



# The Economic Benefits of Preserving Philadelphia's Past

Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia

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# Introduction

For over 300 years, generations of men and women have invested in building Philadelphia. They built churches, homes, offices, factories, and public buildings for their needs at the moment. But more often than not, they recognized that those structures were investments with value beyond their own lifetimes. Today those investments constitute the rich inventory of the history, the evolution, and the soul of Philadelphia.

What we have discovered in *The Economic Benefits of Preserving Philadelphia's Past* is that the dividends being paid by those investments today are far greater than the most farsighted Philadelphian might have imagined in years gone by. Philadelphia has long valued its proud past for cultural, historic, and aesthetic reasons. Today we understand that past also provides current economic returns.

The dividends of historic preservation come from multiple sources and have impact on every corner of the city. The lessons we have learned in *The Economic Benefits of Preserving Philadelphia's Past* are clearly illustrated throughout the city, in the downtown, and in our neighborhoods:

## Throughout Philadelphia...

- In the last 20 years, over \$1.5 billion has been invested in the rehabilitation of historic commercial properties, creating 55,000 jobs and generating over \$1.3 billion in household income.
- The Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Commission has identified “history” as Philadelphia’s main attraction for visitors. According to the Travel Industry Association of America, visitors to historic sites stay longer, shop more, and generally spend more than the average U.S. traveler.
- Philadelphia is now competing with New York and Hollywood for film locations and, according to the Greater Philadelphia Film Office, half the films shot in the Philadelphia area come here because of the historic locations.

## In Center City...

- Of the \$1.1 billion worth of projects now underway or planned to begin in 1999 in downtown Philadelphia, over half involve the redevelopment of historic properties.
- In response to the city’s growing hospitality industry, developers are investing over \$500 million to convert six Center City landmarks into hotels.

## In Historic Neighborhoods...

- In less than two short years, Frankford’s preservation-based Main Street community revitalization program has helped generate seven new businesses and 109 full-time jobs.
- Philadelphia’s historic neighborhoods are more stable and retain more of their residents when compared to the city as a whole. Historic neighborhoods have lost only five percent of their population over the last 10 years, while the city of Philadelphia lost nearly 14 percent during the same time period.
- Historic neighborhoods are the neighborhoods of choice for many new residents. Although historic districts constitute only 6.3 percent of the city’s entire population, 15 percent of people moving to Philadelphia from the suburbs and 21 percent moving from other places choose to live in historic neighborhoods.

These and other lessons are detailed on the pages that follow. But what is most evident is that historic preservation isn’t just about Philadelphia’s past — it is a vital component of Philadelphia’s future.



Don Meginley, President  
Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia  
November 1998

# Historic Preservation and Jobs

**P**hiladelphia needs jobs. Economic development can be about business recruitment or increasing the tax base or industrial retention, but in the end it's all about jobs. As it turns out, one of the most powerful impacts of preservation in Philadelphia is the jobs it creates.

For almost two decades, a federal tax credit has been available for the rehabilitation of historic commercial properties. Philadelphia has benefited from active use of this program. What has it meant? In excess of \$1.5 billion dollars has been invested by the private sector in the rehabilitation of 874 historic properties. Buildings given new life using the tax credits include the Wanamaker Building and the Curtis Center. Nearly 10,000 units of housing have been created, many of them for low and moderate-income families.<sup>1</sup>

But this historic preservation program has also meant jobs — good jobs. Historic preservation is a labor intensive industry, requiring carpenters, electricians, plumbers, laborers, and other tradespeople. With a job comes a paycheck and paychecks increase household income. But something else happens with that paycheck. The electrician buys herself a new car, the plumber gets a haircut, the carpenter takes his family out to dinner. Thus jobs are created beyond the construction industry itself. Federal rehabilitation tax credit projects mean jobs — 55,000 good jobs, and well over \$1 billion in the pocket-books of Philadelphia workers.<sup>2</sup>

Every year, thousands of other historic properties in Philadelphia are rehabilitated without taking advantage of the federal tax credit, representing investment of millions of dollars. This creates thousands of jobs in addition to those noted above. In fact, according to federal impact models, every million dollars spent rehabilitating an older building creates two more jobs than the same amount spent on new construction.

But the impact on Philadelphia doesn't stop when the construction work is done. Owners of these buildings now pay property taxes, employ workers, house families. Deteriorating blocks are given new life. Underutilized infrastructure is put back into service.

And importantly, the places representing Philadelphia's place in history are restored and retained for the next generation of Philadelphians.

**Historic preservation is labor intensive. Since 1976, the rehabilitation of 874 properties utilizing the federal tax credit has generated over 55,000 jobs.**

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## Historic Preservation and Jobs in Philadelphia 1978-1998

<b>Number of Projects Utilizing Federal Rehabilitation Investment Tax Credits</b>	<b>874</b>		
<b>Investment</b>	<b>\$1,568,135,923</b>		
<b>Jobs Created</b>	<b>Direct Jobs</b> 25,090	<b>Indirect Jobs</b> 30,735	<b>Total Jobs</b> 55,825
<b>Household Income</b>	<b>Construction Workers</b> \$682,227,000	<b>Other Workers</b> \$673,427,000	<b>Total Household Income</b> \$1,355,654,000

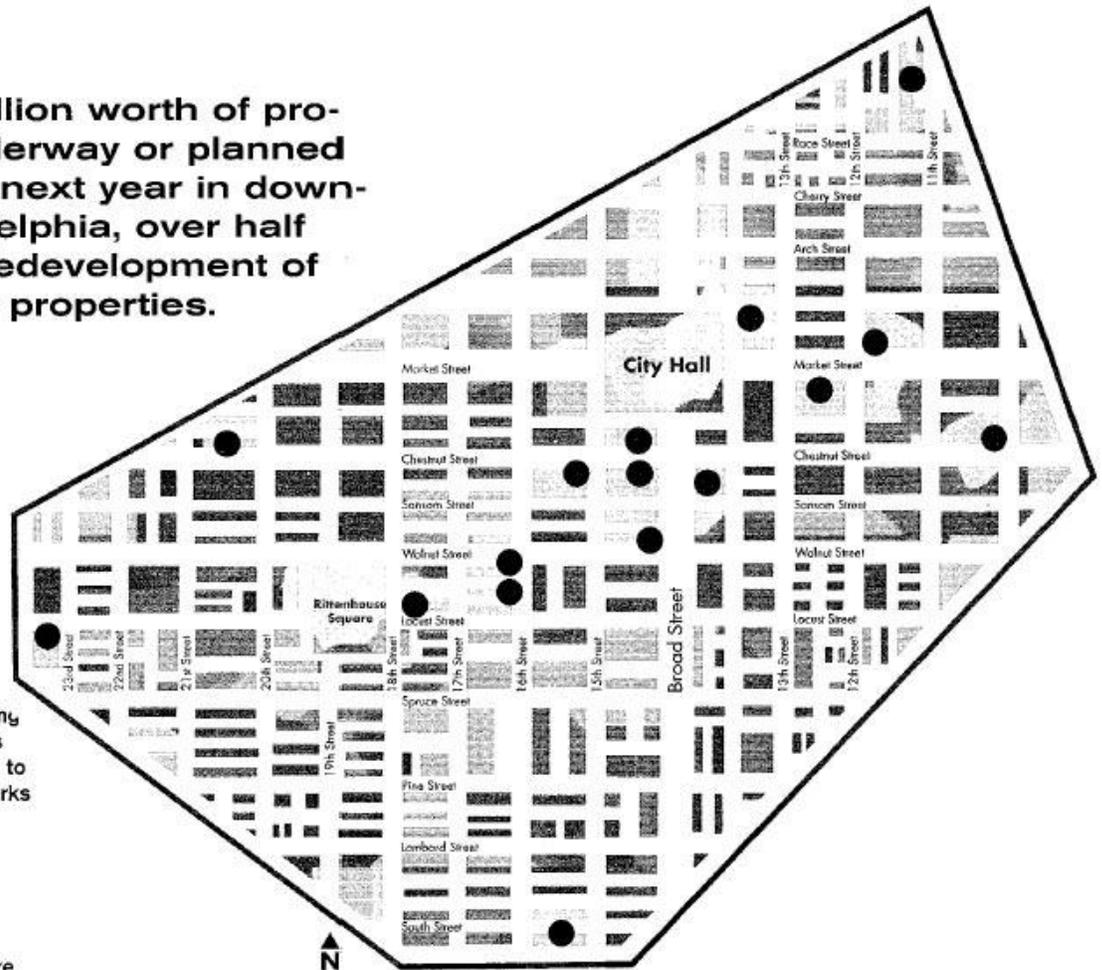
# Historic Preservation and Center City

**C**enter City is more than a name. Center City is the commercial, cultural, and political core of the entire Philadelphia region. Center City provides a third of the city's property tax revenues, 40 percent of the jobs, 72 percent of all the commercial office space, and is the destination of 80 percent of Philadelphia's visitors. More than any other part of the city, Center City defines the character and quality of Philadelphia to residents, visitors, and the world at large.<sup>3</sup>

The recent rebirth of Center City is an internationally recognized success story, and the city's historic resources have figured prominently in its resurgence. Under Mayor Ed Rendell's leadership and fueled by programs such as the office building conversion tax abatement, in excess of \$1 billion of investment is currently underway in Center City projects. More than half of those dollars are going into historic properties.

Nearly 83 percent of businesses in Center City employ fewer than 20 people. Small historic buildings are often the most appropriate locations for businesses of that size. The preservation of Center City's historic commercial buildings is crucial to the downtown's vitality and economic diversity. Center City's small historic buildings are also vital to Philadelphia's economy.

**Of the \$1.1 billion worth of projects now underway or planned to begin in the next year in downtown Philadelphia, over half involve the redevelopment of historic properties.**



In response to the city's growing hospitality industry, developers are investing over \$500 million to convert six Center City landmarks to hotels:

- ▶ Loews PSFS  
(12th and Market)
- ▶ Grand Bay Hotel  
(Broad and Chestnut)
- ▶ Sheraton Rittenhouse Square  
(18th and Locust)
- ▶ Philadelphia Marriot  
(Headhouse)
- ▶ Marriott Courtyard  
(City Hall Annex)
- ▶ Hawthorn Suites  
(1100 Vine Street)

# Historic Preservation and Investment

**H**istoric preservation works on many levels. The historic built environment in Philadelphia has become a magnet for international investment on every scale. Nationally renowned developer Tony Goldman pioneered the restoration and reuse of the Art Deco hotels in Miami Beach, and the conversion of the Wall Street area's historic office buildings into housing and mixed-use projects. Today Goldman Properties Company is acquiring historic buildings in Philadelphia.

"Our organization has researched the city for the past year and we feel that Philadelphia offers outstanding opportunities for developers who wish to benefit from the great supply of historic properties in your community. We have closed on three properties in the past couple of months, and are prepared to purchase another eight to 15 buildings in the Center City area," Tony Goldman said.

But if rehabilitation is an investment choice for developers and Center City building owners, it is also the chosen strategy on the smallest level for Philadelphia's typical homeowners. Fifty-one percent of the city's housing stock was constructed before 1940, and in many neighborhoods these homes remain the single most important investment for Philadelphia's families. An examination of the building permits issued by the City of Philadelphia over the last four years illustrates Philadelphians' continuing commitment to and investment in their older buildings. Ninety-two percent of all projects receiving permits were for alterations, and while the number of new building permits has held stable, alterations have increased consistently. Now many of these permits were not for officially designated historic properties; some represented adding a sign or removing a deteriorated garage, but most were for small improvements to simple older buildings. Historic preservation is not only about saving the grandest of our built heritage — it is also about conserving older buildings of a more modest scale. Philadelphians are actively doing that every day.



*"The availability of rehabilitation tax credits and the amount of vacant historic buildings in Philadelphia are the key factors behind the growing investment in the city's rental housing market. No other city in America, with the possible exception of Boston and New York, has such an abundance of potential adaptive reuse projects." Carl Dranoff*

## **Preservation in Action: Locust on the Park**

The \$24-million redevelopment of the historic National Publishing Company Building has created over 200 construction jobs, as it transforms a vacant book bindery into a revitalized residential hub and helps boost the city's tax base. Built in 1912 with a 1919 addition, and known originally as the Lanston Monotype Building, Locust on the Park will consist of 152 luxury apartments, the first new large-scale rental building introduced in Center City in a decade.

A combination of Philadelphia's office conversion tax abatement and federal rehabilitation tax credits made developer Carl Dranoff's vision of urban rejuvenation a reality. Philadelphia's 10-year tax abatement ordinance helped Dranoff Properties to secure financing to purchase the building. Under the 1997 ordinance, an older office building converted to residential use is taxed only on its assessed value before improvements are made. After a decade, the property is reassessed and taxed fully.

In addition to the local tax abatement, Dranoff utilized federal tax credits that provide a 20 percent tax credit for the rehabilitation of income-producing historic buildings. Locust on the Park qualified for the credits because the property is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and the rehabilitation met the standards outlined by the National Park Service.

Throughout much of his career, Dranoff has specialized in the adaptive reuse of historic buildings using the federal rehabilitation tax credits. As president of Historic Landmarks for Living during the 1980s, Dranoff developed 66 historic properties throughout the East and the Midwest with a combined value of nearly \$500 million.

Upon completion, Locust on the Park, located at 25th and Locust streets, will house higher-income "knowledge workers" seeking the convenience and vitality of in-town living.

# Historic Preservation and Tourism

Visitors are vital to a healthy Philadelphia economy. What do visitors come here to see? All five of the top attractions for leisure visitors in Philadelphia are historic locations. In surveys of recent convention visitors, history is identified as Philadelphia's main attraction to visitors. Philadelphia hosts a wide range of conferences and conventions. Earlier this year, two of these visitor groups were extensively surveyed by the Center City District. It would be hard to imagine two more diverse groups than the International Dairy and Deli Bakery Association and the American Society of Neuroradiology. But they had one thing in common: when asked "What did you like most about Philadelphia?," the top choice from both groups was "History and Historic Areas."

Philadelphia's historic resources are its strongest asset in attracting visitors. And heritage visitors have a significantly larger impact than the typical tourist. Research conducted by the Travel Industry Association of America has shown that:

- ▶ Heritage visitors spend, on average, \$615 per trip, compared to \$425 for all U.S. travelers;
- ▶ Travelers to historic and cultural sites stay an average of 4.7 nights, compared to 3.3 nights for all U.S. travelers;
- ▶ Pennsylvania, after New York and California, is the most frequently visited state by heritage and cultural visitors;
- ▶ Travelers to historic and cultural sites are more likely to shop as part of their trip;
- ▶ Heritage visitors are more likely to stay in a hotel, motel, or bed and breakfast;
- ▶ Travelers to historic and cultural sites are more than twice as likely to take a group tour than the average traveler.

Philadelphians know and appreciate their own unique history. Today, others are coming to share Philadelphia's history, and bringing their dollars with them.

**In surveys of recent convention visitors, history is identified as Philadelphia's main attraction to visitors.**

## **Preservation in Action: The Pennsylvania Convention Center**

The Pennsylvania Convention Center — one of the few convention facilities in the country that successfully marries new and historic buildings — generated 6,200 jobs and \$300 million in wages in just its first three years of operation.

"There is no question that the Pennsylvania Convention Center's competitive position has been enhanced by the historic preservation component of the project," said Robert J. Butera, executive director of the Pennsylvania Convention Center. "The refurbished Reading Railroad Train Shed, Reading Railroad Headhouse, and the Reading Terminal Market are what sell this convention center and distinguish it from our competition."



# Historic Preservation and the Film Industry

**M**oviemaking is most often associated with New York and Hollywood. But the film industry is beginning to make a major contribution to the Philadelphia economy as well. Why? It's no secret to Sharon Pinkenson, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Film Office.

**"Probably half of all movies shot in Philadelphia come here to use some of its historic aspects." – Sharon Pinkenson, Greater Philadelphia Film Office.**

"Philadelphia has grown into a major non-Hollywood movie location for many reasons, including its possession of whole blocks of buildings in many different styles. In the movie *Beloved*, for example, the story was set in 1880s Cincinnati and the Ohio Valley. Unfortunately, in these areas, including the neighborhoods in which the story takes place, too many of the buildings from that time period were missing and replaced with modern buildings to allow for convincing shots over a wide range. Therefore, the director shot the Cincinnati scenes from the movie at 3rd and Arch in Philadelphia, a

neighborhood in which much of the entire area was preserved as it was during that time period, and which thus could provide a convincing backdrop."

*Beloved* alone had a \$15 million direct impact on the city, including hotel rooms, jobs, location fees, equipment rentals, construction costs, catering, transportation, wardrobe, taxes, and more.

Philadelphia's historic resources are bringing filmmakers to Philadelphia and filmmakers are bringing dollars into the Philadelphia economy.

## Preservation in Action: On Location in Philadelphia

### Did you recognize...

The University of Pennsylvania's Fine Arts Library in *Philadelphia*? In *12 Monkeys*?

Eastern State Penitentiary in *Return to Paradise*? In *12 Monkeys*?

The Academy of Music in *The Age of Innocence*?

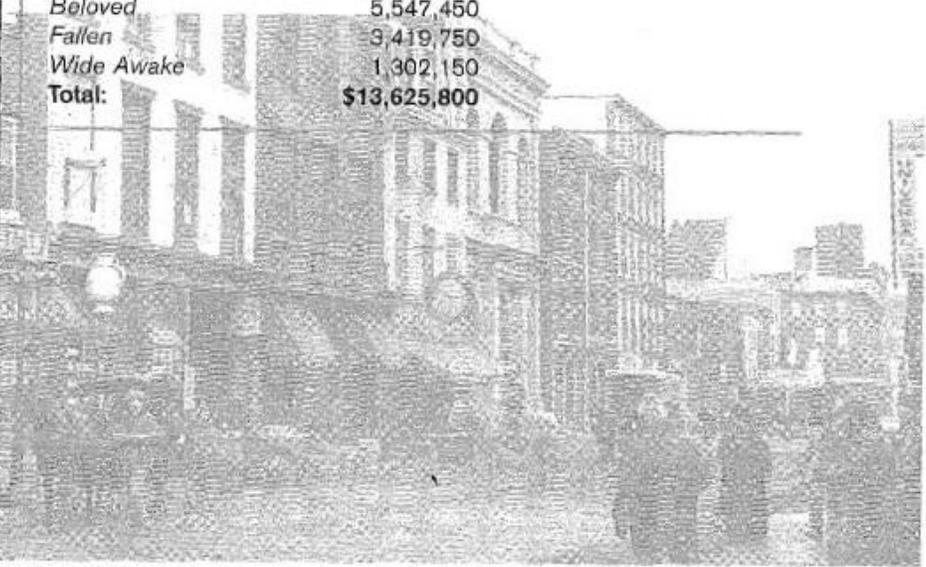
Memorial Hall in *Up Close and Personal*? In *12 Monkeys*?

### Hotel Expenditures, Local Wages, and Taxes Generated by a Sampling of Movies Shot at Historic Locations in Philadelphia<sup>4</sup>

<i>12 Monkeys</i>	\$3,356,450
<i>Beloved</i>	5,547,450
<i>Fallen</i>	3,419,750
<i>Wide Awake</i>	1,302,150
<b>Total:</b>	<b>\$13,625,800</b>



"Probably half of all movies shot in Philadelphia come here to use some of its historic aspects. Campuses, City Hall, the Italian Market, Eastern State Penitentiary, and the Art Museum are all lucrative filming locations," Sharon Pinkenson, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Film Office.



On the set of *Beloved*, North 3rd Street, Philadelphia, 1997.

# Historic Preservation and Commercial District Revitalization

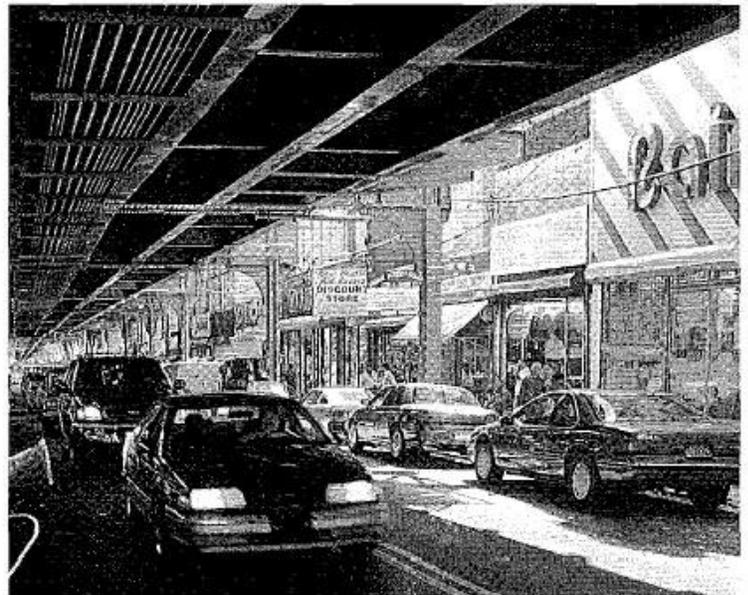
Philadelphia is a city of neighborhoods, and those neighborhoods have historically been served by a neighborhood commercial center. Some of these “neighborhood downtowns” are known nationally for their successful reuse of historic buildings as part of the revitalization strategy — Chestnut Hill and Manayunk are examples.

But there are other neighborhood commercial centers that are embarking on a historic preservation based revitalization strategy. In 1997, three Philadelphia neighborhoods — Frankford Avenue in Northeast Philadelphia, Fifth Street and Lehigh Avenue in North Philadelphia, and the 4900-5400 blocks of Germantown Avenue — were selected to participate in the National Main Street program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Main Street is a commercial revitalization strategy now at work in some 1,300 communities across the country. Originally developed for the central commercial districts of small towns, Main Street has been adapted for urban neighborhood use with programs operating in Boston, San Diego, Chicago, and other major metropolitan areas. In 1996, during the first year of Boston’s citywide Main Street program, 11 Main Street districts generated a total of 85 new businesses, 539 new jobs and \$711,154 in private investment in physical improvements.

With the business and residential community working together, Philadelphia’s Frankford Main Street is already seeing positive changes:

- ▶ Two buildings have been purchased and rehabilitated by the program representing investment of \$240,000;
- ▶ A third building has been acquired for future rehabilitation;
- ▶ In less than the past two years, there has been a net gain of seven additional businesses;
- ▶ In less than the past two years, while there has been a net loss of 46 part-time jobs, there has been a net gain of 109 full-time jobs.

Frankford is using the restoration of its historic buildings to restore the economic life of its community.



Frankford Avenue in Northeast Philadelphia is being revitalized as part of the preservation-oriented Main Street program.

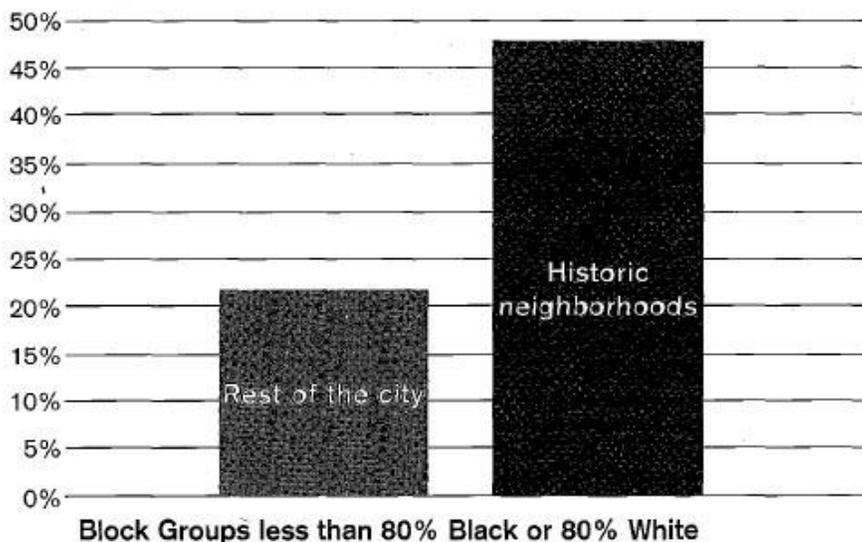
## Preservation in Action: Main Street

Over the last 18 years, in excess of \$8.6 billion dollars has been invested in Main Street districts around the country. There have been 48,800 building renovations, 43,800 net new businesses, and 161,600 net new jobs. And leverage of dollars has been incredible. For every one dollar used to operate a local Main Street program, \$35 has been invested.

# Historic Preservation and our Neighborhoods

**P**hiladelphia is a diverse city — racially, economically, educationally. One strength of Philadelphia is this diversity. But while the city as a whole is diverse, most neighborhoods, frankly, are not. For Philadelphia to fully take advantage of its diversity, people of different races, different incomes, and different educational levels need to be neighbors. Where does this happen in Philadelphia? In historic neighborhoods.

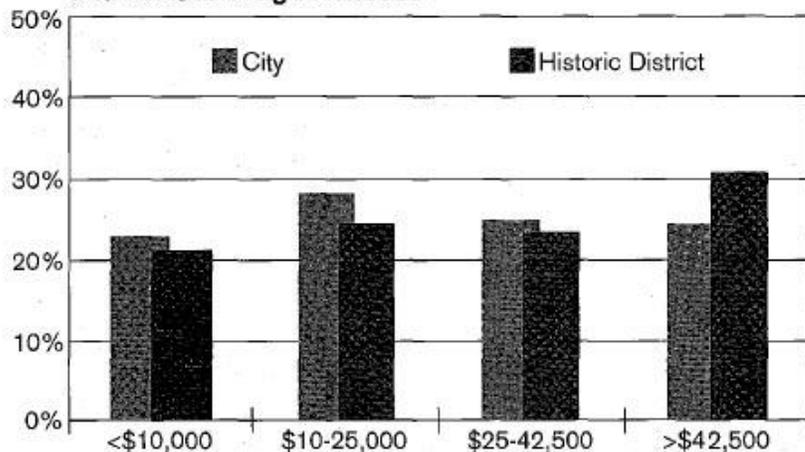
**Racially Diverse Neighborhoods in Philadelphia**



districts, nearly half met the diversity test — people of all races living together because of the appeal of the historic neighborhood.

These were not all high-income neighborhoods, by the way. The income distribution in Philadelphia's historic neighborhoods mirrors the income of the city as a whole. There is housing

**Income Distribution in Philadelphia and Historic Neighborhoods**



available in historic neighborhoods to fit a wide range of income levels.

Philadelphia is a city that is losing people. Since 1980, it has lost between 12 and 14 percent of its population. Not true in the historic districts. The historic neighborhoods have lost less than five percent.

These historic neighborhoods only make up 6.3 percent of the city's entire population but:

- Historic neighborhoods are home to over 28 percent of those with graduate and professional degrees;
- Historic neighborhoods are home to nearly 24 percent of the college graduates;
- Twenty-one percent of the people that moved into Philadelphia from other parts of the country moved to historic neighborhoods;

- Fifteen percent of the people that moved into Philadelphia from the suburbs in the last five years went to historic neighborhoods.

Philadelphia is racially diverse: about 53 percent white, 40 percent black, and the balance Asian and other ethnicities. While the city as a whole is certainly diverse, our neighborhoods are not.

For our analysis, the boundaries of National Register historic districts in Philadelphia were overlaid with the boundaries of census tract block groups.<sup>5</sup> In order to meet the test of a diverse neighborhood, we determined that the block group had to be less than 80 percent white and less than 80 percent black; that is, no extreme concentration of any race. Citywide, barely one block group in five met that test. Seventy-nine percent of Philadelphia small neighborhood clusters were effectively all white or all black. Not so in the historic neighborhoods, however. In the 106 block groups within historic

Historic neighborhoods add stability to Philadelphia. Historic neighborhoods, almost exclusively, reflect the wonderful diversity of Philadelphia. Historic neighborhoods are the

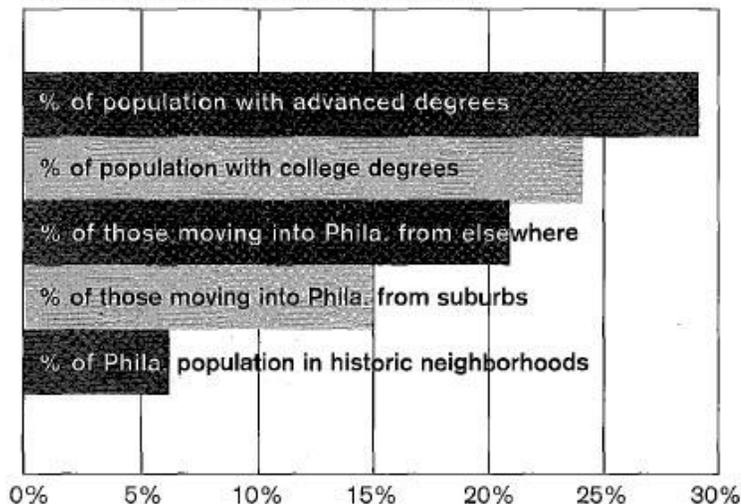
**Philadelphia's historic districts are among the city's most racially, economically and educationally diverse communities.**

home to Philadelphians of every race and income level — not in isolation, but in combination.

An economically healthy Philadelphia needs to appeal to every economic group, and historic neighborhoods do that. Philadelphia needs to attract brain-power workers, and historic neighborhoods do that. Philadelphia needs to re-attract residents from the suburbs and elsewhere, and historic neighborhoods do that.

Diversity is one of Philadelphia's greatest strengths. Historic neighborhoods are another. How appropriate that the value of historic neighborhoods is recognized by the entire breadth of Philadelphia's diversity.

**Characteristics of Population of Philadelphia Historic Neighborhoods**



**Preservation in Action: Parkside Historic District**

James Brown IV believes that historic preservation can be used not only to rehabilitate buildings, but to rehabilitate neighborhoods. Since 1983, Brown has redeveloped 12 historic buildings to create 198 housing units for a total investment of almost \$18 million. In doing so, he has brought life back to the Parkside neighborhood.

Brown spearheaded the listing of the Parkside Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places. Originally constructed between 1880 and 1890 by beer baron Fredrick Poth to house several well-to-do families, these huge, single-family residences facing onto Fairmount Park were later divided into apartments and eventually suffered fires and severe deterioration as a result of disinvestment in the neighborhood.

Working in cooperation with Pennrose Properties, Brown's Parkside Historic Preservation Corporation utilized the federal investment tax credits available for the certified rehabilitation of income-producing historic buildings. By combining the rehabilitation tax credit with the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit, Brown was able to generate approximately 66 percent of the needed project capital without a mortgage. This strategy successfully kept redevelopment costs low enough to support rents for low-to-moderate income families and elderly individuals on fixed incomes.

Brown's work has had an economic impact on the surrounding neighborhood as well. At least 30 permanent jobs, ranging from administrative staff to maintenance workers, have been created within the district. Nearby businesses have spruced up their facades and now regularly serve the needs of those who live and work in Parkside.

The redevelopment efforts of the Parkside Historic Preservation Corporation have also spurred the construction of new homes in the neighborhood. 1260 Housing Development Corporation purchased vacant land from Parkside to build 20 units of special needs housing.



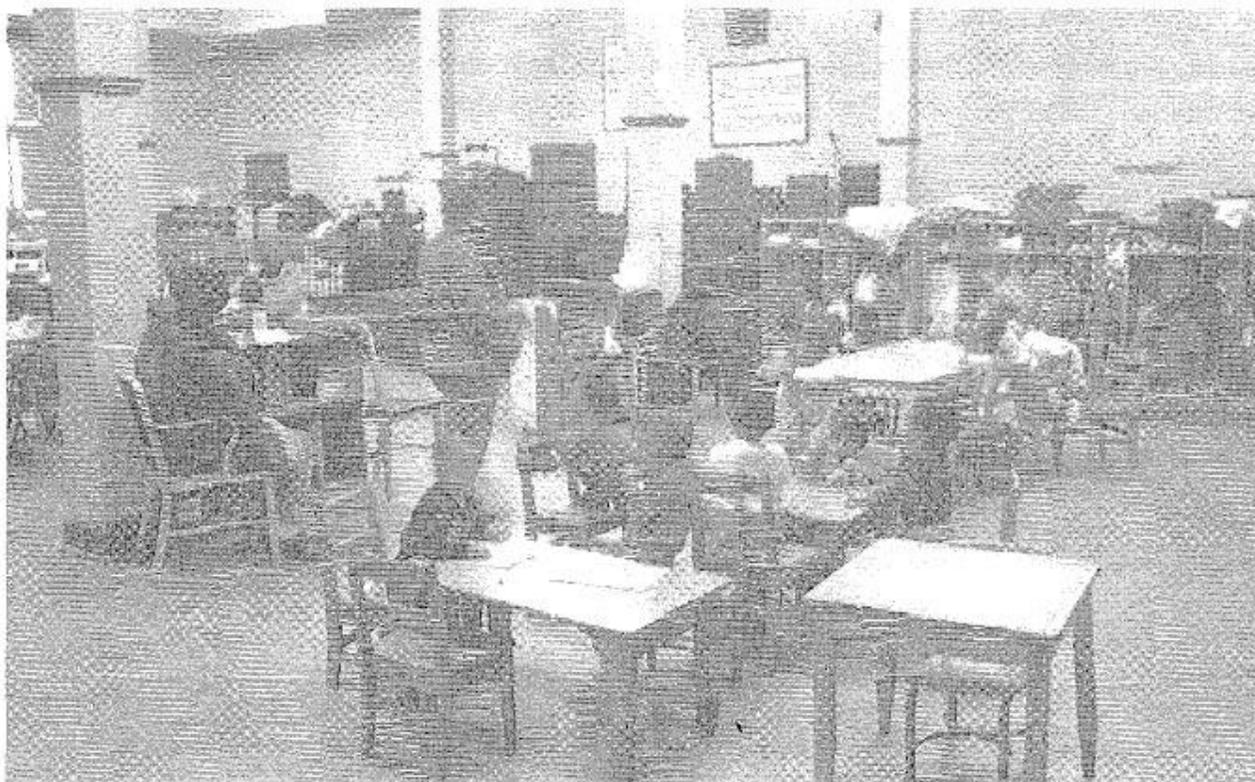
# Historic Preservation and our Religious Landmarks

Philadelphia's historic churches endure as community landmarks, housing not only religious services, but a variety of human services and programs that are crucial to the survival of urban neighborhoods. According to a study undertaken by Partners for Sacred Places, more than 90 percent of congregations occupying older churches and synagogues provide childcare and youth programs, vocational training, soup kitchens, and other vital community services. The space the average congregation donates to charity groups would rent for an estimated \$27,000 per year. In most instances, the cost of housing these services outside of historic churches would be prohibitively expensive.

## Preservation in Action: First Presbyterian Church of Germantown



The First Presbyterian Church of Germantown's Gothic Revival facade and tower have stood as an anchor in the Germantown neighborhood since 1872. "As a center for urban mission, we seek to address the needs of our immediate community, both for human services and for culture," notes The Rev. Dr. Donald N. Simpson, pastor of the First Church. "We are completing a study of the level of support we provide to the community and our early analysis reveals that including donated space, volunteer and staff hours, and in-kind services, the value of First Church's support for programs which benefit the community approaches \$1 million per year."



Like most congregations in historic religious buildings, the B. M. Oakley Memorial Temple in North Philadelphia provides essential community services, such as daycare.

# Conclusion

**W**hat have we learned in *The Economic Benefits of Preserving Philadelphia's Past*?

- Philadelphia needs jobs, and historic preservation provides jobs.
- Philadelphia needs visitors, and historic preservation draws visitors.
- Philadelphia needs investment, and historic preservation attracts investment.
- Philadelphia needs a strong and vibrant city center, and historic preservation is a key element in creating it.
- Philadelphia needs dollars from the outside; and the film industry and the Convention Center use historic preservation to bring those dollars to the city.

All of those findings are about the economic health of the city and historic preservation's major contribution to that health that can be measured in dollars.

But not every test of an economically healthy city is quantifiable.

- An economically healthy Philadelphia needs housing; and historic preservation provides housing for a wide range of income levels.
- An economically healthy Philadelphia needs racially and economically diverse neighborhoods, and historic neighborhoods singularly provide that diversity.
- An economically healthy Philadelphia cannot continue to lose population, and historic neighborhoods are retaining more people than elsewhere.
- An economically healthy Philadelphia has to attract new residents, and it is to the historic neighborhoods that newcomers are moving.
- An economically healthy Philadelphia has to attract brain-power workers, and those workers move to historic neighborhoods.

The cultural, aesthetic, and educational contribution of historic preservation to life in Philadelphia today cannot be overestimated. But *The Economic Benefits of Preserving Philadelphia's Past* suggests that historic preservation needs to be central to life in Philadelphia tomorrow.

## Endnotes

1. To qualify for the federal rehabilitation tax credit a property must: 1) be on the National Register of Historic Places; 2) be used for investment or in one's business; 3) have substantial rehabilitation; and 4) be rehabilitated in an historically appropriate manner. Statistics regarding certified rehabilitations in Philadelphia were provided by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau for Historic Preservation.
2. A *job* is a one year, full-time equivalent position. Employment figures were calculated using the Regional Input-Output Modeling System (RIMES II) created by the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce.
3. Center City statistics from the Center City District and Central Philadelphia Development Corporation's *State of Center City Report, 1998*.
4. Figures reflect the total expenditures for hotels, wages for film crews, actors and extras, and city wage taxes for *12 Monkeys*, *Wide Awake*, *Fallen* and *Beloved* as reported by the Greater Philadelphia Film Office.
5. The process of selecting the Philadelphia historic districts to be researched and analyzed followed these steps:
  - a. All National Register Historic Districts within Philadelphia were reviewed.
  - b. Those that were predominantly residential (with more than 60% occupied housing) were selected. Identified districts included:

Society Hill	Southwark
Rittenhouse Square	Northern Liberties
Washington Square West	Haddington
North Broad Street	Parkside
Spring Garden	Overbrook Farm
Girard Avenue	Alden Park Manor
Brewerytown	Tulpehocken Station
West Diamond Street	Fishers Lane
West Philadelphia Street Car Suburb	Chestnut Hill
Garden Court	
  - c. The diversity of Philadelphia's historic neighborhoods was analyzed by examining U.S. Census data updated to 1997. The boundaries of the historic districts were overlaid with the boundaries of census tract block groups. (A block group is one of the smallest levels on which census information is available and would typically include 800-900 people. Philadelphia has about 1,750 block groups.) The historic districts were then translated into block group boundaries.

District lines were matched with block group boundaries as closely as possible. One hundred and six block groups were in the identified historic districts. When the boundaries between block group and historic district failed to closely align, the district was dropped. As a result, Haddington and West Diamond Street districts were eliminated from our analysis. Minor changes in block group boundaries from the 1980 to the 1990 Census were noted and reconciled to ensure consistency in the findings.

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## Photo credits:

J. Randall Cotton (Cover, photo 3 from top; page 5; page 7; page 10, daycare); Jeff Price (page 4; page 6, Pinkenson; page 9, Brown; page 10, Simpson); *Preservation Matters*, Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia (page 3, map); Leon Sanginiti, Jr., Greater Philadelphia Film Office (page 6, film set); Top Kat Inc. (Cover, photos 1, 2, 4 from top).