SHEPULSKI, LAUREN BETH, M.S. The Value of a Rehabilitated Neighborhood School in Edenton, NC: A Quantitative and Qualitative Inquiry. (2011)
Directed by Jo Ramsay Leimenstoll. 122 pp.

Current literature supports the concept that the multivalent nature of historic resources can be accessed and utilized for economic development and historic preservation initiatives. Thus suggesting that complete assessment of economic, social, cultural, and subjective values requires both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to provide stakeholders with a more holistic understanding of historic preservation and the effects of rehabilitation on surrounding communities.

This mixed methods case study examines the different ways in which a community valued the rehabilitation of a neighborhood school in Edenton, North Carolina based on property values and community perception. The researcher conducted a quantitative property value study that compared values from 1990 and 2006 for all parcels within a one-half mile radius of the rehabilitated school. The researcher then conducted a content analysis of available meeting minutes and newspaper articles for the year 1988.

Results revealed a positive correlation between the adaptive reuse of the E. A. Swain School and surrounding property values. The content analysis revealed that the community positively valued the project. The findings of this thesis support current literature that historic preservation is an effective economic development tool. Not only can communities use these findings as a leverage tool to promote adaptive reuse, but also the research design can be adapted to any rehabilitation project in which a holistic interpretation of community valuation of the built environment is required.

THE VALUE OF A REHABILITATED NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL IN EDENTON, NC: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE INQUIRY

by

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A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate Schools at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Science

Greensboro
2011

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APPROVAL PAGE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have found that the completion of a thesis is really the work of many as opposed to the work of an individual. With this in mind, I would like to begin by thanking my committee members for their continued guidance and support throughout this process. As my committee chair, Jo Leimenstoll has provided me with direction when I needed it most. Additionally, Hannah Mendoza has continued to act as a sounding board, sorting out thoughts and theories when the water was muddy. And finally, a thanks to Dr. Keith Debbage for helping me to build an additional foundation within the geography discipline.

I would also like to thank members of the case study community for providing information about property values and assessment processes. A special thanks is due to Gene Rountree and the staff at the Chowan County Land Records Office for their assistance and understanding throughout the duration of this study.

Most importantly, I am deeply grateful to my family for sticking by me and always lending an attentive ear. Without them, I am sure this study would never have reached fruition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Preservation professionals have an abiding responsibility to deal *fully* with cultural politics, economics, and social issues that attend to preservation because these broad, external forces have created our current…culture.
>
> Mason, *Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation (2006, p. 27)*

The preservation and rehabilitation of the historic built environment is a foundational principle of current historic preservation practice and is widely reflected through various revitalization and community development initiatives across the country. As a development tool, historic preservation allows communities to tap into and capitalize on the economic, social, and cultural values embedded in their historic environments. Rehabilitation has been found to be an effective way to reincorporate underutilized resources back into communities, breathing life into a structure that might otherwise have been forgotten. Many buildings, such as neighborhood schools, hold great cultural importance, but have become obsolete for a variety of reasons. Government and state financial incentive programs have helped to garner public and private investments, helping to protect a community's heritage but also to encourage further reinvestment. Not only do preservation programs provide financial incentives for property owners and cities, they also instill a sense of pride and attachment to historic resources, and improve resident's quality of life.

Research on the topics of preservation based community development and the multiple values associated with historic environments have revealed a wealth of information. However, several major voids exist in current literature. First, there have been many quantitative studies conducted that show how historic preservation is a good economic development tool. More specifically, many of these studies focus on the economic effects of historic district designation and the financial benefits conferred to property owners. However, there are very few studies that illustrate how the rehabilitation of an individual, historic building affects surrounding homes and neighborhoods. Additionally, there have been many qualitative studies conducted and narratives written on how people *feel* about historic places, such as neighborhood schools. These studies not only acknowledge primarily subjective values, but rarely focus on the building's potential for new uses. Lastly, while available literature acknowledges the multivalent nature of historic resources, research identified a dearth of studies that combine both quantitative and qualitative values and methods in a clear, concise manner. This study aims to address these voids by considering how both the quantitative and qualitative effects of rehabilitation can be analyzed simultaneously to provide stakeholders with a more holistic understanding of historic preservation. More specifically, the study explores the following question: *How does the adaptive reuse of a historic neighborhood school building impact the surrounding community?*

Over 37 schools have been rehabilitated in the past 20 years using tax credits to create affordable housing in the state of North Carolina. To investigate the effects of school rehabilitation in a community, the E. A. Swain School in Edenton, NC was chosen

due to its reuse as a residential facility, its location within an historic district, and the consistent density of the surrounding urban environment.

In order to analyze the ways in which people valued the reuse of a historic school, various data sources were utilized. Historical background information, National Register nominations, and tax credit files were obtained from the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office. These files provided a location description, and a summary of the planned rehabilitation. Property value data was then utilized from the Chowan County Land Records Office. Lastly, town council minutes, preservation commission minutes, and newspaper articles were obtained from the local newspaper.

The ways in which people valued the reuse of the E. A. Swain School was analyzed through property values and community perception as revealed in media. Using an explanatory mixed methods design, the project was assessed by comparing quantitative property value data and spatial distribution patterns for assessment cycles roughly before and after the school rehabilitation project. A qualitative content analysis provided follow-up built upon initial quantitative results. By using both quantitative and qualitative data, a broad range of values associated with adaptive reuse was assessed.

Significance

> Too often older school facilities are viewed as unredeemable liabilities, a sink with deferred maintenance waiting to be replaced at the first opportunity. As a consequence, our nation's older and historic schools are closing at an alarming rate.
>
> Gilberg, Peters, & Weihs, *A Primer for the Rehabiliation of Older and Historic Schools* (2004, p. 6)

In 1998, over 1,000 schools were slated for replacement in the state of North Carolina (Goff, 1998). Due to changing educational needs, this number has escalated in the past 12 years endangering the vitality of neighborhood schools and their surrounding communities. For many years, small, urban and rural neighborhood schools were central to their communities in many ways (Beaumont & Pianca, 2002). They acted as a centripetal force, bringing people together and unifying the community (Bryant & Grady, 1990). They were thought of as an important civic landmark, representing community investment that inspired civic pride and participation in public life. The connections fostered within this environment created social capital, which in turn, benefited the larger community (Miller, 1995).

However, changing educational needs such as acreage requirements, state funding biases, and antiquated formulas that compare the cost of renovation for older schools to the cost of new construction have led communities to abandon existing neighborhood schools for new construction on the urban fringe. While the expansive campuses of new schools are able to accommodate larger student populations, the new construction not only accelerates urban sprawl but also increases public expenditures for infrastructure.

When a stabilizing force like a school is removed from a community, the effects are devastating, decreasing property values, walkability, community cohesion, and civic participation (Sederberg, 1987). The closing or replacing of schools in rural or middle-income communities may change the quality of life for neighborhood residents for the worse. Often, it is the final blow to a community's chance for stability or revitalization. It is instances like this, that communities have used historic preservation initiatives to

turn underutilized facilities and potential liabilities into community assets. As a community development tool, rehabilitation and revitalization not only stimulate the economy, but restore the character of buildings and communities by preserving their sense of place.

The quantitative and qualitative benefits conferred to communities are broadly discussed in preservation and conservation literature. Advocates have acknowledged the multivalent nature of historic resources, recognizing that the cultural, social, and economic values must be equally studied to provide a complete understanding of contemporary preservation practice. However, current practice still fails to analyze and use the wide range of values associated with preservation projects for effective community development purposes.

This research was designed to provide both quantitative and qualitative research on the value of preservation activities within a community based on the rehabilitation of a neighborhood school. Using mixed methods research, the study analyzes a broad range of values as a whole. While existing evidence establishes that historic district designation has positive effects, neighborhood schools are valuable assets, and rehabilitation is a valued process, little evidence exists demonstrating the role of rehabilitated schools in community revitalization. Therefore, the role of rehabilitation and preservation as a community development tool was examined in this study as a means of encouraging private investment, securing sense of place, safeguarding community values, and protecting historic resources.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter provides a general knowledge of the multivalent nature of historic resources and ways in which these resources can be used as economic development tools for communities. The historic built environment embodies a diverse range of values that hold different meanings for many stakeholders. Understanding the full range of values enables successful preservation and provides opportunities for community revitalization through rehabilitation initiatives. Values-centered preservation uses both subjective and objective values as a guide to combat the negative effects of vacant properties. Through this, preservation and rehabilitation can be used as an economic development tool to recapture property values and improve quality of life. Many methods of have been used to assess the impacts of preservation, both quantitative and qualitative. However, separately they do not account for the full range of values. While application in current preservation literature is sparse, mixed methods research has been used to broadly gauge value. It is through this type of research design that the study of neighborhood schools was framed. Neighborhood schools hold a variety of values for surrounding neighborhoods, including economic, social and cultural. As central parts of their community, it is important to investigate how a disappearing resource can be reincorporated into communities. The case study of the E. A. Swain School in Edenton

investigated the effects of the school rehabilitation project on the surrounding community.

Values

Historic Preservation reflects the values of society through what is chosen for preservation, how that preservation is undertaken, and who is empowered to make those decisions. *Value* is most often used in one of two senses: first, as morals, principles, or other ideas that serve as guides to action; and second, in reference to the qualities and characteristics seen in things (Mason, 2002). In the sphere of material culture and historic preservation, the historic built environment is multivalent in nature. Value can be derived from the materials themselves, as well as from the interactions between objects and their social and historic surroundings. Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage (Jerome, 2008). The concept of value is the basis for the foundational principles of the historic preservation discipline: the ideas of authenticity and significance.

Since the early part of the 19th century, authenticity has been largely determined through an objective analysis of building fabric and the passage of time for determining historical integrity and significance. Cultural resources were assessed according to historical and archeological notions held by professionals. This approach tends to ignore the multivalent nature of historic resources, specifically the subjective meanings generated through the experience of place.

In the post-modernist era of preservation, the anthropological view of cultural heritage has broadened its definition to incorporate a wide range of tangible and

intangible expressions of authenticity (Jerome, 2008). Authenticity is defined as a layering concept. Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgments may be linked to a great variety of informational sources. These sources include material, historic, artistic and social dimensions of cultural heritage (UNESCO, 1994). This expanded definition of authenticity incorporates the subjective, collective meanings of community, sense of place, and historical significance that allow an understanding of the ways in which people value and feel about places. Authenticity is not just fabric based, but idea-centered and constructed from meanings. Theorists have described and named the layers of authenticity as "objective" authenticity, "constructed" authenticity, and "phenomenological" authenticity (Wells, 2009). The three types of authenticity help to parse out the various types of values that define historical significance.

Fabric-Based Authenticity

The fabric-based perspective is largely associated with objective values such as historical, informational, artistic, rarity, and economic values. This perspective is concerned with existing, original building fabric that has witnessed the passage of events from an important period of significance. The goal behind applying these values is to achieve a high level of detachment in the assessment process, often aiming to quantify the number of historical facts associated with a place (Wells, 2010). The decisions that are made concerning what is considered heritage and what may be designated privileged status is often based on professional and academic standards. As a result, "the public

may have difficulty in understanding the rational behind these kinds of expert definitions" (Wells, 2010, p. 37).

Historical value refers to an object's ability to represent a particular time in history (Riegl, 1903). As the root of heritage, historic value often includes the systematic gathering of facts to support a given historical association in a methodological framework that assumes said facts can exist independently of relativistic interpretation (Wells, 2009). Informational value is derived from the materials themselves, and the ability of an object to provide information. Artistic Value is often associated with the academic contexts of art and architectural history, and is embodied in pivotal or representative works of art or design. Rarity Value describes the number of remaining examples. The fewer number of representative resources, the more valuable the resource is considered to be. Finally, economic value relates to the "quantification of how much money is generated by heritage places, either directly through admissions and sales of goods and services, or indirectly in the sense of visitors to a place purchasing goods and services in the wider area" (Worthing & Bond, 2008, p. 6). Economic valuing is one of the more powerful ways in which society identifies, assesses, and decides on the relative value of things (Mason, 2002). While economic values many times overlap with socio-cultural values, the main distinction is that they are measured through economic analysis.

The criteria for listing historic resources on the National Register of Historic Places has solidified the tradition of fabric-based authenticity. During the preparation of a National Register Nomination, historical significance is defined through four criteria: a) association with historical events, b) association with person or persons, c) architectural

style, and d) informational value (Stipe, 2003). These criteria all require an assemblage of historical facts to significance. Without the appropriate number of facts, historical research is not considered to be authentic, and therefore significant.

Constructed Authenticity

According to Avrami et al. (2000), cultural heritage is a social construction. In this sense, authenticity is defined through the recognition of ideas and meanings instead of physical fabric (Wells, 2010). Constructed values are subjective in nature, and as such, are not recognized for the determination of significance on the National Register of Historic Places.

This perspective includes symbolic, technical, educational, and spiritual values. Symbolic value represents objects or environments that are a "repository or conveyor of cultural meaning" (Throsby, 2000, p. 29). An example would be Mount Vernon, the Lincoln Monument, or other historical objects that commemorate events and people from the past. Technical value describes objects that embody great achievements or innovation, such as the Empire State Building. Educational value is based on an object's ability to teach people about a specific period or culture. Finally, spiritual value describes a site's association with religious or sacred meanings. "These spiritual values can emanate from the beliefs and teaching of organized religion, but they can also encompass secular experiences of wonder and awe, which can be provoked by visiting heritage places" (Mason, 2002, p. 12).

Phenomenological Authenticity

The third layer of authenticity is the experiential, phenomenological perspective. Phenomenology is the philosophical study of beginnings applied to the highly personal, individual experience in the life world. It seeks to uncover the subjective elements of personal experience the moment they occur before subsequent reflection reduces the richness of the experience (Wells, 2010, p. 37). The phenomenological approach presents a way of thinking through an individual's experience of the world in order to understand the essence of sense of place (Wells, 2009).

The main concepts associated with this approach are age value, place attachment and sense of place. Age value, as originally defined by Riegl (Riegl, 1903), addresses the emotions directly. In this, the appearance of physical age inspires "a deeply personal, phenomenological experience that may have no rational basis in an objective history of a place" (Wells, 2009, p. 29). A variety of landscapes and objects can have age value, even those that are dilapidated or ordinary. Although Riegl directly addresses the dichotomous relationship of age value and historical value, the two are fundamentally different. While the former is objective and disregards personal experiences, age value addresses the subjective, phenomenological sense of place and place attachment.

Place attachment is "complex phenomena generated from the experience of being in a particular environment; it is a study of how place affects perception and cognition, creates emotional feelings, and how cultural, social, phenomenological, and biological factors mediate the person/place interaction" (Wells, 2009, p. 38). Essentially, place attachment reveals emotional attachment to certain places. According to Setha Low, an

anthropologist at the City University of New York, an individual's affections are "embedded in a cultural milieu" that makes place attachment more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place (Low, 1992, p. 165). Similar to place attachment is 'sense of place', which is the intersection between humans and the built environment. Sense of place has been described in architecture by Norberg-Shultz (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 1985) and Christopher Alexander (Alexander, 1977) to describe characteristics and qualities of places that have the ability to instill a feeling of connectedness to one's surroundings.

In traditional preservation doctrine, sense of place and place attachment are not factored in to determination of significance, but they are discussed in literature. However, the emotional bond with place is a driving force for why people value specific places. Wells believes that "if we accept that the emotional bond with a place has a phenomenological basis, then the fundamental basis of authenticity is phenomenological" (Wells, 2010, p. 38). Therefore, fabric-based and constructed authenticity rest upon this phenomenological platform.

Values-Centered Theory

Recognizing the three dimensions of authenticity is essential in understanding the multivalent nature of historic resources. This requires a shift to values centered preservation, an approach that moves away from the fabric-centered bias that dominates the historic preservation field, to a more holistic approach that recognizes the full range of values and gives precedence to memories, ideas and social motivations (Mason, 2006). This theory focuses on the "perceived values of places, as opposed to the observed

qualities of fabric. Values-centered preservation acknowledges the multiple, valid meanings of a particular place [and] acknowledges their multiplicity, their changeability, and the fact that values come from many different sources" (Mason, 2006, p. 31). The acknowledgement of multiple values allows preservationists to pull from many different sources, ranging from economics to social behavior in order to understand culture as a process, not a set of things with a fixed meaning. Additionally, the recognition of multiple values emphasizes cooperation and collaboration between lay people, preservation professionals and professionals from other disciplines in order to build political and economic support (Mason, 2006, p. 35).

Because of concern for collaboration, this pluralistic perspective helps to foster a healthy sense of community that is essential to quality of life and successful economic development. In his book *A Great Good Place*, Ray Oldenburg notes the importance of what he calls the "third place" in modern society. Third places are neither home nor work, but informal public gathering places like coffee shops, bookstores and cafes in which people find relaxed acquaintances. According to Oldenburg, these third places comprise the heart of a community's social vitality where people hang out for the simple pleasures of good company and lively conservation (Oldenburg, 1999). Most often these places are older structures located in older neighborhoods. The sense of community found in these places is directly tied to resident's place attachment.

Rypkema finds that a strong appreciation of place fosters a strong sense of community:

> 'Place' is the vessel within which the 'spirit' of community is stored; 'Community' is the catalyst that imbues a location with a 'sense' of place. The two are not divisible. You cannot have community without place; and a place without community is only a location (Rypkema, 1996, p. 2).

The historic built environment is the nexus of these two concepts. A good sense of place and sense of community fostered by preservation helps achieve a positive image of a community, perhaps one of the most effective means for retaining existing and attracting new economic activity (Griffith & Wiatr, 2005). In this way, strength of a community is directly related to the condition of historic fabric (Rypkema 1994). Therefore, the preservation of the historic built environment strengthens a community's quality of life and encourages economic development (Rypkema, 2001).

The Economics of Preservation

Cities are often plagued with blighted areas filled with vacant buildings. Vacant properties are defined as residential, commercial, and industrial buildings and vacant lots where the owners have neglected the fundamental duties of property ownership, and potentially pose a threat to public safety (National Vacant Properties Campaign, 2005). Studies show that property abandonment is both a cause and a contributing factor in a vicious cycle of neighborhood and business district decline that undermines market demand (Accordino & Johnson, 2000). Typically, abandonment results from the inability or lack of incentive of an owner to invest in maintenance, and imposes various costs upon communities. Vacant lots have been found to drain city services such as crime and fire prevention, have higher incidents of violence and vandalism, and decrease the property values of surrounding buildings (American Re, 2003; Spelman, 1993). Abandonment has

been found to spread from one house to another. Vacant houses send a message to property owners and financial institutions that the neighborhood has begun to deteriorate, many times causing property owners to hold back on investing in maintenance for fear that their property values will plummet. A 2001 study in Philadelphia found that houses located within 150 feet of a vacant or abandoned house experienced a net loss of value of $7,627 (Research for Democracy, 2001). This threat of loss tends to drain residents from once vibrant neighborhoods, resulting in a loss of tax revenue for local governments, departure of skilled and educated workers, underutilized public infrastructure, and deficient schools.

While the negative effects of blight are far reaching, neighborhoods and cities across the country have found that reinvesting in the existing historic built environment has helped to recapture property values and increase quality of life benefits (Rypkema, 2001; Schilling & Friedman, 2002). Quality of life is reflective of the values that exist in a community. Measuring quality of life occurs in people's perceptions and enjoyment of their community taking into account the physical state of the environment, but also the cultural aspects afforded to residents. According to Rypkema (1999), there are five quality of life factors that drive development: sense of place, sense of community, sense of evolution, sense of ownership and sense of identity. The multiplicity of values imbued in the historic built environment reinforces these five senses. In terms of economic development and investment, businesses and individuals place a high priority on quality of life when making locational decisions (Florida, 2002; Griffith & Wiatr, 2005). Communities are now measured for livability by the availability of attractive housing; a

vibrant downtown; stable neighborhoods; diverse cultural, recreational, and entertainment opportunities; accessible open spaces; and other quality of life factors (Griffith & Wiatr, 2005).

Many communities have realized this and have incorporated historic preservation as an important component of their economic development strategy. Historic preservation can help achieve a positive image of a community, perhaps one of the most effective means for retaining and attracting new economic development. A study conducted in Florida measured the connection between historic preservation and quality of life, reviewing all programs available in the state in the field of historic preservation (McLendon et al., 2006). Researchers examined quality of life in five key areas: quality of life indicators, preservation laws and policies, heritage tourism, history museums, and housing. The study found that communities that emphasize these areas tend to have a heightened public awareness of historic preservation and sustained quality of life for community residents. Therefore, quality of life is a significant variable in economic development decisions, making it crucial for communities to understand quality of life in order to effect positive change (Rypkema, 1996).

It is in this respect that rehabilitation of historic buildings can not only restore social fabric and place, but also act as a catalyst for economic growth. Property renovation, often seeded by historic preservation efforts, triggers a ripple effect of upgrading as described by Rypkema (Rypkema & National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994, pp. 68-69):

> Property renovation is a catalytic activity; one renovation supports another. This pattern of reinvestment has a multiplier effect . . . As more properties are rehabilitated, lenders are more interested in making loans. As more lenders compete for these loans, their rates and terms become more attractive. As financing becomes more readily available, appraisers adjust property values upward. As property appraisals increase, lenders are willing to extend further credit. The renovation of properties begins a cycle that improves the economic attractiveness of the neighborhood (pp. 68-69).

The fluidity of this process extends to historic districts, in which one neighborhood is designated as an historic district, encouraging the rehabilitation and eventual designation of adjacent neighborhoods (D. Listokin, B. Listokin, & Lahr, 1998; Rypkema, 1994). The ripple effect of historic preservation activities and rehabilitation of the built environment can not only stabilize neighborhoods with faltering property values, but can bring life back into disinvested communities or bolster the ongoing vitality of historic neighborhoods as well as of the businesses and institutions that serve them. In effect, historic preservation can be used as an economic development tool to reverse community decline by strengthening quality of life and the economy.

Preservation Tax Incentives

A successful way that historic preservation has been put into action is through the use of federal and state tax credits that offer financial incentives for the maintenance and rehabilitation of historic properties. A tax credit lowers the amount of tax due, unlike a tax deduction, which lowers the amount of income subject to taxation (Technical Preservation Services, 2009). Tax credits were introduced in 1976 through the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives (FHPTI) program. Administered by the National Park Service (NPS) in partnership with the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO),

the program is the nation's most effective federal program to promote both urban and rural revitalization and encourage private investment in historic building rehabilitation (Stipe, 2003). Since 1976, the tax incentives have spurred the rehabilitation of historic structures of every period, size, style, and type. The incentives have been instrumental in preserving the historic places that give cities, towns, and rural areas their special character, and have attracted new private investment to historic cores of cities and towns. Through this program, abandoned or under-utilized apartments, schools, factories, churches, and houses throughout the country have been restored to life in a manner that maintains their historic character (Technical Preservation Services, 2009).

Current tax incentives include a 20% tax credit for the certified rehabilitation of certified, income producing historic structures, and a 10% tax credit for the rehabilitation of non-historic, non-residential buildings built before 1936 (Technical Preservation Services, 2009). In order to determine eligibility, property owners must complete a two-to-three part application process. Part One certifies the eligibility of the property through an "Evaluation of Significance." A certified structure is one that is listed on the National Register of Historic Places or a building that is located in a registered historic district and is certified by the National Park Services as contributing to the historic significance of that district. Part Two then requires a description of rehabilitation work. This work must be in compliance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation, which emphasize the retention and preservation of original materials and features that define the buildings significance (see Appendix B). After the rehabilitation work is complete, the owner must submit Part Three of the application, a Request for Certification of

Completed Work, in order to complete the certification process. The owner must then hold the property for five full years after competing the rehabilitation in order to capture the credit.

Tax credit projects target the shared values of a community to reinforce sense of place and quality of life through the retention of historic resources. Through this, tax credits have proven to be an invaluable tool for the revitalization of historic communities and neighborhoods, as well as a strong stimulus for economic recovery in older communities. Since the programs inception, nearly 36,481 historic rehabilitation projects were completed, leveraging nearly $55.51 billion in private investment (Staveteig, 2010). A statewide economic impact study for the state of Florida revealed that "for every dollar generated in Florida's historic preservation grants, two dollars return to the state in direct revenues. A dollar directed to the Florida Main Street program…shows a tenfold return" (Klein & McLendon, 2002, p. i). A similar study conducted in Maryland found that the state's rehabilitation tax credit program spurred a total rehabilitation investment of $155.5 million during a two-year period (Lipman Frizzell & Mitchell LLC., 2002). The benefits of historic preservation activity can also be measured through job creation. In comparison to other fields and new construction, preservation projects are highly-efficient creators of jobs, accounting for the creation of 1.8 million new jobs over the life of the Federal Historic Tax Credit (FHTC) program(D. Listokin, Lahr, Heydt, & Stanek, 2010, p. 5). In the fiscal year 2009 alone, an estimated total number of 70,992 local jobs were created, averaging 68 local jobs per project (Staveteig, 2010, p. 1). These jobs have

been concentrated in the construction, manufacturing, service, and retail sectors (D. Listokin et al., 2010).

Historic Designation as an Economic Tool

Another way in which preservation is used as an economic tool is through historic district designation and the strengthening of property values in and around these districts. Historic designation is the process by which a site, structure, or area is officially recognized as having historical significance and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Local historic district designation involves establishing official boundaries around a concentration of historically and/or architecturally significant buildings, objects, or sites. Protection of the area is aspired to through a design review process that requires an owner to submit a certificate of appropriateness before any alterations are made.

Historic designation has been used as a strategy to not only protect distinctive historic and architectural sites, but also to stabilize and reinvigorate residential and urban neighborhoods (Rypkema, 2001; Stipe, 2003). One of the main justifications for designation of an historic district is that it provides a means to protect an historic neighborhood from physical deterioration. Designation is also thought to have positive impacts on property values by providing a form of insurance of future neighborhood quality. The prestige of official designation in addition to design guidelines, may make property owners more willing to invest in their property. An overwhelming number of studies have found that growth rates in assessed property values are higher in designated historic districts than in physically comparable nondesignated areas. In Greensboro,

North Carolina a close examination of the change in property values showed that property values increased more in areas that were designated than in areas that were not (Leimenstoll, 1998). An analysis of Texas cities also found a significant positive correlation between property value and historic district designation; with an average property value increase ranging between 5 and 20 percent of the total property value (Leichenko, Coulson, & D. Listokin, 2001).

There are also spatial considerations in regards to historic district designation and property values. Several studies have looked beyond the effect of historic designation on property values, to analyzing its effect on the geographic distribution of effected property values. In a 1980 study of residential renovation activity in Chicago, Cohen found that two housing submarkets had emerged in the area of one of the central city historic districts (Cohen, 1983). He theorized that buyers who were priced out of the historic district, relocated to less expensive properties on the periphery in order to take advantage of the perceived overflow benefits associated with historic district designation. According to Cohen, the perception of perceived benefits suggests that historic districts can increase property values of homes outside the district boundaries.

Diaz, Hansz, Cypher, and Hayunga (Diaz, Hansz, Cypher, & Hayenga, 2008) examined the effects of conservation designation status on residential property values in Dallas, Texas. The findings not only revealed a positive effect on residential sales prices for homes located within the conservation district, but found a positive effect on residential sales prices for homes located within 150 feet of the conservation district. Additionally, the Schaeffer and Millerick (Schaeffer & Millerick, 1991) study

acknowledged a spillover effect, finding that properties in close proximity to a historic district may enjoy positive externalities without incurring the costs of regulation. These neighboring property owners may be more willing to invest in their own properties with the assurance of knowing that nearby historic properties will be regulated and maintained. The impact of the spillover effect can be measured by value increases relative to a property's distance from an historic property (Hendon, 1982). Theoretically, increases in a property's value are reduced as proximity to a designated area is reduced. This is referred to as the distance decay function.

Methods of Assessment

As discussed earlier, historic resources are multivalent, having values that can be characterized as fabric-based, constructed, and phenomenological. The values-centered model recognizes and legitimizes these three layers of value, requiring methods that acknowledge both the economic and cultural aspects of resources. This economic-cultural distinction resonates because economic and cultural spheres represent two different and somewhat incommensurable ways of looking at value; some quantifiable and based on individual preferences, and others resistant to quantification and based on collective meaning (Mason, 2002). Mainly, economic and fabric-based values are best elicited and expressed by quantitative research methods. These methods focus on causal relationships and depend on variables isolated from their contexts presenting data in a seemingly objective form (prices) that appeal to the business thinking mentality of global decision makers (de la Torre, 2002). Conversely, constructed and phenomenological values are most compatible with qualitative research methods. These tools are sensitive

to contextual relationships as opposed to causal connections, focusing on the interaction of artifacts and their context, not from the artifact itself. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are both attempts to measure the same values, using different tools and different perspectives, ultimately reaching different conclusions.

Herein lies the challenge of assessment. In the current climate of globalization, technological advancement, population mobility, and the spread of participatory democracies and market economies, it has become very important to understand how people value historic resources (Avrami et al., 2000). Therefore, the assessment of values is essential for making decisions about what will be conserved, how to conserve it, and how to incorporate historic resources into future planning. In an effort to gauge the value of preservation within a community, scholars and practitioners have used a variety of separate strategies that investigate the quantitative and qualitative effects of preservation.

Quantitative Assessment Tools:

There are various quantitative tools devised by economists to assess the economic and fabric-based values of cultural heritage. Stated preference methods rely on the creation of hypothetical markets in which survey respondents are asked to make hypothetical choices, which are then analyzed as value judgments (Mason, 2002). These types of studies are successful in determining how much a person would be willing to pay for a good or service (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). There are three main forms of stated-preference studies: contingent valuation method, stated choice, and referenda. A contingent valuation method includes asking people what they would be willing to pay

for a certain good. The questions are mostly open ended. A stated choice includes providing participants with a choice of nominated options. A referenda requires voters to approve a certain expenditure or policy. Of the three, the contingent valuation method is most commonly used for valuing culture and heritage (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). While these studies provide valuable information, findings tend to reduce the values of preservation to the singular proxy of price. These methods are criticized at the conceptual level because they are not actually based on markets and data from actual transactions. "The hypothetical nature of the transaction used to elicit responses is seen as a potentially enormous source of error add confusion – since people don't' actually have to pay what they report to be willing to pay", the price data derived from the surveys may be inaccurate (Mason, 2005, p. 17).

Revealed preference methods draw and analyze data from existing markets for heritage related goods and services (Mason, 2002). Studies such as financial calculations, audits of existing preservation programs, and cost-benefit analyses are a straightforward ways to study the economics of preservation. In preservation literature, cost-benefit analyses typically compare estimated market costs of alternative actions, such as rehabilitation versus new construction. Rypkema's studies are well known for detailing and comparing costs of developing historic preservation projects as opposed to new construction projects (Rypkema, 2002; Rypkema & National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994). The problem with these types of studies is that any expenditure may generate some local output and input. It may not necessarily be attributed to an historic resource.

Economic impact studies are a type of revealed preference method. These studies aim to quantify historic preservation activities within the context of a particular regional economy. This approach is premised on the idea that the flow of economic activity multiplies the benefits of the initial investment, thus producing positive externalities (Mason, 2005). These types of studies effectively present the argument that historic preservation is a legitimate category of economic activity and investment and a contributor to regional and urban economies.

There have also been multiple studies completed on the economic impacts of preservation on local and regional economies, showing positive fiscal benefits to the public and private sectors. Listokin conducted a large scale study of several states calculating effects and multipliers of preservation investment in different economic sectors such as tax, property value, job creation, and tourism (Leichenko et al., 2001; D. Listokin & Lahr, 2000; D. Listokin, Lahr, McLendon, & Klein, 2002). Of particular interest is the *Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation in Florida* report, a statewide economic impact study of historic rehabilitation in Florida that revealed a two-dollar return on every one-dollar invested in preservation (Klein & McLendon, 2002). This study used basic economic data such as property values, to generate preservation specific analysis. Though economic impact studies are widely used and provide straightforward facts about the benefits of preservation investment, the assessment does not account for the whole range of values associated with preservation activities because aspects such as quality of life and sense of place cannot be quantified (Avrami et al., 2000; de la Torre, 2002).

Regression analysis is another statistical technique for studying multiple variables and examining their relation to one another. Regression is commonly used in the social sciences to explore relationships between phenomena thought to be related, in order to make predictions. For studying preservation issues, regression analysis does not aim to measure or predict the price of heritage goods directly, but rather tries to determine the effect of non-economic factors on market prices (Mason, 2005). The most common examples are property value studies, which look at the effects of landmark regulations on real estate property values. These types of studies can be used to measure the effect of an historic site on the land values at various distances from the site, or look at how the present of an historic resource plays in the value of adjoining land by comparing it to land not in proximity to an historic site.

Qualitative Assessment Tools

Qualitative research involves the "studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts: cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 5). Accordingly, a wide range of qualitative methodological approaches are used in humanities and social science disciplines to study constructed and phenomenological values. Methods such as interviews, oral histories, and content analysis of primary and secondary texts can yield a great deal of useful information related to facts, beliefs, feelings, motives, present and past behaviors,

standards for behavior, and conscious reasons for actions or feelings (Leedy & Ormrod, 2009, p. 148).

Of particular interest is the interpretation of mute evidence, such as written text or documents. Written texts are important for qualitative research because they are inexpensive and can be accessed easily, the information provided may not be available in spoken form, and because texts endure and thus give historical insight (Hodder, 1994). Such evidence physically endures and thus can be separated across space and time from its author, producer, or user. Particularly useful in the fields of history, material traces often have to be interpreted without benefit of the indigenous community. There is often no possibility of interaction between insiders, as opposed to gathering an outsider's perspective (Hodder, 1994). Additionally, written texts provide an indication of original meanings as well as an opportunity for new meanings as a text is reread in different contexts. Content analysis is a way of understanding the symbolic qualities of text, in the way that elements of a text always refer to the wider cultural context of which they are a part (Rose, 2007). Content analysis aims to analyze those references in any one group of texts in a replicable and valid manner. The method of content analysis is based on counting the frequency of certain textual or visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images or texts, and then analyzing those frequencies (Rose, 2007).

Mixed Methods Research Strategies

It is broadly agreed upon that there are many benefits of historic preservation and heritage conservation. However, there are a number of challenges in applying tools to assess the impact of preservation activities on communities. Much of the literature is

concerned with expressing these benefits in quantifiable terms, yet there is no clear, dominant model for how preservation costs and benefits should be expressed. No one study creates a total picture of all the benefits, both economic and sociocultural.

There are several dilemmas faced by researchers when it comes to studying preservation activities. While "pricing" the cultural value of preservation activities can be beneficial, dilemmas faced in assessing value include the fact that preservation is both a public and private good, with monetary and nonmonetary purposes (Throsby, 2001). It is a private good in that preservation activities can be consumed by individuals and traded on a market. In other respects, preservation activities are a public good with collective values that are provided not by the market but by the government of non-profit organizations. Scholars believe that the best assessment of heritage values comes from a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative values and assessment tools (Mason, 2005; Throsby, 2002). A mixed-methods approach could not only gauge both the economic and sociocultural benefits of historic preservation, but the layering of methods could offset the blind spots and shortcomings of the individual tools (Kelly, Collins, & Waugh, 2000; Mason, 2005).

While mixed-methods research has become an increasingly popular research design throughout the social sciences, the approach is still new to many fields (Wells, 2009). Essentially, the idea behind a mixed-methodological approach is the use of complementary qualitative and quantitative methods to reveal new ways to interpret and understand various phenomenon which would otherwise remain obscured if the qualitative and quantitative portions of research were conducted independently (Creswell

& Plano Clark, 2007). As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods increases the accuracy of the result through the triangulation process.

Community Indicator Studies

One type of study that tries to combine quantitative and qualitative is a Community Indicator Study. Community Indicator Studies provide another method to determine the value of preservation activities (Phillips, 2003). This strategy combines both quantitative and qualitative data to provide insight into the overall direction of a community, much like a report card. This integrative approach considers change not only in economic terms but also in social, cultural, and environmental dimensions; essentially gauging the collective values of a community.

The Community Indicator model provides four common frameworks used for developing and implementing indicators, Quality of Life, Performance Evaluation, Healthy Communities and Sustainability (Phillips, 2003). Indicator projects can be scaled anywhere from multinational levels to the neighborhood level. In 2006, the University of Florida completed *Contributions of Historic Preservation to Quality of Life of Floridians* study, using the Community Indicator model to gauge the value of historic preservation in Florida. The challenge posed in this research was identifying, developing, or applying previously developed methods for assessing the impact of historic preservation on the quality of life in Florida's communities. Research was conducted within the Quality of Life Framework. Indicators were divided into four

categories: 1) gauging (relating to type and amount of historic resources in a community): Historic fabric, districts, structures, landmarks, distressed historic neighborhoods, rehabilitation and certified tax credits, assessed property value trends, and historic district or property reinvestment; 2) protecting (ordinances and regulations): Historic preservation element/plan, design guidelines, historic preservation commission, preservation ordinances, historic preservation survey, historic preservation staff, certificates and enforcement actions; 3) enhancing (partnerships and incentives): Main Street programs, Certified Local Governments, participation in other federal and state programs, historic preservation non-profits, neighborhood participation, civic/museum partnerships, tax exemptions, other incentive programs; 4) interfacing (uses of property): housing affordability, business use, community draw factors, community use factors, heritage and cultural interactions; 5) indicators that assess historic preservation in combination with affordable housing include: distressed historic neighborhoods, conservation districts, tax credits, property values, property reinvestment, non-profits, neighborhood participation, housing affordability. Study findings showed that residents recognized a greater appreciation of historic resources and a need to preserve Florida heritage for future generations (McLendon et al., 2006).

Phenomenological Mixed-Methods Analysis

Another study that combined qualitative and quantitative data is the dissertation research of Jeremy Wells, a doctoral graduate of Clemson University. Wells' conducted a sequential mixed-methods analysis using phenomenology (interviews), on-line survey instruments, and photo-elicitation techniques to understand how people subjectively

value and are attached to the age and design of traditionally-designed urban residential neighborhoods (Wells, 2009). Phenomenology was chosen for this study because it focuses on lived experience and the foundation of meanings and experiences. The researcher found this approach to be well suited to understanding people's feelings for places, and well suited for questions regarding the subjective significance of historical places. In order to supplement the interviews with measurable and generalizable data, the researcher used a survey tool to gather quantifiable, coded results.

Preservation of Neighborhood Schools

The study of neighborhood schools would greatly benefit from mixed methods research. Community-centered neighborhood schools have played a pivotal role in their communities, unifying and anchoring the surrounding neighborhoods. For many years small, neighborhood schools were central to their communities in many ways. They were thought of as important civic landmarks, representing community investments that inspired civic pride and participation in public life (Beaumont & Pianca, 2002). Additionally, community centered schools provide benefits such as sports facilities that double as community parks and sites for games, school auditoriums that host community events, and close proximity to local jobs, businesses, homes and other institutions (Beaumont, 2003).

Impact

The school-community relationship is multifaceted, consisting of economic, social and cultural elements (Salant & Waller, 1998). Community schools impact the economies of communities by increasing purchasing power due to larger payrolls,

increasing employment opportunities, stimulating retail trade, and the boosting property values (Sederberg, 1987). Additionally, schools help to maintain residential and commercial property values, increase retail sales and tourism, and add capital available to sponsor community events. When a local school is closed, community retail sales and labor supply decrease as well, primarily due to lower government expenditures and general spending (Petkovich & Ching, 1977).

Schools impact the social climate of rural and urban communities. There are three principles of community organization that help explain the stabilizing force of neighborhood schools on communities. These three principles are centripetalism, social distinction and inclusiveness (Bryant & Grady, 1990). These principles are essential to the stability of existing neighborhoods and neighborhood schools, but are accepted as essential to community development. Centripetalism is the "tendency of various social and economic factors to centralize" (Bryant & Grady, 1990, p. 21). A neighborhood or town is the focal point of a bounded region, acting as a hub for residents to sell, buy, and trade goods and services. Accompanying economic activity are community organizations and groups that confer belonging, prestige, and reputation to residents (Bryant & Grady, 1990). Community centers, such as schools, unify communities and bring residents together for social activities. The second principle, social distinction, allows communities to distinguish themselves from other groups, developing a sense of place and collective identity. Lastly, the principle of inclusiveness unites people and forms the basis of 'getting together'. Inclusivity accommodates the human need to establish position on the local social hierarchy, a necessary step in creating social identity. Unlike

in a larger city, where social identity tends to be established on an individual's private sphere of operation, social identity is a community matter in small-scale communities like neighborhoods. Combined, these three principles provide the foundation for social capital.

Social capital refers to the interaction and cooperation of individuals and communities for the mutual benefit of all parties. The central idea is that social networks are valuable assets. Interaction enables people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other, and to knit a social fabric, creating a shared set of values and expectations. A sense of belonging and the concrete experience of social networks, and the relationships that can be involved can bring positive benefits to people. Communities with a good stock of social capital are more likely to benefit from lower crime figures, better health, higher educational achievement, and better economic growth (Halpern, 2009). In high social-capital areas public spaces are cleaner, people are friendlier, and the streets are safer (Putnam, 2004).

Social capital is comprised of three interrelated elements: symbolic diversity, resource mobility, and quality of linkages (C. B. Flora & J. Flora, 1993). Symbolic diversity is a sense of inclusiveness, where diverse elements of community are viewed as valuable and necessary to community wellbeing. Resource mobility describes a willingness to invest collectively and use private capital for local projects. Quality of linkages refers to networks within and between communities that facilitate information flow and quality decision-making. Flora's three elements provide a foundation for understanding the strategic roles that schools play in the development of a community's

social capital. Many older neighborhoods already demonstrate linkages between community and school because schools have traditionally played a central role in the life of these communities. In addition to providing education, they serve as a cultural center in the community where athletics, drama programs, and other social activities play a vital role in community life and identity. The social cohesion generated by neighborhood schools is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Conversely, the limitation of social interaction reduces opportunities for the development of social capital.

Additionally, neighborhood schools help keep older urban areas vibrant. Traditional towns appeal to two distinct groups of homebuyers: baby boomers and young families with children (Hylton, 2007). Both groups recognize the value added by neighborhood schools in that they get more housing for less money in older neighborhoods. Many times, older people want to retire in communities like the ones they grew up in, with neighborhood familiarity and personal interaction, and families with children like to live close to other families with children. Schools facilitate interaction on all levels. The presence of a neighborhood school functions much like a major retail store in a shopping center or mall; it provides the anchor that attracts and retains the other stores. An abandoned school, much like a closed and abandoned store or factory building, adversely affects a community's morale even more than the loss of jobs. A closed building soon begins to deteriorate, and that adversely impacts the values of neighboring homes. On the other hand, a thriving elementary school, with lots of pedestrian activity surrounding it, indicates that people care about their neighborhood and

take pride in their community (Hylton, 2007).

The positive effects of community-centered neighborhood school dwindled away after World War II, as sprawl displaced small businesses and people moved to far reaching suburbs (Beaumont & Pianca, 2002). Many school districts reinforced the randomly scattered land use patterns by building mega-schools located in periphery locations (McCann & Beaumont, 2003). School consolidation forced neighborhood schools to close at an alarming rate, reducing walkability and community cohesion. In North Carolina alone, over 1,000 schools were slated for replacement in the past 12 years (Goff, 1998). When a stabilizing, powerful force like a school is removed from a community, the effects are devastating. The closure of a school decreases property values, walkability, community cohesion, and civic participation (Sederberg, 1987). In addition to decreased property values, the removal of a school means it can no longer add to the forces of centripetalism. The consolidated school may have a regional impact, but its role in the individual communities is diminished. Communities close to commercial centers, towns that exist to serve a single employer (such as a destination resort or a packing plant) or towns that are becoming retirement villages where the populations are mostly elderly are devoid of a variety of organizations that provide opportunity for inclusive participation in community social life. It is often the case that schools provide the only mechanism for inclusive association (Bryant & Grady, 1990). When the people of a community lack the ability to interact together, the creation of social identity is compromised. If this continues long enough, individuals will go elsewhere to satisfy their need for inclusiveness and interaction. The lack of a stage for interaction and

identity development will erode feelings of loyalty to the community and will reduce opportunities for the development of social capital. Essentially, the loss of social capital starts an adverse cycle of community disintegration (Mendoza, Bernasconi, & MacDonald, 2007; Miller, 1995).

School Rehabilitation

Many neighborhood schools were built during an era of high-quality construction and significant community pride in education. Surviving examples are important community institutions that sustain the neighborhoods they serve. They provide cultural continuity, linking generations together through a common educational experience. Rehabilitation or repurposing is an effective way to reincorporate neighborhood schools back into their communities.

In 2000, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) placed historic schools on the America's Most Endangered Historic Places list. In taking this action, the NTHP launched its Historic Neighborhood Schools Initiative, an organization-wide effort that has since produced a variety of reports widely publicizing the benefits of neighborhood school renovation (Beaumont, 2003; Hylton, 2007; McCann & Beaumont, 2003). As an advocate for the continued use of older and historic buildings, NTHP promotes the idea that neighborhood schools should be reused as schools in order to anchor local communities ("Neighborhood Schools: Position Statement," n.d.). Renovation or rehabilitation of existing structures is seen as a sustainable practice that decreases transportation needs, cultivates a sense of place, increases walkability, reduces sprawl, and encourages neighborhood revitalization (Beaumont & Pianca, 2002).

Additionally, many advocates for revitalization believe that social capital can be developed by building strong relationships between community and schools, specifically by making schools a cultural center of their communities (Beaumont, 2003; Beaumont & Pianca, 2002; Bryant & Grady, 1990; Coleman, 1987; Miller, 1995; Moe, 1997; Salant & Waller, 1998; Sederberg, 1987). The creative reuse of older school buildings helps preserve and enhance the quality of communities, and provides an anchor for revitalization and economic development.

Tax Credits and School Rehabilitation

Historic tax credits have been instrumental in the successful rehabilitation of neighborhood schools as community centers or affordable housing for the elderly. Rehabilitation as a treatment acknowledges the need to make compatible alterations to an historic building. While new systems are usually needed for the building to function effectively in its new use, they must be installed in a sensitive manner in order to meet the Secretary of the Interiors Standards for Rehabilitation (see Appendix B). Key to a successful conversion is the preservation of as many of its character defining features and spaces as possible. In a school building, these usually include entrances and stairways; corridors – their configuration, height and width; special features, such as lockers, doors and transoms, and trim; classroom spaces, large windows, high ceilings and blackboards; and gymnasiums and auditoriums (Grimmer, 2001).

The rehabilitation of schools for residential uses has become more popular in the past 20 years. In 1991, the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina conducted a survey of historic schools in North Carolina that have been reused for non-

educational purposes. Housing was the number one alternative use for schools, due in part to location and eligibility for tax credits (Traub, 1991). As of 2009, there were 38 completed school rehabilitation projects that have used federal tax credits in North Carolina.

Case Study as Research Design

To better understand the impact that the revitalization of school can have on communities, a case study can be conducted to investigate the issue in multiple dimensions. A case study is not a methodological choice, but a process of inquiry. In this type of study, research is based around a single case, or object of study, because its unique or exceptional qualities can promote understanding and inform practice in similar situations. The case is studied in depth for a defined period of time through the use of various research methods in order to develop generalizations.

An instrumental case study is the study of a particular case to provide insight into an issue. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case is still looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps the researcher to pursue the external interest. The case may be seen as typical of other cases. The choice of the case is made to advance understanding of that other interest (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Methods of instrumental case study draw the researcher toward illustrating how the concerns of the researchers and theorists are manifest in the case. Because issues are likely to be known in advance and follow disciplinary expectations, the case study research design can take greater advantage of already developed instruments and

preconceived coding schemes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 141). For this research, the case is the E. A. Swain Graded School in Edenton North Carolina.

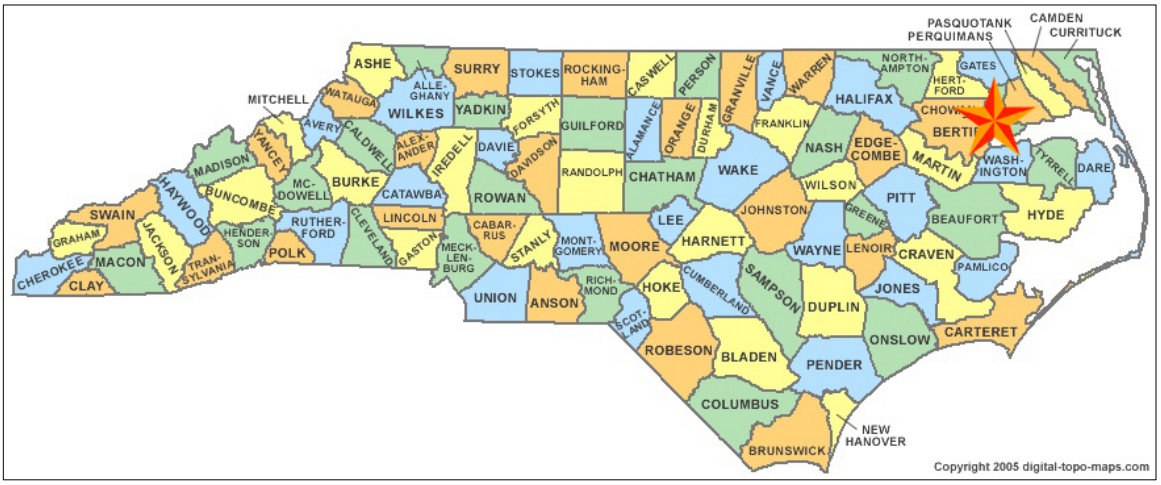

Figure 1. North Carolina county map. The star indicates the location of Edenton, North Carolina. Image courtesy of Digital-topo-maps.com, Copyright 2005, http://www.digital-topo-maps.com/county-map/north-carolina.shtml

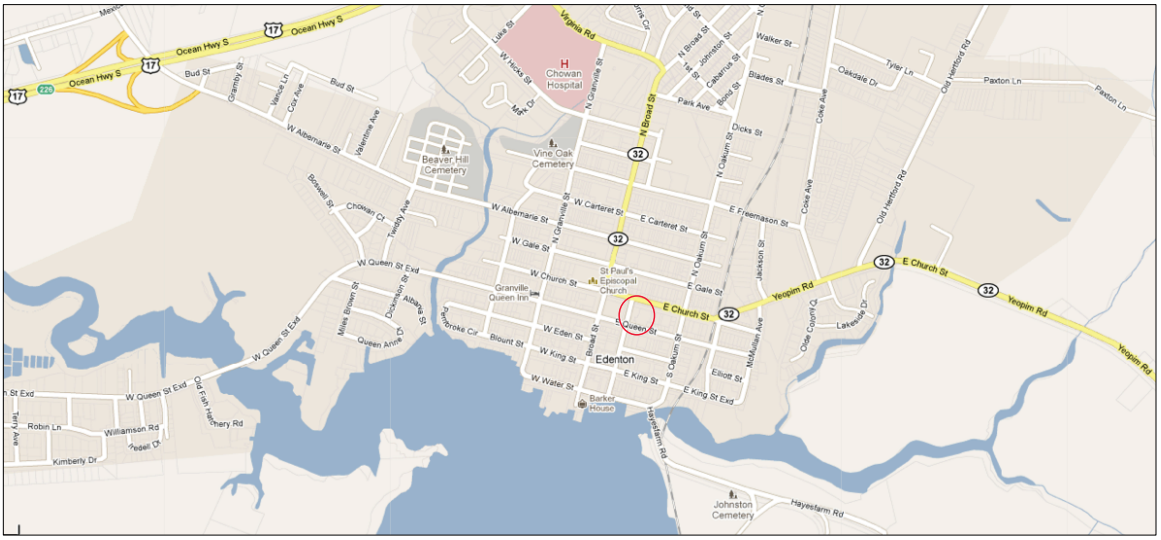

Figure 2. Map of Edenton, North Carolina. Circled area indicates the location of the E. A. Swain School. Image courtesy of ©2011 Google, Map Data ©2011 Tele Atlas.

Edenton, North Carolina: Context

The 'Town on Queen Anne's Creek' was established as a courthouse in 1712. Named for the late Governor Charles Eden (1673-1722) and incorporated as Edenton in 1722, it was the location of the Colonial Capital until 1746, when New Bern became the capital. Located on the northern side of Edenton Bay at the intersection of Queen Anne's Creek and Pembroke Creek, the town is laid out in a typical grid pattern with its orientation to the bay.

Originally, the town found its fortune as a port of call, offloading food, goods, and slaves, and shipping the prolific agricultural products of the region to European ports. The result was a thriving plantation economy that brought life to northeastern North Carolina. The town continued to attract merchants, businessmen, and politicians, and by 1774 it had a population of about one thousand people (Butchko, 1992, p. 4). After the

Figure 3. View of Broad Street looking North towards town. Photo by author.

Revolutionary War, however, Edenton's inland location lost shipping to the coastal ports that were no longer controlled by the British, leading to a period of economic decline. Additionally, the growing use of the Dismal Swamp Canal had begun to divert commerce away from Edenton to the Norfolk port. As a result, Edenton looked to other industries, such as the steamboat industry, and the expansion of the fishing industry, which brought about a new era of growth. In addition to bettering these industries, Edenton sought to provide educational opportunities for local children. There were at lease five schools that were known to be operated during the antebellum period (Butchko, 1992, p. 24). Of these, the Edenton Academy, later the E. A. Swain Graded School, was considered the town's leading school.

Despite improving economic circumstances, the Civil War dealt a heavy blow on Edenton's economy. Although the town was only peripherally involved in the war, economic recovery was slow. The construction of the Norfolk and Southern Railroads helped to pull Edenton out of economic depression. The railroad enhanced transportation and allowed for larger maritime industry. Additionally, it allowed for trade of agricultural crops and livestock and enhanced the lumber industry, including several mills that employed over half the population ("Edenton Historic District, Edenton, Chowan County, North Carolina, National Register #73001316," 1973, pt. 8F). Other companies were established in the cotton and timber industries, ushering in a building boom and the many Victorian and Queen Anne houses of Edenton with their elaborate wooden ornament. "Between 1880 and 1900, the population more than doubled – from 1,200 to 3,000" (Bishir, 1995, p. 128).

In the 20th century, new industries came to Edenton, such as the Edenton Peanut Company, the Edenton Cotton Mill, and the Edenton Hosiery Mill. Increased industry created a need for additional schools, such as the Edenton Graded School for white children (1916) and the Edenton High School to African American children (1932). In the 1930s, however, all industry came to a near standstill due to the Great Depression, Despite multiple Works Progress Administration initiatives to jumpstart the economy, Edenton remained stinted until the onset of World War II. In 1942, Edenton was selected as a Marine Corps Air Station, resulting in an increased need for housing. Suburban neighborhoods sprang up across the town, with continued development throughout the 1970s. During the remaining years of the 20th century, commercial development continued outside the town's historic core. However, recent trends show that redevelopment and renovation within the historic core has increased (Edenton Preservation Commission, 2006, p. 12).

Edenton Historic District: History

The Edenton Historic District was initially designated in 1970 by the Edenton Town Council. Originally, the district contained the commercial core of the town as well as the surrounding residential areas that composed the original town plan. However, several boundary increases (in 2000 and 2007), as well as the addition of the Edenton Cotton Mill and Village National Register Historic District (1999) have expanded the district to encompass most of the town. The Edenton Historic District encompasses a rich and intriguing mixture of architectural styles, blending the early architecture of the Georgian and Federal periods, with the flamboyance of the Victorian, and the simplicity

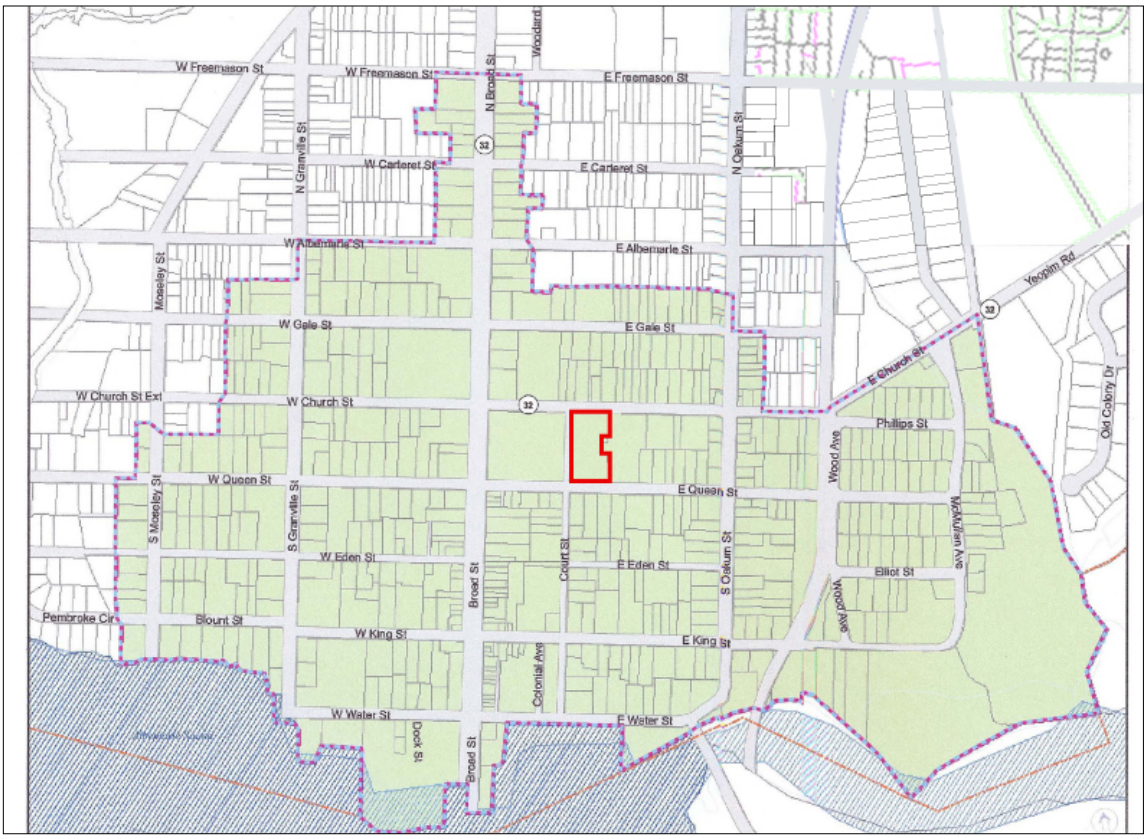

Figure 4. Edenton, NC Historic District as in 2011. Image courtesy of the Edenton Historic Preservation Commission

of the twentieth century bungalows and mid-twentieth century mill cottages. Significance is derived not only from the architectural juxtaposition, but from the traditional grid-like town plan and the various surrounding natural features such as Edenton Bay, Filbert's Creek and Queen Anne's Creek.

> Though they date from many eras and occur in a variety of styles, their consistency of form, color (white), scale, and rhythm give a subtle cohesive quality to almost every block in the district. Besides its buildings, and, perhaps equally essential to the quality of the historic district, is the feeling of the place – created at least in part by its well-tended gardens, the great trees that line the streets, and, gleaming at the end of vista after vista, the smooth expanse of Edenton Bay ("Edenton Historic District, Edenton, Chowan County, North Carolina, National Register #73001316," 1973, pt. 8).

Also part of the historic district is a turn-of-the-century cotton mill village, beautifully rehabilitated and restored to commemorate the industrial period.

The Historic District was nominated under Criterion A and C of the National Register Criteria. Criterion A qualifies the district as being associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history, and Criterion C qualifies the district as embodying distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a mast, of possesses high artistic values, or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction. All homes within the Historic District boundary are protected by design guidelines. These guidelines provide guidance to property owners, tenants, contractors and architects who wish to restore, rehabilitate, or make changes to the exterior of properties within the district. The Edenton Preservation Commission is responsible for issuing a Certificate of Appropriateness for any substantial exterior changes planned for buildings within the historic district. Property owners who wish to make changes to their property must have the plans reviewed by the Preservation Commission.

E. A. Swain School: History and Adaptive Reuse

The E. A. Swain School is located in the heart of the Edenton Historic District (see Figure 4). Located across from an archaeological site of a former tannery, the property is located on the path of the Edenton Historical Tour. The E. A. Swain School, constructed in 1917, was formerly occupied by the Edenton Academy, the town's largest school in the late 19th century (see Figure 11 and 12). The first building, which was

Figure 5. Chowan County Courthouse, 1767. Photo by author.

Figure 6. Haywood C. Privott House, constructed 1900. Example of the Queen Anne style. Photo by author.

Figure 7. Edenton First Public School. Photo by author.

Figure 8. Mitchell-Wozelka House, 1872. Photo by author.

Figure 9. Barker House, 1782. Photo by author.

Figure 10. Edenton Cotton Mill Village. Photo by author.

constructed in 1799, was cut in half, moved, and converted into two dwellings. These structures are presently located north of Church Street at the north end of Court Street. The second structure was constructed in 1840 and was later cut into four pieces and moved to unknown sites.

The existing structure is an excellent example of school architecture. The school structure is a three story, Georgian style masonry building with Hexa-Style Doric Portico without a pediment. The building interior has a central corridor with a utilitarian interior finish and wood floors. In addition to the main school structure, an auditorium was constructed as part of Works Progress Administration programs in the 1930s. This facility can accommodate about 960 people, and is the only such facility available in Chowan County.

Before the rehabilitation, the school complex consisted of 38,000 square feet of classroom space and 19,000 square feet of auditorium space, totaling about 57,000 square feet. In 1986, the school was closed as an educational facility. It was then deeded to the county so that the auditorium could be saved. Developer Dewayne Anderson, of Anderson-Benton Corporation proposed a public-private venture to convert the school into apartments and renovation of the auditorium, and purchased the school for $100,000 (unknown, 1988). Anderson-Benton obtained a low-interest FMHA loan for the school conversion. Additional funding for the project included $125,000 from a state grant, $55,000 from a Community Development Block Grant for the senior citizens center, which was transferred from the Town of Edenton. Additionally, a $9,000 state grant for the Arts Council was matched by $9,000 from the county (unknown, 1988). The

Figure 11. ***E. A. Swain School, Edenton, NC. located at*** **101 Court Street. Constructed in 1917, the school is Georgian style with Hexa-style Doric Portico. Photo by author.**

Figure 12. ***E. A. Swain School exterior signage. The building is used as a senior living center and auditorium. Photo by author.***

Figure 13. Interior of the school, completed in 1988. Photo by author.

Figure 14. Interior of the school, classrooms were rehabilitated as communal spaces. Photo by author.

Figure 15. . Interior historic features were retained in communal spaces. Photo by author.

Figure 16. Ground breaking ceremony, May 1988. Image courtesy of The Chowan Herald, 1988, Construction begins on Swain Facility.

rehabilitation began in March, 1988, and was completed in November, 1988 (see Figure 16). The complex was in service within a month, costing a total of $1.1 million.

The 1917 masonry school building was rehabilitated into 36 multi-family housing units for the elderly, approximately 600 square feet per apartment (see Figures 13-15). On the lower level, classroom partitions were removed in the vicinity of the boiler, powder room and auditorium. On the middle level, bathroom partitions were removed. A bridge was constructed between the classroom and auditorium wings and the floor in the proposed lobby. On the upper level, bathroom partitions were removed, as well as classroom storage walls, and library shelving and counters. All existing corridor partitioning was retained and protected. Two blackboards and existing trim were saved and reused in the mid-level parlors. Additional interior work included reworking stairs, the installation of an elevator, cosmetic repairs, the installation of new partitions for apartments, kitchens, and baths. Additionally, wood floors were refinished, HVAC systems were installed, and existing corridors and doors were retained. All work met the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation.

The use of E. A. Swain school as a case study will allow the researcher to determine the effects of rehabilitation on the surrounding areas, investigating both the fabric-based, constructed and phenomenological layers of value embedded in the project.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Purpose of Study

This research demonstrates the value residents place on rehabilitation projects within their communities, as reflected in neighborhood reinvestment and personal opinions. The research used a purposeful case study of the E. A. Swain Graded school in Edenton, North Carolina to make visible the impact adaptive reuse has on property values in the surrounding community, and then examined neighborhood perceptions of the rehabilitation and its effect on the surrounding neighborhoods. The combination of economic and sociocultural data provides a picture of the total impact of preservation activities in a given community.

The specific question addressed in this research was: How does the adaptive reuse of a historic neighborhood school building impact the surrounding community? Additional questions included:

- What shifts in property values occurred following the adaptive reuse of the school?
- Do property values increase, decrease or stabilize as proximity to the rehabilitated school decreases? Is there a pattern?
- What are the subjective values associated with the rehabilitation of a local historic resource by community residents?

- Does public discourse reflect the findings of the property value study?
- How does the follow up qualitative data help to enhance the quantitative data?

The research methodology incorporated three research techniques: quantitative data analysis, spatial distribution mapping, and content analysis.

Mixed Methods Research Design

This research is designed as a comparative case study using a sequential, explanatory design approach for data collection and analysis defined by Creswell (Creswell, 2007). The two methods are a quantitative property value study and a qualitative content analysis performed in that order. While there is greater emphasis on the quantitative phase, the qualitative phase was designed so that it connected to the results of the first phase. While the nature of the research questions imply that they can be answered with either a quantitative or a qualitative methods, the use of a purely quantitative design would most likely have resulted in a lack of understanding of various qualitative phenomenon. The importance of using a mixed-methodological approach for this study comes from the ability to compare the weaknesses and strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research.

Selection of Study Area

In this investigation, the researcher used a purposeful case study, choosing one school from a sample pool of 37 school buildings that used preservation tax credits in North Carolina and have been rehabilitated for residential use (see Appendix C). Use of these tax credits requires that the rehabilitation work follow the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and therefore ensures that the school buildings retain their

character defining interior and exterior features (Staveteig, 2010). The historic character is what gives the building value and helps bolster a community's sense of community and quality of life. The adaptive reuse of the interior's of these school buildings not only brings new life to the building itself, but helps to revitalize the community as a whole.

From the projects that took advantage of tax credits, the case study field was narrowed to include only schools located within National Register Historic Districts or Local Historic Districts. The selection of a locally designated historic district speaks to several issues. First, it ensures that historic preservation values are alive within the community to some extent. Second, the designation of an historic district established a predefined boundary for the researcher to work within. As a result of different ideas regarding what constitutes a neighborhood, adhering to locally designated boundaries eliminates any disputes over this issue. The case study pool was also restricted to rehabilitations that were completed by the year 2005 to allow enough time for the project to have an effect on the community. Based on these criteria, three school rehabilitation projects remained as viable study candidates.

The researcher obtained National Register Nominations and tax credit project files from the North Carolina State Historic Preservation office. Each school project file included historic information, locational descriptions, summaries of the planned rehabilitations for the properties, before and after photographs of the proposed and finished rehabilitations, and specific project information.

The three remaining possibilities were then narrowed further based on location within the historic district and density of the surrounding urban building fabric. A site

that was centrally located within the district was preferred in order to have maximum effect on the residential neighborhood around it. Location near a highway was not preferred because the highway created a physical barrier between the school and various community residents, as well as isolating the social capital capabilities of community residents.

	Selection of Study Area **Three Levels of Selection Criteria**
Level I	• adaptive reuse of neighborhood school • used as affordable housing/residential use • located in North Carolina • received tax credits for the rehabilitation
Level II	• located within a designated historic district • completion of project has allowed enough time to pass to see change in property values.
Level III	• located in the center of the local designated district • density of surrounding urban fabric • located in a neighborhood that was economically depressed before the rehabilitation

Table 1. Three levels of criteria used to select the case.

The density of the surrounding urban fabric was also taken into consideration. The researcher established a half-mile radius around the rehabilitated school site. According to LEED for Neighborhood Development (2010), LEED Smart Location and Linkage Prerequisite 1 establishes that compact, walkable, vibrant neighborhoods with good connections to nearby communities are sustainable. Benefits to residents increase when neighborhoods and cities offer proximity to transit and safe travel by foot or bicycle to jobs, amenities and services. Smart Location and Linkage Prerequisite 1 established a half-mile radius between a target site and adjacent lots to determine neighborhood

connectivity (USGBC & Congress for New Urbanism, 2010). For this study, the researcher adopted the LEED standard and established a half-mile radius around the rehabilitated school site. A dense urban fabric within the established radius provided the researcher with ample tax parcels for study. Based on these criteria, the researcher chose the E. A. Swain Graded School in Edenton, North Carolina.

Methods

This research utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods through triangulation in order to comprehensively assess the cultural, social, and economic benefits of historic school rehabilitation on a neighborhood. Data gathering and analysis for this study occurred in two phases. The first phase involved a property value study of the case. The second phase included qualitative content analysis of meeting minutes and newspaper articles to gain insight on the attitudes of community residents regarding the rehabilitation project, and the meaning historic resources hold for them.

Quantitative Property Value Study

To measure the economic impact of a school rehabilitation project on the surrounding district in the selected community, the research conducted a property value study of all parcels that are within a half-mile radius of the completed school rehabilitation project. The main goals were: a) gather quantitative data, b) show whether property values increased, decreased, or stabilized after the completion of the rehabilitation project, and c) show the spatial distribution of percentage change in property values based on distance from the completed rehabilitation project. Due to the fact that the rehabilitation was completed at the end of 1988, less than two years prior to

the 1990 property revaluation assessment, it is not possible to get a complete picture of the effects the rehabilitation would have had on the surrounding community until several years later. Therefore, the researcher determined that complete property value records were only needed from the 1990 and 2006 valuation cycles. The comparison of these two data sets would show the percentage change in property values from the time the rehabilitation was completed in comparison to most recent valuation data.

Two methods of analysis were used to show the relationship between the percentage change in property values and the distance from the completed rehabilitation project. First, a distance decay effect study was used to show whether property values decreased as distance from the rehabilitation project increased. Distance decay effect is a geographical term that describes the effect of distance on cultural or spatial interactions (Fotheringham, 1981; Taylor, 1975). The distance decay effect means that the interaction between two locations declines as the distance between them increases. Once the distance is outside the two locale's activity space, their interactions begin to decrease. Second, a nearest neighbor analysis was used as a micro study to show if property parcels in close proximity to the school demonstrated higher percentage change then properties further away. Nearest neighbor analysis is a method of for exploring patterns in locational data by comparing observed distribution patterns (Chen & Getis, 1998; Upton, 1985).

Data Collection

The Chowan County Tax Administrative Office conducts total property revaluations every eight years in Chowan County. The most recent valuation was

conducted in 2006. The county tracks taxable property as well as exempt properties such as churches, government buildings, and schools. Valuations relevant to this study were conducted in the years 2006, 1998, and 1990. The values for the year 1990 are the earliest that can be systematically accessed, while the 2006 values are the most current at the time of this study. The E. A. Swain school adaptive reuse project was completed in 1988, most nearly coinciding with the beginning of the 1990 assessment period.

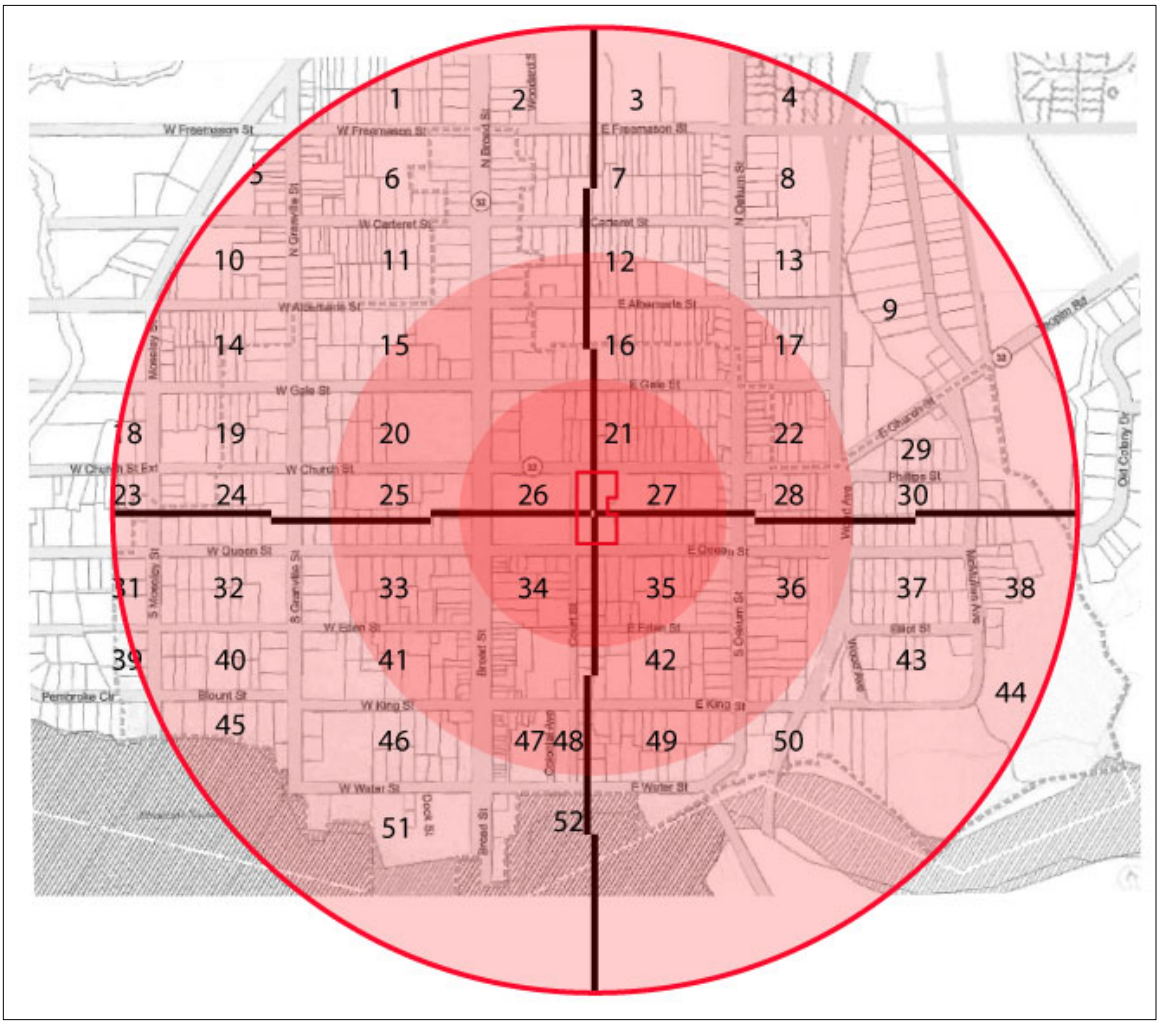

Figure 17. Map of radius and block numbering. A one-half, one-quarter, and one block radius was established surrounding the school for analysis.

The researcher first established a half-mile radius around the case site. On a parcel map, city blocks were numbered beginning in the northwestern quadrant of the study radius (see Figure 17). Each block was assigned a number, totaling 52 blocks. The researcher then accessed the Chowan County online GIS/Mapping Public Access Site, and collected the Parcel ID Numbers for each tax parcel within the established boundary. Parcel numbers were entered into a spreadsheet and organized according to assigned block numbers.

Data were obtained for the total tax assessed value of all parcels bounded within the one-half mile radius for the 1990 and 2006 assessment years. The total number of parcels surveyed was 873. The 2006 values were obtained from the Chowan County online GIS/Mapping Public Access Site. The data were entered into the spreadsheet according to corresponding parcel numbers.

The researcher then collected the 1990 property valuation data by accessing the Chowan County Land Records computer database accessible from the public terminals at the Chowan County Courthouse Register of Deeds office. Land value and building value were collected from the computer, and were entered into the spreadsheet according to corresponding parcel numbers. The researcher found that not all parcels entered the record in 1990; several had entered the record in later years (between 1991 and 2005). These revaluation data were further considered. The researcher removed data that entered the record between the 2006 revaluation cycle and the 1998 revaluation cycle (for the years 1999 to 2005). This was done because there was no comparable data. All revaluation data from the years 1998 to 1990 were retained because enough time had

elapsed to indicate change in value. After elimination based on this criteria, the total number of properties included in the survey was 810 (see Appendix D).

Data Analysis: Thematic Mapping

After collecting the data, the researcher then organized it for analysis. First, a spreadsheet was created to compare the property valuation data from 1990 with the 2006 data. The spreadsheet included the block numbers, the property parcel numbers, and the total tax value for each parcel number. These data were used to create a series of thematic maps (see Figures 18, 20 and 21). A thematic map geographically portrays a variable (e.g., percent increase in assessed values) by cataloging mapped spatial features (e.g., building footprints) to represent the value or class of that variable (Antenucci, 1991). To create a thematic map, two relational databases, such as street addresses and property values, were merged. Utilizing graphic software, the merged data were geocoded to property footprints on the town of Edenton's planometric maps. Geocoding is the process of assigning location identifiers or spatial index codes to entities which can be located on a map and represented by a graphic feature (Antenucci, 1991). In this study, the index codes used were street addresses, which were entered and stored in both non-graphic (database) and graphic (property footprint) feature files for all properties within the established one-half mile radius.

Data analysis of property value information was conducted in three phases. Phase one analyzed the percent change in total assessed value from 1990 to 2006 for all parcels within a one-half mile, one-quarter mile, and one block (approximately 760 feet) radius of the school. Percent of change in total assessed value was calculated and included in

the spreadsheet as a comparison tool. The purpose of this analysis is to determine if percent change in property values is dependent on proximity to the rehabilitation project.

The second phase analyzed the percent change in individual assessed values from 1990 to 2006 for all parcels within a one-half mile radius of the school. The percent changes were divided into nine class intervals based on value ranges, with a graphic shading designation for each.

The third phase analyzed individual property valuations for all parcels within a one-half mile radius of the school for the years 1990 and 2006. For the 1990 data, the percent changes were divided into nine class intervals based on value ranges, with a graphic shading designation for each. The 2006 data required ten class intervals, due to a wider, more evenly distributed range values.

Both non-graphic databases and graphic features files were used to look for emerging patterns. The data was then analyzed in this format to show the effects that the rehabilitation of the E. A. Swain Graded School had on the property values of the surrounding community.

Qualitative Content Analysis

To supplement the quantitative data, the researcher performed a qualitative content analysis of meeting minutes and newspaper articles in order to determine the tenor of public discourse with regard to the rehabilitation process of the E. A. Swain School. The interpretation of mute evidence was chosen because interviews were not a feasible option due to the length of time elapsed and resident relocation. Analysis of texts focused on the school rehabilitation provided an indication of original meaning for

the local population, as well as provided the researcher with an opportunity for new meanings as the texts were related to property value study findings.

Data Collection

The qualitative content analysis was based on a systematic sampling from Edenton town council minutes, historic preservation commission minutes, and articles from the Chowan Herald newspaper for dates of January 1, 1988 to December 31, 1988. These dates were chosen for the time prior to the construction, during construction, and time in service, and would allow the researcher to determine if date range needs to be expanded based on level of public interest. The researcher looked for articles or mention of the E. A. Swain School, and Dewayne Anderson of Anderson-Benton Corporation. These articles and minutes were photocopied and catalogued.

Data Analysis

Coding was the primary means of analysis for the collected texts. Coding means attaching a set of descriptive labels or categories to images or text. Categories can be developed according to theoretical concerns so that the categories are immediately more obviously interpretive. Codes must depend on a theorized connection between the text and the broader cultural context in which its meaning is made (Rose, 2007). When analyzing the documents, the researcher looked for emerging themes such as fears of property value decrease, concerns about safety, and excitement about the project. The researcher looked for additional themes that were initially unanticipated.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

In order to understand the effect that adaptive reuse has within a community, property value data from the case study community was compared, and layered with qualitative content analysis. The findings from these two studies were parallel and supportive. The findings of the study prove that the adaptive reuse of a historic neighborhood school positively impacts property values of the surrounding neighborhoods, spurs further investment activity, and reflects the community's appreciation of historic preservation initiatives.

Results

Overall Finding

- The quantitative property value study and the qualitative content analysis were parallel and supportive.

The spatial distribution of assessed value growth rates in the one-half mile radius surrounding the E. A. Swain school suggest the following trends from 1990 through 2006.

- Total assessed property values increased 189% for 99.75 percent for all parcels located within one-half mile of the completed school rehabilitation project.
- Total assessed property values within the study area appreciated at a higher rate than the Chowan County average.

- Several housing markets emerged after the completion of the school rehabilitation project.
- Properties located within the historic district boundary experienced higher growth rates than those in similar neighborhoods located in non-designated areas.
- Total assessed residential property values appreciated 259% within a one-block radius of the rehabilitated E. A. Swain School.

Content Analysis of available data for the year 1988 suggests the following trends.

- The community had a positive image of the school and the rehabilitation project.
- The community made positive predictions regarding economic development and quality of life for surrounding neighborhoods based on the completion of the rehabilitation project.

Property Value Study

Property Value Increases within the One-Half Mile Study Area

Analysis of 810 parcels within a one-half mile radius of the school found that 99.75% of parcels experienced a 189% increase in total property valuation after the rehabilitation of the school (see Figure 18). Additionally, these parcels experienced a higher rate of increase (189%) that the average percent increase for Chowan County (148%).

There are several potential reasons for the overall positive trend in property values for parcels within the one-half mile study area. First, findings infer that residents are either reinvesting in existing building stock or investing in new construction. Reinvestment includes alterations made to existing homes and businesses by means of

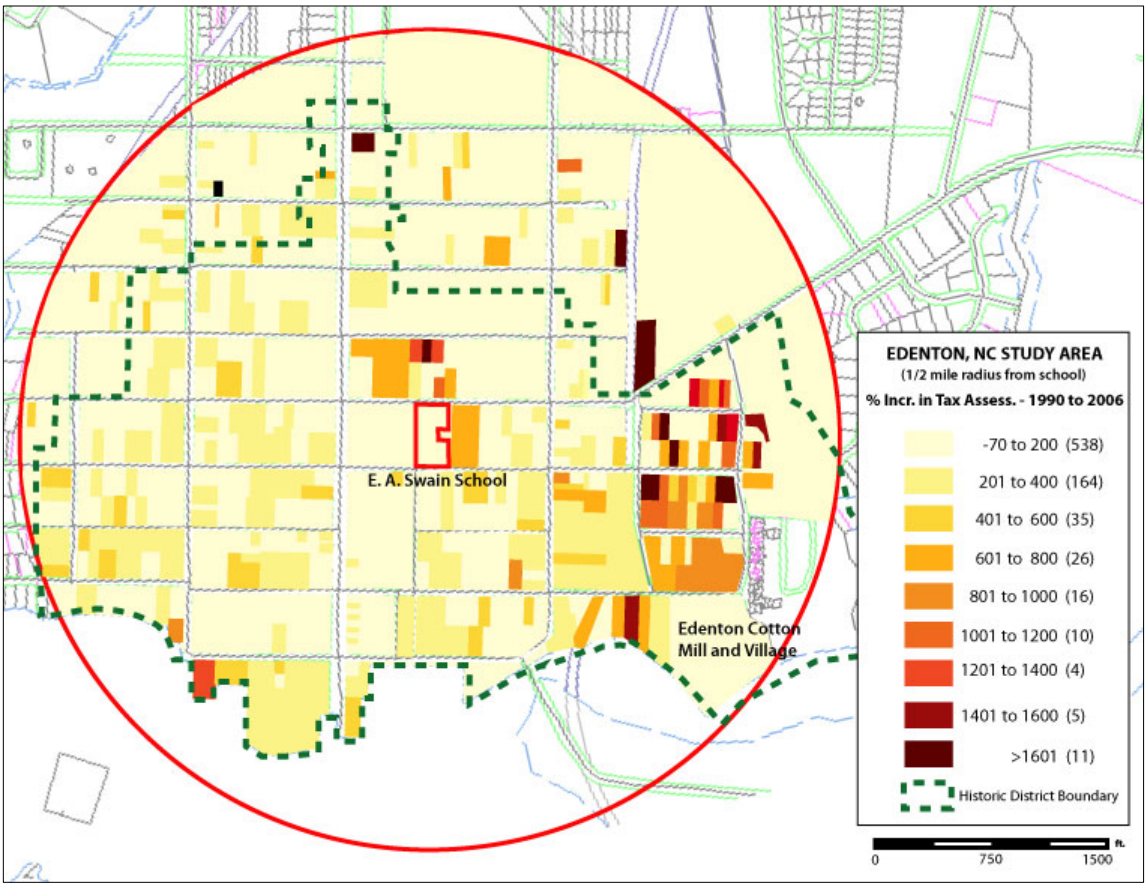

Figure 18. Map of total percent increase in tax assessment from 1990-2006 within a one-half mile study area.

remodeling, rehabilitating existing buildings for a new use. New construction includes additions made to existing buildings, as well as construction of a new home or business on a previously vacant lot or the site of a recent demolition. New construction on a vacant lot would indicate urban infill, which is often considered a good alternative to urban and suburban sprawl patterns. Conversely, new construction on the site of a recent demolition would indicate the loss of older, and potentially historic building stock. The existence of strict historic district design guidelines many times hinders demolition by neglect, thus limiting new construction in an historic district. However, while a majority

Figure 19. New construction taking place across the street from the school. Photo by author.

of parcels included in the study area are incorporated in the historic district, many parcels on the periphery are in non-designated areas. Therefore, the historic district design guidelines do not apply to these properties. Demolition procedures are less strictly regulated, and the chance of vacant and abandoned properties increases. Consequently, the negative impacts associated with vacant properties have a higher chance of effecting surrounding properties that may be located within the historic district boundary.

While the frequency of new construction and vacant properties within the study area was not addressed in this research, the general positive trend in values from 1990 to 2006 merits consideration. One theory for the increases in values throughout the study area is that investor confidence was supported by sustained values over a long period of time. Homeowners are more likely to invest in their home if they feel their return on

investment will be higher than what they originally paid.

Property Value Increase and the Historic District Boundary

An additional theory for the increases in value is that properties located within the historic district boundary experienced higher growth rates than those in similar neighborhoods located in non-designated areas. Previous housing studies have identified trends of higher property values within historic districts as well as in surrounding areas directly adjacent to historic district boundaries. Location within an historic district offers the prospect of a secure investment and a prestigious address. Both of these factors are attractive qualities for potential homebuyers. The property value study for this research identified similar results. For both the 1990 and 2006 assessment periods, higher growth rates were detected within the historic district boundaries than those of similar neighborhoods located in nondesignated areas.

The historic district was first established in 1970 and encompassed a majority of the original town plan. The spatial distribution of higher property value intervals in 1990 coincides with the 1970 historic district boundary (see Figure 20). Areas of lower property value intervals were generally located in areas outside of the Historic District Boundary. In 1994, the historic district boundary was expanded to include the Edenton Cotton Mill Village National Register Historic District, located at eastern side of the town. Additionally, boundary expansions were completed in 2001 and 2007 to create one comprehensive, locally designated historic district. Similar to the 1990 spatial distribution patterns, the higher property value intervals in 2006 coincide with the most recent comprehensive historic district boundary (see Figure 21).

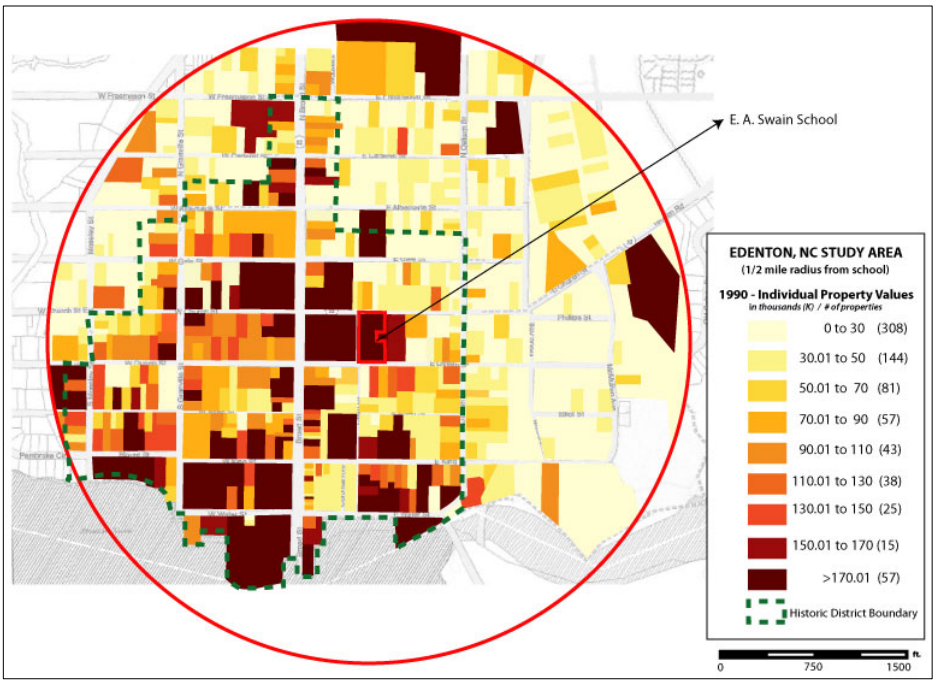

Figure 20. Map of 1990 individual percent increase in tax assessment within a one-half mile study area. Areas of higher tax values correspond with 1990 historic district boundary.

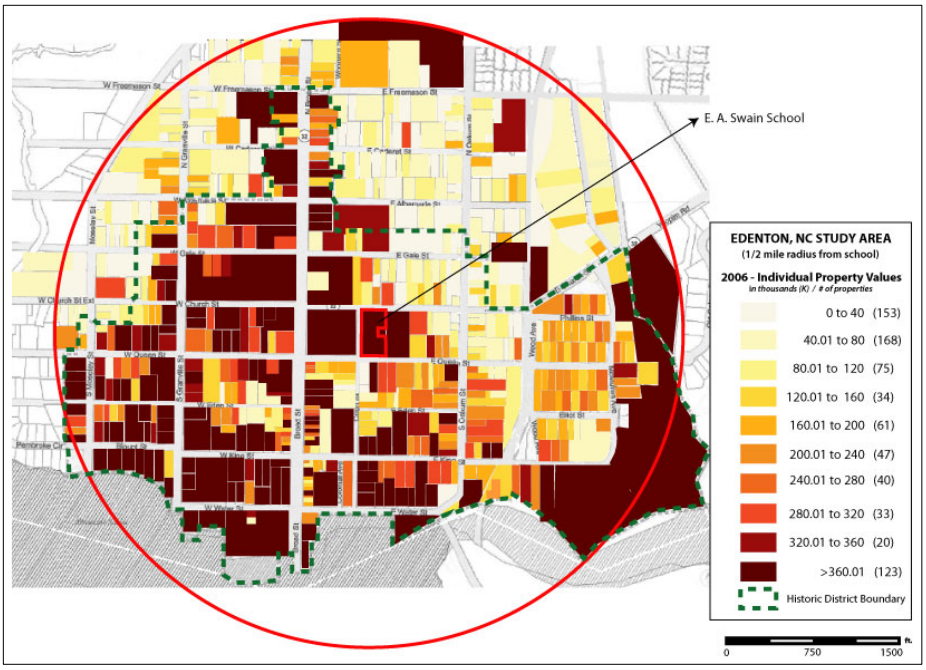

Figure 21. Map of 1990 individual percent increase in tax assessment within a one-half mile study area. Areas of higher tax values correspond with 1990 historic district boundary.

Judging from the spatial distribution patterns of 1990 and 2006 property value data, it can be theorized that historic districts promote higher property values for all properties located within the boundaries. Perspective homebuyers and current homeowners may have felt it worthwhile to pay higher property rates for assurance against undesirable changes near their property, as assured by the implementation of historic district guidelines. The results also imply that areas with historic character have a higher degree of perceived prestige and value. This awareness could have led to increased renovation and investment activity.

While this finding does not necessarily reflect the school's individual effect on the surrounding community, it does speak to the attached value placed on historic resources by the local community. Additionally, the researcher acknowledged that the increase in growth rates could not be attributed exclusively to historic district designation or the rehabilitation of an individual building. Larger economic trends and revitalization strategies may have been in effect, but were not analyzed for this study.

Property Value Increase and Sub-Housing Markets

While reinvestment or new construction may provide some explanation for the 189% increase in total assessed values, the emergence of two sub-housing markets near the Edenton Cotton Mill and Village and the waterfront provides additional clarification (see Figure 22). Although the patterns identified within these two submarkets may not directly be tied to the E. A. Swain adaptive reuse project, they did have a significant impact on property values within a one-half mile radius of the school.

The Edenton Cotton Mill, constructed in 1899, was a major economic source for

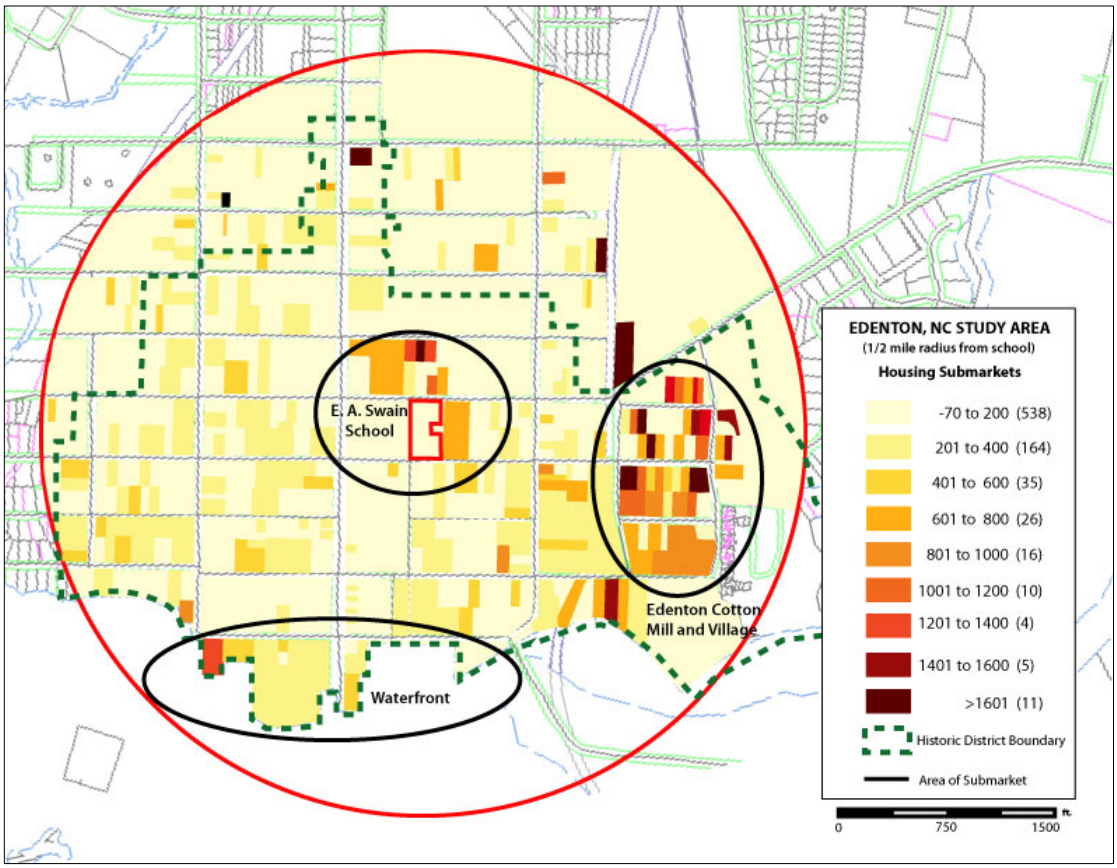

Figure 22. Map of sub housing markets surrounding the E. A. Swain School.

the town from the late 19th to the late 20th century (see Figure 23). The adjacent mill village contained 50 dwellings used by mill employees. Most of these homes were simple one story vernacular dwellings (see Figures 24 and 25). Other than the mill building only two other buildings were constructed for uses other than residential; the mill office, constructed in 1909, and the First Christian Church, built in 1916. In 1995, the mill closed and was donated to Preservation North Carolina. The organization launched an aggressive promotional campaign in the winter of 1996 to sell the individual mill village properties, attaching strict protective covenants and required design review for all cotton mill homes. Within the following three months, 26 mill homes were sold

Figure 23. Edenton Cotton Mill, constructed in 1909. Photo by author.

for $20,000 each, nearly 10 times their assessed value just one year earlier (Lambe, 2008). Given these clear market indicators, Edenton's town managers applied for Community Development Block Grant funding to upgrade water and sewer lines into the village. The completion of the community's infrastructure investment spurred further private sector investment, and by 1999, all 48 mill homes in the village had been sold. In 1996, the property tax value for the entire village was $610,485. In 2006, renovations to the village raised the value to $12,110,659, over 19 times larger (Lambe, 2008). This striking statistic illustrates how the rehabilitation of an historic resource can be used to levy private investment. Not only did property values increase the town's tax base, but also the retention of the mill and village fostered a sense of place that was essential for

Figure 24. Edenton Mill Village Home, Elliot Street. Photo by author.

Figure 25. Edenton Mill Village Home, East Queen Street. Photo by author.

the community's quality of life. The mill village is a great example of how a community can integrate a potential financial liability such as a vacant mill and dilapidated mill cottages, into a focal point for tourism and private investment.

While the success of the mill project can be attributed to both public and private investment, it can also be attributed to the success of the E. A. Swain school rehabilitation. After the school was completed in 1988, surrounding areas showed steady and sustained appreciation in property values. Within nine years of sustained appreciation, the large-scale mill renovation project began. It can be theorized, that the mill project was made possible by the success of the school renovation. If property values had depreciated in the years following the school rehabilitation, investors may not have been so eager to fund the Edenton Cotton Mill and Village project. Instead, they saw a market for housing that within a community that valued historic resources. Therefore, the emergence of the mill village as a submarket can be partially attributed to the Swain school rehabilitation.

The second sub-housing market was identified near the waterfront along Blount and Water Streets (see Figure 22). This area was home to the Edenton Colonial Park and Marina, the North Carolina Northeast Economic Development Commission, local businesses, and private homes. While property value data did not offer explicit explanations for this sub-market, national trends regarding waterfront properties can be applied. Typically, waterfront property values are mainly dependent on location, availability to developed lots, and the quality of potential development. Design appeal for potential development is based on the steepness of the site, ease of construction and access, proximity to the water's edge, and ability to clear based on conservation regulations. These factors, in addition to the marketed waterfront lifestyle, drives up property value across the country. In the case of the waterfront sub-housing market, the area were zoned Residential (R-10) and Downtown Commercial (CD), therefore there were no apparent waterfront conservation regulations in place to limit development (see Figure 27). The potential for new development opportunities in these area resulted in increased value assessments.

Property Value Decrease within the One-Half Mile Study Area

Despite the general positive trends indicated in the one-half mile radius data, there were 25 properties randomly distributed throughout the study area that did not experience an appreciation in assessed property value (see Figure 25). While all parcels were located within the established one-half mile radius from the school project, 80 percent of parcels with depreciating property value assessments were located outside of the historic

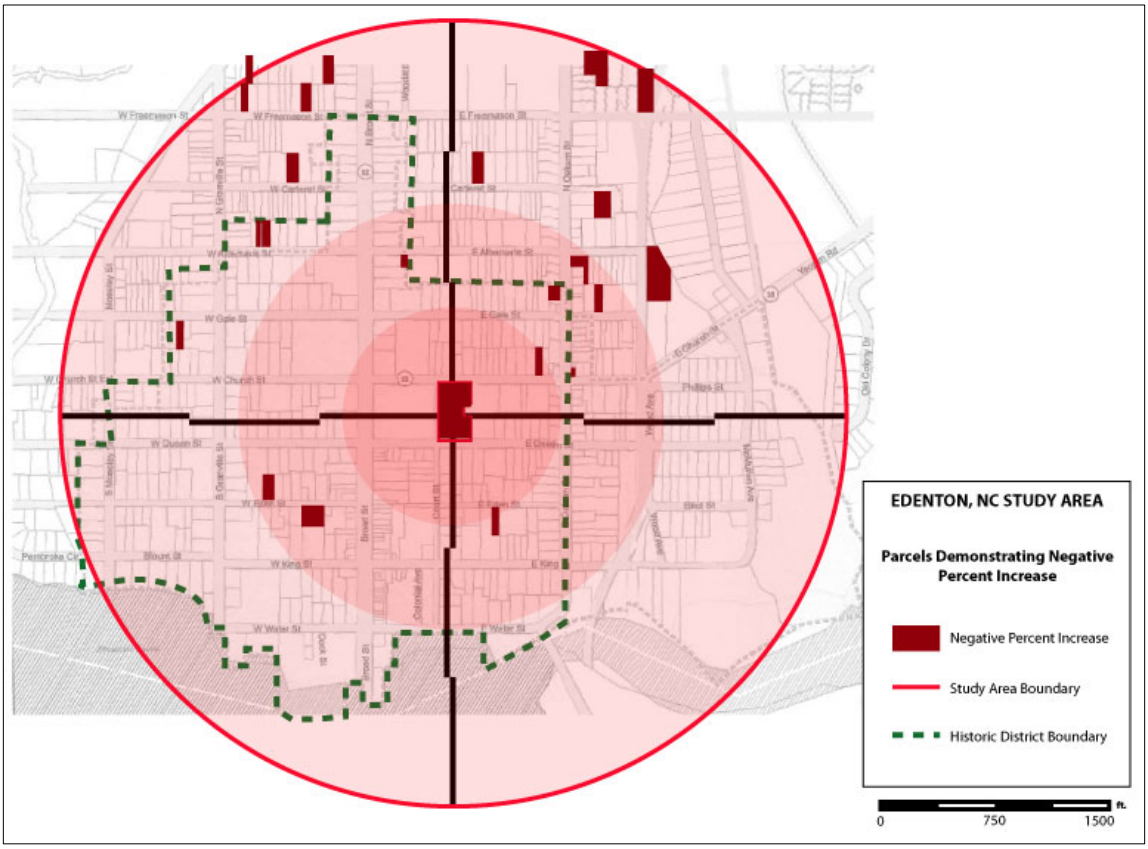

Figure 26. Map of parcels that experienced negative percent increase in total assessed tax value from 1990 to 2006.

district boundary. Of the remaining parcels, 12 percent were located within one-quarter mile of the school project. These three parcels were randomly distributed and offered no obvious pattern for analysis in relationship to the school project. While an overwhelming majority of parcels that experienced a decrease in individual assessed value were located farther away from the completed school project, eight percent of the depreciated parcels were located within one block of the school.

While this is only 0.25 percent of the total number of parcels surveyed, the two parcels account for 2.3 percent of the 53 properties located within the one-block radius from the school. Although this percentage is low, the increased percent in relationship to

proximity merits consideration. Parcel number 780408798336 is located on the outer periphery of the one-block radius. The property values depreciated from $30,137 in 1990 to $20,590 in 2006. While researcher observation of the site did not offer an explanation for this, potential causes for depreciation are demolition of a portion of the site, or subdivision from a previously larger parcel. Of particular interest is that the school building itself depreciated in value from $1,004,652 in 1990 to $802,185 in 2006. Consultation with the Chowan Land Records Office determined that this was a result of a North Carolina law concerning the value of low-income housing that used the income approach. All counties in North Carolina were required to revalue using the income approach, instead of cost, and subsequently resulted in a lower value.

One-Half Mile to One-Block Radius Phenomenon

Numerical analysis of the one-half mile study area found that while 99.75 percent of parcels experienced a 189 percent increase in total property valuation after the

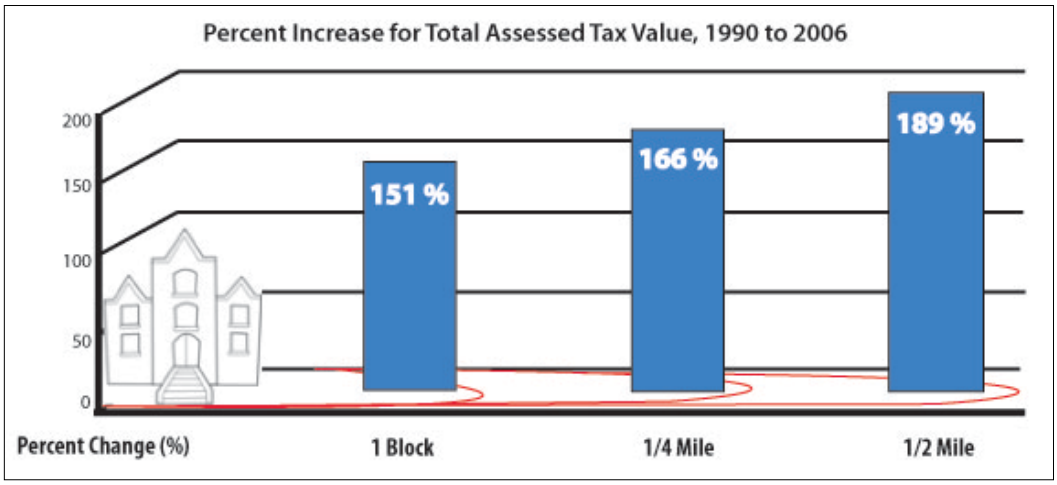

Table 2. One-half to one-block radius phenomenon demonstrated in percent increase for total assessed tax value, 1990 to 2006.

rehabilitation of the school, lower rates of total assessed property value increase were experienced as proximity to the school increased (see Table 2). From the initial one-half mile radius, the study area was reduced to a one-quarter mile radius. The 307 parcels contained within the one-quarter mile radius experienced a 166 percent change in total assessed value from 1990 to 2006. The study area was further reduced to include only properties within a one-block radius. The 85 properties included in this radius experienced a 151 percent increase in total property valuation.

Radii Phenomenon and Zoning Classifications

This phenomenon suggests that property values appreciate at a lower rate as proximity to the school increases. However, analysis of total property value increase, individual property value increase, and the Edenton Zoning Ordinance found that institutional and commercial uses within the one-block study area reduced the overall percent increase for areas closest to the school.

The initial total assessed valuation calculations for the one-half, one-quarter, and one-block radius included all parcels regardless of their zoning classifications. While classifications included conditional use (CU), conditional use downtown commercial (CD), downtown Commercial (CD), conditional use neighborhood commercial (CN), and highway commercial (CH), the majority of parcels were zoned Residential (R5-10) (see Figure 27). The one block radius contained parcels zoned residential and downtown commercial. While, most parcels were zoned residential, 13percent were zoned commercial. This is a higher percentage of commercially zoned parcels than the one-half and one-quarter mile radii.

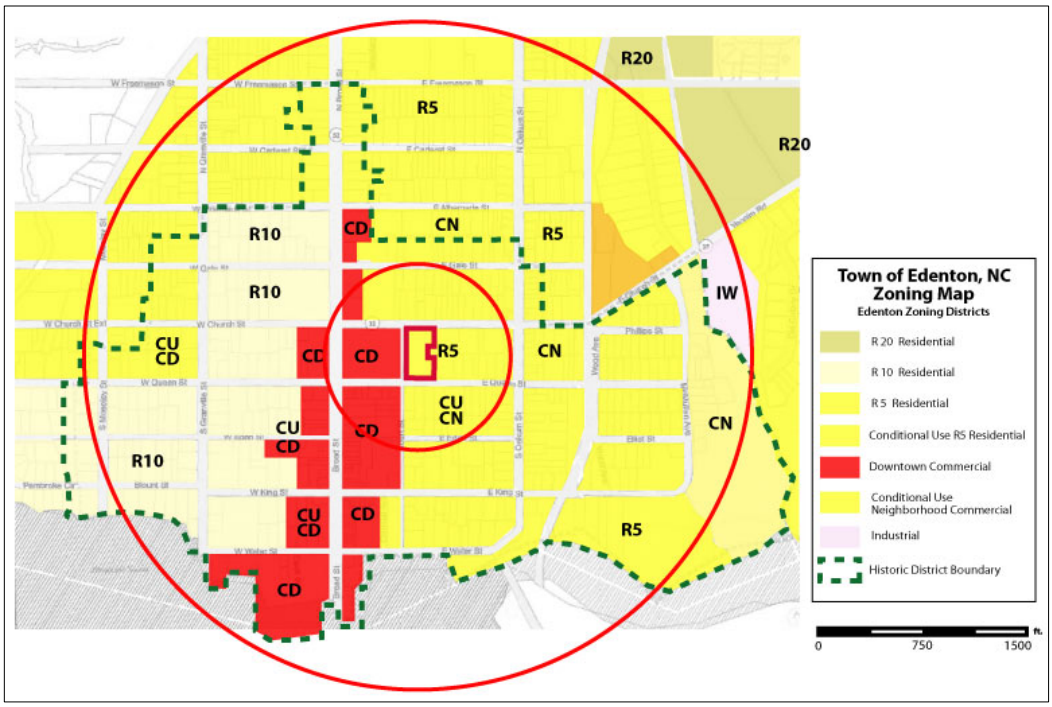

Figure 27. Map of Edenton zoning districts within the one-half mile study area.

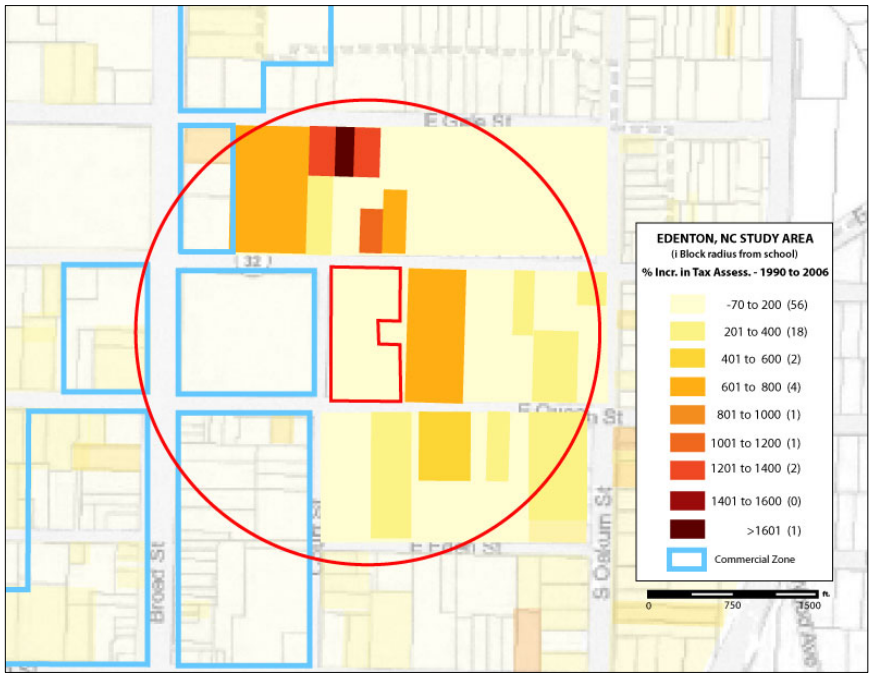

Figure 28. Map of zoning districts within the one-block radius. Commercial parcels were deleted for analysis of residential parcels.

Examination of individual percent increase showed that commercial properties typically increased at a lower rate than residential properties throughout the one-half mile, one-quarter mile, and one-block radius. Considering that a majority of the one-half mile study area was mostly residential parcels that experienced higher rates of total assessed percent change, the one block radius is negatively skewed by a larger percentage of commercial properties.

When commercially zoned parcels were removed from the one-block study area, analysis of total assessed percent change for residential parcels identified a 259 percent increase in total assessed value for residential properties located within the one-block radius of the school project (see Figure 28). This is a dramatic shift from percentage calculations that included commercial properties. Additionally, when percent increase was calculated on a per parcel basis, several individual property values appreciated up to 800 percent between 1990 and 2006.

The shift in percentage calculation for the one block radius infers that the rehabilitation of the E. A. Swain School had a significant positive impact on residential property values within a one-block radius. This is analogous to the catalyst effect experienced not only by properties located within designated historic districts, but also for properties located outside a district boundary that experience positive spillover benefits. While historic district designation has been found to act as a catalyst for private investment, the rehabilitation of a single historically designated building like the E. A. Swain School can also be a catalyst for investments.

Radii Phenomenon and Additional Explanations

While zoning classifications may have accounted for some of the one-half to one-block phenomenon, several additional factors may have played a role. First, the school site is in close proximity to a large, open, buffer area that not only disconnects the site from the central business district, but also seems to disturb the continuity of the surrounding dense residential neighborhoods located to the north, south, and east (see Figure 29). This vacant grassy area, now a park, was part of school grounds during its period as an educational facility. With the hole that the buffer area creates in the urban fabric, it eliminates the prospect of having the school be part of an active community to its western side. Instead, the area creates a no-man's-land that surrounding homebuyers may be hesitant to live near.

Figure 29. Large open area located across the street from the school. Photo by author.

Second, the school site is in close proximity to government buildings, such as the post office and county courthouse. In terms of individual property values, government buildings were consistently listed at higher property value intervals than surrounding residential areas. However, the percent increases were lower than surrounding properties. It can be theorized that while property values are not solely independent of adjacent properties, government buildings are less affected by individual residential improvements than by county investment and larger government trends. Therefore, the rehabilitation of the Swain school had less of an impact on the property values on government buildings to its west, and more impact on residential areas to its north, east, and south.

Radii Phenomenon and Site Observations

Despite these minor trends, the overarching rate of appreciation infers that the school rehabilitation positively impacted the surrounding neighborhood. While visiting the site, the researcher noted that while properties located within a one-block radius of the school were smaller and their assessed values were lower-than homes in other regions of the study area, yards were clean and homes were well maintained. Additionally, there was renovation activity taking place at a small home adjacent to the school lot (see Figure 19). This would indicate that although 2.3 percent of properties did not experience a spillover effect within a one-block radius, the school project and larger real estate trends within Edenton inspired investor confidence for residential development.

Outlier Parcel Data

Property value data for this portion of the study was collected for the year 1990 and 2006. Parcels that entered the record after 1999 were deleted from the database in

order to analyze comparable data sets. Of the remaining data, there were several groupings of properties throughout the study area that did not enter the record in 1990. Instead they entered the record between 1991 and 1998. In several instances, there were small clusters of properties that entered the record at the same time (see highlighted areas of Appendix D). For these groupings, it can be theorized that several larger parcels were subdivided into the resulting lots. While officials at the Chowan Land Records office were not able to confer which parcels had been subdivided, the general consensus is that larger parcels were subdivided into smaller lots which either remained empty or new construction was undertaken. In addition to these types of groupings, another type of grouping was noted in the data. Many blocks on the east side of the district did not come into the record until 1990 to 2000. This is due to the rehabilitation of the Edenton Cotton Mill Village in 1996, which was previously discussed as a sub-housing market.

Content Analysis

Content analysis on existing texts and documents provided the researcher with the community's subjective meanings attached to the school and preservation activities within the town. Residents demonstrated feelings of place attachment in regards to the school as demonstrated through efforts to save the school and positive prediction for the future. The property value study suggests that the rehabilitation of the E. A. Swain School had a positive impact on the surrounding community. While this is hypothesized from the quantitative data, the qualitative content analysis parallels the quantitative study. The positive trends found in the property value study were supported by public discourse in 1988.

Residents Positively Value the E. A. Swain School

The eagerness expressed by the community and developer not only to save the school, but to retain character-defining features within the building, indicates a general appreciation for the community's history, and more specifically, the historical significance of the school.

The E. A. Swain School was constructed in 1914 and functioned as an educational facility until 1986. Upon closing in 1986, the school complex (both the school and the auditorium) was deeded to the county so that the auditorium could be saved. While initial funds were raised for the auditorium renovation, the disposition of the school was in question. According to an article in the Chowan Herald (1988), it was "Dwayne Anderson (the developer) [that] came to the rescue" and purchased the school. When discussed in a March 1988 Historic District Commission Meeting, County Manager Cliff Copeland presented the rehabilitation project to the board. After explaining that the school would be reused as an affordable residence for the elderly, he emphasized the importance of retaining the historic character of the building. "The intent of the design was to keep the present building appearance – no exterior changes would be made other than a handicap entrance and a loading dock" (Edenton Historic District Commission, 1988). Additionally, all existing plaques were retained, along with two of the original slate black boards (see Figure 14). The project was issued a Certificate of Appropriateness by the Historic District Commission and was accepted unanimously.

The positive value attached to the school is further evidenced through the public/private partnerships forged to fund the school project. Not only were public and

private organizations fighting to save the school, but they also provided significant financial support. In terms of funding, the Anderson-Benton Corporation purchased the school for $100,000 (unknown, 1988). Additional funding for the project included $125,000 from a state grant, and a $9,000 state grant for the Arts Council that was matched by the county (unknown, 1988). The partnership of public and private funding sources indicates that both the community and the developer saw benefits and value in the rehabilitation of the school.

Residents Positively Value Rehabilitation Efforts within their Community

Not only did community residents value the school as a significant historic building, they recognized the ways in which historic preservation and adaptive reuse of existing buildings can promote community assets. Public discourse uncovered in newspaper articles and meeting minutes from the town council and preservation commission revealed positive predictions regarding the effects of the school rehabilitation project. One resident predicted that not only would the school be a beneficial use of county dollars, but that the initial investment would spur economic development in surrounding neighborhoods and beneficially impact residents' quality of life.

Positive Predictions for Economic Development

In a letter from the Historic Preservation Commission to the Town Mayor (1988), the board emphasized the importance of the Swain School rehabilitation; "We feel this facility will both enhance our community facilities and lead to further development in Edenton and Chowan County." Recognition of the school as a community asset extended

to further economic predictions. Anderson, the project developer, commented that the location of the school would have a positive impact on downtown businesses, and that a "spinoff" would lead to further investment and rehabilitation work in nearby neighborhoods (unknown, 1988).

This prediction was parallel to the findings of the property value study. The catalyst, or 'spinoff', effect experienced by properties within close proximity to the school was apparent in the percent change data. Additionally, the rehabilitation of the Edenton Mill and Village, and the emergence of sub-housing markets further indicate that residents made correct predictions regarding the economic impact of the school rehabilitation project.

Although a catalysts effect was predicted for downtown businesses, property value increases were not directly addressed. It may be inferred that the additional benefits conferred to residential areas was understood at the time. Another consideration is the potential bias of this source. It would have been in the developer's best interest to make positive predictions for the community in terms of personal gain. While the record shows that only positive predictions were offered at public meetings, there was the option for residents and commission members to refute these claims. On the contrary, there were no discrepancies or negative predictions for the school or its impact on the local economy.

Positive Predictions for Quality of Life

Positive predictions were also made for the future quality of life for residents. In an interview in May of 1988, developer Anderson commented that the location of the

school would not only have a positive impact on downtown businesses, but that "the quality of life of the residents … will be outstanding"(unknown, 1988). He believed that not only would the residents of the Swain apartments be afforded a comfortable living environment, but also the community would gain a public meeting space in the auditorium, and the historic school would be retained for future generations. Despite predictions made in 1988, limitations on research methods prevented the collection of current public opinion and validation of the prediction.

The prediction can however be validated to some extent by reviewing Edenton's present day available community resources and initiatives regarding historic preservation and the school. The Florida study listed several key factors that illustrate the relationship between historic preservation and quality of life: resident awareness of historic resources; the use of historic buildings for safe and affordable housing; the use of historic resources as a public educational tool; and the use of regulatory tools and incentives. While not evident from 1988 content analysis research, the rehabilitation of the E. A. Swain School did directly impact residents' quality of life in these fields.

First, area residents were aware of the importance of the school as an historic resource. Not only did public/private partnerships provide initial funding for its rehabilitation, but residents and visitors have continued to acknowledge the school's history through historic tours and informational pamphlets. Second, the school had successfully continued as affordable residential housing for the elderly. At the time of this study, the school was a full capacity indicating that the rehabilitation of the school

Figure 30. Museum exhibit located in the E. A. Swain School lobby. Photo by author.

Figure 31. Exhibit of school images. Photo by author.

not only safeguarded cherished character defining features, but also addressed the town's affordable housing needs. Additionally at the time of this study, the school and auditorium housed a photography exhibit showcasing the diverse history of Edenton (see Figure 30 and 31). This interpretive, educational component complemented the historic site's didactic offerings and conveyed a special meaning between its past, present, and future within the community. Lastly, the town of Edenton has continued to regulate major and minor works throughout the historic district. Edenton's Historic District Design Guidelines were most recently revised in 2006, indicating a growing appreciation and acceptance of historic preservation as a beneficial community tool. With these factors in mind, the prediction that residents would be afforded a high quality of life as a direct result of the school seems to be true.

Additional Trends and Considerations

While sufficient data was discovered based on town council minutes, historic preservation commission minutes, and newspaper articles, there was a general dearth of information. First, it should be noted that while public discourse was generally positive in regards to the school, there was no overwhelming record of public interest in the project as demonstrated in newspaper articles or meeting minutes. A lack of information may indicate that the public was not well informed about the project. Additionally, although the evidence used for this study was largely positive, that does not mean that negative feelings did not exist towards the school. Residents may have opposed the school but chose not to voice their opinions in a public forum.

Another concern in regards to the data was that neither public comment, town council, nor historic district commission minutes mentioned the effect of development on property values. Historically, property owners have always been concerned with the effect of surrounding development on property values. So it seems strange that no mention was made of this in a public forum. An explanation would be that public comment may have been recorded in sources the researcher did not investigate. Also, concerned property owners may have attended town finance meetings instead of town council meetings.

Regardless of the tenor of public discourse, it is unusual that no private citizens spoke in favor or against the project at town council or preservation commission meetings. The majority of public comments were made by the developer, who had financial motivations to be biased in favor of the project. This bias may have skewed the content analysis, however no confirmation of bias was documented for this study.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study supports my belief that historic preservation is an effective means to access and build upon a broad range of values for community revitalization and economic development. Preservation not only promotes and protects cultural heritage, but enables historic resources to be reincorporated into our everyday lives as living testaments to the past, present and future. Retention of these resources not only preserves a community's sense of place, but encourages additional preservation activity in proximal areas. In the case of the E. A. Swain School, the use of public-private partnerships transformed a vacant school from an economic liability into a valuable community asset. This partnership reduced investment risk and created a secure neighborhood with appreciating property values. The analysis of the E. A. Swain School supports the idea that the overall effectiveness of preservation is derived from more than just building fabric or economic factors, but from the "dynamic qualities" of the built environment that are derived from individual and group meanings and their associated values (Francaviglia, 2000, p. 68).

Throughout the course of this study, questions were raised that additional research might answer. Evidence developed in this research suggests that rehabilitation of a single building positively affected the property values of surrounding areas. However, an additional research factor that could be added to this study might include the multiplier

effects of rehabilitation activities such as job creation, new business startup, and community investment.

Additional insight could be gained from further property value information and analysis. In the preliminary stages of research, property values were to be collected from the 1982, 1990, and 2006 assessment cycles in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of percent change for before and after the school rehabilitation. Unfortunately, the 1982 records were lost to flooding and were unavailable for collection and analysis. Additional information for added depth would have been to compare the price per square foot between 1982, 1990, and 2006 assessment cycles. However, not only were 1982 records unavailable, but square footage data accessible through the county was also unavailable. Further considerations regarding the quantitative portion of this study were additionally addressed. First, this research did not analyze macro-economic cycles and the effects on nationwide property values, or investment behavior. Second, no notable economic boom cycles occurred during the study period (1990-2006). Fortunately, values peaked in 2004 and 2005, most closely coinciding with the 2006 assessment cycle. Later cycles would have been affected by the economic recession and housing market crash, thus skewing research results.

Prospective research was also identified for the qualitative content analysis. While content analysis from 1988 records provided a sufficient amount of information, data collection should have paralleled the timeframes of the property value study. Content analysis found that public opinion was in support of the project at the time of construction, however do to due to time constraints and the lack of living participants,

this finding cannot be supported over time. The study would have greatly benefited from personal interviews with current city residents to reveal sustained public opinion. In future research, it would be beneficial to look at all minutes and newspaper articles from several years before the rehabilitation to the present, in order to gain a better understanding of public opinion over time. Another research direction would be to evaluate future property value trends. As the 2014 property value data becomes available, the same property value study framework could be used to measure the wellbeing of the community. A study of the next revaluation cycle would indicate how the trends discovered in this study play out over the course of the next few years. Comparing this data with the statistics gathered from 1990 and 2006 would yield further information about the role of rehabilitation and preservation within the community.

Future Research

This study provides several opportunities for future research. Edenton clearly appears to be a community that values historic preservation. It would be interesting to conduct a similar study within a community that does not value preservation, and note the reaction surrounding a similar rehabilitation project.

The findings of this study could be useful as a marketing strategy for the town of Edenton. The success of preservation projects and the general trend of property appreciation is a great way to attract future residents and investors. It is also an effective means to garner public support for future preservation projects. Not only does this study have practical applications for Edenton, but it provides scholarly information about the effects of rehabilitation and historic district designation within a community. Other

localities can use these findings as a leverage tool to promote local preservation initiatives. This mixed methodology research design can be modified to evaluate the impact of any rehabilitation project depending on the size of the project and available funding.

The mixed methodological approach utilized in this study may have much to offer the preservation discipline. The core of the study relied on the quantitative economic valuation approach which revealed patterns of property value shifts. However, it did not address the human experience of the neighborhood as a qualitative study would. On the other hand, purely qualitative approaches sometimes lack the grit to hook communities for development purposes. By integrating quantitative and qualitative methodologies, certain quantitative findings were illuminated through qualitative derived context. The main importance of the approach comes from the way it pairs weaknesses with strengths. The spatial distribution patterns were to interpreted based on numbers without reference to residents' experiences. Conversely, the qualitative content analysis focused exclusively on subjective meanings, which were then framed within the quantitative results. The use of mixed methodology in this research is not a new idea, but it has had limited use within the preservation discipline. While this study focuses on values and rehabilitation, mixed-methodology can be easily adapted and reused for other disciples and research questions.

Although there are certainly opportunities for further investigation of this topic, this thesis provides concrete evidence that the adaptive reuse of a neighborhood school positively impacts the surrounding neighborhood. Moreover, it supports current findings

that historic preservation is an effective economic development tool. This research advocates that the key to revitalization is not to put historic resources under lock and key, but to integrate them evenly into the fabric of our lives.

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APPENDIX A
TERMINOLOGY

Adaptive Reuse: the reuse of a building or structure for a purpose different from the original use. The term implies that certain structural or design changes have been made to the building so it will function in its new use.

Economic Development: broadly defined to encompass shelter provision, neighborhood revitalization, and community improvement with an emphasis on the financial and physical sectors (D. Listokin, B. Listokin, & Lahr, 1998, p. 433)

Experiential value: a qualitative assessment that is derived from the experience of being in a certain place, it is based on a phenomenological principle (Wells, 2009).

Fabric: the physical materials from which a building or structure is constructed.

Historic building: any building or structure that is: a) listed on the State or National Register of Historic Places; b) designated as a historic property under local or state designation, law or survey; c) certified as a contributing resource within a National Register listed or locally designated historic district; or d) with an option or certification that the property is eligible to be listed on the National or State Registers of Historic Places either individually or as a contributing structure to a historic district by the State Historic Preservation Offers of the Keeper of the National Register.

Historic Preservation: the dynamic and deliberate process through which we decide what to save from the present for the future (as defined by Brown Morton).

Older building: a building that is more than 50 years old, but is not listed on the National Register for Historic Places or designated a historic building under state or local law.

Preservation: the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of a historic property. Work, including preliminary measure to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction. New exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required word to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project (United States, 1992).

Rehabilitation: the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features, which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values. Rehabilitation acknowledges the need to alter or add to a historic property to meet continuing or changing uses while retaining the property's historic character. In this research, 'rehabilitation' and 'adaptive reuse' are used interchangeably (United States, 1992).

Restoration: The act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate with a restoration project (United States, 1992).

Social capital: the connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (Putnam, 2000).

Value: the set of positive characteristics or qualities perceived in cultural objects or sites that serve as guides to the actions that drive heritage conservation (de la Torre, 2002).

APPENDIX B

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR REHABILITATION

1. A property shall be used for its historic purpose or be placed in a new use that requires minimal change to the defining characteristics of the building and its site and environment.

2. The historic character of a property shall be retained and preserved. The removal of historic materials or alterations of features and spaces that characterize a property shall be avoided.

3. Each property shall be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or architectural elements from other buildings, shall not be undertaken.

4. Most properties change over time; those changes that have acquired historic significance in their own right shall be retained and preserved.

5. Distinctive features, finished, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a historic property shall be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature shall match the old in design, color, texture, and other visual qualities and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary, physical, or pictorial evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatments, such as sandblasting, that cause damage to historic materials shall not be used. The surface cleaning of structures, if appropriate, shall be

undertaken using the gentlest means possible.

8. Significant archeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction shall not destroy historic materials that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible with the massing, size, scale, and architectural features to protect the historic integrity of the property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction shall be undertaken in such a manner that if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL SITE SELECTION DATABASE

FileNumber	PropertyName	PropertyAddress	City	County	Part3ToNPS	FinalCost
F02078	Elk Park School	253 Elk Park School Road	Elk Park	Avery	17-May-09	2,013,254.00
F05024	East Harper School	506 Harper Street, NW	Lenoir	Caldwell	26-May-11	2,250,300.00
90010	frm. Highland School	1017 10th Ave. NE	Hickory	Catawba	15-May-97	945,364.00
F97059	Siler City High School	101 S. Third Avenue	Siler City	Chatham	12-Apr-04	1,642,100.00
87003	E. A. Swain Graded School	101 Court Street	Edenton	Chowan	23-Jun-93	1,730,934.00
88026	Grimes School	27 Hege Drive	Lexington	Davidson	21-Apr-96	1,818,044.00
96028	Bassett School	916 Branch Street	Rocky Mount	Edgecombe	05-Aug-02	150,000.00
F02058	Dallas Graded & High School	300 West Church Street	Dallas	Gaston	27-Apr-08	3,109,937.00
F06055	Central School	317 Washington Avenue	Bessemer City	Gaston	18-Apr-13	3,041,684.00
F08047	Mayworth School	236 Eighth Ave	Cramerton	Gaston	10-Apr-13	4,768,287.00
94022	Pomona High School	2201 Spring Garden Street	Greensboro	Guilford	11-Apr-00	1,636,000.00
F01021	East Flat Rock School	101 East Blue Ridge Road	E. Flat Rock	Henderson	11-Oct-09	1,830,094.00
F05057	Ahoskie High School	105 North Academy Street	Ahoskie	Hertford	23-Feb-12	6,770,000.00
F05066	Mulberry Street School	501 South Mulberry Street	Statesville	Iredell	21-Aug-12	3,898,518.00
F05001	Cleveland Middle School	8968 Cleveland Road	Clayton	Johnston	10-Jun-10	2,058,000.00
F04007	W.B. Wicker School	806 South Vance Street	Sanford	Lee	03-Feb-11	5,500,000.00
F99101	Grainger High School	300 Park Avenue	Kinston	Lenoir	06-Sep-05	4,900,000.00
F07008	Marshall High School	Side of Bridge Street	Marshall	Madison	14-Mar-12	1,790,572.00
F03014	Palmer Fire School	2601 East Seventh Street	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	24-Feb-08	900,000.00
F99014	Croft Schoolhouse	9200 Bob Beatty Road	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	06-Mar-08	427,966.00
F99054	(fmr) Carolina School Supply Bldg	1023 West Morehead Street	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	13-Aug-07	2,250,000.00
88053	James Walker Nursing School	1020 Rankin Street	Wilmington	New Hanover	11-Sep-95	1,925,736.00
F98004	(fmr) Wm. Hooper School	410 Meares St.	Wilmington	New Hanover	23-Dec-03	1,569,130.00
F97026	Woodland-Olney School	W. Main St., Rt. 258	Woodland	Northampton	20-Mar-03	1,608,368.00
F97026	Woodland-Olney School	West Main Street NC Rt. 258	Woodland	Northampton	20-Mar-03	1,608,368.00
86013	Bingham School	NC 54 at Mebane-Oaks Road	Mebane vicinity	Orange	17-Apr-90	280,000.00
93013	Central School	414 Watkins Street	Asheboro	Randolph	15-Jun-00	1,506,058.00
F04008	Randleman Graded School	130 West Academy Street	Randleman	Randolph	01-Sep-09	3,600,000.00
93022	Reidsville High School	116 N. Franklin Street	Reidsville	Rockingham	02-May-00	3,057,540.00
F02098	(fmr) Madison H. School	404 West Decatur Street	Madison	Rockingham	05-Jan-09	2,365,480.00
F04063	Madison Public School	306 and 310 Decatur Street	Madison	Rockingham	25-Mar-10	1,320,000.00
88025	Calvin H. Wiley School	200 Block Ridge Avenue	Salisbury	Rowan	21-Apr-96	3,488,219.00
F06006	Central Elementary School	303 McRae Street	Laurinburg	Scotland	15-Oct-12	4,000,000.00
F01015	Old West End School	1000 S. Chestnut Street	Henderson	Vance	30-Oct-08	1,199,660.00
89006	Murphey School	443 North Perons Street	Raleigh	Wake	05-Feb-95	2,725,000.00
F01022	Fuquay Springs Cons. School	330 W. Jones Street	Fuquay-Varina	Wake	15-Jan-08	1,401,667.00
F98055	(fmr) Mt. Olive High School	305 Wooten Street	Mt. Olive	Wayne	01-Nov-05	2,807,644.00

APPENDIX D

RAW PROPERTY VALUE DATA

Block Number	Address Coordinates	Parcel Number	1/4 Mile Radius	1 Block Radius	1990	Notes		2006
1	W Freemason/W Peterson, N Granville/N Broad	780519613398			$6,569			13620
		780519613382			$15,148			39247
		780519613277			$24,844			47584
		780519614320			$3,630			5808
		780519614259			$6,240			5742
		780519615208			$34,359			49997
		780519615276			$21,759			40980
		780519616235			$22,162			42361
		780519616284			$14,988			25596
		780519617213			$7,871			16203
		780519617262			$29,067			75619
		780519618220			$42,459			18361
		780519618179			$9,485			16066
		780519619109			$9,158			52846
		780519619158			$29,870			70527
		780519710142			$89,084			128383
		780519710281			$58,278			172768
		780519710287			$74,085			213826
		780519710381			$68,386			125191
		780519711336			$66,951			107743
		780519710368			$45,118			68291
		780519619393			$20,575			13316
		780519619335			$5,808			11616
		780519618337			$64,998			109293
		780519617369			$15,380			42769
		780519617420			$19,269			43036
		780519616472			$41,658			61074
		780519616413			$20,957			41766
		780519615464			$13,084			29980
		780519615435			$15,820			6808
		780519615405			$21,129			48026
		780519614476			$2,904			5808
2	W Freemason/W Peterson, N Broad/Woodard	780519713236			$37,243			98702
		780519713116			$73,418			155940
		780519713029			$109,479			160775
		780519712036			$80,940			124911
3	E Freemason/Woodard/N Oakum	780520716105			$96,342			168167
		780520718098			$50,714			66118
		780520800914			$7,260			13116
		780520719756			$2,160,420			5018130
4	E Freemason/E Peterson, N Oakum/Norfolk Southern Rail	780520807923			$59,030			104005
		780520806967			$56,016			74345
		780520815091			$35,833			31197
		780520815022			$24,398			19247
		780520814056			$18,643			34475
		780520814052			$18,672			34214
		780520804966			$3,369			5390
		780520804953			$14,246			20281
		780520804837			$28,552			41622
		780520804820			$21,337			51597
		780520805846			$36,853			57206
		780520806804			$24,039			40396
		780520806769			$7,015			77355
		780520807738			$42,663			72565
		780520819111			$83,548			69929
		780520807399			$25,050			48409
		780520900608			$6,285			16913
		780520901956			$3,055			93097
5	W Carteret/W Freemason, N Granville/ Norfolk Southern R	780519611159			$35,571			62488
		780519611163			$37,425			73497
		780519611058			$60,552			84707
		780519611044			$25,348			45976
		780519519082			$97,286			104983
		780519611041			$28,541			62884
		780519601938			$19,867			43362
		780519601924			$29,287			101990
		780519600869			$14,334			36227
		780519601837			$38,863			104518

6	**W Carteret/W Freemason, N Granville/N Broad**	780519613175		$25,197			56024
		780519613160		$3,862			12020
		780519613047		$13,803			21170
		780519613071		$38,999			88917
		780519603964		$33,286			48829
		780519603951		$13,145			33090
		780519603818		$9,105			35126
		780519602893		$3,957			9497
		780519603864		$3,750			112685
		780519604813		$17,023			49591
		780519604886		$61,201			139570
		780519605864		$63,221			122268
		780519606842		$27,129			13485
		780519614140		$26,027			54392
		780519614089		$3,750			6000
		780519615016		$17,978			43263
		780519615044		$17,068			41005
		780519615074		$14,955			29994
		780519616003		$11,131			38758
		780519607951		$161,698			423286
		780519607776		$15,432			27148
		780519608734		$30,940			39839
		780519608783		$32,064			83110
		780519609669		$60,981			254345
		780519609774		$33,024			100718
		780519609789		$44,402			395703
		780519609866		$89,299			196552
		780519609976		$167,485			447683
7	**E Carteret/E Freemason, N Broad/N Oakum**	780519702932		$20,843			426261
		780519702854		$81,244			238085
		780519702768		$96,777			264831
		780519702725		$85,980			191667
		780519701689		$100,858			269078
		780519701674		$89,584			291205
		780519702675		$9,937			22826
		780519703657		$23,464			28357
		780519704636		$10,230			16946
		780520705632		$47,336			80758
		780520706610		$39,150			64430
		780519703910		$39,143			51071
		780519703940		$28,237			58808
		780519703896		$23,823			59912
		780519704843		$14,035			24775
		780520705802		$14,495			54947
		780520705841		$27,751			62324
		780520705890		$29,103			59931
		780520706749		$60,764			77570
		780520706662		$12,481			90256
		780520706681		$11,863			22597
		780520707538		$34,880			13672
		780520708506		$143,501			319906
		780520708565		$7,920			12672
		780520709533		$38,995			67279
		780520709592		$37,504			50661
		780520800560		$12,638			26351
		780520801432		$110,260			185496
		780520801458		$22,381			44559
		780520801565		$25,823			28150
		780520801670		$22,892			59208
		780520802605		$58,222			114689
		780520802722		$39,231			45916
		780520801751		$3,968			6648
		780520801618		$3,960			6336
		780520800689		$3,960			6336
		780520800730		$53,637			77912
		780520709771		$29,339			51031
		780520709703		$41,005			72270
		780520708754		$3,960			6336
		780520707796		$21,038			43840
		780520707766		$8,310			27532
		780520707810		$19,410			99570
8	**E Carteret/E Freemason, N Oakum/Norfolk Southern Rail**	780520804607		$61,483			87671
		780520803682		$24,260			48579
		780520804690		$22,311			36768
		780520803565		$6,244			71319
		780520803458		$15,974			44307
		780520803442		$32,985			49970
		780520803482		$1,155			1540
		780520803337		$30,650			124883
		780520805466		$272,626			363077
9	**Subdivision between H32/E Freemason/Norfolk Rail/ Coke**						
		780520809585		$27,070			50244
		780520809478		$46,892			60859
		780520809463		$23,678			41366
		780520809357		$23,159			45267
		780520809341		$34,091			59995
		780520809222		$29,681			48190
		780520808043		$57,057			88550
		780408898932		$30,552			77206
		780408898833		$35,621			67335
		780408898746		$34,064			72411
		780408896733		$41,300			39585
		780408898669		$53,246			134490
		780408899508		$12,867			29411
		780408990503		$52,725			83992
		780408990426		$49,651			187082

		780408899443		$17,294		48017
		780408897424		$70,232		87985
		780408895359		$73,756		2134784
		780408991545		$12,630		25259
		780408991627		$70,855		164784
		780408991725		$70,904		117351
		780408991833		$42,046		82598
		780408991932		$26,086		55663
		780520901040		$17,274		21207
		780520901056		$33,309		65835
		780520901151		$19,876		32846
		780520901250		$49,051		74566
		780520901269		$45,007		70944
		780520901375		$34,906		71956
		780520901482		$32,145		53060
		780520901580		$46,313		77450
10	DrMLKJ/W Carteret, Moseley/Granville	780519505632		$12,239		32713
		780519505684		$20,848		31988
		780519507613		$28,380		36960
		780519508748		$112,361		136480
		780519508597		$24,489		52529
		780519509546		$31,113		51782
		780519600532		$121,056		213477
		780519600611		$58,859		181296
		780519600664		$25,834		74957
		780519600712		$98,513		186875
		780519600795		$22,543		122312
		780519600799		$14,620		49849
11	W Albemarl/W Carteret, Granville/N Broad	780519608579		$206,154	doesn't show until 1995	724787
		780519608550		$129,388		429015
		780519608461		$156,120		391360
		780519608373		$170,019	doesn't show until 1998	330528
		780519608305		$97,942	doesn't show until 1998	189554
		780519607430		$57,848		111963
		780519606442		$206,019		281638
		780519605465		$29,355		75952
		780519605415		$24,029		121079
		780519604467		$57,876		114351
		780519604408		$51,163		18656
		780519603469		$16,411		12616
		780519603439		$24,927		58448
		780519602447		$70,316		124887
		780519602551		$21,306		80548
		780519602555		$57,251		169136
		780519602660		$52,868		102484
		780519602731		$30,035		84320
		780519602770		$47,417		90042
		780519603619		$1,917		5364
		780519603639		$8,207		51109
		780519603668		$18,383		38743
		780519604606		$31,064		50310
		780519604644		$20,708		48516
		780519604673		$11,556		28723
		780519605602		$21,728		47944
		780519605622		$21,365		64349
		780519605651		$20,834		63328
		780519606610		$19,339		61232
		780519606559		$26,075		53570
		780519607518		$9,012		28418
12	E Albemarl/E Carteret, N Broad/N Oakum	780519701543		$128,497		226743
		780519701437		$185,191		349718
		780519701470		$157,233		532845
		780519700397	780519700397		doesn't show until 2009	257967
		780519701375	780519701375		doesn't show until 2009	112606
		780519701209	780519701209		doesn't show until 2010	594601
		780519702360	780519702360		doesn't show until 2009	283302
		780519703262	780519703262		doesn't show until 2009	127211
		780519704149	780519704149	$6,796		14591
		780520705212	780520705212	$49,388		97699
		780520705252	780520705252	$22,581		35109
		780520705291	780520705291	$17,099		51401
		780520706159	780520706159	$19,517		39572
		780520707147	780520707147	$42,763		57449
		780520708154	780520708154	$13,184		111536
		780520709172	780520709172	$30,931		52205
		780520800067	780520800067	$41,030		73286
		780520800172		$5,775		10625
		780520800186		$37,123		53558
		780520800292		$18,147		48011
		780520801219		$36,198		46210
		780520800238		$6,890		11643
		780520800218		$10,823		44090
		780520709289		$3,300		5280
		780520709350		$3,300		5880
		780520708391		$33,836		47073
		780520708312		$46,616		63851
		780520707354		$47,439		87194
		780520707305		$23,385		40888
		780520706376		$15,514		37723
		780520706337		$20,959		42303
		780520705398		$18,621		33350
		780520705378		$19,336		37898
		780519704450		$21,758		61644
		780519703492		$3,720		5952
		780519703433		$51,386		92966
		780519702487		$25,593		41941

		780519702438			$29,606		56126
13	E Albemarl/E Carteret, N Oakum/Norfolk Southern Rail	780520802250			$24,953		44970
		780520802133			$18,932		23237
		780520802028			$18,909		25624
		780520802013			$5,663		9438
		780520802095			$36,346		51061
		780520803063			$24,572		82646
		780520804022			$23,923		42459
		780520804083			$50,511		194082
		780520805041			$7,519		150591
		780520805280			$8,125		16650
		780520804169			$43,190		17048
		780520803290			$27,410		14376
		780520803223			$52,097		192658
14	W Gale/W Albemarl, Moseley/N Granville	780519505510			$10,810		26184
		780519505403			$26,377		69652
		780519504398			$2,000		4000
		780519504382			$19,705		54653
		780519504265			$31,126		70191
		780519505219			$4,488		5984
		780519505259			$32,194		67092
		780519505288			$9,598		19369
		780519506227			$23,734		81472
		780519506296			$8,408		10602
		780519507200			$1,176		1176
		780519507264			$28,833		76975
		780519508203			$25,179		129035
		780519505468			$14,135		99398
		780519505484			$4,224		5632
		780519506424			$18,163		19357
		780519506453			$12,160		24887
		780519506492			$16,069		39292
		780519507411			$13,329		29662
		780519507450			$14,410		43582
		780519507490			$15,540		30223
		780519508348			$14,506		33659
		780519508387			$15,242		50994
		780519509399			$107,525		242694
		780519509371			$54,977		205044
		780519509234			$107,706		199717
		780519509117			$139,759		412861
15	W Gale/W Albemarl, N Granville/N Broad	780519601376			$73,728		250418
		780519601350			$58,182		198017
		780519601232			$76,094		275766
		780519601112			$79,384		215944
		780519602123			$126,412		308207
		780519603111			$80,883		256215
		780519603079			$84,777		261624
		780519604048			$132,374		344064
		780519605006	780519605006		$146,366		298622
		780519606013	780519606013		$207,138		643763
		780519606082	780519606082		$91,642		422593
		780407697927	780407697927			doesn't show until 2005	318153
		780407698906	780407698906			doesn't show until 2005	313649
		780519602320			$34,896		30040
		780519602299			$28,100		78783
		780519603267			$33,579		139032
		780519607166	780519607166			doesn't show until 2007	1614151
16	E Gale/E Albemarl, Broad/Oakum	780519700185	780519700185		$121,133		381308
		780519700089	780519700089		$77,366		375268
		780519700062	780519700062		$105,187		401511
		780407790903	780407790903		$50,688		67584
		780519701173	780519701173		$16,510		8000
		780407792904	780407792904			doesn't show until 1998	321449
		780407792960	780407792960		$55,852		147477
		780407793817	780407793817		$28,650		84575
		780407794952	780407794952		$205,031		367189
		780408795978	780408795978		$44,829		74308
		780408796927	780408796927		$25,766		35392
		780408796967	780408796967		$24,982		35415
		780408797906	780408797906		$30,743		39031
		780408797944	780408797944		$22,815		28292
		780408797984	780408797984		$29,961		32646
		780408798943	780408798943		$50,451		64585
		780408798992	780408798992		$16,743		23459
		780408799931	780408799931		$12,418		23575
		780408799950	780408799950		$23,629		38749
		780408799982	780408799982		$7,803		18953
		780408890954	780408890954		$28,080		31665
		780408890849	780408890849		$35,531		76687
		780408890832	780408890832		$51,030		84117
		780408890725	780408890725		$36,373		16139
		780408799687	780408799687		$28,876		75144
		780408890700	780408890700		$22,673		34548
		780408890626	780408890626		$7,585		16692
17	E Gale/E Albemarl, Oakum/Norfolk Southern Rail	780408891884	780408891884		$35,568		49758
		780408891779	780408891779		$21,353		37042
		780408891765	780408891765		$28,686		49467
		780408891751	780408891751		$1,935		3688
		780408891634	780408891634		$49,624		124128
		780408892617	780408892617		$35,147		66526
		780408892665	780408892665		$26,367		9096
		780408893644	780408893644		$72,881		179518
		780408894651			$35,252		55225
		780408892910	780408892910		$35,751		28675

		780408892852			$2,904		5808
		780408892892			$10,238		14299
		780408893821			$20,599		50374
		780408893860			$3,904		17131
		780408893890			$16,885		44802
		780408894729			$5,223		27936
		780408894768			$3,608		7216
		780408895717			$28,444		43837
18	W Gale/W Church, Filberts Creek/Mosely	780519500198			$35,387		64843
		780518409025			$16,770		74344
		780407591979			$23,323		38934
		780519502165			$17,496		30115
		780519503113			$20,723		36093
		780407592977			$35,296		38934
19	W Gale/W Church, Moseley/N Granville	780519504039			$34,687		64527
		780519505008			$14,877		17832
		780519505037				doesn't show until 2001	46187
		780519505086				doesn't show until 2001	8416
		780519506025			$19,880		38364
		780519506054			$23,105		42320
		780519506094				doesn't show until 2003	90817
		780519507033				doesn't show until 2003	19590
		780519507071			$38,141		29557
		780519508023			$43,223		100484
		780519509012			$77,363		286454
		780407598994			$129,420		460688
		780407598891			$184,474		410811
		780407598823			$89,477		327682
		780407597865			$47,532		196046
		780407597806			$61,573		91046
		780407596867			$27,245		56958
		780407596819			$27,356		61772
		780407594982			$123,780		317901
20	W Gale/W Church, N Granville/N Broad	780407690993			$116,569		386607
		780407691993			$98,746		240693
		780407692962			$134,415		286696
		780407693920				doesn't show until 1999	315414
		780407693897	780407693897		$117,571		366722
		780407695792	780407695792		$725,328		1463442
		780407693750	780407693750		$150,265		472215
		780407692792	780407692792			doesn't show until 1999	635274
		780407692726			$180,189		1092632
		780407691767			$118,189		646312
		780407690778			$196,238		530561
21	E Gale/E Church, N Broad/N Oakum	780407699787	780407699787		$125,506		1117663
		780407699668	780407699668	780407699668	$55,440		79653
		780407699526	780407699526	780407699526	$390,729		926096
		780407791611	780407791611	780407791611	$315,876		2393802
		780407792511	780407792511	780407792511	$36,803		137671
		780407792540	780407792540	780407792540	$50,846		152543
		780407792499	780407792499	780407792499	$89,484		92577
		780407793564	780407793564	780407793564	$6,089		13875
		780407793457	780407793457	780407793457	$17,458		211292
		780407792667	780407792667	780407792667	$10,450		138871
		780407793625	780407793625	780407793625	$15,048		301533
		780407794604	780407794604	780407794604	$10,450		138871
		780407794652	780407794652	780407794652	$24,853		57236
		780408795601	780408795601	780408795601	$37,054		98703
		780408795640	780408795640	780408795640	$6,512		9768
		780408795589	780408795589	780408795589	$5,280		7920
		780408796528	780408796528	780408796528	$97,202		140362
		780408796587	780408796587	780408796587	$53,663		77734
		780408797545	780408797545	780408797545	$31,854		89546
		780407794416	780407794416	780407794416	$34,752		253391
		780407794465	780407794465	780407794465	$44,625		88520
		780407794492	780407794492	780407794492		doesn show until 2005	60275
		780408795443	780408795443	780408795443	$42,587		73327
		780408795482	780408795482	780408795482	$9,240		12320
		780408796411	780408796411	780408796411	$39,510		59753
		780408796460	780408796460	780408796460	$52,191		99132
		780408797328	780408797328	780408797328	$44,428		120740
		780408798514	780408798514	780408798514	$40,792		71730
		780408798562	780408798562		$40,045		82745
		780408799502	780408799502		$19,148		37416
		780408799562	780408799562		$46,989		74170
		780408799443	780408799443		$13,720		17694
		780408798393	780408798393		$3,276		3292
		780408799229	780408799229		$44,092		71089
		780408798365	780408798365	780408798365	$40,035		85216
		780408798336	780408798336	780408798336	$30,137		20590
		780408797387	780408797387	780408797387	$116,499		218559
22	E Gale/Church, N Oakum/Norfolk Southern Rail	780408891514	780408891514		$37,667		150014
		780408891510	780408891510		$17,558		23314
		780408891406	780408891406		$5,700		6840
		780408891402	780408891402		$17,187		41118
		780408891400	780408891400		$5,700		6840
		780408890386	780408890386		$73,429		147291
		780408890332	780408890332		$2,120		2160
		780408890227	780408890227		$40,536		11041
		780408890256	780408890256		$23,265		37229
		780408891205	780408891205		$17,958		82918
		780408891259	780408891259		$16,544		56430
		780408891288	780408891288		$25,227		127445
		780408892228	780408892228		$24,177		63186
		780408892286	780408892286		$26,304		48849

		780408893257	780408893257		$30,123		82380
		780408893295	780408893295		$16,385		25862
		780408891478	780408891478		$20,436		28150
		780408892405	780408892405		$21,306		41285
		780408892444	780408892444		$20,424		43783
		780408892473	780408892473		$3,960		6160
		780408893413	780408893413		$5,280		7040
		780408893441	780408893441		$4,456		5808
		780408893482	780408893482			doesn't show until 2005	71367
		780408894446	780408894446		$1,683		2394
		780408894430	780408894430		$25,585		36716
23	W Church/Queeen, Filberts Creek/S Moseley	780407590840			$11,897		62704
		780407590799			$10,950		20001
		780407591747			$19,013		44072
		780407591766			$17,154		41823
		780407592728			$22,309		56857
		780407592608			$43,029		59933
		780407591577			$62,025		160167
		780407590663			$81,183		224823
24	W Church/Queen, S Moseley/S Granville	780407593787			$33,665		65291
		780407593772			$53,979		117478
		780407593667			$26,434		31747
		780407593633			$38,122		113700
		780407593514			$128,578		361512
		780407594761			$30,779		60722
		780407595619			$58,084		100397
		780407596607			$44,260		85158
		780407596666			$56,781		149717
		780407597615			$60,176		162902
		780407597664			$77,165		192787
		780407598642			$107,251		442381
		780407598502			$118,729		362227
		780407597484			$186,674		865957
		780407597408			$161,872		465594
		780407596439			$114,835		424741
		780407595561			$131,519		341096
		780407594573			$95,961		430914
		780407593585			$77,912		278093
25	W Church/Queen, S Granville/Broad	780407690630			$205,240		479013
		780407690514			$119,851		524976
		780407599463				started 1994	304712
		780407690319			$87,027		276369
		780407691514			$118,017		317767
		780407692542	780407692542		$151,629		506573
		780407693479	780407693479		$138,553		355513
		780407690388	780407690388		$108,006		211105
		780407691346	780407691346		$142,549		425322
		780407692305	780407692305		$105,686		372946
		780407692373	780407692373		$134,258		456703
		780407693341	780407693341		$103,807		331828
		780407694311	780407694311		$99,105		318774
		780407694439	780407694439		$102,951		284298
		780407694488	780407694488		$93,162		372911
		780407695458	780407695458		$142,111		375034
		780407696400	780407696400		$789,871		1233338
		780407696332	780407696332	780407696332	$92,572		285453
		780407696225	780407696225	780407696225	$79,056		253225
		780407695238	780407695238		$78,713		171783
26	E Church/E Queen, N Broad/Court	780407699286	780407699286	780407699286	$1,964,236		4128906
27	E Church/E Queen, Court, S Oakum	780407792250	780407792250	780407792250	$1,004,652		802185
		780407793176	780407793176	780407793176	$158,666		1407624
		780408796119	780408796119	780408796119	$80,274		223307
		780408796198	780408796198	780408796198	$21,221		80035
		780408797186	780408797186	780408797186	$26,334		46816
		780408798188	780408798188	780408798188	$37,199		39584
		780408798172	780408798172	780408798172	$23,313		77519
		780408798054	780408798054	780408798054	$60,490		93028
		780408788934	780408788934	780408788934	$82,637		194388
		780408787979	780408787979	780408787979	$93,261		228374
		780408797020	780408797020	780408797020	$53,333		210183
		780408796071	780408796071	780408796071	$89,591	same for all 4	343231
28	E Church/E Queen, S Oakum/Wood	780408890127	780408890127		$27,582		54615
		780408890114	780408890114		$22,221		54501
		780408890100	780408890100		$27,102		163283
		780408799095	780408799095		$38,454		111874
		780408880909	780408880909		$31,877		76183
		780408789984	780408789984		$35,063		108148
		780408789879	780408789879		$79,833		149997
		780408890079	780408890079			doesn't show till 2005	53347
		780408891038	780408891038		$26,142		44671
		780408892017	780408892017		$55,633		92038
		780408892074	780408892074		$4,752		12672
		780408893023	780408893023		$8,316		22176
		780408880940	780408880940		$22,952		83004
		780408881921	780408881921		$22,327		70533
		780408882809	780408882809		$9,124		16191
		780408882839	780408882839		$32,560		79448
		780408882897	780408882897		$47,291		262402
29	E Church/Phillips/McMullan Triangle	780408899238			$9,175		12250
		780408895184				doesn't show till 2000	198870
		780408896163			$48,367	doesn't show till 1999	208430
		780408897132			$19,572	doesn't show till 1996	322723
		780408897181			$18,917	doesn't show till 1996	210369

		780408898039			$19,750	doesn't show till 1996	164444
		780408898098			$16,648	doesn't show till 1996	256535
		780408899047			$16,033	doesn't show till 1996	184626
		780408899086			$11,875	doesn't show till 1996	15325
30	Phillips/Queen, Wood/McMullan	780408884988			$7,369	doesn't show till 1996	28885
		780408885926			$13,532	doesn't show till 1996	171734
		780408885975			$10,168	doesn't show till 1996	212287
		780408886924			$15,362	doesn't show till 1996	166844
		780408886982			$19,151	doesn't show till 1996	191541
		780408887931			$19,464	doesn't show till 1996	189535
		780408887980			$18,384	doesn't show till 1996	184988
		780408888849			$21,365	doesn't show till 1996	153271
		780408888898			$15,151	doesn't show till 1996	255764
		780408889857			$15,681	doesn't show till 1996	224231
		780408884845				doesn't show till 2004	97208
		780408884894				doesn't show till 2004	194029
		780408885852			$21,173	doesn't show till 1996	173631
		780408886801			$8,300	doesn't show till 1996	154660
		780408886860			$20,092	doesn't show till 1996	179074
		780408887719			$21,862	doesn't show till 1996	202978
		780408887777			$18,979	doesn't show till 1996	152378
		780408888726			$19,064	doesn't show till 1996	203755
		780408889704			$13,695	doesn't show till 1996	161119
31	Queen/Pembroke, S Moseley/Filberts Creek	780407591400			$187,431		1014966
		780407590373			$114,551		526914
		780407590253			$249,581		591682
32	Queen/W Eden, Moseley/Granville	780407592366			$120,299		365414
		780407593323			$17,850		30600
		780407593392			$82,382		280659
		780407594350			$60,086		231528
		780407595322			$140,191		286736
		780407595289			$103,572		330053
		780407592231			$140,686		531507
		780407597138				doesn't show till 2005	4390396
		780407596104			$123,187		446691
		780407595145			$45,517		126702
		780407594184			$152,053		546344
		780407594126			$77,428		390100
		780407593158			$171,163		482486
		780407592199			$86,823		322940
33	Queen/W Eden, Granville/Broad	780407599243			$123,144		329761
		780407599136			$145,541		495540
		780407599007			$181,518		322403
		780407598090			$98,939		324973
		780407690141			$80,264		146319
		780407691155	780407691155		$83,593		245799
		780407692123	780407692123		$60,373		281753
		780407692192	780407692192		$100,057		330456
		780407693161	780407693161		$103,994		370985
		780407694130	780407694130		$105,634		381198
		780407695019	780407695019		$73,992		297174
		780407695098	780407695098		$308,630		414438
		780407695032	780407695032		$188,524		1110901
		780407685935	780407685935		$197,646		450622
		780407685921	780407685921		$120,896		346160
		780407685828	780407685828		$36,750		52359
		780407685844	780407685844		$634,658		1630079
		780407684902	780407684902		$31,805		57606
		780407683945	780407683945		$49,016		79913
		780407683900	780407683900		$33,282		55856
		780407682976	780407682976		$66,722		291859
		780407682907	780407682907		$49,468		193009
		780407681958	780407681958		$60,021		192872
		780407681909			$68,420		38050
34	E Eden/E King, Broad/Court	780407697087	780407697087	780407697087	$101,779		286132
		780407697073	780407697073	780407697073	$103,257		252454
		780407697085	780407697085	780407697085	$93,117		254285
		780407698044	780407698044	780407698044		doesn't show until 2004	150257
		780407698083	780407698083	780407698083	$77,401		123286
		780407699041	780407699041	780407699041	$87,875		194394
		780407780909	780407780909	780407780909	$28,460		177792
		780407780968	780407780968	780407780968	$65,485		161354
		780407780904	780407780904	780407780904	$54,748		138612
		780407780900	780407780900	780407780900	$42,657		81944
		780407689896	780407689896	780407689896	$13,600		20800
		780407689870	780407689870	780407689870	$44,435		74477
		780407688948	780407688948	780407688948	$97,526		99624
		780407688924	780407688924	780407688924	$252,117		388013
		780407688806	780407688806	780407688806	$313,329		481546
		780407687891	780407687891	780407687891	$414,443	doesn't show until 1998	651371
		780407687757	780407687757		$145,473		222163
		780407687725	780407687725		$122,539		254025
		780407687722	780407687722		$121,923		283052
		780407687619	780407687619		$184,218		409449
		780407686696	780407686696		$282,938		597976
		780407687603	780407687603		$126,605		276370
		780407686691	780407686691		$139,954		377091
		780407686579	780407686579		$62,199		241639
		780407686567	780407686567		$42,291		159780
		780407687514	780407687514		$367,030		817081
		780407686469	780407686469		$107,820		230934
		780407687589	780407687589		$39,900		56300
		780407688599	780407688599		$1,231,805	doesn't show until 1996	1787651
		780407686446	780407686446		$117,396		233554
		780407686495	780407686495		$50,006		98625

		780407687434	780407687434		$32,785		67319
		780407689443	780407689443		$748,519	doesn't show until 1997	1651566
35	E Queen/E Eden, Court/Oakum	780407781952	780407781952	780407781952	$21,912		33118
		780407781832	780407781832	780407781832	$11,800		18800
		780407781765	780407781765	780407781765	$44,187		75883
		780407781740	780407781740	780407781740	$65,179		171830
		780407782818	780407782818	780407782818	$136,012		398395
		780407782886	780407782886	780407782886	$82,771		286651
		780407783845	780407783845	780407783845	$107,978		308237
		780407782741	780407782741	780407782741	$38,987		187856
		780407782790	780407782790	780407782790	$46,201		123802
		780407783638	780407783638	780407783638	$35,497		61832
		780407784846	780407784846	780407784846	$141,056	doesn't show until 1997	204582
		780407784700	780407784700	780407784700	$65,551		161482
		780407784686	780407784686	780407784686	$47,043		268376
		780408785646	780408785646	780408785646		doesn't show until 2009	210388
		780408785695	780408785695	780408785695		doesn't show until 2009	24850
		780408785823	780408785823	780408785823	$62,958		156769
		780408785882	780408785882	780408785882	$65,172		221146
		780408786821	780408786821	780408786821	$40,776		96348
		780408786860	780408786860	780408786860	$54,751		161543
		780408787802	780408787802	780408787802	$40,829		182451
		780408787870	780408787870	780408787870	$111,488		389869
		780408787733	780408787733	780408787733	$44,977		206264
		780408787618	780408787618	780408787618	$77,136		248184
		780408787603	780408787603		$54,031		165267
		780408786598	780408786598		$64,720		360457
36	Queen/King, S Oakum/Wood	780408789830	780408789830		$27,367		267756
		780408880718	780408880718		$39,412		88626
		780408789775	780408789775		$30,901		179973
		780408880775	780408880775		$13,092		44548
		780408881714	780408881714		$19,725		53286
		780408881753	780408881753		$30,335		58630
		780408880618	780408880618		$35,409		299560
		780408789633	780408789633		$55,160		219692
		780408880680	780408880680		$10,336		75609
		780408880506	780408880506		$32,028		120075
		780408881573	780408881573		$19,100		93155
		780408880408	780408880408		$54,453		201803
		780408788494	780408788494		$85,806		268429
		780408789397	780408789397		$68,901		311391
		780408789343	780408789343		$47,461		242295
		780408789239	780408789239		$42,091		202157
		780408788204	780408788204		$61,820		302352
		780408788263	780408788263		$44,121		140566
		780408789222	780408789222			doesn't show until 2007	180345
		780408880109				doesn't show until 2007	28032
		780408881176			$24,270	doesn't show until 1999	370734
		780408882145			$29,346	doesn't show until 1999	443754
37	Queen/Elliot, Wood/McMullan	780408884603			$17,174	doesn't show until 1999	169194
		780408884642			$7,985	doesn't show until 1996	175744
		780408885600			$18,488	doesn't show until 1996	210245
		780408885559			$24,983	doesn't show until 1996	200145
		780408886508			$22,672	doesn't show until 1996	218640
		780408886567			$23,027	doesn't show until 1996	189346
		780408887526			$22,599	doesn't show until 1996	155811
		780408887585			$23,309	doesn't show until 1996	176262
		780408888553			$13,411	doesn't show until 1996	245804
		780408883468			$20,655	doesn't show until 1996	168526
		780408884418			$17,649	doesn't show until 1996	217428
		780408884456			$17,814	doesn't show until 1996	226649
		780408885405			$17,313	doesn't show until 1996	184819
		780408885477			$25,326	doesn't show until 1996	265178
		780408886446			$30,331	doesn't show until 1996	102512
		780408887404			$26,698	doesn't show until 1996	263478
		780408887463			$18,701	doesn't show until 1996	209538
		780408888431			$30,873	doesn't show until 1996	149934
38	E Church/Cotton Mill, McMullan/Common Area	780408991239			$55,918	doesn't show until 1998	122588
		780408993153			$417,492		643936
		780408980897				doesn't show until 2000	10814
		780408980871			$12,695	doesn't show until 1998	193368
		780408980713			$32,861	doesn't show until 1998	240270
		780408980752			$9,529	doesn't show until 1998	162635
		780408980698				doesn't show until 2000	171195
		780408983307				doesn't show until 2000	919685
		780408980524			$50,858	doesn't show until 1998	359915
		780408980520				doesn't show until 2000	208648
		780408980416				doesn't show until 2002	179318
		780408981582				doesn't show until 2001	15000
39	Blount/W Eden, Pembroke/Moseley	780406499089			$132,039		474881
		780406499082			$82,705		302378
		780406489996			$48,722		200034
		780406489951			$76,496		383918
40	Bount/W Eden, Moseley/Granville	780407591094			$51,296		261661
		780407592043			$90,397		302764
		780407592091			$45,317		138726
		780407593040			$64,809		227697
		780407581971			$137,325		320635
		780407582910			$100,685		413035
		780407582898			$119,489		632073
		780407584818			$211,057		799179
		780407585926			$131,321		477053
		780407585984			$55,044		201386
		780407586975			$111,053		444255

		780407586857				doesn't show until 2005		783292
		780407586726				doesn't show until 2005		69640
		780407585812			$147,016			410563
		780407585851			$146,041			348897
41	W King/W Eden, Granville/S Broad	780407588971				doesn't show until 2003		639253
		780407588786				doesn't show until 2003		1743685
		780407680628			$251,296	doesn't show until 1993		1542352
		780407680834			$107,682			234729
		780407681703			$52,338	doesn't show until 1996		199691
		780407680891			$78,641	doesn't show until 1996		202210
		780407681855	780407681855		$51,885	doesn't show until 1996		304703
		780407682811	780407682811		$25,724			46303
		780407681685			$145,380			670661
		780407682682	780407682682		$231,263			892817
		780407683729	780407683729		$98,965			71690
		780407684719	780407684719		$46,280			142090
		780407684743	780407684743		$75,938			117475
		780407683579	780407683579		$114,524			563854
		780407685747	780407685747		$76,630			302393
		780407685734	780407685734		$98,111			270017
		780407685629	780407685629		$173,785			830062
		780407684685	780407684685		$99,782			132090
		780407684538	780407684538		$200,272			278033
		780407685509	780407685509		$84,332			223076
		780407684597	780407684597		$89,317			196634
		780407684582	780407684582			doesn't show until 2005		1207149
42	E Eden/E King, Court/S Oakum	780407781603	780407781603	780407781603	$32,316			140592
		780407781507	780407781507	780407781507	$34,392			148699
		780407780592	780407780592		$40,330			134185
		780407780443	780407780443		$159,164			627424
		780407781401	780407781401		$151,264			445164
		780407781670	780407781670	780407781670	$27,502			93286
		780407781493	780407781493		$249,158			790597
		780407782547	780407782547	780407782547	$59,093			93530
		780407782493	780407782493		$327,054	doesn't show until 1996		995426
		780407783570	780407783570	780407783570	$30,407			13680
		780407783384	780407783384		$96,100			203322
		780407784324	780407784324			doesn't show until 2002		213257
		780407784373	780407784373			doesn't show until 2002		200998
		780407784393	780407784393			doesn't show until 2005		215273
		780408785352	780408785352		$42,827			469390
		780407784581	780407784581			doesn't show until 2005		349066
		780408785497	780408785497		$33,718			120131
		780408786498	780408786498		$114,132			401372
		780408786482	780408786482		$63,706			285519
		780408786366	780408786366		$57,167			198900
		780408786350	780408786350		$79,079			206302
		780408786245	780408786245		$77,416			345179
43	E King/Elliot, Wood/McMullan	780408883268			$22,692	doesn't show until 1996		176597
		780408884237			$24,304	doesn't show until 1996		147941
		780408885206			$24,040	doesn't show until 1996		193608
		780408885254			$27,253	doesn't show until 1996		151649
		780408885294			$14,730	doesn't show until 1996		98989
		780408883154			$42,884	doesn't show until 1996		305478
		780408884123			$27,942	doesn't show until 1996		243599
		780408884171			$21,277	doesn't show until 1996		223012
		780408886058			$9,719	doesn't show until 1998		100200
		780408887291			$40,317	doesn't show until 1998		212269
44	E King St Ext	7804C2889279				doesn't show until 2005		370592
		7804C1889263				doesn't show until 2005		307471
		7804C2980252				doesn't show until 2006		529248
		7804C3889132				doesn't show until 2005		256695
		7804C4889004				doesn't show until 2006		356048
		7804C1878985				doesn't show until 2006		359681
		7804C2878868				doesn't show until 2009		416228
		7804C2879854				doesn't show until 2009		427196
45	Blount/Water, Granville/Moseley	780407581710			$259,914			796184
		780407582628			$251,905			749148
		780407583626			$240,487			613823
		780407584612			$230,172			531105
		780407584681			$323,661			570097
		780407585549			$153,252			507316
		780407586528			$83,608			196097
		780407585482			$54,948			508372
46	W King/W Water, Granville/Broad	780407587564				doesn't show until 2003		85180
		780407587443				doesn't show until 2003		85180
		780407588368				doesn't show until 2005		1657751
		780407680494				doesn't show until 2003		903755
		780407680227				doesn't show until 2004		110016
		780407680286				doesn't show until 2004		110001
		780407681256			$61,268			201947
		780407682211			$349,626	doesn't show until 1999		600184
		780407682270			$126,263	doesn't show until 1999		430143
		780407683231				doesn't show until 2006		4443844
		780407684225			$435,611			1003084
		780407684450	780407684450		$609,497			1027530
		780407683375				doesn't show until 2006		72833
		780407683307			$205,817			551171
		780407682348			$178,086			457503
		780407681491			$144,543			326855
47	W King/W Water, Broad/Court	780407686317	780407686317		$45,602			97106
		780407686328	780407686328		$72,571			200384
		780407686346	780407686346		$38,622			88141

		780407686374	780407686374	$120,246		188143
		780407686314	780407686314	$58,540		178565
						97899
		780407687333	780407687333	$58,640		106112
		780407687390	780407687390		doesn't show until 2006	361277
		780407686311	780407686311	$164,013		430199
		780407686207	780407686207	$51,899		165711
		780407685295	780407685295	$51,203		111958
		780407685294	780407685294	$51,714		122312
		780407685282	780407685282	$44,031		176117
		780407685188		$202,376		419784
		780407687102	780407687102		doesn't show until 2006	1238322
		780407685175		$85,053		269872
		780407685163		$39,997		104040
		780407685161		$55,156		119179
		780407685059		$78,126		188649
48	W King/W Water, Broad/Court	780407688177	780407688177	$53,820		241450
49	E King/W Water, Court/S Oakum	780407780217	780407780217	$124,733		468424
		780407780211	780407780211	$238,423		830619
		780407780122	780407780122	$169,480		697675
		780407689083	780407689083	$225,117		893567
		780407780084	780407780084	$269,564		917396
		780407781053	780407781053	$217,865		871695
		780407782041	780407782041	$160,697		889364
		780407773909	780407773909	$114,727	doesn't show until 2000	712158
		780407773988	780407773988	$295,752	doesn't show until 2000	853979
		780407780294	780407780294	$131,303		410197
		780407781251	780407781251	$120,786		267597
		780407782200	780407782200	$91,494		243525
		780407782148	780407782148	$129,345		274217
		780407782187	780407782187	$100,327		285380
		780407783135	780407783135	$49,394		299251
		780407784133	780407784133	$336,091	doesn't show until 1997	621212
		780407774966		$11,273		19078
		780408785111	780408785111	$121,211	doesn't show until 1997	255071
		780408775967		$219,876		587892
		780408785180	780408785180	$50,350		312261
		780408786049	780408786049	$90,718		181775
50	E King/Queen Anne Creek, E Water	780408775894		$28,856		61412
		780408777964		$135,778		496068
		780408787078		$42,337		144127
		780408788076		$82,327		152044
		780408779907			doesn't show until 2010	19000
		780408779985		$46,280		122900
		780408870997		$38,563	doesn't show until 1997	275097
		780408871954		$21,405	doesn't show until 1997	358513
		780408872922		$29,153	doesn't show until 1996	238191
		780408873910		$104,474	doesn't show until 1996	403571
		780408876629			doesn't show until 2001	164220
51	W Water/Edenton Bay, Broad	780407586192		$98,668		1362741
		780407588141		$153,680		822040
		780407671849		$765,000		3262906
		780407681028		$49,586		322434
		780407681002		$15,900		47700
52	E Water/Edenton Bay, Broad/Hayesfarm	780407685020		$117,070		227281
		780407675849		$165,225		539993
		780407674762		$287,974		1482217
		780407772768		$271,460		804420

Key	
	Parcel groupings that entered the record after 1990
	Parcels that were deleted from the record