

**GLOBAL CITY MATURITY VIA HISTORIC PRESERVATION PRACTICES:  
AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS**

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 Public Administration

By

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May 2018

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first express my profound gratitude to the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs and the Global Cornell Women's Leadership Program at Cornell University, which both graciously contributed funding towards travel and research. I would also like to thank the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Penn State Behrend, who previously endowed me with grant funding to study and conduct research in South Africa, which is also used in this thesis.

I would next like to thank the Seoul Metropolitan Government and the University of Seoul, who financially sponsored and hosted my participation in the Seoul Case Study Program, which sparked my interest in historic preservation after Professor Kiho Kim's presentation on the topic. The conference was an immersive and informative experience, and I cherish the knowledge of Seoul that I gained during the event.

To my thesis advisor Dr. Thomas O'Toole, thank you for your support of my foray into the world of historic preservation. This thesis has not just allowed me to graduate with my MPA, but has both expanded my understanding of what it means to work in community development and allowed me to cultivate a deep appreciation for the work of historic preservationists and the agencies that support them.

Finally, to Dr. Tammie Merino, who assisted in the copy-editing and, with John Merino and Adrian Walker, the development of this thesis, thank you so much for your eternal love and support. This accomplishment would not be possible without you.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HMC	Historic Monuments Commission (of South Africa)
NMC	National Monuments Council (of South Africa)
ANC	African National Congress
SAHRA	The South African Heritage Resources Act
RIM	Robben Island Museum
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
NHPA	The National Historic Preservation Act (of USA)
PNHS	The Pittsburgh Neighborhood Housing Services
SMG	Seoul Metropolitan Government
CBD	Central Business District

## I. INTRODUCTION

Urban renewal, revitalization, and historic preservation are all names for development tools that have been used to redefine, or rewrite, the histories of cities across the globe. As cities yearn for global competitiveness in attracting citizens and tourists, they seek to redefine their histories and highlight their most interesting and aesthetically pleasing attributes. Cities who only sixty years ago leveled their downtowns to make way for overpasses and skyscrapers are today turning towards historic preservation to reconnect with their cultural heritage and develop their unique selling points. But while historic preservation has been well researched and documented as a western theory of art, architecture, and/or planning, its application to global city maturity has been outlined less specifically.

The cities of Cape Town, South Africa; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Seoul, Korea all have vastly different cultural and political histories—yet they each rank among up-and-coming global cities. At a much larger population of around 9.8 million people, Seoul may not immediately seem to fit in with so-called “secondary cities” Pittsburgh (~300,000) and Cape Town (~3.7 million), but its fifty-year path of rapid urbanization and development fits the narrative that the other two cities are currently experiencing (United Nations, 2017). The common thread that connects these three cities is the way in which public managers have navigated intergovernmental relations and leveraged historic preservation, revitalization and heritage building to achieve social, political, and economic goals in their respective cities—even across vastly different societal realities. Because of this, it may be tempting for administrators in these or other global cities to look to each other’s success with preservation in cultivating a competitive global city.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to document the ways each of these cities have connected development and historic preservation/revitalization practices to achieve their administrative goals, and to comparatively assess to what degree a cross-referencing of development tools is applicable. While supporting historic preservation can certainly benefit municipal governments in achieving global city maturity, whether through attracting tourists, promoting cultural pride, or incentivizing economic development, it is important to examine the unique political, social, and economic realities of cities when creating an authentic and applicable historic preservation plan.

## **II. HERITAGE PRESERVATION PRACTICES IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA: RECONCILING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE PROTECTION OF HISTORIC SITES**

### **Introduction:**

Preservation and revitalization practices present challenges across sub-Saharan Africa, particularly when it comes to combing through tense political histories to decide which sites are worth protecting. South Africa has historically been named a “regional economic and cultural leader with architectural heritage conservation,” yet years of protecting mainly early colonial structures has become contentious in today’s political climate (Stubbs, 2009). South Africa struggles with inefficiencies and corruption in its historic preservation bodies, but the city of Cape Town has become something of a model in charting a better course for heritage preservation in the country’s future. Finding ways to leverage heritage preservation in both the tourism industry and in housing development have become major priorities among heritage authorities and public administrators in the city. This chapter outlines colonial, apartheid-era, and modern efforts to preserve historic structures, objects, and localities, and highlights the difference in priorities of preservation practices in post-Apartheid South Africa.

In comparison to each of the other global cities discussed in this thesis, the application of historic preservation practices differs in Cape Town, and in South Africa. This is because for years, South African governments, academics and/or social leaders have used a broader lens when championing historic preservation practices, which includes not just buildings or structures, but also ancient artwork, the natural environment, and even cultural concepts like the flag or the national anthem. As such, it is sometimes hard to separate the ideas of preservation

and revitalization related to the built environment and other ideologies that govern heritage preservation of all entities of cultural significance in the country. Furthermore, South Africans have taken a unique yet sometimes divisive perspective on heritage preservation post-Apartheid, in that rather than destroying or re-purposing colonialist structures, many have been preserved as a reminder of the sociopolitical evils of the past few centuries. South Africa's diverse history lends itself to a multifaceted understanding and application of preservation and revitalization, and so I will attempt to do these different functions justice in the following analysis.

### **Cultural Heritage Preservation in pre-2000 South Africa:**

The first national heritage conservation authority to be established in South Africa was the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC), under the Natural and Historical Monuments Commission Act of 1923. Up until the creation of the HMC, the only protections for historic sites were those covered under the Bushman Relics Protection Act of 1911, which was specifically created to protect San rock art and other archeological artifacts in the South Africa-Namibia region (Frescura, 1991). The commission was appointed by the Governor General, who, representing the monarch of Great Britain, was the highest state official in the Union of South Africa until the Republic of South Africa was created in 1961 ("The Union of South Africa," 2011). While the HMC could identify "monuments," or structures worth preserving, it had to negotiate an agreement between the property owner and a government agency in order to codify protections (*Natural and Historical Monuments Commission Act, Act 6 of 1923*).

In 1934, the Natural and Historic Monuments Act of 1923 and the Bushman Relics Protection Act were replaced by the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, which shifted leadership to the Minister of the Interior and expanded the Commission's

powers to delegate more sites as monuments. In other words, the 1934 act facilitated the naming of fossils, rock art, archeological sites, moveable artifacts, natural environments as well as manmade structures as monuments (Frescura, 1991). During the HMC's existence, it listed approximately 300 historical monuments (Oberholster, 1972).

In 1969, amidst the National Party's expanding rule in the newly formed Republic of South Africa, the HMC was replaced by National Monuments Council (NMC). While similar in governing structure to the HMC, the NMC moved its head office from Pretoria to Cape Town in conjunction with its focus on preserving the heritage of the early colonial Dutch period (the National Party was made up of Afrikaners, or those with Dutch colonial heritage). As a result, more than half of the national monuments declared during the NMC period are in the Western Cape Province (Frescura, 1991). In addressing the role of the NMC in heritage preservation in 1989, and its singular protection of colonialist Dutch structures and other specific monuments, Franco Frescura wrote:

It is true that the creation of a small number of monuments within an urban environment can act as a focus for the restoration of smaller and less important historical buildings, probably through the intervention of private enterprise. It is equally true, however, that giving official historical status to individual buildings may, at the same time, de-recognise others about them, giving the impression that they are somehow less worthy of recognition and thus leaving them vulnerable to indiscriminate demolition and redevelopment. This is because current conservation policies single out special cases, idiosyncratic examples or buildings of exceptional merit, and, through the process of monumentalisation, isolate them from their social context (1991).

This understanding of the subjectivity of historic preservation during the NMC's existence played a large role in reshaping the idea of heritage preservation in post-Apartheid South Africa. With the advent of majority rule and the election of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, the NMC transitioned its focus to include heritage sites which played a role in the anti-Apartheid movement. For example, in Cape Town, Robben Island Museum was established on the site of the former prison which held political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela. The prison and surrounding sites were preserved to educate visitors on the sociopolitical history of the country, and a conservation initiative set up to preserve wildlife on the island ("New Identities and the Construction of Heritage," 2011). The Robben Island project will be discussed at length later in the chapter.

### **Shifting Course: The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999:**

In 2000, the NMC was replaced by the South African Heritage Resources Act (SAHRA) and the provincial heritage resource authorities. What were formerly known as national monuments became provincial heritage sites, and were accordingly the responsibility of whichever provincial authority they were geographically located within. SAHRA became a new listing for national heritage sites, with a greater focus on setting national agendas, identifications, norms and standards for heritage preservation (*Natural Resources Act*, No. 25 of 1999).

SAHRA is both more comprehensive and more unique than other national preservation doctrines, in that it encompasses all sorts of cultural heritage entities, including "archaeology, paleontology and meteorites," "burial grounds and graves," "public monuments and memorials," along with rock art, aircraft or vessel wrecks, military history sites, significant objects, vegetation, the natural environment, and the built environment (*Natural Resources Act*, No. 25 of

1999). While the Natural Resources Act sets guidelines as to suggested ages of entities worth preserving, it provides broad enough language so that most any object, moveable or unmovable, which SAHRA or the provincial governments deem culturally significant, may be eligible for listing (*Natural Resources Act*, No. 25 of 1999). These far-reaching powers have indeed become something of a debate among academics and professionals in South Africa, specifically when they are applied broadly to housing protections, and could interfere with necessary development in urban areas. The sections that follow present differing views on the strengths and weaknesses of utilizing historic preservation authority in South Africa, with a specific focus on the Cape Town region. In the political battles that have been waged after the end of Apartheid, the priorities of historic preservation and revitalization have often been caught up in a tug of war between clashing political interests and contentious histories.

### **SAHRA: A Contentious National Heritage Authority:**

The other case studies in this thesis analyze ways that historic preservation and revitalization practices are used by public managers to promote city planning and development strategies. However, in South Africa, some critics argue that SAHRA has become either an absentee regulatory body or a cumbersome blockade to necessary socioeconomic development in a post-Apartheid society.

Many problems regarding preservation practices (or lack thereof) result from a misguided or altogether absent execution of power by SAHRA's central authority, combined with blatant corruption on the part of the national government (South Africa's former president, Jacob Zuma, is currently in court facing corruption charges). There are abundant stories of a lack of proper exercise of authority on the part of SAHRA. For instance, in 2008 SAHRA listed a family house

in Ventersdorp, North West, formerly home to a fallen political hero, as a heritage site—without notifying the building’s occupants. SAHRA blamed the mishap on a group of untrained heritage students performing recommendations for listings, which lends additional questions regarding the processes of the authority. Not only does this miscommunication obviously present issues in preserving the house properly, but it presents economic disadvantages to families, who are then unable to refurbish houses, even if necessary. SAHRA heritage places must be renovated by a heritage or museum professional (Abraham, 2017).

Furthermore, SAHRA has also drawn condemnation for failing to protect crucial heritage sites in the country. In 2016, SAHRA was widely criticized for failing to prevent the partial destruction of the Canteen Kopje heritage site. One of the oldest dated archeological sites in the world, the monument had gained international attention when a 2.3-million-year-old stone tool sequence was found on site. When a diamond mining operation was attempted on the site in 2014, permitted by the Department of Minerals and Energy, SAHRA imposed a cease-order. However, the order was later lifted in 2016, and immediate mining action followed, even as current excavation sites by scientists from Wits University and the University of Toronto existed on location. Even though the mining was a clear violation of the National Heritage Resources Act, and that SAHRA could have gotten a court interdict to stop the mining procedures, the agency failed to act. As experts ascertained that there was little to no economic value gained from the mining, and huge cultural value lost, the failure of SAHRA was inexplicable to most, not only in terms of the Canteen Kopje site but as a precedent for future heritage sites (Morris, 2016). Mining on the Canteen Kopje site has only intermittently stopped as the McGregor Museum and Wit University challenge the mining activity in the Northern Cape High Court (Wits University, 2016).

Alternatively, critics argue that SAHRA exercises its authority too freely. In terms of SAHRA's 60-year protection rule, as of 2006 much of South Africa's post-war housing was broadly denoted as protected. As a result, Franco Frescura states that "by 2020 large parts of the CBDs in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria will be [protected by SAHRA], and the fear has been voiced that this will bring property development in these areas to a grinding halt. This will result in a concomitant loss of investment, a reduction in new building development, and a drop in property prices" (Frescura, 2015). For a city that is still largely geographically segregated (see figure 1), the ramifications of blocking such development are severe. Combined with pressing issues of gentrification in other city neighborhoods, policies like these could result in a widening geographic wealth gap.

In response to Frescura's criticisms, SAHRA issued a rebuke stating that, among other things, it was only responsible for the protection of sites of national significance, essentially shifting blame to local authorities. SAHRA authorities stated that "local government is responsible for managing sites of local interest. While this system has its flaws, the NHRA is one of the most forward thinking pieces of legislation in the country, and a world-leading piece of heritage legislation" (Frescura, Smuts, Gribble, 2015). As with many disputes of governments, it comes down to a matter of national versus local responsibility.

The stories regarding SAHRA's lack of teeth in protecting heritage and prosecuting those who violate the National Heritage Resources Act have only emboldened individuals and organizations in violating its terms. Most experts agree that SAHRA in its current form is lacking many crucial attributes. If the central authority was better equipped or motivated to prosecute violations of national heritage policies and laws, in conjunction with its being more motivated to establish a national strategy, then historic preservation could perhaps rather be a tool of

administrators in solving issues of socio-economic inequalities rather than at best a non-entity, and at worst a hindrance. While the national historic preservation body may still need to undergo significant transitions, there are regional preservation bodies in the country that may offer more compelling case studies.

### **Heritage Preservation in Cape Town: Historic and Economic Context:**

In his criticism of SAHRA, Frescura notes that the only regional bodies that are adequately supporting heritage conservation (or that have functioning Provincial Heritage Resource Authorities at all) are the Western Cape and “partly, KwaZulu-Natal” (Frescura, Smuts, Gribble, 2015). As noted above, the Western Cape Heritage Authority is responsible for safeguarding and declaring heritage sites that fall within the bounds of the Western Cape Province. As a result, I have focused on the ways in which Heritage Western Cape, and particularly the City of Cape Town and its surrounding area, have played a role in historic preservation in the country.

The City of Cape Town has been the home of the Apartheid-era National Monuments Council and the modern offices of SAHRA, and the Western Cape Heritage Authority. Consequentially, the Western Cape has been a marked leader in setting the agenda for heritage preservation in South Africa. However, while progress has been made in both listing new heritage sites and outlining strategic plans for future neighborhood or regional projects, heritage preservation has often been caught up in the chaos of reconciliation in a grossly unequal society.

Tourism has played a major role in the economy of the city; in 2015, the tourism industry made up 3 percent of the GDP of the Western Cape Province, and employed 4.5 percent of its workforce (Roelf, 2017). Because of the one-sided heritage preservation strategy during the

Apartheid era, Cape Town has the highest density of Cape Dutch structures in the world (“Cape Dutch Architecture,” n.d.). The Cape Town area also contains a system of 31 national nature reserves, which make up large tracts of land in the Province and are designed to protect the region’s unique biodiversity from the effects of urban sprawl (City of Cape Town, 2010, p. 7). The natural and architectural aesthetic beauty and history of the Cape Town area are major draws for tourism, but these aspects of Cape Town’s character conflict with other pressing needs in the municipality.

While the City of Cape Town is one of the foremost economic powerhouse and tourist destinations- in the world, it faces unique and deeply disruptive challenges in heritage preservation practices that set it apart from most other global cities. Cape Town has been named the “least unequal South African city,” as of 2011, nearly two decades after the end of Apartheid, the city’s Gini coefficient was .67 – higher than any country average in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). This means that Cape Town is one of the world’s most unequal cities, whereupon equality was determined through measures of income inequality, inequality of access to services, and infrastructure (“Cape Town least unequal SA city,” n.d.).

While the City of Cape Town has been segregated since the colonialist era, during the Apartheid Era of the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century, tens of thousands of people were forcibly moved from the City Center to undesirable outlying areas under the Group Areas Act (“Cape Town the Segregated City,” 2011). This history will be detailed at greater length under the District Six Section. The removal of thousands of Cape Town citizens still has huge ramifications to the inequality and socioeconomic status of the city: it’s estimated that 22 percent of the City of Cape Town’s three million people live in informal dwellings—often metal shacks in the townships at least 30km from the city center (Tredoux, 2009). Couple this distance with the lack of affordable

transportation for the large number of people living in the outskirts of the city, and it's easy to see how the unequal distribution of Cape Town's population can cause a major problem for both economic activity and basic human rights.

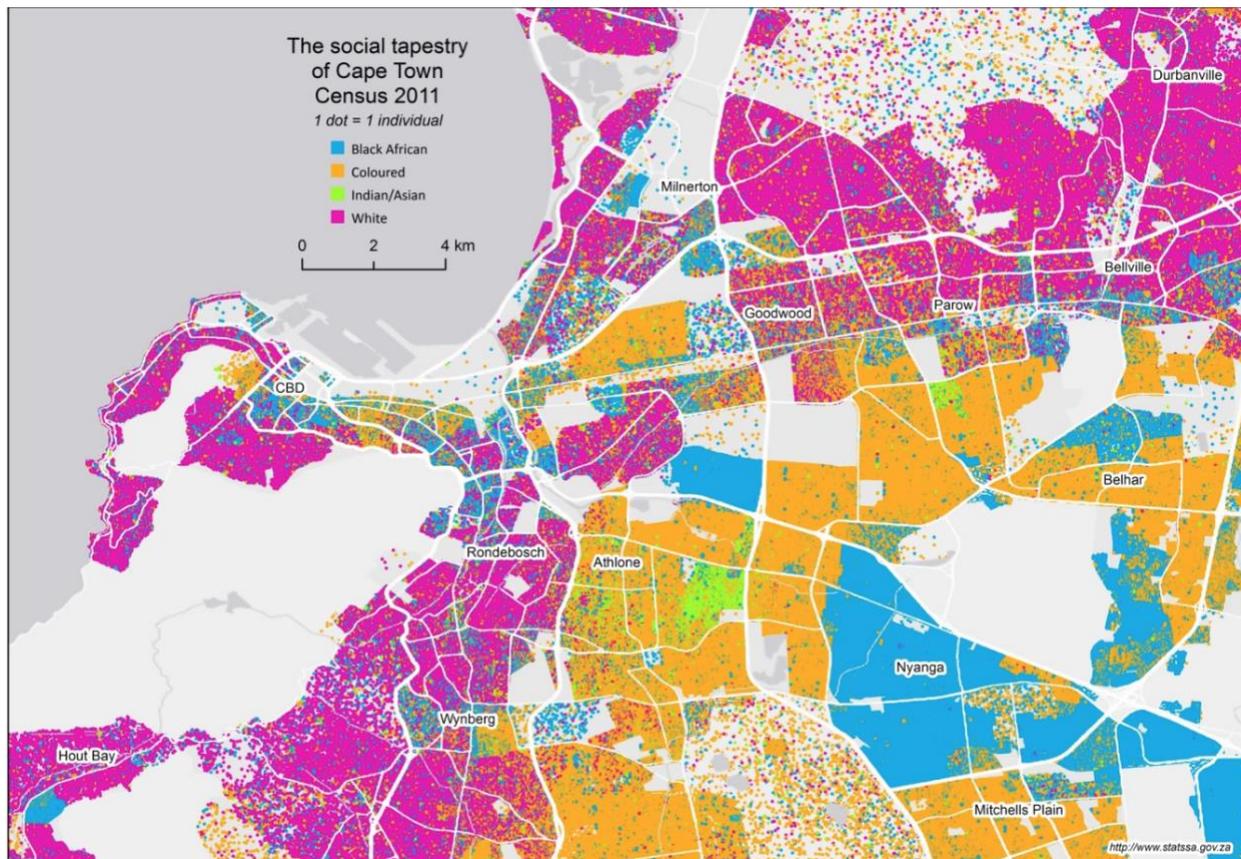


Figure 1: Spatial Inequality in Cape Town (STATS SA, 2016)

Strategically leveraging heritage preservation for revenue from tourism dollars, while prioritizing the resettlement and economic redeployment of millions of South Africans who were forcibly moved into townships during the Apartheid era, has become a tight balancing act for the Cape Town Municipal Government and the Western Cape Heritage Authority. In outlining these tensions, I have selected case studies of the successful deployment of both heritage preservation strategies and sustainable economic development in the Cape Town area—sustainable economic

development herein referring to economic development which is accessible or benefits all South African citizens and not just the wealthy segment of the population.

### **Robben Island Case Study:**

Robben Island has been used as a prison of sorts since the 17<sup>th</sup> century—when Dutch colonists used it to imprison political leaders from the East Indies who protested Dutch colonial rule. When South Africa transferred into British hands it was used as a leper colony. From 1961, the apartheid government used it to imprison both political and criminal prisoners, most famously South African President Nelson Mandela for eighteen years (“UNESCO lists Robben Island as a World Heritage Site,” 2011).

As a separate entity from SAHRA, the Robben Island Museum (RIM) has done an incredible job at both preserving history and promoting economic activity via tourism through the repurposing of apartheid-era prison Robben Island into a living museum. In this endeavor, Robben Island should serve as an example to developers and public administrators alike on how to undertake historic preservation projects in the country.

The Robben Island Museum was established by the South African Department of Arts and Culture in 1997 to preserve the island and prepare it for opening to the public. On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1999, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization (UNESCO) named the island a World Heritage Site (“UNESCO lists Robben Island as a World Heritage Site,” 2011). Today RIM is a public entity responsible for “managing, maintaining, presenting, developing and marketing Robben Island as a national estate and World Heritage Site” (Robben Island Museum, n.d.). The museum’s function includes the implementation of various conservation, educational, tourist development and other tools, which help protect the Island’s

natural and cultural heritage. RIM also manages all the assets of the island (Robben Island Museum, n.d.).

Robben Island serves as a positive case study for heritage preservation, as it incorporates multi-faceted layers of history into its strategic plan. While most people visit Robben Island to see the cell of Nelson Mandela, the island also is home to a leprosy memorial, a mental asylum, a tribute to the first place where Islamic jurisprudence was written in the country (from 1780-1793), a town which hosted the wardens of the apartheid-era prison and their families, and the second largest colony of African Penguins in the world (RIM, “Integrated Conservation Management Plan,” n.d.). Rather than prioritize a certain history over another, the RIM has committed itself to preserving all layers of history on the island as were evident from the time they acquired it in 1997.

Furthermore, the RIM has leveraged tourist interest in the island to create economic activity in the Cape Town area. In fact, “contributing to the socio-economic development and transformation of the South African society” is a central part of the RIM’s vision statement, and their mission includes the core purpose of “managing RIM in a manner that promotes economic sustainability and development” (RIM, 2009). Perhaps one of the most central ways the RIM promotes local economic development and job creation is through the employment of ex-political prisoners, who serve in positions that range from tour guides to executive officers. The RIM also hosts a “Spring School” each year wherein it brings student representatives from across South Africa and Namibia to engage in a week of conservation and heritage activism exercises. Finally, one of the RIM’s current initiatives focuses on looking at ways to further engage the local workforce to help with projects on the island, such as clearing alien and invasive plants (RIM, “Integrated Conservation Management Plan,” n.d.). However, as of 2010, RIM had 124

full time and 98 non-permanent employees, which is not a hugely significant number (RIM, 2010). But as 337,000 tourists visited Robben Island alone in 2016, a number which continues to grow annually, it would be helpful to see more outcome data of the direct economic impact the museum has on the local community (Western Cape Government, 2016).

Some say that Robben Island could be doing even more to spur economic development in the Cape Town area. In 2015, Webber Ndoro, the Director of the African World Heritage Fund, stated that unused buildings on Robben Island which are not currently being occupied should be repurposed for domestic or commercial use. He stated, “if you are going to maintain a building you use it. If you don’t use it you are killing a building” (Kamaldien, 2015). Negotiating the practical use of spaces with protecting the vast natural environment on the island is a delicate balance—and while the RIM has done an admirable job at spurring economic activity while protecting a natural and cultural heritage site, perhaps this issue will come even more to the forefront in plotting the island’s future.

### **District Six Case Study:**

District Six is a unique case study of heritage preservation, in that the area was almost completely destroyed in 1982. As a result, efforts today surround reconstruction and preservation of cultural, rather than built heritage, in conjunction with socio-economic remunerations for nearly 60,000 displaced residents. A Guardian article on the community’s reconstruction called it “an ambitious and unique attempt to recreate not only the bricks and mortar but also the spirit of a community” (Carroll, 2003).

District Six, a shortened name for the Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town as it was created under in 1867, was established as a “mixed community of freed slaves, merchants,

artisans, labourers and immigrants (District Six Museum, “About the District Six Museum,” n.d.). It would later become an infamous example of the apartheid government’s application of the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Group Areas Act assigned racial classifications to different residential and business zones in South Africa’s urban areas, and led to the forced removal of non-white residents from the country’s developed areas (“Group areas act of 1950,” n.d.). In 1966 District Six was declared a “white area” under the Group Areas Act, and by 1982 all its residents were forced to move to a barren area known as the Cape Flats—infamous today for its high crime density and problems with gang violence (District Six Museum, “About the District Six Museum,” n.d.). The area was completely leveled, as seen in figure 2, and a large whites-only technical college was built in its place—though it never attracted corporate investments due to organized collective action on the part of the neighborhood’s former residents (Carroll, 2003).



Figure 2: Aerial View of District Six (MM & Associates, 2012)

District Six has been memorialized as a center of the multi-cultural heritage (including music, food, artwork, sports and literature) of Cape Town, and has been described by former residents as “a place of harmony [of] everybody mixed in happily together, [and] a vision of what South Africa might have been” (Carroll, 2003). In 2006, SAHRA declared the district a National Heritage Site, and focused on the displacement of people as the greatest aspect of its historical significance (District Six Museum, “District Six as a National Heritage Site,” n.d.). Today the District Six Museum’s long-term strategic plan focuses on a shift from a memorial project to a site museum, with the future development of a Cultural Heritage Precinct on the District Six Site (District Six Museum, “District Six as a National Heritage Site,” n.d.). Preserving the cultural heritage of the area while providing restitution and resettlement to its former residents has proved to be a challenging, albeit important, long-term strategy of both SAHRA and of the District Six Museum, who have worked in conjunction with the Cape Town Municipal Government in the latter regard.

The District Six Development Framework was produced to aid the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the District Six Beneficiary Trust in outlining a set of “principles, strategies, design and planning guidelines; as well as infrastructure proposals based on the existing inner city context of the site measuring approximately 40ha [approx. 100 acres] in extent” (MM & Associates, 2012). The framework attempts to create a development plan which will best serve the interests of former residents with resettlement claims, resist gentrification of the neighborhood, complete a cohesive part of the Cape Town CBD, and observe the area’s designation as a heritage site. Examples of balancing these considerations include aspects such as determining height and scale of buildings with respect to both heritage and density concerns (MM & Associates, 2012). However, overall, the resettlement and restitution of claims to

displaced peoples has taken a high priority over cultural heritage building, which has become a topic of conversation among area conservationists. Even upon its designation as a SAHRA site, people were concerned over whether the declaration would prevent restitution or renovation of homes—likely because of the issues with the renovation of SAHRA designated houses discussed briefly earlier in the chapter (Hendricks, 2016). The ultimate goal of the development framework is to create five thousand new homes which will house twenty thousand people (MM & Associates, 2012).

Sacrifices have had to be made in the heritage preservation arena to meet the demands of displaced residents. For example, despite the entirety of District Six being an archaeological site, the urgency to redevelop the area combined with the high price of excavation has made a large-scale study of the area infeasible. As such, the District Six Museum has worked with SAHRA and the City of Cape Town to complete smaller-scale digs and identify key sites (Sirhan, 2016). The District Six Museum itself has become a key protector of cultural heritage in the area; it hosts displays on the social history of its people (including recipes, artwork, and everyday items) to preserve the memory of the area (Sirhan, 2016). However, the reality of the current situation dictates that perhaps a collective memory center is the greatest amount of cultural heritage that these public and nonprofit entities can afford when balancing delicate and painful histories.

Overall, District Six holds a wealth of potential when it comes to utilizing a tourism plan and leveraging its position in socio-political history to drive its redevelopment. However, this redevelopment is time sensitive, and so hard decisions will have to be made in prioritizing what form this heritage preservation takes. It is difficult to balance the anxiety of residents who have submitted land claims, especially those living in high crime areas like the Cape Flats, with the interest of a thorough preservation plan. The District Six Museum has played a key role in both

preserving the area's history and presenting a vision of the area's future, but significant stakeholder engagement and strategic planning will be necessary for cultivating faith in area residents that a cultural heritage plan will serve their best interests, not just those of tourists.

### **Conclusions:**

In countries such as South Africa, harmonizing the need for wide scale economic development with the importance of heritage preservation is a delicate balance. It is hard to argue for the protection of rural villages, tracts of land, or other structures when people are living in squatter camps or without adequate shelter. It is harder still when the national authority, despite being endowed with enforcement mechanisms, has seldom shown teeth in battling government contractors or even private developers. Furthermore, even as agencies set an ambitious preservation agenda in the Western Cape, they are burdened by chronic underfunding, understaffing and corruption problems, that prevent transparent sharing of outcome data and a full understanding of the potential impacts of undertaking new cultural heritage preservation projects.

SAHRA and its broad purview of historic preservation policies coupled with South Africa's vast development needs present the problems of subjective historic preservation protocols and theories. Public managers are left to determine where and what should be deemed historic and worth protecting – and this can spur conflict when it comes to resolving issues like spatial inequalities. The case studies above are good examples of positive cultural heritage practices in the country, which can serve as both drivers of economic activity but also as records of the multi-faceted and controversial history of South Africa. In looking towards the future, the City of Cape Town, the Western Province, and the country of South Africa will have to develop

strategies that leverage historic preservation in a way that is socially just as well as aesthetically appealing and positive for economic development in the country. purview

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### **III. THE REVITALIZATION OF PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA: DRIVING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH HISTORIC PRESERVATION POLICIES**

#### **Introduction:**

Fourteen years ago, the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, entered into Act 47, the Financially Distressed Municipalities Act (Davidson, 2004). By declaring itself “financially distressed,” the state of Pennsylvania could provide loan and grant funding to the city government, and would assist the city in formulating a financial recovery plan (Pennsylvania Governor’s Center for Local Government Services, 2013). A former steel town, Pittsburgh was going the way of most rust-belt American cities, in that it faced a declining population and a grim economic outlook. However, Pittsburgh has become something of a model city for its rust-belt counterparts, in that it not only avoided bankruptcy, but has emerged as a leader in the technical and medical fields, and now boasts a growing population and a low unemployment rate. In early 2018, under Mayor Bill Peduto, the city formally exited Act 47, sending a message to taxpayers and future bondholders that the city is in better economic shape than ever before (Smeltz, 2018).

While Pittsburgh is often held in comparison to other rust-belt cities, its unique assets should not be overlooked in assessing what made it possible for the city to escape the fate of its counterparts (e.g., Detroit, which declared bankruptcy in 2013). One of these assets is a long-running dedication to historic preservation, which led to many of the city’s structures being saved during the period of urban renewal in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. While many other cities were bulldozing old lots to make room for new highways and high rises, nonprofit groups in the city of Pittsburgh mobilized to protect historic districts from demolition. At the turn of the century,

these districts would play a major role in Pittsburgh's revitalization, as federal funding and tax incentives were tapped to attract outside investment in renewal efforts. Over the past twenty years, aggressively utilizing historic preservation has become a central practice in Pittsburgh's economic development strategy, and has allowed the city to balance its budget, attract outside investment, and reinvigorate the downtown area.

### **A Brief Overview of U.S. Federal Historic Preservation Policies:**

In the United States, the historic preservation movement was born from popular support and mobilization. It began as a decentralized city-centric model, but in the post-WWII era morphed into a federal system when the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings were established in 1946 and 1947 respectively (Tomlin, 2015). The historic preservation movement was codified in the creation of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which established the National Register of Historic Places, a National Historic Preservation Fund, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to the President, and the "Section 106" review process for federal actions which would affect National Register properties (Tomlin, 2015).

The parameters for inclusion on the National Register are broad, and the National Park Service's nomination and selection process has received significant criticism because of it. Nevertheless, it provides an array of incentives, including federal preservation grants for planning and rehabilitation, federal investment tax credits, preservation easements to nonprofit organizations, and international building code fire and life safety code alternatives, as well as listing on the national registry which generally increases tourism and interest in the area (National Park Service, n.d.). Listing residential and commercial areas on the National Register

has been one of Pittsburgh's foremost strategies in extending the benefits of historic preservation across the city.

Additionally, Pittsburgh has heavily favored use of the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit (or Historic Tax Credit), established in 1976, which provides a "twenty percent income tax credit to developers of income producing properties such as office buildings, retail establishments, rental apartments, and others" (NCSHPO, n.d.). In particular, the federal government offers two Rehabilitation Investment Tax Credits: the twenty percent credit for rehabilitation of certified historic structures (those listed on the National Registry), and ten percent for the rehabilitation of unlisted properties built before 1936. To qualify for the credit, developers must hold the building for at least five years, which proves advantageous in Pittsburgh's case as the stipulation ensures at least a short-term investment in remaining inside the city (PHLF, n.d.).

### **The Evolution of Pittsburgh, PA:**

Pittsburgh has come a long way from its rust-belt roots, but that is not to say they are forgotten. Pittsburgh has worked hard to redefine itself as a global city rather than a manufacturing spoke of the greater nation, as evidenced by Pittsburgh's selection to host the 2009 G-20 summit, held downtown in the world's first and largest LEED certified convention center. While many praised Pittsburgh as being reborn into a "green economy," the Obama administration's initial announcement literally drew jeers and laughs from the crowd. To add fuel to the fire, in 2017 President Donald Trump announced that he represented the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris when announcing his intention to pull the United States out of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change – harkening to the days of protecting job interests in manufacturing, particularly coal and steel. The backlash from Pittsburgh mayor Bill Peduto was

swift, as he reaffirmed the city's commitment to battling climate change (The Conversation, 2017). However, it is clear that the city maintains a split personality – balancing somewhere between historic steel and coal town and up-and-coming global city.

In the post-war era, Pittsburgh produced half of the United States' coal, and historical accounts state that the city's atmosphere was so dirty street lights had to be turned on at noon. Over time, leaders across the public and nonprofit sectors came together to create smoke controls and clean water rules, and these leaders would prove to be essential in Pittsburgh's later historic preservation strategy. However, steel production still caused general health hazards for residents in the city. While Detroit's automobile industry steel era ended abruptly, Pittsburgh's steel era ended almost overnight in the early 1980's, and it took thousands of local jobs with it (Bobkoff, 2010).

Over the course of the next thirty years, Pittsburgh faced an identity crisis. The city's public and nonprofit sectors looked for ways to redefine the city's image, reinvigorate its economy, and resolve the population drain. Education played a major role in the city's reinvention: universities like Carnegie Mellon and the University of Pittsburgh, which have strong tech and medical programs, drew students into the city. Students who decided to stay helped boost the economy, and in conjunction Pittsburgh could attract new business and development downtown (Bobkoff, 2010). However, the role of historic preservation in saving Pittsburgh from bankruptcy or similar fates as its rust-belt counterparts cannot be overlooked.

The grassroots development of federal historic preservation incentives and regulations mirrors the historic movement of activists in the Pittsburgh region. Two organizations have been noted as being instrumental in pushing historic preservation practices in the city's renewal strategy. The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, co-founded in 1964 by Arthur

Ziegler (who still heads the organization to this day) and James D. Van Trump, was the first historic preservation group in the country to complete a countywide survey of architectural landmarks. Ziegler and Van Trump established a revolving fund that would facilitate the purchase and revitalization of historic buildings by residents. The Pittsburgh Neighborhood Housing Services (PNHS), founded in 1968 by Dorothy Richardson, provided money to low-income African American residents for rehabilitation and/or renovation projects. The organization's system of lending to high credit risk borrowers was reflected in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 via the creation of community development block grants (Tomlin, 2015). Today, both the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation and the reincarnation of PNHS (Neighborworks Western Pennsylvania) remain active in the region.

Pittsburgh has been privileged, in that nonprofit entities like the PNHS and the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation have consistently resisted urban renewal, protecting historic structures which would later be instrumental in bringing development back into the area. However, the city was not completely immune to the tide of urban renewal. During the 1950s and 60s, the U.S. Housing Act of 1948 spurred large scale urban renewal projects across the nation, effectively leveling areas that were considered slums and promoting highways, overpasses, and concrete office buildings and high-rises. In 1960s East Liberty, a \$58 million urban-renewal plan under the Pittsburgh Urban Redevelopment Authority demolished 1,100 homes and relocated 3,900 people, with the goal of creating a pedestrian mall to attract shoppers. High-rise housing led to issues with densely-concentrated poverty and higher crime rates, and most of the shops closed by the end of the 1970s. Only in the 2010s has the area attracted new retailers and seen improved area home prices (Hagerty, 2012). Nevertheless, it seems that the entire city of Pittsburgh was saved from a similar fate based on the advocacy of groups who

utilized the incentives garnered from historic preservation practices, as will be discussed in the following section.

### **Utilizing Historic Preservation Incentives to Drive Development:**

As noted above, the city of Pittsburgh has primarily utilized historic preservation to revitalize through two main streams: the Federal Historic Tax Credit and the National Registry. By leveraging its historic properties (along with favorable state income taxes), Pittsburgh could attract businesses to downtown development via the 20 percent tax break they would receive for renovating and occupying historic structures. This resulted in a vibrant downtown scene which includes businesses springing from historic structures: The Church Brew Works brewery is set inside a turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Roman Catholic Church, a new 178-acre technology park occupies the space of an old steel mill, the Hot Metal Bridge, which used to carry molten iron across the Monongahela River, now features pedestrian and bike lanes between Oakland and the South Side, and Carnegie Mellon's National Robotics Engineering Center sits in a renovated, 100-year-old foundry building on a former industrial brownfield site (The Church Brew Works, 2018), (Sisson, 2016), (The Conversation, 2017), (Katz, 2018). The list goes on, and features many prominent names in tech which now occupy former industrial sites in the area. The takeaway, however, is that campaigns focusing on cleaning up industrial canals and sewers, reusing industrial buildings, and repurposing railroad corridors, have repurposed the downtown area as both an interesting and economically attractive slate for development to private entities.

Secondly, listing neighborhoods on the National Registry has proven to be a central strategy in Pittsburgh's revitalization of not just its business areas, but its domestic neighborhoods. In 2015 PlaceEconomics, a Washington D.C.-based real estate and economic

development consulting firm, presented a report entitled *Historic Preservation: Part of the DNA of Pittsburgh*. PlaceEconomics found that historic tax credit projects have added an average of 500 jobs and \$18 million in salaries and wages every year since 1980. Furthermore, they found the following in designated Historic Districts: the average value of a single family home appreciated at a greater rate than the city average; real estate activities recovered sooner and stronger after the 2008 recession; foreclosure rates were less than a third that of the city average since the 2008 recession; walk, transit, and bike scores were greater; and even while Pittsburgh experiences a loss in population between 2000 and 2010, the population in City Historic Districts continued to grow. Despite these attributes, as of the time of the study, Pittsburgh's historic districts were more affordable than the city average. Finally, PlaceEconomics found that historic preservation practices also contributed to large-scale economic gains from tourism; heritage visitors add more than \$800 million to Pittsburgh's economy each year, and make up 45% of visitors to Pittsburgh (Rypkema, Paxton, 2018).

In 2015, Metropolis magazine included Pittsburgh in its 11 most livable cities in the world, specifically stating that its historic preservation movements have proved central to its ability to overcome the fate of other rust belt cities with the decline of the steel industry. In response to the announcement, Pittsburgh History and Landmarks founder Arthur Ziegler said that the value of historic preservation, and the grassroots movement to slow down urban renewal and protect historic structures in the area, was central to Pittsburgh's revitalization and current socio-economic attraction for new residents or visitors (Gavin, 2015). Of course, there were issues of consolidation, government oversight, and balanced budgeting that also contributed to Pittsburgh's victorious 2018 emergence from Act 47, but there is no doubt that the city's prioritization of historic preservation incentives and tax credits allowed it to leverage outside

private investment and to harness federal funding for neighborhood redevelopment projects. As of 2014, there were 18 National Historic Districts registered in Pittsburgh, and in conjunction with the hundreds of private sites redeveloped with the help of federal tax incentives, it is clear that historic preservation has played a central role in the city's development strategy.

### **Conclusions:**

Today, Pittsburgh prioritizes historic preservation more than ever, making expansion of National Registry sites a priority in the city's strategic plan. By ensuring that more properties are listed on the National Registry, the city can ensure that private developers get more tax breaks from the federal government, and that community nonprofits and public entities can secure grant funding to revitalize domestic neighborhoods. Nonprofits in the region have focused on expanding the potential positive effects of revitalization to poorer neighborhoods, and use listing them on the registry as a way to package different government funding streams. By investing funding, incentives, and appropriations in revitalization programs, Pittsburgh's government has ensured that the downtown area is a lucrative and affordable space for business and living, while creating an attractive market to draw in tourists. The investment has paid off, not just in that Pittsburgh has exited Act 47, but also in that the city today enjoys a two percent lower unemployment rate than the national average, a rising population, and a lower median age of citizenry. By tying development with historic preservation, the city has also ensured that there is a greater investment in the culture and history of Pittsburgh. While cities which were hit harder by urban renewal may not have the same number of historic structures to leverage with federal historic preservation incentives, they nevertheless could look to Pittsburgh for inspiration in

creating private public partnerships, reviving economies, and protecting culture and heritage for years to come.

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## **IV. A RECONCEIVED SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA: UTILIZING HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND REVITALIZATION PRACTICES TO REDEFINE A SHARED HERITAGE**

### **Introduction:**

In Seoul, South Korea, the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) structures historic preservation as a key component of urban planning. Through the promotion of cultural heritage and careful spatial planning, Seoul has sought to not just cultivate a better understanding of its own history, but also to redefine its history after years of political turmoil as the result of colonization and war.

The economic growth that Seoul experienced in the second half of the twentieth century has allowed the city to catapult itself into a position as a “Global Power City.” The Institute for Urban Strategies at the Mori Memorial Foundation in Japan ranked the city of Seoul sixth in the world in its 2017 index, which assesses cities’ global power through the lens of six functions: economy, R&D, cultural interaction, livability, environment, and accessibility. (MMF, 2017). Having achieved such a status, the focus of the SMG and Mayor Park Won-Soon is on making the city people-centric and increasing quality of life. Core to the SMG’s urban planning strategies to achieve these goals is the idea of promoting cultural heritage and historic preservation, in partnership with the revitalization of Seoul’s downtown.

While the city of Seoul has made strides in historic preservation since the domestic movement began in the 1990’s, these actions have not been without contention. Defining what is historic, or worth saving, is a central problem in defining historic preservation strategies, as is citizen participation in planning projects. This paper provides an analysis of historic preservation

in the city of Seoul, its role in the SMG's urban planning strategy, and an outlook for Seoul's future steps in preserving and revitalizing its cultural heritage.

### **Background:**

The city of Seoul was founded in 18 BC under the *Baekje* kingdom, of the Three Kingdoms of Korea. Under the Joseon Dynasty, Seoul was designated as the capital of Korea, during which time a focus on urban planning led to the creation of "Five Grand Palaces" which live on as exemplary architectural marvels through our current time. However, between the years of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), many of Seoul's traditional structures were almost entirely destroyed, and the spatial arrangement of the city districting severely altered (Rii, 2002, pg. 84).

In the years that followed, the need for rapid urbanization and economic development led to large infrastructure projects that could bring the city up to speed with the rest of the world. Seoul evacuees and North Korean refugees returning to the city resulted in a population growth rate of 55.3% between 1955 and 1960 (Rii, 2002, pg. 84). Through the late 1990's, the focus of SMG's urban management strategy was on facilitating economic growth and accommodating the booming population.

A paradigm shift in the city's urban management plan through the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has instituted a new era, whereby the Seoul Metropolitan Government is focusing on not just facilitating economic growth, but also creating a pedestrian and eco-friendly city with a strong prioritization on Seoul's cultural heritage. As a result, historic preservation and revitalization has become a priority of the city's urban management strategy.

## **From Urbanization to Redevelopment:**

Today South Korea is developmentally twenty years behind Japan, and Korean scholars attribute this to the devastation brought by both colonization and the war (Jong-Wha, 2016). With Seoul in ruins after the Korean War, modernization was the central mission for Seoul's government during the 1960s. Tall concrete industrial buildings, overpasses, and apartment complexes grew upwards in the city to make up for the years that Seoul's economy had been held back. In many ways rapid urbanization worked: for forty years South Korea had an incredible GDP growth rate of 7.9 percent (Jong-Wha, 2016).

### *A Shifting Focus*

By the 1990s, urban planners saw a gap in Seoul's modernization plan – consequently, the paradigm shifted from a focus on getting as much industry and economic activity as possible into the city to creating a city that would highlight a happy and culture-rich lifestyle for its citizens. In 1994, the Nansam Restoration began, and SMG bulldozed tall skyscrapers to restore the view of Seoul's mountain ranges from the city centers (ISUS, 2017, pg. 208). In 1995, the Government-General Building, or Seoul Capital, a Japanese colonialist structure, was bulldozed to make way for the reconstruction of the Gyeongbokgung palace. This had strong political implications, as the Japanese demolished the original palace grounds to build the mega structure which would serve as a reminder of the legitimizing of Japanese colonialism (ISUS, 2017, pg. 209).

Through the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, citizen priorities shifted from maximizing economic development to preserving Seoul's cultural heritage and renovating historic structures (ISUS, 2017, pg. 215). This shift in public priorities is what the SMG credits with allowing them to invest more money and planning into historic preservation and renovation. This new vision for

Seoul's downtown area included a list of historic buildings, walkable historic streets, reduced car lanes, widened sidewalks, and underground electric lines (ISUS, 2017, pg. 221). It also included several major projects which greatly altered the city centers.

*The 2000 Downtown Area Plan and cheong Gye cheon stream project*

The 2000 Downtown Area Plan prioritized the removal of city streets to make more room for pedestrian walkways and recreation areas. Seoul City Hall Plaza, a large open green space in front of Seoul's City Hall, was formed, among others (ISUS, 2017, pg. 211). Projects like these utilized scrape and rebuild processes, whereby old or outdated structures were completely removed to make way for new, whether they be considered more reflective of culture and heritage, more aesthetically pleasing, or more pedestrian focused.

However, the greatest feat of historic preservation during the early 2000's was the restoration of the cheong Gye cheon stream from 2002 – 2005. As will be discussed under section IV, the SMG has placed a focus on emphasizing Seoul's history under the scope of the Joseon Dynasty. In the restoration of the cheong Gye cheon, Seoul highlighted the waterway's history as a political, societal, and cultural boundary harkening back to the Joseon Dynasty in 1394 (SMG, 2011, pg. 9). Plans to cover the stream can be traced back to Japanese colonial rule; however, due to financial constraints, the stream was not completely covered until 1961 (SMG, 2011, pg. 27, pg. 29). In 1971 the Cheongye expressway was built over the stream's site (SMG, 2011, pg. 43). Until the restoration of the site commenced in 2003, the expressway was of great central importance to controlling traffic flow in Seoul's city center, and was also a symbol of national power, city development, and an emblem of the city landscape (SMG, 2011, pg. 49).

In July 2003, then mayor of Seoul, Lee Myung-bak, spearheaded a project to remove the Cheonggye and restore the cheong Gye cheon stream. The estimated budget for the project was

349 billion won (~323 mil USD), though the final cost was 386 billion won (~357 mil USD) (Lee, 2016, pg. 151). Despite the risks of increased traffic congestion, the removal of merchants and shopping along the Cheonggye, and the high cost of restoration, the SMG felt that the restoration of the cheong Gye cheon was essential for creating a safer and eco-friendly city with a focus on cultural heritage (SMG, 2011, pg. 69). The SMG also believed the project would induce a reorganization of the industrial structure around the area to revitalize the downtown (SMG, 2011, pg. 69).

### *Evaluating the impact of the cheong Gye cheon project*

The cheong Gye cheon project, while an impressive feat of modern urban planning, raises several questions regarding the subjectivity of and the consequences that may result from major historic preservation projects. The project has been criticized for its high cost and lack of true ecological or historical value, and concerns mounted before the project that it would both hurt traffic flow in the city and exacerbate gentrification. Some of these concerns have proved trickier to address than others.

After the revitalization of the cheong Gye cheon, traffic sped up around Seoul – and as such, the project has been used as a case study for Braess’s paradox (that if governments build more roads to decrease congestion, this will increase congestion) (Vidal, 2006). Yet concerns about gentrification are likely valid: critics say that the restoration has forced thousands of people away from the area as the rich move in for the aesthetic values (Vidal, 2006). Weighing whether the benefits for the city are more meaningful than the consequences for former/remaining district residents is not an easy question to answer.

Criticisms surrounding historic and ecological value stem from the fact that the cheong Gye cheon in its current state is not a natural stream restored, but rather a man-made waterway

(Marshall, 2016). By the time restoration began on the stream, it had essentially dried up, meaning the SMG had to essentially create a waterway where the old one had existed. This is an example of how modern historic revitalization projects are often no longer preserving history, but recreating it. While that does not necessarily mean such projects have no historic merit or value, it is important to consider these factors when determining the motives for such initiatives.

The recreation of the cheong Gye cheon also had ecological ramifications. The SMG and project critics disagree on the merit of the project as “green.” While the stream did lower the surface temperature of its surroundings and increase local biodiversity, its restoration also contributed to Seoul’s increasingly problematic algae problem. Because the stream is not natural, and rather contains a pump of running city water with concrete flooring, it contains no purification functions. As a result, the maintenance costs for the stream have been increasing by 30 percent each year (Marshall, 2016). The environmental and fiscal consequences of the cheong Gye cheon project will likely raise concerns over the economic and ecological impacts of similar restoration projects in the years to come.

In response to criticism of the stream’s ecological value, the SMG has taken steps to create plans for future ecological projects in the city. One of these is Seoul Forest, wherein a type of park will be created for both aesthetic and ecological value (SMG, 2011, pg. 97). However, the SMG must be careful to avoid similar issues with plans such as these, wherein the creation of seemingly green spaces may not actually have deep reaching environmental benefits.

### **The Seoul 2020 Master Plan:**

As defined by the Seoul Metropolitan Government:

The 2020 Seoul Master Plan is a long-term plan to present the vision and spatial structure of Seoul and the divisional development directions for the next 20 years.... The Seoul Master Plan is required to be revised every five years to reflect the physical and social changes, and is a statutory plan to suggest the basic direction of urban planning (SMG, 2009, pg. 30).

The plan aims to define Seoul as a world city (leading the Northeast Asian Economy), a culture city (presenting a unique character) an eco-city (reviving nature) and a welfare city (enriching everyday life), as well as a city in harmony with nature, human beings, history and technology. The plan prioritizes a shift from quantitative development to qualitative development, which the SMG says will heal the urban problems that resulted from the era of rapid economic growth, and recover Seoul's history and natural environment.

Most of Seoul's spatial plans for downtown prioritize not just protecting and conserving the city's history, but also creating historic and cultural centers. In fact, one of the central strategies for revitalizing Seoul's downtown is through the restoration of historic and cultural centers. Like other cities, Seoul chooses periods of history to prioritize, and the SMG specifically notes that it wants to recover national pride by "restoring the historic legacy of Joseon Dynasty," under which Seoul became the capital of Korea (SMG, 2009, pg. 58).

As part of its "urban renaissance" and spatial planning strategy, Seoul drew inspiration from cities like London to establish the idea of "four axes" or corridors in the downtown area. These axes include a historic corridor, a digital media corridor, a green corridor, and a creative corridor (SMG, 2009, pg. 68). In developing these corridors (the historic one in particular), and

setting up the Seoul 2020 Master Plan, the city created a more specific strategy for addressing historic preservation and renovation via its Downtown Area Plan of 2015.

### **Modern Practices:**

#### *Downtown Area Plan of 2015*

The vision of the DAP is to preserve a historic downtown area that is harmonious with the modern life of Seoul's citizens. The plan's goals include cultivating a downtown with historic character, which is also pedestrian friendly, livable, safe, eco-friendly, and consists of dynamic industries. It utilizes spatial planning, with a focus on respecting natural and historic structures and using regeneration techniques based on spatial characteristics (ISUS, 2017, pg. 216).

#### *Spatial Planning Practices:*

As noted above, the traditional spatial arrangement of the city of Seoul was disrupted by both Japanese colonialism and North Korean occupation. While significant progress was made before its inception, the Downtown Area Plan of 2015 takes a proactive stance on restoring the city's historic identity and moving from scrape and rebuild practices to urban regeneration, while engaging citizens in the making of revitalization plans (ISUS, 2017, pg. 216). Using the major elements of land use control, height control, and the protection of historic property, the SMG aims to respect natural and historic structures, promote the regeneration of districts and create a sustainable network of city districts. The SMG also split the city into seven districts and eighteen sub-districts (ISUS, 2017, pg. 256).

These districts are classified into three distinct groups based on their characteristics, and which will determine how land use control will be applied. The first group is districts for

protection of character, under which regeneration of the district is undertaken to respect historic, cultural, and geographic characteristics. The SMG plans to enlarge these district areas. The second group is districts for redevelopment, where areas will be either completely “scraped and rebuilt” or just rehabilitated based on gaps in modern necessities or other problems. As of 2015, no more districts are to be designated for redevelopment. The third group is districts for gradual change, whereby big intervention will not be necessary (ISUS, 2017, pg. 227).

Height control is central to the SMG’s strategy in preserving the city’s natural heritage, as downtown Seoul is surrounded by four mountains, which reach between 91.4m – 309.5m (ISUS, 2017, pg. 229). In 2004, height control restrictions were tightened from 110m to 90m, which led to the removal of commercial buildings that blocked the sightline to the four mountains. In residential zones, all buildings must be below 16m, which helps preserve the city’s natural aesthetic (ISUS, 2017, pg. 229).

Finally, the SMG has prioritized the protection and identification of historic properties which remain unlisted. As historic properties are identified, they can be listed on a city-wide map, which will help aid the city in both preserving them and showcasing them as cultural attractions (ISUS, 2017, pg. 230). These historic properties are classified into three distinct categories: old alleys, modern buildings, or buried properties (ISUS, 2017, pg. 231).

#### *The preservation of hanok houses*

While Seoul has been proactive in conserving ancient palaces, Buddhist temples, and Confucian shrines, Peter Bartholomew, managing director of Industrial Research and Consulting Ltd. in Seoul, says it has done less to preserve traditional Korean, or hanok, homes. While thirty years ago there were around 800,000 hanok homes in Seoul, today there are just 7,000 (Epatko, 2011). The debate surrounding preservation of hanok homes raises an interesting question on the

subjectivity of historic preservation, as many Korean citizens believe hanok homes are so dilapidated and outdated that they are not worth repairing or upgrading. The hanok houses that remain have jumped in value, and many are rented at a higher price point. This has created a divide between advocates of preservation who argue that these homes are worth preserving for their cultural value and those who argue they must be removed to construct more housing for those who work in Seoul's booming economic market.

The Seoul government has taken steps to preserve some hanok homes. The hanok homes in Seoul's Bukchon district, which the government designated as a preservation district, is one of the city's top attractions (Epatko, 2011). So perhaps the larger problem is similar to the case of what happened with the cheong Gye cheon stream, in that historic preservation practices often cater to issues of gentrification within city centers. As the SMG prioritizes the preservation of hanok homes, these buildings skyrocket in value, meaning that only wealthy citizens can afford to buy or rent them. At the same time, it means less room for apartment buildings, which means fewer citizens can live in these city areas.

In cases such as that of the hanok homes in Seoul, a compromise must be made between making living affordable and equitable and preserving cultural and aesthetic value. There are several issues with hanok homes, especially those which are dilapidated beyond easy repair, including the fact that they are more vulnerable to fires and flooding. As such, it seems wisest for the SMG to not attempt to save every hanok home, but rather prioritize the ones that can be restored at the lowest cost (i.e. those which do not need to be completely rebuilt). At the same time, it's essential for the SMG to be open to citizen participation in the process of deciding which homes should be preserved and which can be redeveloped to suit burgeoning city needs.

## **Critical Analysis and Conclusions:**

The role of historic preservation in urban planning is contentious, so it is worth noting the implications of the SMG prioritizing the practice in its urban planning strategy. It makes sense that the SMG has prioritized cultural heritage, as the city's history was dominated by colonialism and war in the first half of the twentieth century, and rapid recovery from these events during the second half. It is no wonder that historic preservation officials in Seoul have looked to cities like Berlin, also ransacked by war and national political division, for inspiration in how to revive cultural pride in one's city (ISUS, 2017, lecture notes).

The use of historic preservation for homes, and historic preservation districts, has been criticized for contributing to affordable housing crises and gentrification in numerous cities across the globe (Capps, 2016). Seoul is not immune to criticism, as evident in the backlash faced in the revitalization of the cheong Gye cheon and the protection and renovation of hanok homes. In moving forward, Seoul will have to take a more direct stance in approaching concerns regarding affordable housing and gentrification.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the country's authoritarian past, citizen participation has been a key metric of importance in urban planning. The use of citizen participation forums should be increased in the future in making decisions regarding historic preservation practices; for example it was the shift in public opinion from prioritizing economic development to enhancing quality of life that made the initial historic preservation movement in the 1990's possible (ISUS, 2017, pg. 216).

One of the biggest challenges Seoul has faced in the DAP of 2015 has been incentivizing further historic preservation practices. While the SMG has clearly outlined its historic preservation plans and practices, it has faced trouble in engaging with citizens to participate in

listing historic buildings or renovating historic structures. In the U.S., reductions in property taxes are often used to incentivize historic preservation practices, but differences in tax codes make implementation of similar practices difficult in South Korea. South Koreans have relatively low property taxes, and so a tax credit would have to be applied to income tax instead of property tax to incentivize preservation practices. The central Korean government, who controls income taxes, does not want to give up control over taxes to municipal governments. As such, change would likely have to take place at the national level (ISUS, 2017, lecture notes).

Perhaps a key takeaway from a comparative analysis is that authoritative allocation of values must be used delicately when it comes to applying historic preservation practices. Public administration's application of historic preservation is by its nature subjective, in that deciding which history to preserve or revitalize ultimately prioritizes certain aesthetic styles, periods of history, and ideological or cultural values to achieve certain goals. In Seoul, the SMG has chosen to prioritize the Joseon Dynasty as the history that is most worth preserving, or in some cases recreating. However, if citizens are not in agreement with government decisions, these preservation practices will be no more sustainable than the structures built during urbanization, only to be torn down thirty years later.

### **Conclusions:**

As the SMG looks to other global cities for cues on how to maximize citizen wellbeing, it is important the government also keeps in mind the unique functions of Seoul's sociopolitical structure, which dictate what is most feasible in utilizing historic preservation as a tool or urban planning. In revitalizing downtown Seoul as the ecological, cultural, and political center for Seoul citizens, the city must balance pressing concerns such as resolving gentrification,

affordability, and equability issues that may be caused as a result. Furthermore, the city will have to address challenges regarding how to incentivize preserving, restoring, or recreating Seoul's history among citizens based on administrative parameters such as tax code structures. If Seoul continues to centralize cultural heritage while addressing potential hurdles, the city has the potential to become a model for historical preservation for other cities across the globe.

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## **VI. COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **Introduction:**

The case studies above present three different applications of historical preservation practices by emerging, or recently emerged, global cities. While each of these cities are vastly different, they are leveraging their histories, whether they be natural, lived, or built, to achieve certain set goals in their modern development tracts. The comparative case study analysis that follows will examine the differing socio-political and economic contexts for historical preservation and/or revitalization in these cities, compare best practices, assess feasibility of their cross-referencing, and observe the overarching themes of using historic preservation towards attaining global city maturity.

### **Economic Context:**

This thesis refers to the cities of Cape Town, Seoul, and Pittsburgh as maturing global cities, but it's important to note that they are in very different stages in terms of their economic maturity. Seoul, South Korea, is the furthest ahead, having gone through a period of heavy transition during urban renewal in the 1960's. The following sections will more closely compare the current economic situation of each city and its respective country and examine how these economic realities impact development priorities and the use of historic preservation practices:

Cape Town, South Africa, faces the most challenges in terms of its economy. On one hand, it is South Africa's second largest economy after Johannesburg, and its urban center is home to numerous international businesses and wealthy residents. However, it also has one of the highest Gini coefficients, or measures of inequality in the world. While Cape Town is

generally ranked as more equal than the country as a whole, the city's coefficient still runs close to 61—making it one of the highest in the world. Out of the countries used in this case study, South Africa is the only one not in the “very high stage of development” as ranked by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2016). In fact, South Africa still sits at the medium human development mark, most likely because of this vast inequality still present in its society after years of an apartheid government. Cape Town's issues with socio-economic inequality and its more constrained economy clearly present a more complicated situation when it comes to historic preservation or revitalization than the other case study countries.

While today South Korea is one of the most developed countries in the world, the city reached this point due to a period of rapid urbanization and economic development in the second half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Korea has been called “a model of development,” as it evolved from one of the world's poorest countries in the 1960s to one of the wealthiest today (Tran, 2011). As such, it is probably most accurate from an economic standpoint to compare the Seoul of thirty to forty years ago with Cape Town and Pittsburgh today, and this is considered in the case study above. However, studying historic preservation in Seoul also takes on a unique perspective due to this rapid urbanization, as today it is evident that the Seoul Metropolitan Government and its citizens regret the period of urban renewal, feeling it took character from their city and hurt it in terms of aesthetic appeal, tourism, and livability. In this way, the economic history of Seoul is important both in how we compare it historically to other case studies and in how it impacts the priorities of Seoul's people today.

Finally, while most cities in the United States are highly developed, the phenomenon of “rust-belt cities,” former industrial centers with struggling economies in the wake of widespread population, job, and income loss, has posed a major problem for local governments in the past

thirty-four years. In 2008, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was ranked as the country's 5<sup>th</sup> poorest city (McConnell, 2008). The city government prioritized economic development, and utilized federal historic preservation tax incentives to drive private development downtown, in turn creating jobs and bringing young people back into the city. While Pittsburgh's resurgence is much younger than Seoul's, both cities used preservation to mature their economies in very different ways based on their specific needs (Seoul focused more on tourism while Pittsburgh focused more on attracting private investment). Furthermore, the economic development tracts of these two cities serve as a case study that might be examined by public administrators in Cape Town to identify how heritage preservation could be tied to necessary development protocols, as some theorists are currently trying to convince the government.

In terms of their ranked economic performance, Seoul is unsurprisingly the highest, followed by Cape Town, and then Pittsburgh (Brookings, 2014). These cities are vastly different in terms of economic activity and present wealth, but in the past few decades they have all held the title of emerging economies. While they may not be at the same economic position at this point in time, there is perhaps more value in comparing each to another at different stages, so that we can see the ways administrators have or have not leveraged historic preservation in their development tracts. Overall, as each city pursues, or has pursued, maturity, they have prioritized different concerns and faced different economic barriers in developing strategic preservation plans.

### **Political Context:**

The United States, South Korea, and South Africa obviously have significantly different political and legal systems. While the United States has maintained the same political and legal

systems for over two centuries, Korea and South Africa have undergone vast structural transitions just in the past two to three decades. It would be impossible to examine differences in the public application of historical preservation practices without comparing these histories and their influences on public sector processes and intergovernmental relations today:

The United States was formed as a representative democracy, and has existed as something similar since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Systems of government exist on the federal, state, and local level, with most power residing in the former two. Today, national and state level partisanship based on a two-party system has led to significant gridlock in policy action, and has shown itself through disputes surrounding formerly bipartisan affairs, like passing budgets. This can be a problem when it comes to allocating public money towards historic preservation objectives, so more and more incentives have been used to engage the private sector to develop neighborhoods or historic buildings for commercial use. While voter turnout and citizen engagement is often low, citizens, especially those who have lots of money and as a result can fund re-election campaigns, can have a lot of power. As a result, historic preservation and/or redevelopment projects often involve complex stakeholder engagement practices, and large-scale neighborhood re-development projects can be halted, albeit sometimes with great difficulty, via citizen mobilization. In large cities like Pittsburgh, the political interests of the Mayor and city government can be prioritized over state or federal interests. However, until recently most historic preservation money came from the federal government, so navigating complex channels of intergovernmental relations is crucial. Overall, the trend in historic preservation practices has moved towards prioritizing built structures that are either a) significant enough to attract bipartisan political and therefore budgetary support or b) pose a vested interest to a private sector business or developer.

In contrast, South Korea has a highly centralized central government. After the colonialist period ended in the 1950's, Korea had an authoritarian government until it became a democracy in 1987. Despite their stable standing as a democratic government today, many Koreans still paint a rosy picture of the country's former dictators—rulers like Park Chung-hee led substantial economic growth in the nation and helped end significant social problems such as widespread hunger (S. Nathan, 2016). After the 2008 financial crisis, Korea elected Park's daughter, Park Geun-hye, who was later arrested and charged for corruption in 2018 (S. Nathan, 2016).

Korea's authoritarian past is important to the current political situation in Seoul for two primary reasons. First, because it is easier for the Seoul Municipal Government to accomplish large-scale development projects based on a citizenry who is accustomed to authoritarian governance, and second, because the Seoul Metropolitan Government does not always have the same powers a U.S. city might when it comes to levying taxes, etc. due to the dominance of the central government. Seoul's historical and modern governments, and the country's rigid intergovernmental relations structures, produce a paradox in which the Seoul Metropolitan Government has the power to quickly order and complete preservation projects, but they do not have the power to offer as many national-government level incentives as other global cities. As a result, historic preservation projects are often larger in scope, of aesthetic or cultural significance, and have less private sector mobilization than U.S. based projects due to Seoul's inability to offer tax incentives without national government support.

South Africa is infamous for the apartheid-era government, which created a white minority-ruled system and cast non-whites to the periphery in terms of job opportunities, housing, and even spatial existence in its urban areas. While the 1996 South African Constitution was lauded for being one of the most liberal of its kind, the African National Congress (ANC)

has now been in power for over twenty years and is plagued with issues of corruption and misuse of funds. In 2018, the country's president, Jacob Zuma, resigned shortly before being prosecuted on corruption charges (Onishi, 2018). As stated in the case study, historic preservation bodies like SAHRA are not immune to these issues of corruption, which have posed significant barriers when it comes to not just undertaking projects but monitoring existing ones. Fortunately, the Western Cape Provincial Heritage Authority, which governs heritage preservation in Cape Town, is one of, if not the best, in the country. Despite issues with heritage preservation projects that are registered nationally, local projects have experienced greater success in both strategic planning and operations. However, limited budgets due to national corruption are problematic in allowing provincial authorities such as Western Cape Heritage to function fully, and resolving the country's corruption problems will be central to ensuring the success of heritage preservation in the future. Furthermore, as the strategy for most heritage preservation is set by regional authorities, the City of Cape Town has yet to take an active role in utilizing historic preservation to attain global city maturity aside from attracting tourist dollars. In fact, it seems that most of the historic preservation that the City leverages is often by accident or pre-existence rather than by strategic planning. Formalizing this partnership between the municipal government and the heritage authorities will be vital to fully harnessing the power of historic preservation for city development in the future.

Despite drastic differences in the structures of each of these city's national and local governments, there is a common thread when it comes to administering historic preservation. Each city, through different agencies, has taken a proactive, if not unprecedented stance in prioritizing historic preservation and revitalization in its development. However, as will be discussed in the social contexts section, there are specific reasons that these cities are able to

undertake strategic historic preservation agendas, which cannot necessarily be scaled to cities which might appear similar in scope, size, or form.

### **Social/Cultural Context:**

The subjectivity of applying historic preservation has been explored significantly as of late, and it is natural that cities with vastly different social experiences have different priorities when it comes to what histories should be preserved. The section that follows outlines the different cultural heritages of each city, which contribute to certain goals via historic preservation.

While Seoul, South Korea, has had a complex history of colonialism and authoritarianism like many emerging global cities, it is unique in that it is almost completely homogeneous—ethnic Koreans make up almost the entirety of the population. As a result, there is often little debate surrounding which structures or sites are considered historically significant. Post Japanese colonialism, an emphasis was placed on removing colonialist structures and “rebuilding” the landscape of the city as it existed during the Joseon Dynasty (of the late 14<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century). Today the SMG is focused on removing the signs of urban renewal and recreating a “natural” landscape, as it existed. While this strong cultural identity makes historic preservation and revitalization more streamlined and efficient, it can also cause problems, such as in the case of the negative environmental impacts of the cheong Gye cheon stream renewal project. Local education institutions and historical preservationists have done significant work in raising these concerns over the subjectivity of the city’s historic preservation tract. Overall, however, the homogeneity of Seoul’s culture presents a distinct advantage when it comes to creating a cultural identity that serves citizens as well as attracting tourists.

In a cultural and social context, Cape Town is Seoul's opposite in two major ways. First, Cape Town is a highly multi-racial society. According to the city's 2012 census, approximately eighty percent of its residents are black Africans, eight percent are white, three percent are Indian/Asian, and nine percent are colored, a South African term used for persons of mixed race ancestry (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). However, while the majority of the population is black African, as a result of the Apartheid era's forced removals and racial segregation, the city is highly spatially unequal. Most of the city's black residents do not live in the urban center, but in townships, made up of small shacks, on the fringes of the city. Furthermore, South Africa has eleven official languages, all of which are recognized as equal under the 1996 Constitution. The multi-racial makeup of the city plays a large role in determining what is considered historically valuable, and to whom. This question transcends disputes regarding colonialist versus African sites; for instance, recent disputes have arisen from the prioritization of the Xhosa and Colonialist Dutch histories, whose people now dominate the Cape Town area, over the history of the Native Khoisan people, who were the original residents of the Cape (Villette, 2016).

Second, in Seoul, all signs of Japanese colonialism were quickly eradicated. The apartheid government prioritized the preservation of Dutch colonialist structures in the Cape, but South Africa's preservation bodies are continuing to preserve these structures even after the apartheid era ended in the mid 1990s. South Africa's policies of reconciliation post-apartheid are partially the cause, as the country took a unique stance on uniting its opposing histories. Additionally, the period of colonialism was much longer in Cape Town than it was in Seoul, leaving less which existed before the first Dutch colonialists arrived. Regardless of the reasons for these differences, it is important to note that recognizing all of its cultural heritages has become an important discussion and debate for Cape Town's Municipal Government, one which

cities like Seoul have not had to undertake. Rather than settling on shared cultural heritage, Cape Town has had to strategize to create a multifaceted understanding of its history, all while respecting the significant wrongs that were paid to a majority of its people over the past few centuries.

Pittsburgh falls somewhere in the middle of the other two cities in terms of cultural diversity. The city is sixty-five percent white, twenty-five percent black, five percent Asian, and two percent Hispanic and mixed respectively (Statistical Atlas, n.d.). From the 1930s to the 1950s, Pittsburgh's Hill District was one of the United States' most prosperous black communities, and has been compared to the Harlem Renaissance in New York City (Grant, 2017). The black community was hit hard by the crack cocaine epidemic in the 1960s and 1970s, which resulted in an exodus out of the city due to unemployment and high crime rates, and today critics disagree on the degree of race-based spatial inequality within the city (Grant, 2017). While some say that the black middle class is equally spread throughout the city, a Brandeis University study found that nearly half of the black children in Pittsburgh live in "very low opportunity neighborhoods" (Burnet, 2015).

While Pittsburgh's initial application of historic preservation centered on reviving abandoned industrial steel buildings, attracting private investment, creating new jobs, and bringing people back into the city, today the emphasis rests on resisting gentrification and improving outcomes in poorer neighborhoods in the city. By getting entire neighborhoods listed as historic districts, Pittsburgh's organizations have amplified the funding for community development in conjunction with nonprofit fundraising and grant money. In this regard, the city could serve as a comparative model for Cape Town's development—in that while private investment and economic growth has occurred, these economic benefits have not transferred to

all the city's citizens, especially those in neighborhoods on the periphery. However as noted above, these similarities will have to be weighed in conjunction with the differing political realities of the two cities.

Seoul is a unique example in terms of cultural context, in that most emerging global cities are no longer homogeneous in nature. Fairly weighing and addressing multi-ethnic stakeholder concerns when approaching a historic development plan is important to ensuring that all citizen interests are represented, and that a coherent and inclusive vision for the city is laid out. Furthermore, the problem of gentrification in developing cities has come center stage in the last few decades, and will only increase as more people are pushed out of urban centers. Providing for people of lower incomes and ensuring that all histories and cultures are fairly represented should be central tenants of any administrator's historic preservation plan.

### **Best Practices:**

We can draw from the above that Seoul, Pittsburgh, and Cape Town are very different cities with little in common except for their use of historic preservation to help achieve certain public sector goals. However, that is not to say that certain practices cannot be cross-referenced in order to build upon the use of historic preservation practices in each respective city. This section will briefly summarize the strong suits of each city's historic preservation strategies, and make recommendations on how these could be applied elsewhere.

Out of the three city case studies, Seoul has taken the most action in setting an agenda for historic preservation and developing a long-term strategic plan. The city's authoritarian past makes it easy for the SMG to authoritatively allocate historic status or to undertake large-scale infrastructure projects, but also allows the agency to selectively choose which histories are most

worth preserving. Seoul's comprehensive preservation and development plans could serve as models for cities like Pittsburgh and Cape Town, who are still putting together strategies that merge the interests of economic development and identity creation. However, it would be more difficult for cities without such centralized authorities or economic wealth to pursue these projects, and so perhaps a combination of both detailed strategic planning with private sector or citizen buy in would be most appropriate for other governance structures. Furthermore, Seoul has faced criticism from practitioners for prioritizing its singular preservation agenda over a comprehensive documentation of the country's history and over other projects, like housing or health services, that might be more necessary for its citizens.

Whereas Seoul is homogeneous and able to easily set an agenda for historic preservation, cities like Cape Town, with a multi-ethnic society, need to more carefully balance ways to both observe history and respect it. Cape Town's urban center has faced many issues with gentrification and spatial inequality, and so they are more cognizant of ways to balance economic development with historic preservation. It is not feasible for Cape Town to prioritize aesthetic or beautification projects like those of Seoul in the face of a massive housing crisis, so it may make sense for the city to examine the ways Pittsburgh has used historic preservation incentives to drive economic development downtown. However, this will require a structural adjustment in the way preservation is handled in the country; today there are no real incentives for cultural preservation—in fact it is seen as a burden due to its stringent restrictions. Nevertheless, projects like Robben Island serve as case studies of ways that history can be leveraged to encourage tourism revenue and create jobs for the city's economy. In the case of District Six, an examination of how Pittsburgh has revived its neighborhoods by promoting heritage and historic revitalization may be most appropriate.

Pittsburgh presents a unique example of the ways legislation can impact economic development via historic preservation practices—specifically through the city’s use of federal tax incentives. However, it is difficult for cities in other countries to lobby their central governments for these major revisions of law. But, if cities can show private developers or citizens more long-term incentives, like increased tourism revenue or interest in the cultural heritage of a neighborhood, perhaps they can use Pittsburgh as a case study within their own legal frameworks. Perhaps the greatest takeaway from the Pittsburgh case study, which is also present in Seoul’s strategic plan, is the use of historic preservation to create a strong shared identity, which attracts people to both living in and visiting the city. Cape Town could create this shared identity in its District Six neighborhood—though there is the opportunity cost of prioritizing the pressing need for housing for its citizens over a detailed heritage plan that may drive economic activity in the long run via attracting tourists and present social value via a neighborhood of strong cultural association and pride.

Each city has significant value to add regarding its experience with applying historic preservation theories and planning for future development. A common thread between the case studies is that each city outlined the history they wanted to showcase and undertook specific projects that contributed to this identity, while considering economic parameters or needs where applicable. This process is unique for each global city, and following this process is crucial to creating a clear and comprehensive strategy.

It is not feasible for every city to utilize historic preservation to attain development goals, and success depends on existing built, environmental or cultural sites, engagement from the private and nonprofit sectors, and the ability to finance revitalization projects. Each of the case studies above had two/three of these aspects. Seoul utilized cultural sites, often rebuilding

landmarks where they once stood, and the country's economic wealth. Pittsburgh leveraged existing industrialist sites, which were preserved based on nonprofit activism, engagement with private developers, and financing from the federal government. Cape Town has cultural heritage sites, some amount of nonprofit support, and is working within the confines of necessary economic development to prioritize projects which both grow the economy and create a shared cultural identity.

Historically, public administrators seem to be unable to successfully apply historic preservation practices to community development aspirations without two of these three channels of support. The best practices from the case studies above suggest that without an agreed upon shared identity and economic development plan, and without the trifold model of sites of historical significance, nonprofit or private support, and financing structures, the use of historic preservation to develop as a global city is not feasible. However, for cities that have these in place, the three cities serve as important examples of how impactful historic preservation can be to attaining global city maturity.

### **Overarching Themes and Conclusions:**

By comparing the case studies above, we can certainly make a conclusion that the cities addressed in this analysis are using their histories, whether it be through both preservation or revitalization, to support and amplify their cultural and economic development. Historic preservation augments a city's character, defines its history and shared heritage, and has been proven to increase economic activity through conduits like attracting private development and the tourism industry. It is unsurprising that historic preservation can serve as a key component of

a city's strategic plan, though it is surprising that as of late, few formal connections have been drawn when it comes to putting the theory into practice.

This thesis aims to document the ways emerging global cities have utilized historic preservation for development and to outline the methods for managing intergovernmental relations when formulating a development plan. It also seeks to highlight best practices in the public sector's leveraging of historic preservation to achieve development goals. Perhaps most importantly, it aims to promote a holistic practice of historic preservation, which can serve as a powerful tool to public administrators who are seeking ways to attract investment and populations to their cities in an era of globalization while maintaining a sense of cultural pride in their histories.

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