makers agreed to a compromise that limited work hours to eleven per-day and sixty-six per week.\textsuperscript{209}

Between 1895 and 1914, the Greenville County textile industry was undergoing consolidation and innovation, with new and larger mills being built. The industry was strong and the new mills required increased labor. County farmers, along with farmers from North Carolina, east Tennessee, and north Georgia began to migrate to the mills, due to falling cotton prices and tightening credit.\textsuperscript{210} The county population during this period increased dramatically, from 44,310 in 1890 to 68,377 in 1910.\textsuperscript{211} The mill villages increased in size to accommodate the influx of workers and the suburbs surrounding Greenville also began to develop.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid., 228.
\textsuperscript{207} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{208} Ibid., 229.
\textsuperscript{209} Francis B. Simkins, \textit{Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian} (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 236.
\textsuperscript{210} Archie V. Huff, \textit{Greenville: the History of the County in the South Carolina Piedmont} (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 239.
By 1915, Greenville had become the leading textile-producing city in the south, and was the site of that year’s Southern Textile Exposition.\textsuperscript{212} The exposition brought considerable attention to Greenville, especially from Northern mill owners who were looking for future locations to expand.\textsuperscript{213} That same year the Textile Machinery Exposition was also held in Greenville, thanks in part to the Southern Textile Association persuading exhibitors to move the exposition from Boston.\textsuperscript{214} The success of these expositions guaranteed that Greenville would continue to host these events annually. The 1920s marked a period of an extensive building boom with downtown Greenville emerging as the central business district to the region.\textsuperscript{215}

The 1920s, though prosperous, also marked a period of change for the industry. New clothing styles required less fabric, resulting in mills and factories having to adjust their production.\textsuperscript{216} Farmers witnessed the introduction of Rayon, a synthetic fabric that competed with cotton, which was being devastated by the infestation of the Boll Weevil beetle. Mill owners began to diversify their lines, including garment manufacturing, specialty fabrics and yarn, and producing wool and silk products.\textsuperscript{217} During this period Northern mill owners began to buy Southern mills with the goal of relocating operations to the south, due to the high labor costs and decreased hours in Northern mills.\textsuperscript{218}

The Great Depression severely impacted the already unstable cotton and textile industries. In 1932, mill owners in Greenville County came together to agree upon implementing curtailment policies, the practice of reducing production and/or work

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{212} Ray Belcher, \textit{Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World} (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 62.
\item \textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{214} Ibid., 64.
\item \textsuperscript{216} Ray Belcher, \textit{Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World} (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 66.
\item \textsuperscript{217} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{218} Archie V. Huff, \textit{Greenville: the History of the County in the South Carolina Piedmont} (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 295.
\end{itemize}
hours, in hopes of maintaining their businesses. During the Depression, only two mills in the county failed, with these mills resorting to whatever means possible to survive. The Depression put stress on the business elite who controlled county and city politics. Citizen uprisings and support for reform groups began putting pressure on leaders to lower taxes and cut spending. Relief came in 1933, with the New Deal programs that provided funding to correct flooding problems associated with the Reedy River, along with other various programs. By 1938 and 1939, the textile industry was beginning to increase production due to increased trade with China and the outbreak of World War II in Europe. Though production numbers were rising, increased foreign competition from Japan and British-Indian textile operations resulted in American mills having to reevaluate their industry.

In 1943, Greenville became the location of the Greenville Army Air Base, for which the mayor, Chamber of Commerce, and a former U.S. Senator had all lobbied. The base was expected to bring close to five thousand military personal and employ a large number of civilians. The base was constructed eight miles from the city. Leading the construction was Charles E. Daniel, of the Daniel Construction Company who would later play a major role in reshaping post-war Greenville. War time textile production was strong in Greenville County with the mills working at full capacity.

219 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 144.
220 Ibid.
223 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 121.
226 Ibid.
In 1946, the J.P. Stevens Company bought Victor Monaghan and became the state’s largest textile-industry employer. This merger changed the way business was conducted and immediately the new company began restructuring. To compete with foreign mills, the company began eliminating costs by selling mill villages, increasing efficiency by introducing new technology, and developing new product lines.  

Additional merges began to take place, with Northern companies merging with Southern companies and relocating their headquarters in Greenville.  

With these mergers, the county began slowly to shift from a set of distinct mill-owned villages to suburbs being incorporated into cities and towns. Greenville began annexing some adjacent mill villages, but these remained independent, largely due to the influence of mill owners wanting to remain out of the city’s rules and taxes. By 1950, the population of Greenville reached 58,161 with the total county population at 168,152. In 1951, by an act of the County Commission, eight school districts were consolidated into a unitary county school district. The mill owners held great influence in politics by controlling the county, which in turn controlled Greenville. To maintain a level of importance, city officials had to compromise with the county in order to continue receiving money and benefits.  

The peak of the textile industry in Greenville came in 1954 with close to 19,000 workers directly employed in the industry. The industry began to further diversify by increasing production of synthetic fibers and working with the county and

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227 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 127.
228 Ibid., 130.
231 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 130.
232 Ibid.
state to establish technical schools. These schools were necessary to train future business executives, manages, and operators to handle the increased complexity of the business market and technology found in the modernized mills. Clemson University (formerly Clemson College) remained the headquarters for textile-industry training, while in 1961 the state approved plans to establish a state system of technical education centers. In 1962, the Greenville Technical Education Center opened and provided the training facilities and educators that the industry wanted. The Center was changed to the state’s first comprehensive community college in 1967 and in 1968 the Greenville Technical College opened. Not associated with the technical schools, but important in the future development of Greenville, Bob Jones University, a private Christian institution, located to the city in 1947.

The region’s diversification extended past the textile industry to include various other industries. Charles Daniel became the area’s major recruiter, focusing on getting Northern and foreign companies to locate to the county. Through aggressive marketing, Daniel, with assistance from the city, county, and state, was able to bring a diversified industry to the county and by 1975 these non-textile jobs numbered 30,000. These jobs and industries helped shield the county and Greenville from experiencing a much more extensive economic decline as the textile industry slowly shrunk.

Still, the late 1950s marks the beginning of a period of economic decline for Greenville. Furman University relocated to a new campus on the edge of the city and

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235 Ibid.
236 Ray Belcher, Greenville County: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World (Charleston: History Press, 2006), 145.
238 Ibid.
241 Ibid.
the suburbs were increasing in size due to the relocation of residents and retail establishments.\textsuperscript{242} The textile industry suffered from increased competition from mills in Asia, where a number of the Greenville mills would later relocate.\textsuperscript{243} In 1963, Donaldson Air Base (formally Greenville Air Base) was closed by the federal government.

Greenville could not stop either the loss of downtown retail or suburban residential growth, and by the mid-1960s the central business district had lost much of its importance as a regional center of commerce.\textsuperscript{244} However, as early as 1957, Charles Daniel began addressing the condition of downtown by establishing the Downtown Greenville Association. As in Utica, the group began by redirecting the traffic pattern to accept more automobiles and allow easier access to the downtown.\textsuperscript{245} In 1964, ground was broken for the twenty-five-story Charles Daniel Building at the northern end of Main Street. At the southern end of Main Street the News-Piedmont Company began construction of a new building, while the city began construction on a modern glass and steel City Hall.\textsuperscript{246}

In 1964, the political environment of the county and city changed as a result of a United States Supreme Court ruling of “one person-one vote.”\textsuperscript{247} This ruling shifted state legislative power from counties to election districts equal in population.\textsuperscript{248} Compared to the old system, which had one state senator who controlled the county, to the new system of multiple senators of more populated counties representing equal districts, no longer could one person hold a large amount of power over a region.\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{243} Philip Morris, “Remaking Main Street.” \textit{Southern Living} 29, no. 8 (1994): 64.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{249} Alan Ehrenhalt, \textit{The United States of Ambition} (New York: Times Books, 1992), 90.
This new system also changed the political structure of the country, by allowing a twelve-person Council representing separate districts to control the business of the county.\textsuperscript{250} This new county structure gave underrepresented groups a voice in politics and the City of Greenville was able to have a stronger influence in county governance.\textsuperscript{251} The overwhelming power that mill owners had over the county and city began to dissipate, and by the early 1970s, Greenville was able to focus on its own needs and not county mill owners needs.

In 1971, Max Heller was elected mayor of Greenville and his election signified a break from the old system of industrial and business elites control over the city. Heller focused on economic development, which meant he had to “open the town up” and put an end to the “closed town” mentality of mill owners.\textsuperscript{252} When he approached the large Daniel Corporation, which had earlier rejected Heller for a membership at the Poinsett Club which they owned, executive Buck Mickel, saw the opportunities in Heller’s plan.\textsuperscript{253} Through economic development focusing on downtown revitalization, the construction company could gain more business, meaning larger profits, and success of the revitalization efforts would mean future business and increased profits.

In his first term as mayor, Heller focused on revitalizing Main Street, which had become largely vacant and unattractive. His administration began devising a master plan for the central business district that included redesigning the street, creating anchor projects to draw people and business downtown, and utilizing existing assets to further attract people and visitors, with an overall goal of providing a “distinct environment and unique atmosphere,” that was not otherwise found in the

\textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{253} Alan Ehrenhalt, \textit{The United States of Ambition} (New York: Times Books, 1992), 93.
In 1975, when Heller was running for a second term, he approached downtown business owners and insisted that he would not run unless they committed to his plan, which their involvement was important in the revitalization process. The business owners backed Heller and he was elected for a second term.

Adopting a revitalization plan for the downtown, with the first major part being the redesign of Main Street, implemented of the plan began to occur in the mid-1970s. The city hired world-renowned landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, who designed a plan that was pedestrian-oriented without sacrificing vehicular traffic. Main Street was narrowed from four lanes to two, allowing for wider sidewalks, along with angled parking. Widening the sidewalks was an important feature of the design, which not only provided the space necessary to encourage people to gather and dine outside, but also allowed for trees and other street furnishings. The trees, which currently are the defining feature of Main Street, served two purposes: by providing shade and softening the street and angled parking and they provided an inviting setting that encouraged people to stroll, and they also, hid vacant and unattractive buildings. (Figure 15) With the first major feature in place, the city could focus on developing anchor projects along Main Street.

The first anchor project, the Greenville Commons, was being planned throughout Heller’s second term. The project proposal included a hotel, convention center, office building, atrium, and parking garage located at the northern end of Main Street. After lengthy discussions, Heller convinced the Hyatt hotel chain to open a

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258 Ibid.
Figure 15. 1. Main Street in the 1960s before revitalization with a majority of the buildings vacant and the street being a four lane road. 2. Image of the same area as image 1 which was taken in 2008. 3. Looking down Main Street in the early 1970s after the street was narrowed, parking was added, and trees were planted. 4. Looking down the same street in 2008 after the trees have matured and revitalization has been completed.
Source: City of Greenville, Economic Development Department.
Hyatt Regency in the proposed project in 1980. Though Heller was no longer mayor after 1979, he still was involved in the revitalization process. Beginning in 1981, the city purchased the necessary land, built a convention center and parking garage, and leased the air rights for a hotel and office building; the central atrium in the building was designated as a city park. The project totaled $34 million, which included $10 million from the city and $24 million from private developers. The opening of the Greenville Commons in 1982 marked the beginning of a renewed interest in downtown development. The project succeeded financially, but the greater impact was the surrounding development that occurred shortly after, led by the private sector.

In the early 1970s, just before the Greenville Commons was starting to be planned, the city was focused on replacing the small Memorial Auditorium with a larger coliseum. The city wanted to create a downtown centerpiece that would attract larger events and draw people from all over the region and surrounding states. The original proposal, which involved tearing down the existing auditorium and building the new coliseum on the same site, was defeated in a referendum in 1972. Ten years later, with the opening of the Greenville Commons, city officials again approached the idea of building a new coliseum, which sparked debate and political opposition between the city and county.

At the center of the controversy was the land that the existing auditorium and proposed coliseum was to occupy. Owned jointly by the city and county, the city

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262 Ibid., 14.
263 Ibid., 15
265 Ibid.
needed the County Council’s approval to move forward with the project, which included issuing a multimillion dollar bond for construction of the coliseum. 266 The county approved the $18 million project, but the decision upset the rural communities throughout the county. Feeling that the city was “exploiting the tax structure of the whole county” to subsidize the revitalization of downtown Greenville, rural areas began to organize against the coliseum and downtown revitalization projects. 267 The rural communities succeeded in getting the proposal on a ballot as a referendum, and with a 58 to 42 percent vote the project was defeated. The Republicans on the County Council who were in favor of the project were replaced in following elections by Democrats. 268

The rural voters were not the only people opposed to the project, the district that Bob Jones University was located in was also against it. To the university, the coliseum negatively influenced the cultural life of the community by allowing harmful events to be held in the city that created temptations and promoted drug-use. 269 The rise of religious politicians in Greenville had begun, and throughout the 1980s they proved to be a difficult group to overcome.

Though strong, the religious fundamentalists divided the Republican Party and soon all of the political parties realized that they needed each other to accomplish their goals. 270 In the late 1980s the groups agreed to compromise on issues in order to strengthen the region. 271 This cooperation at the city, county, and state level is what allowed Greenville to continue downtown revitalization and avoid being surpassed by the county and suburbs.

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267 Ibid.
268 Ibid., 96.
269 Ibid.
271 Ibid.
The commitment of following administrations after Max Heller in 1979, to follow and contribute towards downtown revitalization, allowed the process to become much more effective. In 1989 and 1990 the downtown plan was updated to incorporate changes that had been made from the 1977 plan. These plans focused on development around the Reedy River and the southern part of Main Street. (Figure 16, 17) In addition, the adjacent blocks to the east and west of Main Street were beginning to be planned for commercial and residential uses with phasing strategies included in the planning.

The centerpiece of this new plan was the Peace Center for the Performing Arts, that was located on the Reedy River in a part of the downtown that had experienced heavy abandonment when the textile industry left. The site provided a key position on the southern end of Main Street and along the riverfront that the city hoped would generate private investment adjacent to the site. The project was important to the revitalization plan because it highlighted a forgotten asset located downtown – the Reedy River. As with Greenville Commons, this project was a public/private partnership which totaled $42.4 million; $13.9 million in public funds and $28.5 in private funds. The center opened in 1991, and includes a new building housing two theaters and offices, along with the rehabilitating an old mill into an open pavilion. (Figure 18) The overall focus of the project was to attract people downtown on the weekends and evenings to encourage them to explore what downtown had to offer.

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273 Ibid., 5.
274 Ibid.
276 Ibid.
278 Ibid.
Figure 16. 1989 Master Plan for the South Sector of downtown Greenville.
Figure 17. 1990 proposed development plan for southern end of Main Street and the Reedy River.  
Figure 18. Public pavilion part of the Reedy River waterfront and the Peace Center for the Performing Arts.
1. Image taken in the 1960s of a vacant 1890s textile building located on the Reedy River. 2. Image of the same building in 2008 after the building had been rehabilitated into a public pavilion serving the new residential population adjacent to the property along the Reedy River and downtown. 3. Interior view of the pavilion in 2008. The original brick walls are all that remain of the building which are reinforced by a steel frame supporting a new metal roof.
Source: City of Greenville, Economic Development Department.
The project also reconnected the downtown with the river, and begun the process of cleaning-up the river and waterfront to build parks and trails.279

These projects, occurring over a fourteen year time span, represent the beginning steps the city took to revitalize the central business district. In order to achieve a noticeable level of progress – decreased vacancy, private led investment, and increased downtown user-ship – the city needed to build partnerships with the community, developers, and politicians, with the latter being the most important. Though largely a city led initiative, the county (including all rural communities) were necessary for approving and allocating funds towards revitalization. The debate that arose from the proposed coliseum project brought to the forefront the concerns of the rural community and the city’s religious organizations. Through a few years of strict opposition and division that resulted in no single side receiving what they wanted, the parties began to understand that they could get more accomplished through compromise; what benefited one side helped another. Once momentum behind revitalization began to build and signs of success started to be seen, the projects that followed met less opposition from each party.

In the 1990s, Greenville began to attract large foreign companies such as BMW, Michelin, Bosch, and Hitachi, which came to the area because of large financial incentive packages, the labor force, and the transportation network. These companies established factories in the surrounding suburbs, but maintained corporate headquarters within Greenville.280 The suppliers and other supporting companies that followed these corporations additionally located in both the suburbs and the city. The importance of the county and city working together became much more significant if

279 Ibid.
the area wanted to continue to compete against other cities and counties for these companies.

As the county increasingly became the location of factories, the increased tax revenue helped fund a portion of Greenville’s downtown revitalization. As with the old textile industry, Greenville became the center of commerce for the region. Through additional downtown projects (Table 9, Figure 19), the revitalization of Main Street gained national significance when the National Trust for Historic Preservation awarded the city the Great American Main Street Award in 2003. The appealing image of the city brought tourism and increased investment and became the symbol for the county. (Figure 20)

**Identifying Common Issues at Varying Scales**

The case study of Greenville highlights key factors that are currently absent in Utica, with the most important being political partnerships. As with both cities, the political landscape changed when the old county political structure shifted to a more representational system of government in 1964. This swing in power, assisted by the growth of the suburbs, allowed smaller, rural towns to have an increased influence over urban centers by gaining control of county politics. With Greenville and Utica experiencing economic declines, combined with a loss in residents and their importance as commercial centers, they each faced similar problems. Both municipalities focused on revitalizing their central business districts with the goal of regaining residents and businesses. Their methods were very different, with Greenville taking an organized, unified approach, while Utica lacked the leadership

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281 Ibid.
Table 9. Following the Peace Center for the Performing Arts, additional downtown anchors were developed to attract tourists, residents, and commercial offices. The list of projects shows the partnership between the public and private sectors, with the public sector initiating the projects and the private sector supporting and caring out the projects. The majority of development occurred after 2000, when the downtown revitalization had gained enough momentum to attract increased private investment. Source: Mary D. Neal and Nancy P. Whitworth, “How Greenville, South Carolina, Brought Downtown Back: A Case Study in 30 Years of Successful Public/Private Collaboration.” *Real Estate Review* 37, no. 1(2008): 14.

<table>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>$13 million</td>
<td>$3.4 million</td>
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</table>
Figure 19. 1. Early 1970s image of the Reedy River before revitalization. The river was heavily polluted and the waterfront was largely abandoned. 2. The same area in 2008 after redevelopment of the waterfront had been completed to include apartments and condos. Over a thirty year period the river has been cleaned of pollutants and the waterfront has become a valuable asset to the city.

Source: City of Greenville, Economic Development Department.
Figure 20. Downtown Greenville in 2007 after thirty years of committed revitalization. Looking north up Main Street, the street trees which are the character defining feature have matured and provide shade for the sidewalk and street. At the bottom of the image is the Reedy River and Falls Park which has become a popular downtown amenity with the Liberty Bridge becoming a symbol for the city. On the left side of the image, along the river is the Peace Center for the Performing Arts and the roof of the Bi-Lo Center can be seen at the upper right of the image.

Source: City of Greenville, Economic Development Department.
of the collective will necessary to rally support behind revitalization efforts. Even as Greenville proceeded with a revitalization plan, the city met opposition from rural district leaders, along with opposing political parties who were necessary in approving funding and projects for downtown revitalization. Struggling to overcome this opposition, a collective agreement of compromise was reached between all involved parties, resulting in a more efficient and productive system of leadership. Utica, however, facing similar opposition, along with internal disagreement among district leaders, was unable to overcome its differences. What resulted, and remains to this day, is a lack of regional compromise, with the suburbs, rural towns, and the county holding much of the power, while Utica struggles to overcome its own internal fighting.

After close to fifty years of ineffective city management in Utica, little has been accomplished in the way of revitalization and economic development. For example, when revitalization projects were proposed, districts that were not included in the target area fought against such proposals that were not to their benefit, preventing them from being approved. With these defeats, voters, who felt dissatisfied with the city, voted out mayors and other elected officials in reactionary responses. These changing administrations made it difficult for any approved revitalization proposals from being completed, continuing the cycle of dissatisfaction from voters and the further neglect of the city. Over decades of continuing this system, citizens have continually lost confidence in the local government, making it increasingly difficult for new proposals to gain the support they need from the community to be successful.

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284 Ibid.
285 Ibid.
The most recent revitalization plan by the city was the Gateway Historic Canal District, Bagg’s Square West, drawn up in 2002. Initiated by Mayor Timothy Julian, the fourteen-block target area (120-acres), adjacent to the downtown central business district, was chosen because of its location along Genesee and Oriskany Streets, available rail access for industry and passenger uses, existing vacant warehouse buildings suitable for redevelopment, and proximity to downtown amenities.286 (Figure 18) With the goal of developing the district into a mixed-use live/work community that offered residential, commercial, and light industrial space, the project focused on creating a unique urban experience that currently did not exist in the area.287

As with the later Zimmerman/Volk study, the proposal identified the target residential market as college students, young professionals, artists, empty nesters, and the GLBT community.288 The target commercial market was identified as offices, restaurants, small retail stores, and health and fitness clubs, with a focus on providing distinctive commercial uses that are different from suburban shopping plazas.289 Light industrial uses were included due to the proximity of major rail lines and highway access.290 Laid out in a one hundred twenty-two page report by three consulting firms, a detailed analysis of each target market showed expected capture rates, acceptable locations for each use, phasing strategies, and cost estimates for the project.291

Beginning first with the removal of inadequate, inappropriate, and unsafe buildings, nearly five blocks were cleared, with the majority of these blocks adjacent to the police station and Utica Memorial Auditorium. Included in this demolition was

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287 Ibid., 1.
288 Ibid., 7.
289 Ibid., 5.
290 Ibid., 4.
291 Brian Thomas, City of Utica Planner, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 9 March 2009.
Figure 21. 2002 Master Plan for Gateway Historic Canal District. 
The plan focuses on reusing existing buildings along Hotel Street and Franklin Square, but also calls for the addition of a number of new mixed-use buildings. A key feature of the plan is highlighting the Utica Memorial Auditorium and providing tree lined walkways to prominent downtown buildings.
Source: Peter J. Smith & Company, TVGA Engineering, and Hartgen Archeological Association, Gateway Historic Canal District: Revitalization Plan (City of Utica, 2002), 73.
the Washington Courts housing project, built in the 1940s, with a majority of the residents being relocated to other housing projects and recently completed HOPE-VI public housing in Corn Hill. The cleared sites provided the necessary land to attract uses such as light industry and commercial offices to the area that were interested in building new. The land also provided much needed space for the police station to expand and build a maintenance garage and surface parking lots.

Along with demolition and site preparation, organizations such as the Landmarks Society held workshops and seminars for developers and citizens about utilizing existing buildings. These informative classes were focused on educating the public on the available funding programs for rehabilitation projects, potential uses of existing buildings, and appropriate target markets for the district. The organization also provided community outreach to existing residents and business owners to inform them about the benefits of supporting a revitalization plan.

Though beginning strong and maintaining a high level of public support, the progress in the district slowed as available state and federal funding lessened and developers became less willing to invest. In addition, since the start of the plan, the city attempted to attract one of the local colleges to build a sporting facility or academic building within the district. This proved difficult, in large part due to the colleges interested in building on their large suburban campuses. The city did reach an agreement with Utica College to use the Utica Memorial Auditorium for their sporting events. By the end of Julian’s second term as mayor, citizens began to

292 John Furman, Grant writer for the Municipal Housing Authority, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 11 November 2009.
293 Brian Thomas, City of Utica Planner, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 9 March 2009.
294 Michael Bosak, President of Landmarks Society of Utica, interviewed by Ross Pristera. 26 September 2008.
295 Ibid.
296 Brian Thomas, City of Utica Planner, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 9 March 2009.
297 Ibid.
298 Ibid.
question the administration’s capability of following through on a proposal and the plan’s validity, expecting more progress to be made after six years of work. In November of 2007, David Roefaro was elected mayor, running on a campaign promising the development of a comprehensive master plan and a continued focus on revitalizing the downtown.

The new administration continued to follow the original Gateway Plan, beginning with a $1.2 million state grant for street and infrastructure improvements. It was hoped that these improvements would show the public that the city remained committed to the plan. Although the district saw increased city investment, the private sector remained apprehensive about investing due to market uncertainty and the economics of rehabilitation. As the city began to focus more on developing a comprehensive master plan, which will include aspects of the Gateway Plan, the administrations focus on the district itself has diminished. Currently, only demolition and street improvements have been completed, with no residential, commercial, or industrial uses locating to the area. With the plan now seven years old, the market analysis and development strategy have become outdated.

Within the boundaries of the Gateway District is the Hotel Utica, which is a rehabilitation project that further highlights the complications associated with downtown revitalization. The hotel’s story provides an ongoing example of how the local newspaper, the Observer-Dispatch, has influenced downtown rehabilitation projects. For many citizens, the paper has become the only resource for obtaining information regarding what happens in Utica. This is due to competing news

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299 Renee Gamela, “Mayor Julian; There’s a Time That You Fight.” Observer-Dispatch, 21 October, 2007, 1A.
300 David Roefaro, Mayor of Utica, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 23 January 2009.
301 Bryon Ackerman, “Bringing Life to Downtown Utica: Many Plans, But Progress Slow at City’s Gateway.” Observer-Dispatch, 12 October 2008, 1A.
302 Ibid.
303 Brian Thomas, City of Utica Planner, interviewed by Ross Pristera, 9 March 2009.
organizations being bought-out or closing, leaving the area with one newspaper and one broadcast TV news station. This lack of competition has allowed the remaining news organizations to increase their influence over the area and sway public opinion. Due to this, in the following section a number of sources in the public and private sectors have requested to remain anonymous, either because of the positions they hold or from past experiences with the newspaper.

In 1998, city leaders were faced with the challenge of deciding the fate of the vacant Hotel Utica, which was one of the city’s most recognizable landmarks. The owner at the time, who ran a nursing home in the old hotel from 1975 to 1995, was looking to sell the building to the city. Twenty years of a lack of maintenance combined with vandalism had let the building fall into a severe state of disrepair.\footnote{Malin, Patricia J. "Businessmen Plan Major Hotel Renovation." \textit{The Business Journal - Central New York}, 12 no. 21, 12 October (1998): 1.} In 1998, after Mayor Edward Hanna and two local developers surveyed the building, they decided that the building should be saved.\footnote{Ibid.} The city had planned to demolish the building at an estimated cost of over $3 million dollars, but two developers, Joe Carucci and Chuck Gaetano, purchased the building for $280,000.\footnote{Joe Carucci, interviewed by Ross Pristera 10 March 2009.} The two men had the expectation of selling the building in the following year, after minor improvements had been made to prevent the building from having to be demolished, but when no buyers stepped forward, they decided they would restore the building to a hotel.\footnote{Ibid.}

During the rehabilitation of the hotel in 2000, the newspaper was having a falling-out with the city after Mayor Hanna enacted a “gag” order over all city business.\footnote{Dan Miner, “Hanna and the Media: Extreme Approach, Lingering Questions.” \textit{Observer-Dispatch}, 16 March 2009, 1A.} Mayor Hanna and the newspaper had a long relationship of distrust
towards each other, with the gag order being the final straw. The newspaper asked local organizations and community leaders to stand behind them in supporting their cause to lift the gag order, but these other groups did not agree with how the newspaper was going about the situation, so they refused to cooperate.\footnote{Confirmed by numerous sources who requested to remain anonymous.}

In April of 2001, the rehabilitation of the hotel was complete, with the first six months of business exceeding market projections.\footnote{Joe Carucci, interviewed by Ross Pristera 10 March 2009.} The project cost $13 million, with the owners using their personal wealth and the city providing low interest loans and other grants through the CDBG funds to finance the rehabilitation.\footnote{Ibid.} The hotel’s rehabilitation was turning out to be a success story, with the public beginning to view the project as the catalyst for downtown revitalization, but the success was short lived. The events of September 11, 2001, changed the way people traveled and conducted business in the country. The hotel’s business began to decline sharply, with a number of large corporate clients, who were responsible for a majority of the hotel’s business, reducing their needs for rooms, as did the traveling public.\footnote{Ibid.} The owners, feeling that the market would eventually return, decided to keep the hotel in business and use their own personal wealth to finance the budget shortfalls.\footnote{Ibid.} From the beginning, the owners were not interested in making large profits, even though in the first six months the hotel proved to exceed market expectations, but they were more interested in saving a local landmark and encouraging downtown revitalization.\footnote{Ibid.}

As the hotel struggled to remain open, the newspaper began to investigate the project due to the involvement of Mayor Hanna, the use of CDBG money, and the decision of the owners not to become involved in the newspaper’s fight against the
A number of apparently unfactual articles began to be published by the paper regarding the project’s finances. Because of a decline in business and a reliance on a seasonal market, the hotel was having difficulty paying taxes and loans on time. The newspaper focused on this and began to publish articles aimed at arousing frustration among taxpayers. Through numerous articles the paper continually discredited the owners, and in time public perception shifted from the inspiring rehabilitation of a local landmark to a public discontent towards the hotel. The unjust attack on the hotel seemingly remained unchallenged by the hotel owners and the city, but in reality there was opposition to the newspapers position; the problem was that there was no means of making this opposition public to in a one-newspaper town.

The root of the problems concerning the hotel is a result of unfair business practices established in the urban renewal period of Utica. Two blocks south of the Hotel Utica is the Radisson Hotel, which was built in 1980 and was the last piece of the RPI Urban Renewal plan for downtown Utica. In the 1970s, city leaders were focused on attracting a hotel downtown, with the hopes that this would spur redevelopment. To attract a hotel, city leaders offered a thirty-five year tax deal, a payment in lieu of taxes (PILOT) that taxed not on property assessment, but on room revenue and a flat fee. The hotel does not pay Oneida County taxes or Utica City School taxes. The Hotel Utica does, resulting in a tax bill for the former of $1,072,172 and for the Radisson of $683,550.
The Radisson tax deal has received some attention in the newspaper, but not in the same way as the Hotel Utica. The newspaper has made it clear that they would like to see the Hotel Utica close, and that they are using the “taxpayers” to rally for this cause. In an editorial in 2008, the newspaper stated:

“The Hotel Utica revival was an exciting moment for Utica in 2001. It’s a lovely building that’s been preserved. But walk the downtown blocks near the hotel, and it’s painfully evident that the core of the city lacks economic vitality. It lacks needed repairs and improvements. It lacks, well, people. If you stand on Genesee Street on a weekday at dusk, it’s highly difficult to see Hotel Utica as a driving economic force for the neighborhood. It’s a business we all hope will succeed, but it’s not one that should be receiving what amounts to a taxpayer bailout to keep operating.”

What the newspaper does not realize, is that the city taxpayers are not “bailing out” the hotel, but the hotel is, actually bailing out the city. The two hotel owners have taken a vacant landmark building for which the city was going to pay $3.1 million dollars to demolish, and have turned it into a tax generating business. The hotel does pay taxes, not always on time, but annually pays over $200,000. The hotel employs over 60 full-time employees and brings business to many local suppliers. The rehabilitation, which cost $13 million, created jobs, brought outside money into the

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321 Ibid.
322 Joe Carucci, interviewed by Ross Pristera 10 March 2009.
city, improved the downtown, and has become a model for rehabilitation projects in the city.\footnote{Pamela Jardieu, Grant writer for the City of Utica, interviewed by Ross Pristera. 26 September 2008.}

The newspaper throughout this period has called for a revitalization of the downtown, but has only provided reasons for failure rather than productive suggestions. Numerous business owners and investors, have stated in interviews for this thesis, that because of the newspapers attacks on the Hotel Utica, they do not wish to get involved in similar projects, fearing similar treatment.\footnote{Confirmed by numerous sources who requested to remain anonymous.} When city leaders attempt revitalization efforts, the newspaper is quick to publish articles that criticize the city for using taxpayers’ money “wrongly” on non-important physical improvements when they think the city could better use this money elsewhere. While the author was unable to interview the editor or owner of the Observer-Dispatch, past and present employees have confirmed the newspaper’s attitude towards the hotel and city.

The rehabilitation of the Hotel Utica provided one example, in a city with numerous examples, of the extent of the problems associated with the lack of public education regarding revitalization. The level of misunderstanding among the public is high, resulting in the slowing of the revitalization process. Often these misunderstandings include a high level of skepticism that further complicates matters.\footnote{Robert Brandes and Norman Mintz, Cities Back From the Edge: New Life for Downtown (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 17.} People have difficulty believing in long-term visions, that at the time seem unrealistic, but through education, the process of achieving these visions can be communicated, allowing plans to progress efficiently.

The complications associated with the Gateway District and Hotel Utica highlights city level problems, but at the county level, Utica faces a different set of
issues. Since the mid-1990s, the topic of consolidation, the merging of separate village, town, and city services into a single entity controlled by the county, has been discussed between Utica and Oneida County. City leaders see this idea being beneficial to Utica, by eliminating redundant services, saving taxpayers money, and allowing the city to become more competitive in the region.\textsuperscript{326} The suburbs and rural areas of the county fear that they will not benefit from the deal, noting that they will lose tax revenue, their governmental services will suffer, and they will inherit Utica’s problems.\textsuperscript{327} Because of strong opposition, the plan to date has largely focused on the county assuming control of the city’s water system, the Utica Zoo, and the Utica Memorial Auditorium.

Though Utica is the biggest supporter of the plan, the Common Council rejected a number of key components necessary for consolidation. In 1996, the Utica Council defeated a plan that would have allowed the county sheriff’s department to patrol the city, eventually taking the place of the Utica police department.\textsuperscript{328} The county, looking to have one central 911-dispatch center, was unable to reach an agreement with the city on the facility’s location. The consolidation of the areas school system also met strong opposition, with the suburbs and rural communities against the plan, while seventy percent of the citizens of Utica supported the plan.\textsuperscript{329}

\textbf{Conclusion}

As seen through these examples, the current state of the city is a result of decades of poor decision making, lack of focus, political greed, and inability of city leaders to negotiate between themselves and with the larger region. Once holding

\textsuperscript{326} Alan D. Crockett, “Regionalization Benefits.” \textit{Observer-Dispatch} 21 January 1996, 1A.
\textsuperscript{327} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{328} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{329} Rebecca Coroniser, “Most Local Districts Spend Less on Students Than State Average.” \textit{Observer-Dispatch} 17 January 2009, 1A.
close to half of the county’s population, Utica today represents only a quarter of the county’s population. This decline has resulted in the city losing much of its political influence in the region. Because of this, Utica can no long afford not to compromise with the county and surrounding municipalities. In order for Utica to regain regional influence, correcting the faults at the city level is critical.

Attempting to reverse past shortfalls, the current administration has begun addressing issues that have continually been overlooked or neglected. Beginning with the various departments in City Hall, a goal of Mayor Roefaro’s is to modernize the system in which the city conducts business. Focusing on digitizing records and incorporating computers into offices, the city hopes that these changes will produce a more efficient and productive government.

Realizing that the problems cannot be ignored any longer, and that fighting results in disappointment for all sides, the city is beginning to shift towards a system of compromise and leadership. Although it is too early to tell whether this new system will replace the decades-old practice of strong disagreement and argument, there are signs that city leaders, along with citizens, are working towards changing the system. Focusing on improving the way city government functions and interacts amongst itself foremost, them will allow the them to participate and negotiate at a regional level.

The ability of Utica to develop, implement, and achieve noticeable success in following a downtown, or neighborhood, revitalization plan, relies on citizens and elected officials overcoming past and present obstacles. As the Greenville case study shows, the city was unable to proceed with downtown redevelopment without compromising with differing political groups. Using the power of negotiation, Greenville was able to overcome two large obstacles: rural and conservative

330 United States Bureau of the Census.
332 Ibid.
opposition towards specific downtown anchor projects, and the city’s relationship in size relative to the county. Utica faces similar obstacles, with over three-quarters of the county’s population outside the city limits and long running political disagreements preventing the region from working together. Combined with regional issues, the city faces internal issues that also prevent projects and plans from moving forward. As mentioned in the previous two chapters, in order for Utica to increase its regional influence, the city needs to focus on rebuilding internally.
CONCLUSION

The City of Utica has been shaped by a history of reactionary responses to impending or ongoing hardships. This has left the physical, social, and political environment disjointed and often separated from the larger regional setting. Because of this, the city has become neglected, while the surrounding suburbs continually expand in a region that is experiencing an economic decline. To realize an effective revitalization plan for Utica, and the larger metro-area, changes need to occur at all levels and amongst all involved parties.

Beginning first with government, driven by political gain, regional leaders continue practices that achieve short-term benefits, while ignoring long-term problems. These regional and city leaders, acting largely in the interest of only their district, are unwilling to compromise and unite to work towards a stronger social and economic future. In a relatively small metro-area with a declining population, the competitive environment that has arisen between municipalities for resources, businesses, and residents has accelerated the area’s decline. This competition has resulted in an unbalanced distribution of resources, with Utica suffering while the suburbs prosper. Regional leaders are not entirely to blame for this; citizens and businesses are equally responsible.

As the Census data in Chapter One suggests, the dramatic decline in Utica’s population from 1950 onward, was in large part a shift in population to the suburbs, and not a larger regional decline. Along with this, Utica’s commercial sector shifted to the suburbs as well. These factors left the city with a dwindling tax-base to maintain an aging infrastructure designed for a city twice as large and to support an increasing population of socially and economically dependent people. As growth occurred
around the outskirts of Utica, the city continued to decline both physically and socially.

The decline of the city has taken a few decades to affect the region, with Utica’s problems and poor condition evermore becoming the symbol of the county. Though the suburbs have become prosperous, their generic retail and housing developments lack the character and impact needed to shift focus away from Utica. As the largest city in the county and the county seat, the region’s economic recovery is tied to Utica’s revitalization. Shown in the case study of Greenville, this point becomes clear.

Faced with a similar situation, Greenville County’s economic success is tied to the City of Greenville’s revitalization. Begun by Max Heller, the revitalization of the city’s downtown brought to the forefront the larger political issues that were preventing regional economic development: a lack of compromise and competition. With rural districts and religious groups opposing aspects of Greenville’s revitalization, all parties soon concluded that to achieve aspects of their own agenda’s, they needed to compromise with the groups they opposed. Overcoming differences to work towards a system that benefited all sides, the county and city established the framework needed for economic recovery. This new system distributed resources and population, creating a healthier, more sustainable economy.

At the core of this city and regional revitalization, leaders directed much attention towards existing businesses and local developers to support and take an invested interest in the revitalization plan. Through their support, the city was able to realize the goal of downtown revitalization, while businesses and developers prospered from the economic investment occurring downtown and throughout the county. As the plan gained momentum and notoriety, the downtown emerged as a regional amenity and symbol for the county. Greenville today is known more for its
successful downtown revitalization than it is for the political and social disputes that occurred before and during the early revitalization process.

Utica and Oneida County have an opportunity to follow a similar path of revitalization. By working together through a system of compromise, the larger issues that plague the region can begin to be addressed, including focusing on improving and revitalizing Utica. Similar to Greenville, Utica must work closely with the business community to ensure their dedication and participation in redevelopment. Focusing not only at a city level, but rather a county level, Utica’s revitalization can represent a revitalization of the county as well. The economic success of the region is linked to solving Utica’s problems.

The revitalization of Utica offers much in terms of future research. With the current administration focusing on correcting past problems, the progress and outcome of these corrections allows for future study. The development of a Comprehensive Master Plan also offers opportunities for research. As future revitalization plans are developed and rehabilitation projects are undertaken, the tracking of success and impacts of these projects on the city is important to document. In addition, knowing the funding programs utilized by these projects and problems that arise, will provide valuable information to encourage increased use. The city’s changing ethnic populations offers areas of study because these shifts and how the city is impacted are important to understand. With the social, economic, and political environment constantly changing, Utica offers many opportunities for future research.
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