

IV

CONSEQUENCES AND CAUSES

There are two last, but very far from least, topics remaining to be treated.

- Left with a hole in the ground with a fence around it in November, 2000, what happened then? Various kinds of effects or consequences visible over the next two years are detailed in **Chapter 14**.
- After all is said and done, why did preservation fail? What might be the "causes" of preservation failing? This is the topic of **Chapter 15**.

CONSEQUENCES

Discussion of an event is not complete until we have considered its consequences or effects. Of course, the more time that has passed since the event, the more consequences or effects there are likely to be.

In the present case, this book was completed a little more than two years after the Terminal Building's demolition. For an event of this sort, two years is not a very long period over which to trace consequences. Presumably, many of the most important ones had not yet occurred. Indeed, the consequences I suggest here are rather modest. Nonetheless some interesting things had happened.

1) EMPTY, BLIGHTED HOLE

Although a new building within two years was promised and/or predicted at the time of demolition, the lot was still an empty and weed-filled hole on the second anniversary of demolition, September 18th, 2002.



14.1. Terminal Building site July 1, 2001, looking north along G Street with the G Street Plaza in the left distance, behind the sign with the word "security" on it. This view was virtually the same one year later.

Over the Winter and Spring of 2001 and of 2002, diverse and “volunteer” greenery (aka weeds) appeared (Fig. 14.1) and, for lack of water, turned to a brown fire hazard.

2) DAVIS ENTERPRISE “TOP 10” STORY

It was a custom of the *Davis Enterprise* to print an end-of-the-year assessment of the “top 10” Davis stories. According to the *Enterprise’s* Bob Dunning, the list resulted from a “majority vote of select editors and reporters” of the paper (*Davis Enterprise*, December 31, 2000).

The Terminal Building demolition ranked fourth for the year 2000. The paper’s summary of the entire list is reproduced in Fig. 14.2. All things considered, I think I would agree with this assessment of the story’s importance in the political landscape of Davis.

I might note, though, that Bob Dunning grouched that the list resulting from majority vote was not the same as his list. In particular, he distinguished between an event being “newsworthy” versus “important.” When one did that:

All that nonsense involving Madonna last month might have been deemed newsworthy, but it certainly wasn’t important. The same with the false issue known as the Terminal Hotel Controversy.

2000
in review

The year's top 10 local stories

- 1 Alarmed by a sprawling community, Davis residents reacted at the ballot box in 2000, approving **Measure J and Measure O**. But growth and the high cost of housing are on the minds of UC Davis administrators, who begin wrestling with how to accommodate an influx of students, faculty and staff expected in the next decade. Former City Manager John Meyer is hired as a vice chancellor to oversee the preparations.
- 2 The unexpected firing of Davis police Capt. Nick Concolino generates a firestorm of controversy and an unprecedented vote of no-confidence in Chief Jerry Gonzales, who later resigns. Residents continue to lobby for Concolino's reinstatement.
- 3 The university reels as **three tragedies strike** in quick succession: a research trip to Mexico is marred by five fatalities in a boating accident; student David Thornton dies after a drinking binge on his 21st birthday; another student suffers serious stab wounds and her ex-boyfriend, Johnny Shao Tien, is arrested for assault and attempted murder.
- 4 **The Terminal Hotel** at Second and G streets is demolished over the protests of residents who want to preserve a mural on its north face. Owners Grace and Lee Chen hope to build a new retail/residential project there.
- 5 Yolo County's ag community, still reeling from the closure of the Hunt-Wesson cannery in late 1999, is dealt two more blows in 2000: **Spreckels Sugar Inc. and Del Monte Foods** announce the shutdowns of their Woodland plants, resulting in the loss of nearly 800 jobs.
- 6 A Woodland woman dies and her friend is seriously injured in a **hit-and-run traffic crash**. But the news turns more horrifying when police arrest a Woodland teen-ager for the crime and her mother, Lidia Ulloa, for attempting to conceal it. Both are imprisoned by year's end.
- 7 Residents and elected officials alike are outraged after **burrowing owl habitat in Mace Ranch is disced under**, probably killing the creatures, who are a species of special concern.
- 8 A fire in a breezeway at the **E Street Plaza** damages the electricity source and results in the closures of four businesses. Two stores reopen, but Davis Jewelers may never be back. Its owners have been charged with embezzlement for failing to return customers' property.
- 9 **Measure K**, a \$26 million school facilities bond, enjoys a landslide victory. Davis school officials breathe a sigh of relief, then get to work on the massive task of building a new junior high school and two new elementary schools.
- 10 Longtime Davis store **Discoveries declares bankruptcy** and closes its doors, a sad day for many residents who recall the store as one of their favorite places to buy gifts.

14.2. *The Davis Enterprise*, December 31, 2000, “Top 10 local stories” for 2000.

In addition to the capsule summaries seen in Fig. 14.2, *Enterprise* writers provided somewhat expanded memorial capsules of each of the ten stories. The one for the Terminal Building is reproduced in Fig. 14.3. I provide it because it suggests the paper’s attitude toward the matter in a way that did not come out so clearly in the many “straight” news stories it had done in 1999 and 2000.

I would characterize the attitude seen in Fig. 14.3 as snide put-down of what the writers perceived to be inappropriate caring for “antiquated landmarks.” The summary also contains several factual errors, including the assertion that the campaigns involving the three places mentioned were “the same community members.” In fact, there was little overlap among people actively involved in the Terminal Building and the other two matters.

4

Farewell, hotel: Davis residents once again proved their loyalty to antiquated landmarks by attempting to stop the demolition of the Terminal Hotel. The building had stood at Second and G streets downtown for more than 75 years.

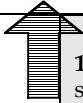
The same community members who worked to save the Richards Boulevard underpass and the Boy Scout Cabin targeted their preservation efforts on the hotel, which featured a mural on the north face of the building. Owners Grace and Lee Chen expressed their desires before the City Council last summer to transform the hotel —

which was not up to safety codes and standards — into a new retail/residential complex roughly double the size of the 12,000-square-foot hotel. According to plans, the new complex could be as high as four stories in some places.

The Chens’ plan drew protest from some residents, as well as the Historic Resources Management Commission, which recommended that the City Council grant the building a historic designation, which would allow it to be preserved. The council rejected the recommendation, opening the doors for the demolition.

In mid-July, three of four businesses that occupied the building relocated to other areas of the city. La Esperanza, a popular Mexican food restaurant, is still serving food at its second location, La Esperanza II, in the University Mall on Russell Boulevard.

On Sept. 18, the walls of the hotel came tumbling down, with a handful of protesters, City Council members and residents present. It is estimated that it will take up to two years before the new building is complete at the site.



14.3. December 31, 2000, *Davis Enterprise* year-end capsule write-up of the Terminal Building story.

3) PASSING FLURRY OF PLAZA SENTIMENT

As can be seen in the various photographs presented in chapter 12, removal of the building created a wide and open space at the northeast corner of Second and G streets. For the first time since 1926, people could look straight into the downtown from the train depot and visa versa.

This new and expansive experience gave rise to the rapidly communicated and widespread idea that a plaza at Second and G might be better than a new building. Business operators close to the area were especially vocal in feeling that a plaza would likely help them as much or more than the long shadow of a four story structure.

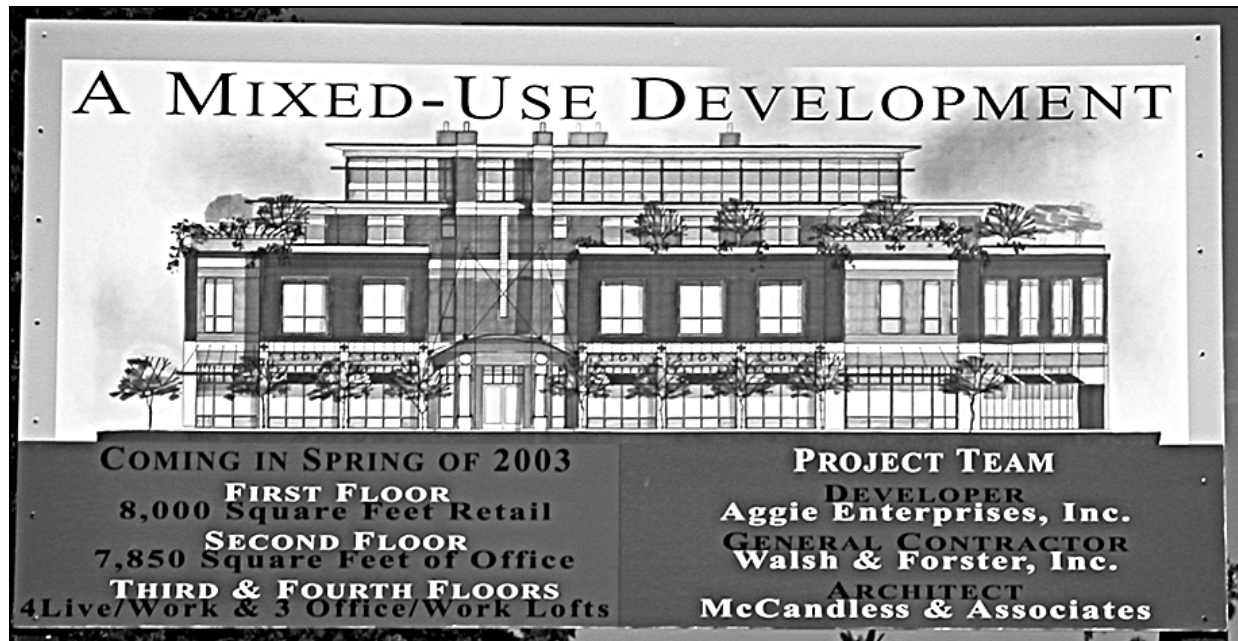
Despite this idea’s popularity and the strength of sentiment supporting it, the proposal never went anywhere. The Chens were not interested, and, more important, no one was offering to buy the land from them for that purpose.

4) REDESIGNED AND APPROVED NEW BUILDING

Sentiment for a plaza also subsided because the Chens came forth with a revised plan for a building, one configured to meet objections to the previous design.

The design we saw in Chapter 10 (Fig. 10.29) featured an internal courtyard and four stores straight-up on the east side. These and other features caused it to be severely criticized by the Planning and the Historical Resources Management Commissions as being out-of-scale and character for the location (and perhaps not sufficiently “reminiscent” of the Terminal Building).

Architect McCandless responded to these and other criticisms with the configuration shown in Fig. 14.4. In this plan, the third and fourth stories were stepped back from all sides of the building and each featured glass as a way to de-emphasize their mass. The first two stories rose to about the height of the Terminal Building and had second-story design details intended to “recall” that building. With further tweaking, this new design was approved by the Planning Commission on September 18, 2001. Eerily, this date was one year to the day from the start of the Terminal Building demolition, September 18, 2000.



14.4. Photograph of a sign on the fence around the Terminal Building site, 2002. The drawing shows the south elevation of the building for which the design was approved by the Planning Commission on September 18, 2001.

5) PLAN TO USE THE BRICKS AND MURAL PIECES

The plan approved for the new building contained dozens of conditions, two of which pertained to using of the Arch Mural pieces and the salvaged bricks in the new building.

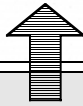
Numbered conditions 15 and 24, the exact text is reproduced in Fig. 14.5. At the time of the completion of this book, the owners had not yet come forth with plans for meeting either of these conditions.

On his own authority, Planner Ken Hiatt had authorized use of some of the bricks in connection with a map guide to the downtown that was erected at the southeast corner of Second and G in December, 2000 (Fig. 14.6).

Apparently to verify their authenticity, almost all the bricks were positioned so that one could read the identification of the brick-maker that was pressed into one edge of each during manufacture. (Normally, a brick is positioned so that one cannot read that name, for, the opposite edge was textured to be more attractive. For Davis history trivia buffs, the lettering is “Livermore F.B. WKS. S.F.”)

- 15. The owners shall work with the city to incorporate into the building or adjacent right-of-way, a didactic display of the Terminal Hotel Building as well as the “Davis Arches” mural. The display should be in a location accessible to the public such as the sidewalk area around the building or the main entry lobby to the upper floors. The owners shall contribute up to \$3,000 towards the display.

- 24. A proposal for reuse of the face bricks salvaged from the Terminal Hotel shall be submitted for review and approval of the Planning and Building Department prior to issuance of building permit. The bricks should be integrated into building accents and or the paving/landscape adjacent to the project site.



14.5. Conditions regarding use of the Arch Mural remnants and salvaged brick in a new building on the Terminal site.

14.6. Display map of the downtown at the southeast corner of Second and G. The bricks seen in the low wall/seat in the lower left are some of those saved from the Terminal Building demolition.



6) H STREET REALIGNMENT PLAN

The new building was designed to make the maximum allowable footprint on the lot. This created a new problem. Built to the maximum on the east side, the new wall would be only a few feet from H Street.

One of the arguments for tearing down the Terminal Building had been that it “faced away” from the train depot. Instead, any building should “face toward” the train depot with “open arms.” McCandless designed “open arms” in the form of a restaurant space on the east side that looked toward the depot. But the windows and doors of that anticipated restaurant were next to the projected sidewalk. That sidewalk, in turn, abutted H Street. Almost everyone involved agreed that it would be much more “open arms” if there was room for a public plaza outside the restaurant between the sidewalk and the street.

Hence, there arose the idea of what came to be called the “H Street realignment.” With the cooperation of the owner of Davis Lumber/Ace Hardware a plan to move H Street east and next to the tracks was developed. The concept began slowly to make its way through the long and tortured budget, design and construction processes. In late 2002, it was still in only the early design stages. The actual realignment was years away, but would not delay the construction of the new building on the Terminal Building site.

7) DRAGGED-OUT DEMOLITION ORDINANCE

Even though, as we have seen in Chapter 5, demolitions were common in Davis over the 1950s-70s, there had been few in recent years. The sheer fact of one in 2000 was therefore attention-getting. Also, it occurred right downtown and next to the “multi-modal center.” A great many people therefore passed by it. Moreover, it now came to light that under the existing law demolitions were easy for an applicant to achieve.

These and other factors gave rise to citizen calls for a need to think about the legal conditions under which demolitions could be carried out. In October, 2000, the City Council directed staff to prepare a draft of options for a new ordinance.

Two years later, a draft with various options was still churning at the staff level and barely on agendas. This, though, was about par for the rate of progress of legislation in Davis.

8) AMBIGUOUS EFFECT ON PRESERVATION CONSCIOUSNESS AND ACTION

What effect did the Terminal Building demolition have on preservation consciousness and action in Davis? From the vantage point of two years, I would have to say the effect was unclear. Preservation matters did not seem to me to have gotten markedly better or worse.

Three buildings in the 1917 city were either demolished or on the block for demolition without public outcry or even modest comment. On the other hand, two other proposed demolitions had stirred citizen resistance and brought about favorable City action.

9) ADVANCED PRESERVATION SEMINAR

In the midst of the Terminal demolition, Laura Cole-Rowe, Executive Director of the Davis Downtown Business Association and active participant in the California and national Main Street programs, began to put forth the idea that the DDBA needed to make a special effort to educate Davis people on historic preservation.

As the press release in Fig. 14.8 relates, she and others were struck with how, in the Terminal episode, “even the more involved and informed on both sides often showed surprisingly limited and even erroneous understandings of the meaning and practical relevance of historical resources and preservation.”

She recruited me to help in this activity, for which we applied and received a grant from the American Architecture Association Foundation. Two emergent matters shaped the program we organized.

First, in reflecting on what would be an effective form of such education, we came to think that the public in general was not the foremost or most strategic audience. Instead, the key audience should be the **owners** of buildings that might be historic and qualify for rehabilitation funds.

Second, at about the same time, it came to our attention that three people living close to Davis had in recent years teamed up to rehabilitate Sacramento Valley buildings to the Secretary's Standards and had qualified them for the Federal tax credit. These three were Roger Klemm, an architect practicing out of Placerville; Marcus Ullrich, a CPA with offices in Woodland and Davis; and David Wilkinson, an economic development specialist with Mercy Housing California in West Sacramento. This was a team of authentically preservationist developers. (They are described more fully in Fig. 14.8.)

This strategic audience idea and the discovery of this team organized our task. We conceived it as bringing Davis downtown commercial property owners into face-to-face contact with these preservationist developers. This took the form of about a dozen owners seated around a seminar table with Klemm, Ulrich and Wilkinson at the Hattie Weber Museum of Davis for almost three hours the afternoon of May 1, 2001.

But the point was not simply to bring these two groups together. Almost all of the grant was budgeted to pay for making a professionally done **videotape** of the seminar, so that yet other owners in Davis and elsewhere (and anyone else) could view the proceedings. We were very fortunate to have had skilled videographer Ray Johnston of Events Photography Video DJ in Davis available to do the production.

The resulting tape, which is available from the DDBA (Fig. 14.8) and in a number of libraries, is a very detailed and step-by-step description of Klemm's, Ulrich's and Wilkinson's preservation of buildings in Winters, Gridley, and Live Oak, California and their generalizations about the process of historical preservation. Indeed, they took special care to point up the general principles involved. In particular, Wilkinson underscored the general features of feasibility studies.

The educational problem at this level, though, is that these matters are technical. The seminar is not breezy, fast-paced and scintillating. It is unavoidably detailed and plodding, a fact that seemed not at all to bother the building owners attending the seminar, but does not make for popular television. I draw attention to this fact because much of the material one sees on historic preservation fails to communicate this technical nature—and this is a key problem that historic preservationists have not adequately faced.

We explored California-wide and nationwide distribution of the tape with the two leading historical preservation organizations by sending copies of it to appropriate people at each. Unfortunately, neither organization paid us the courtesy of even acknowledging receipt of the tape and our proposal, much less honoring us by turning us down. (I have since learned not to be surprised by such rude behavior. In sections 1 and 9 of Chapter 15 I speak further of the problem of disorganization among preservationists that prompts the public to perceive them as aloof and arrogant.)

10) LIVING-DEAD ICONS

The mural of the arch on the north wall of the Terminal Building and the building itself were (and remain) Davis icons. By "icon" I mean that both regularly showed up among the small number of physical things that people used symbolically to represent "Davis."

The vaguely "mission style" Southern Pacific train station was likely **the** most popular such item (as seen in Fig. 14.9), slightly outranking such objects as the UCD water tower, certain UCD buildings, and the Dresbach-Hunt-Boyer mansion.

But, right up there with all these was the Arch Mural and the Aggie/ Terminal hotel.

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Financial Incentives for Rehabilitating Older Commercial Buildings Video Available

Through a seminar made into videotape, the Davis Downtown Business Association seeks to bring the abstract and remote topics of "historical preservation" and "historic resources" down to the level of practical instructions and actions for residents of Davis.

This problem was put dramatically on display in Davis in 2000. In numerous debates over the preservation versus demolition of an historic downtown building called the Terminal Hotel, even the most involved and informed on both sides often showed surprisingly limited and often erroneous understandings of the meaning and practical relevance of historical resources and preservation.

Responding to this experience, DDBA's approach to achieving at least a partial remedy to this problem was to create a seminar in which the practical nuts and bolts of historical resources and preservation are shown in ways that bring them to life. Equally as important, the seminar was videotaped and is being made available throughout the community.

The seminar includes coverage of the following:

- The special provisions provided by the California State Historic Building Code to help owners of historic buildings
- Case studies of buildings successfully restored in nearby communities
- Tax incentives for preservation presented by a Certified Public Accountant.
- Survey of sources of funding outside the tax code and sources of technical assistance in old building rehabilitation.

The presenters for the seminar are:

Roger W. Klemm, founding Principal of Synthesis Design Group, Placerville, California, and his staff have worked on the restoration of over thirty-five historic structures in California and the West and in more than a dozen historic downtowns throughout California.

Marcus E. Ullrich, CPA, Managing Partner of Ullrich, Delvati CPAs, Woodland, California, has developed his own properties and advised clients with particular reference to the significant tax advantages that are available to developers of historic properties under the Federal Tax Code. Over the past twenty years, he has rehabilitated numerous historic properties.

David Wilkinson, an economic development specialist with California Mercy Housing, Sacramento, California, and a consultant, specializes in conducting feasibility studies of historic buildings, focusing on sources of funding.

The audience who participated in the seminar consisted of property owners of building in the historic conservation district (consisting of the original, 1917, city of Davis) that is now in the process of formation.

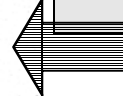
We hope that the long terms benefits of this project will include making the people of Davis more concretely knowledgeable about historic resources and historic preservation and therefore more comfortable with these ideas. Such changes would hopefully also lead them to become more active participants in these matters.

While some of the material will be specific to Davis, a good deal of the content is applicable anywhere in California.

This videotape will be shown on local public access television, and made available for viewing and copying at local libraries and in the offices of public and private organizations.

For further information, please call the Davis Downtown Business Association, 756-8763.

14.8. September 9, 2001 press release announcing the availability of the DDBA-produced videotaped seminar on "Financial Incentives for Rehabilitating Older Commercial Buildings."



Suddenly, in September, 2000, both, as physical objects, were gone.

However, even though physically destroyed, representations of both lived on in a twilight night of the living-dead. People and institutions change slowly. Even after two years, one could still buy Eastman Studios postcards of the Arch Mural in Davis stores. For quite a time, the City's web site and literature still listed the Arch Mural as one of Davis' items of "public art."

A large oil painting of Davis icons (shown in Fig. 14.9) that hung in the reception area of the City Parks and Recreation Department was relocated to the city council meeting room in 2001.



14.9. Photograph of an approximately four by six foot oil painting of Davis icons hung in the Davis Community Chambers, 2001. The black circle and white arrow point to the image of the Terminal/Aggie hotel that is the central feature of this painting.

This was ironic and even gruesome because, at its very center, is an image of the Terminal Building. One might even construe the relocation of this painting at the time it was done as an act akin to placing the head of a dead animal on trophy display. More gruesome still, the city's television channel began to use the painting as the background during periods of recess at televised meetings of the Planning Commission and City Council. As such, it was presented to the public in all its ironic living-deadness for long periods every month.

The painting was hanging in the chamber the evening of September 18, 2001, the meeting at which a new building on the Terminal site was approved by the Planning Commission. In the course of addressing the Commission on the proposed building, Alan Miller "pointed to the picture on the wall showing . . . sites to be seen in Davis and said, "hmm . . . well, I guess one of those is no longer with us" (Miller, 2001)

CAUSES

A SOCIOLOGY OF PRESERVATION FAILURES

So, why *did* preservation fail? The short and unsatisfying but true answer is: For a variety of reasons, no one of which was likely overwhelming or centrally determinative. Instead, an accumulating concatenation of either too weak or too strong variations in social conditions led to a series of preservation failures that ended in demolition.

This broad position may seem obvious and a weasel. It is, in fact, a contentious and not especially popular view of social causation. This is so because it rejects all forms of the major alternatives to it; namely, that there is one variable (or a small number of them) to which we should look in explaining many, most or even all social outcomes. The principle formulations of this master-variable view are quite familiar, social class, race and gender being among the more popular in recent decades. Considered over the longer term, other mono-causal formulations achieving some currency have included divine plans of assorted kinds, sex, shame, guilt, greed, envy, and the will to power.

There are of course also dangers when we move in the opposite, multi-variable direction. There can be so many variables that we wind up unable to say anything. One can well wonder, though, if many social outcomes are not in fact of this sort. It is only our strong need for easily graspable causal understanding that pushes us to impose simple explanations on complicated and indefinite causal complexes.

Be the dangers of single and multiple-cause thinking as they may, let me here strike a middle course. I work on the assumption of multiple causes but draw back from the abyss of an infinite number.

One way to begin to think about multiple causes is, first, to categorize or group conceivably relevant variables in terms of the social entities with which they are associated in a social setting. Second, these social entities can themselves be ordered in terms of their physical, social, and temporal distance from the outcome we want to explain. The most distant is considered first and closest is considered last.

Applied in this case, I think we can identify seven main classes of “social entities” operating in the Davis social setting that can, in turn, be ordered along the variable of distance from the outcome. Listing the most distant first, there are:

- 1) External Organizations
- 2) Civic Culture
- 3) Community Groups
- 4) City Government
- 5) Citizen Action

6) Owners**7) The Building**

These “entities” are not variables. Instead, they are places in which to look for and to identify variables, which I will now do.

1) EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS VARIABLES

By “external organizations” I mean named, formally organized groups that had no offices or personnel in Davis, but who were recruited to the scene by people in Davis. In this case, these primarily consisted of engineering assessment firms and preservationist associations. In my appraisal, the actions of both these contributed to preservation failure.

UNFAVORABLE ENGINEER ASSESSMENTS. Recall that engineering firms twice assessed the building. The first one, hired by the owners, gave a markedly negative view (Fig. 7.5). The view was so alarming that a properly risk-averse City building department could not ignore its claims. It thereupon required the owners to pay for a second assessment by a different firm, one selected by the City. This assessment was much less alarmist. But it still pointed out what was true of virtually all California brick buildings of its period. It should undergo seismic retrofitting (Fig. 8.11).

Continuing down the risk-averse path, the City required a plan to achieve that upgrading and closed the building in the interim. All was not lost, but this series of events certainly, to me, figures importantly in any explanation of preservation failure.

WEAK OUTSIDE PRESERVATIONISTS. On the other side, a number of credible and professional outside preservationists were recruited, as described in Chapter 8 and Figs. 8.19, 8.27 and 8.37. Their appearances on the scene, however, were more in the nature of cameo roles in a motion picture rather than serious, full-scale performances. It was hit-and-run advocacy rather than involvement. Certainly, no one seemed changed by their visits or letters.

In saying this I of course understand that preservationists operate on severely constrained budgets and this fact goes a long way in explaining their behavior. (Let it be clear that my observations here are efforts accurately to describe causes rather than to lay blame.)

One of the ironies of the involvement of outside organizations is that, in the past, they sometimes fostered major preservation successes in Davis. I speak of the government grant programs that led to the important external funding of both the 1979 and 1996 surveys of cultural resources. Neither of these surveys were likely to happen without those grants (with consequent negative consequences on preservation). But, in the Terminal matter, the actions of external organizations had different effects.

2) CIVIC CULTURE VARIABLES

I use the term “civic culture” to draw attention to the tenor or atmosphere of public life in a community. In visiting large and small cities in several countries over many years, I have become a local newspaper and public affairs junkie, watching local government channels in places that have them (and, gasp, even watching their city council meetings).

I have been struck with variations among communities in such matters as how civilly people treat one another in policy debates; the left or right drift of the public discourse; the degree and sharpness of disagreement on key issues; and, the degree of optimism or pessimism that prevail in public discussion.

I have seen a few places in which a liberalism or a conservatism seemed to have triumphed, civility prevailed, public officials seemed to like one another even when they disagreed, and people optimistically believed that they could solve their problems. And, I have seen the reverse, places of very sharp disputes in which the public figures clearly disliked one another, and all the rest.

My explanation of why some civic cultures are sunny and others are stormy is not sanguine. In sunny civic cultures one political view has triumphed. The opposition has either left the field in despair or resigned itself to exist cheerfully in public life as always-on-the-short-end. Stormy civic cultures are the reverse. No faction can count on its dominance and the disputes over public actions are unending.

A DIVIDED AND GLOOMY CIVIC CULTURE. Davis in 1999-2000 and for much of its history struck me as exhibiting a “middling” civic culture along these lines. It was certainly not sunny, but then it was also not as stormy as some. Applying the weather metaphor a little further, perhaps gloomy is most apt. It was not fully stormy because the hard right had, in fact, been driven from political life in despair. So, the contests in Davis were between the middle and left, both broadly understood. The distances among positions on issues were not great and the acrimony was usually middling rather than intense.

I am aware that Davis was regularly stereotyped as a left-leaning Mecca of “all things right and relevant” and the “People’s Republic of Davis.” My view is that there was just enough reality to this stereotype to give opponents of it evidence that it existed. But, I think the “just enough” amounted to no more than about a third of the population. Although a minority, the “progressives” believed strongly, knew how to organize and campaign, and benefited from the plurality system used to elect members of the City Council. (Julie Partansky, for example was elected to her first term by 40% percent of those voting and was re-elected and became mayor by 39% of those voting.)

Against this third, there was another (more or less) third of Davis that strongly disapproved what they derisively labeled the “regressives.” Terming themselves “moderates” and aligned with the Democratic Leadership Council element of the Democratic party, they were often difficult to distinguish from Republicans. And, a portion of them *were* Republicans.

Although there was, indeed, a great watershed shift in Davis politics in the early 1970s in which “progressives” were rather dominant for a time, the longer-term reality of the subsequent decades was a back-and-forth contest over who was temporarily “in charge.” The upshot was a certain contained but continuing nastiness and hostility in the civic culture of Davis as the progressive and moderate thirds vied for support from the third-third who were indecisively in the middle. (My thanks to David Rosenberg, who explained all this to me some years ago—although not in these terms.)

When one side seemed to get too much of an advantage in policy matters, the storminess increased. This was particularly the case in 1998-2000 when Julie Partansky was mayor. Moderate City Council member Susie Boyd was legendary for her rudeness to Julie at Council meetings. I stress that this kind of behavior was not about personal relations or personalities. Instead, it was political struggle. Having a member of the Green Party as your mayor when you are a Republican-turned-conservative-Democrat could hardly make one cheerful. (Also indicative of the moderates as a political minority, Susie Boyd was elected to three Council terms by, in sequence, 44, 33, and 43% of those voting.)

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not think that sunny or stormy political cultures are necessarily better than the gloomy one seen in Davis. In each of these others, a topic like the

Terminal Building would either be approved without incident (sunny-left) or never even come up to for consideration (sunny-right). In a truly stormy political culture, the level of acrimony would be vastly higher. Scanning back over all the documents presented in previous chapters, I think the relative mildness with which the dispute was carried on is quite evident.

DUNNING DISSING. Then we add to this mix one Bob Dunning, the house columnist of the *Davis Enterprise*. Dunning grew up in Davis, graduated from Davis High School in 1964, attended UCD as an undergraduate, and earned a law degree on the same campus (graduating in the same class as David Rosenberg). However, he never practiced law. Instead, he was also an avid fan of organized sports and went to work as a sports reporter for the *Enterprise*. Gradually he began writing “color” columns on sports and then on other topics.

Eventually, the paper made him a straight columnist, a job he had held perhaps two decades at the time of the Terminal Building affair. Many years ago, Dunning had aligned himself with the moderates of Davis and he voiced the *Enterprise*’s rapid-growth and development line. In 2001, the paper announced that when his column did not appear on Sunday, it would replace him with “On the Light Side,” a feature devoted to “those fun, quirky or humorous stories that don’t always make it into the paper” (*Davis Enterprise*, September 23, 2001). This replacement practice might be read as telling us not to take Dunning seriously.

Be his relation to his employer as it may, he routinely attacked “regressives” (using that word) and he was especially without mercy regarding Julie Partansky, with whom he seemed almost obsessed at times. Claiming that his insulting put-downs of her were simply good fun and only jokes, he was fond of characterizing her as one or another kind of creature from outer space (e.g. “our Councilwoman from Mars”).

His wisdom on other matters was likewise curious. He wrote, for example, that the 9-11 bombers of the World Trade Center “are a bunch of punks who enjoy blowing things up . . . they have no ideology . . . they have no religion . . .” (*Davis Enterprise*, September 18, 2001) [The three dot format is the original, not my deletions.]

He was of course hated by the progressive third of Davis and loved by the “moderate” third. One progressive, for example, characterized him as a “cramped personality, a self-preoccupied whiner with narrow interests and limited vision.” For moderates, though, he was a paragon of good judgement, grace, and humor.

It therefore came as no surprise when Dunning began to use his column to make snide remarks about the Terminal Building campaign and campaigners, as we have seen in Figs. 8.38, 8.43, 10.18, and 11.21. Although his influence may not have been great, his typical nastiness likely did not help the preservationist side. (Over time, though, I fear he contributed to degrading the quality of public discourse in Davis by encouraging people to think of policy matters as mere jokes.)

PRESERVATION AS A PROGRESSIVE CAUSE. In this gloomy and divided Davis civic culture, historic preservation had become rather more associated with the progressives than with the moderates. I was so naively provincial when I became involved in these kinds of matters that I thought preservation more left than right in its location on the political spectrum. But, as I began to look at the national scene, I found I was wrong. Preservation is a political wild card that has quite varied supporters *and* opponents.

But, in Davis, the die was cast and cast unfortunately. As a consequence, the Terminal Building cause came to be seen, in many eyes, as a progressive (“regressive”) cause. This did not help. Indeed, we know that Susie Boyd worked very actively for demolition (e. g. Fig. 8.21). She may

well have been all the more galvanized by her well-known antipathy toward the then-leading progressive, Julie Partansky (who was the only Council member to vote for designation in 1999).

The identification of the Terminal matter with the progressives was especially unfortunate because some prominent Davis moderates and even conservatives **did** support saving the building. I have in mind, in particular, Phyllis Haig, the fact of whose support (and people like her) was not publicized nearly enough.

WEAK PRESERVATION CULTURE. In the absence of detailed and sophisticated survey interviews, it is difficult to assess the breadth and depth of public commitment to historical preservation in Davis. Not having such data, I can only offer the impression, based on the history presented in Chapters 5 and 6, that public support was relatively limited and weak. The Terminal Building affair animated a number of Davisites, but there was no collective action **on either side** of the magnitude seen in Davis history with regard to many other matters. Such significantly more-mobilizing concerns over the decades included the Vietnam war, women's reproductive rights, gay rights, rape prevention, the siting of group homes for certain disabled in residential neighborhoods, the construction of a sports complex, and a number of environmental matters.

I have looked at other cities in terms of the number and scale of local-history and preservation organizations and activities as they compare to Davis. My impression is that a fair number had, in 1999-2000, much more robust complexes of preservation institutions and activities. They featured such entities as a real museum, a city historical society, one or more full-time historical officers employed by the city, a historical commission with teeth and grit, regular historical celebrations, and the like. Davis, in contrast, had none of these.

Even what snobbish middle-class Davis regarded as crude working-class Woodland (its nearest neighbor) was many cuts above Davis in preservation institutions and associated consciousness: a national register historic district, an annual "Stroll Through History" which celebrated and educated the public about architecture and history with guided walking tours and open houses (rightly claimed to be the largest such event in California), on-going historic preservation campaigns, and on and on.

(Amazing Woodland projects have included rehabilitation of the Hotel Woodland, for which the City of Woodland "commissioned a thorough feasibility study that demonstrated that it could be saved" [Wilkinson, 2001]. Ironies of ironies Bill McCandless was the lead architect on that project and had earned a reputation as a preservationist because of it, even speaking at preservation conferences. Davis was obviously a different kettle of fish for him, a situation in which he reversed course and advocated demolition, and in which he was no help on the matter of a feasibility study [e. g. Figs. 8.21 and 10.32].)

This relatively low level of preservation consciousness and institutional development in Davis had, of course, its own causes. **First**, Davis was a very small place historically—much, much smaller than Woodland or even Dixon—so there was never much to feel preservationist about. (And, even with a small downtown stock, in the 1950s-70s era of "cowboy" development, almost two-thirds of all of it was torn down or moved out-of-town [Lofland, 2000]).

Second, in the first decades after World War II, the old downtown elites turned on their own town. It was as much the G Street merchants as anyone else who led the broad and long term project to demolish "old" Davis and to build a new one.

In addition, and **third**, these local elites were joined in this project by the new university elites. Many of them regarded the existing small town as a Sinclair Lewis *Main Street*: A provincial backwater that needed to be transcended and made cosmopolitan.

Fourth, the unfortunate association of preservation with the progressives and their skepticism about Davis population growth encouraged a pseudo-preservationism in moderates that was difficult to counter. Moderates claimed to be preservationist, but *this* building (or underpass, or whatever) lacked merit.

Importantly, pseudo-preservationism is seen far beyond Davis, which helps us understand its less than obvious agenda. Bemoaning the flattening of historic downtowns around the world, travel maven Arthur Frommer provides this telling typification of the declarations of those doing the flattening:

The landmark is an “eyesore,” a “hunk of junk.” We wouldn’t dream of destroying a truly distinguished building, they say, but this one just doesn’t make it—its pedestrian, not really first rate (Frommer, 2000).

Last, in my assessment, Davis preservationists (as well as local history people) were not especially assertive or sophisticated in promoting and building local history/preservationist culture and institutions. The professionalization of preservation in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Ch. 6, section 1) may well have exacerbated this problem because of its mandate to present preservation as a technical subject.

The upshot was a preservationist/local history presence in Davis that could too easily be perceived by ordinary people as insular and aloof. (Episodes fostering this perception included such a basic discourtesy as, in mid-2001, the HRMC never responding to a letter from the DDBA Design Committee offering to help in surveying historical resources. The powers-that-were felt no response was needed.) (In the United States more generally there is some evidence that preservation and local history as social movements are in danger of losing their respective visions and falling into bureaucratic trances, a view effectively articulated by Jack Elliot with regard to preservation [see, e.g. Elliot, 2000, 2002]. Among occupations, professional preservationists, in particular, may soon find themselves ranking in public esteem in the vicinity of IRS agents, who perform work that is similar to theirs in a number of ways.)

3) COMMUNITY GROUPS VARIABLES

Most fundamentally, a community is composed of named, formally organized groups of the private sector. Commonly, these are classified by institutional realm or area of life, as, for example, business, industry, professions, religion, education, culture, recreation, and so on.

A SMALL NUMBER OF A NARROW RANGE OF GROUPS REACTED. Without quite knowing the implications, I am struck in retrospect with how few groups of any kind were moved to have an opinion one way or the other on the Terminal Building (or on historical preservation per se). Mainly, only two organizations of businesses took stands (The Davis Chamber of Commerce and the DDBA) and the Yolo County Historical Society. That was about it.

BUSINESS GROUP OPPOSITION OR TIMIDITY. And, the positions they took were either in support of demolition (Fig. 8.7) or tepid caution (Fig. 10.5).

Fairly early-on, Heather Caswell drew up a petition to be signed by downtown merchants that advocated DDBA involvement and Terminal Building preservation. This was circulated to the extent that twenty-three signatures were obtained. But (as sometimes happens in citizen

campaigns), this effort stopped at twenty-three merchant signatures and even this considerable achievement was never presented to the City Council, made known in the *Davis Enterprise*, or otherwise publicized.

HISTORICAL GROUP LIMPNESS. Very puzzling, the organization presumably most dedicated to preservation, the Yolo County Historical Society, did no more than write a single, short letter (Fig. 8.20). Had not Heather Caswell gone to one of their Board meetings and asked them to help, it seemed likely they would not even have done that.

DESCENDENT ALOOFNESS. The descendants of the two families who initially owned and operated the Terminal Building were in a broad way a community group. Members of these families maintained a polite but firm distance from the events of 1999 and 2000. Efforts to see if any of them had pictures of and artifacts from the cafe and the hotel were met with courteous explanations that none of them had any, or that the locations of possible items were uncertain. Whatever the meaning of these behaviors, it was hard to see this descendant aloofness as helpful in preserving the building.

NEWS COVERAGE. With a mindset attuned to identifying causes of preservation failure, one can too easily overlook or underplay variables that work to forestall or present failure; that is, that work in the direction of preservation success.

One of these is the variable of the amount and nature of coverage given by the local press. In this case, I would have to say that one of the strongest variables working in the direction of preservation success was the regular, abundant and fair coverage given by the *Davis Enterprise*. Of course, there was the harmful “Dunning dissing” (section 2, above), but I think that the Dunning effect was small compared to the enormous help the *Enterprise* provided in printing everything the campaign asked it to print and in electing to do many news stories and background features.

4) CITY GOVERNMENT VARIABLES

Variables involving city government can be divided into elected officials, city staff and citizen commissions, and the political situation of 1999-2000.

COUNCIL MAJORITIES COULD FLAUNT HISTORICAL FACTS WITH IMPUNITY. For reasons difficult to understand, on both occasions the building came before the City Council the majority chose to **ignore** the claim of the HRMC that the building occupied a significant social place in Davis history.

I use the word “ignore” in order to distinguish this reaction of the Council majorities in 1984 and 1999 from other reactions they **could** have had; namely, they could have **rejected, questioned, doubted, or rebutted** the claims of such significance.

Instead, they stated that they did not want to trouble the owners with waiting a year to demolish the building and/or they thought the building was ugly and therefore without merit.

Given that all of them had taken an oath to uphold the law, this ignoring the claimed facts is all the more interesting. But, to the causal point to be made here: They could ignore and flaunt the historical facts because they did not expect to be punished beyond the ordinary hazards an elected official faces in casting any vote. And there was no punishment.

Council-member decisions to ignore the historical facts did not pass unnoticed, as we have seen in several items published in the *Enterprise*. One of the real crowd-rouser talks at the June 11, 2000 celebration was that of Historic Resources Management Commission Chair Wendy Nelson,

who engaged in a call-and-response with the audience on this very matter (Chapter 9, Fig. 9.24). Because of the salience of this point, I reproduce the Nelson crowd call-and-response engagement in Fig. 15.1.

**Wendy Nelson's "Call and Response" With the G Street Plaza Celebration Crowd
On Designating the Terminal Building a Historical Resource**

<p>I am very proud to be a member of the Historic Resources Management Commission that unanimously voted to designate the Terminal/Aggie hotel a historical resource.</p> <p>One of the reasons I am very proud is that I do not see us as an ordinary commission because we are not an ordinary city. We are a Certified Local Government. Because that is so, our Commission is made up of professionals. Among our commissioners there are historians, preservations, architects, cultural resources managers, historic and prehistoric archeologists.</p> <p>The Historic Resources Management Commission serves in an advisory capacity to the Council and to other City entities and we serve as the stewards of our city's historical resources.</p> <p>We maintain an inventory . . . of historic resources . . . It is from those historic resources in our inventory that . . . we take special care in designating special resources to the category of City of Davis Historic Resource.</p> <p>The Terminal Hotel has been brought forward to the Council for designation twice, once in 1984 and most recently in 1999. The most recent time, as I said, it was a unanimous vote from the Commission. Unfortunately, both times the Council voted against designation.</p> <p>So we might ask, "What's the criteria for designating a historical resource?" What is so difficult? What is it about our Terminal Hotel that our Council has a hard time seeing it as historic?</p> <p>So I 'm going to take a minute here and I 'm going to tell you what the criteria are for designation. And as I go through</p>	<p>them—I 'm only going to list four of them—at the end of each one I want you to tell me whether you think—you as amateurs out there, not professionals like the Commission—what you think . . . Let's see if you think it should be designated.</p> <p>Criteria A: "It exemplifies or reflects valued elements of the city's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, archeological, or architectural history."</p> <p>Remember only one of these [is needed for designation].</p> <p>WHAT DO YOU THINK? [Crowd roars "YEAH"]</p> <p>Criteria B: "It is identified with persons or events important in local, state or national history."</p> <p>WHAT DO YOU THINK? [Crowd roars "YEAH"]</p> <p>Criteria C: "It reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement and growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning."</p> <p>WHAT DO YOU THINK? [Crowd shouts "YEAH"]</p> <p>Criteria D: "It embodies distinguishing characteristics or an architectural style, type, or period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship."</p> <p>WHAT DO YOU THINK? [Crowd shouts "YEAH."]</p> <p>Oh, thank you!</p>
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15. 1. Excerpt from "The Building, The Commission, the Council," the three-minute story told by Wendy Nelson, Chair, City of Davis Historical Resources Management Commission, at the Celebration of Terminal Hotel History on the Davis G Street Plaza, June 11, 2000. Details on this event were given in Chapter 9 (and Nelson pictured in Fig. 9.24). (The bold face type used for the four criteria is my editorial addition.) Nelson is quoting from the *Davis Municipal Code*, Chapter 40, "Zoning," Section 40.23.060, "Historical resource/district designation criteria."

VERY LIMITED STAFF AND VOLUNTEER RESOURCES. I draw particular attention to ignoring rather than questioning or rejecting HRMC claims because the case for significance, as **presented** in both 1984 and 1999, was not, in my view, all that strong. The Council majorities could have reasonably questioned the quality and quantity of the documents asserting the case for designation, but they did not.

If the case was not developed with very much documentation, why was this? The answer is that the burden of such research fell on a single staff person assigned only about a third time to HRMC matters. All eight of the members of the HRMC worked full-time, had families, and served as unpaid volunteers. Hence, the development of this case—as well as other cases—was rather on the fly.

The causal relevance of these limitations is that even though the Council majorities did not make a public matter of it, it was also hard for anyone supporting designation to stress the point that the evidence was overwhelming (although a few people did make that claim anyway). (I am **not** saying the building did not merit designation, only that the research to make a lead pipe case had not been done.)

This limitation of resources also operated at the level of the HRMC's dealing with and advising the owners during the period when it **may** have been possible to send them on the rehabilitation route. The owners were made aware of the various federal and state programs that they could conceivably have used, but the advising appears never to have become specific to their building.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF 1999-2000. The political situations of governments differ in the degree to which there is easily "space" on the public agenda at a given moment for preservation issues or not. At one extreme, a government can be so preoccupied with public safety challenges, budget shortfalls, or the like, that preservation issues seem unimportant, relatively speaking, and are pushed aside. At the other extreme, a government with few or no serious challenges may be open to thinking about preservation issues for want of much else to think about.

Davis in 1999 and 2000 tended to the former extreme rather than to the latter. The *Enterprise* summary of the year 2000's top ten stories, reproduced in Fig. 14.2 of Chapter 14, summarized the challenges. The top stories of 2000 (as well as of 1999) were sprawl and the UC Davis announcement that it was about to begin a new era of major growth. These feared or impending changes spawned growth-control Measures J and O, which pre-occupied city officials and the public.

Exacerbating these problems, UC Davis hired away fabled Davis city manager John Meyer to organize its new growth! A city department head nearing retirement was appointed acting city manager and it was more than a year before a new manager was recruited and started work. Due to the importance of the city manager in the Davis version of the city manager system, this was a long period of a government essentially on-hold and lacking leadership.

Co-incident with these problems, a popular police captain was fired for a reason or reasons officials refused to disclose and this created, as reported in the *Enterprise*, "a firestorm of controversy and an unprecedented vote of no confidence in Chief Jerry Gonzales, who later resigns" (*Davis Enterprise*, December 31, 2000). There were also protracted City Council struggles over the General Plan, as well as other controversies of import (Fig. 14.2).

The upshot of the combination of these and additional issues was a political situation in which preserving the Terminal Building was not among the more troubling matters of the day. Any human, even including Davis City Council members, can seriously focus on only a limited number of troubling topics. Beyond whatever that capacity for focus is for a given person, attention wanes or ceases. I fear that in Davis in 1999-2000, the Terminal matter was either low on (or not on) officials' lists of critically troubling topics.

Reflecting on it, I suppose one might even agree with Bob Dunning and fault the *Enterprise* editors for voting the Terminal matter as high as fourth on its list of the top ten stories of the year 2000 (Chapter 14, section 2).

5) CITIZEN CAMPAIGN VARIABLES

There were at last two variables of note relating to the preservationist campaign.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERTISE. Months after the Terminal matter was over, I and others learned some basic facts about historic preservation that no one on any side appeared to understand (or at least said in public) during the 1999-2000 campaign.

These facts included the requirement that in order to be eligible for the twenty percent level of federal tax incentive, a building had itself to be on the National Register of Historic Places or listed as a contributor as part of a district that was on the National Register. Achieving either of these listings required a rather involved process of application to the California Office of Historic Preservation and a public hearing. Salient here, not understanding these necessities, no one in Davis was even talking about undertaking either process, much less actually engaged in them. (However, by age alone the building was eligible for the ten percent level of credit.)

In addition, when I and others began to talk to people who had actually rehabilitated buildings under the Federal program, we learned that such projects “pencil” better when done with relatively larger buildings involving budgets on the order of at least a million dollars. In this perspective, the Terminal Building was a relatively small project (Klemm, Ullrich and Wilkinson, 2001).

We also did not understand the conventional wisdom among informed developers that rehabilitation with tax incentives can be profitable, but not **as** profitable as constructing an entirely new and **larger** building on a site. Therefore, an owner who sought **absolutely to maximize** profits (not simply to make a decent profit), had little or no reason to be interested in preserving or rehabilitating her or his building.

Moreover, in this period there was little or no discussion of the “adverse impact” provisions of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), which may have allowed a court challenge of the City’s demolition permit. Certainly, no one undertook such a court petition (or, to my knowledge, engaged in serious discussion of the possibility). (Interestingly, in connection with a late 2002 proposal to lower the windows in the Anderson Bank Building—just across the street from the Terminal Building site—City staff made serious and frequent reference to CEQA and that Act figured centrally in denying the proposal.)

These and other limits of knowledge among the preservationist campaigners (as well as among everyone else), meant that, in some significant sense, none of us knew what we were talking about. Worse, we did not know that we did not know what we were talking about.

LACK OF NUMBERS. As I have alluded to regarding the strength of preservation culture, the campaigners were organized but not large in numbers. They could get up to a couple of dozen people in the Council Chambers at critical times. This was a respectable number and signaled a serious political matter, but it was not large. Historically, a number of other issues mobilized people in the hundreds and presented the standing room only spectacle of packed-in humanity.

(Curiously, one of the campaign’s strongest suits was the *Enterprise* Letter to the Editor feature. As can be read in the Chapters of Part II, there was quite a stream of pro-preservation letters. Some were encouraged by the organizers, but many came from people not personally known to any of them.)

6) OWNER VARIABLES

Owners of preservation-relevant buildings obviously vary in ways that can promote or retard the failure or success of preservation. Most evidently, an owner can simply be against preservation and that clear position can easily figure as a strong causal factor that explains preservation failure. (Or, in some cases, other factors can overcome such owner resistance.) In this case, there are reasons to believe that the owners were not unambiguously against preserving their building in some fashion or form. Although we clearly can never know what they “really” believed on this matter, a number of their private and public professions over time suggested at least an openness to the idea of preservation.

OWNER MYSTIFICATION. Looking back over the variables reviewed above, there is a theme of hardly anyone really having or presenting a detailed, technical and realistic picture of what rehabilitation or preservation was about. A number of people spoke with the owners and/or wrote them on these topics, but without much specificity. My impression, indeed, is that even the idea of a “feasibility study” was not well understood by a number of people who proposed one. (In this respect, it is of note that the architect who finally came to be the main advisor of the owners led them away from rather than toward preservation/rehabilitation and did not do a feasibility study.)

The upshot, I hazard to guess, is that the owners were mystified or even baffled by all the preservation/rehabilitation talk that swirled around them over the months. Given that the topics were, in fact, arcane and technical, such bafflement should not surprise us. From the perspective of what I have learned about this area since the Terminal matter ended, I look back with the recognition that I did not myself, at that time, have an adequate understanding of what was involved at the “on the ground” level of rehabilitating a specific building. (And, those who claimed expertise in these matters in this scene were unhelpful or even prone to promote mystification themselves.)

OWNER STEALTH? In perusing preservation publications I have been struck by the frequency with which one encounters reports of **owner stealth** as a variable. A preservation disagreement between an owner and other groups begins to take shape. The owner responds by quickly and stealthily demolishing the building.

Some of these present high drama, as in a bulldozer driver who was instructed to “get in there and get it down before they get another injunction.” So he struck “just after nightfall on a early winter Saturday afternoon” (*Preservation News*, February, 1981, p. 3). A historic house owned by a county was taken down by means of a quick vote taken “at a sparsely attended Friday night meeting that was supposed to be devoted to small administrative matters . . . The next morning the house . . . [was] toppled” (*Preservation News*, December, 1980, p. 10). Owners of historic houses in remote locations have simply torn them down without telling anyone, as in a case in which “they removed every trace. It was like it was never there” (*Preservation News*, December, 1980, p. 2).

So, this can certainly be a potent variable in preservation failure!

The reader can review the materials presented in Chapter 10 and 11 and draw her or his own conclusions about the degree to which owner stealth was a factor in the Terminal Building case.

7) BUILDING VARIABLES

At least two variables involving the physical features of the building itself seemed to operate in the direction of preservation failure.

THE SHADE STRUCTURE AND VISUAL INTELLIGENCE. Sometime about 1960, someone had “town and countryized” the west side of the building by adding a shake roof shade structure to it (seen in Fig. 5.28, as well as in many other pictures). I say “town and country” because this was the shade structure style of the earliest (1950s) California suburban malls, several of which were named “town and country.” In those malls, however, the buildings matched the rustic character of the shade overhangs.

But here, there was a severe mismatch between the 1950s pseudo-Old-West structure and the 1920s commercial brick building. Curiously, although the City’s file on the Terminal Building contained records of a variety of other permits for work on it, there were no records on the shade structure. In line with the “lets throw out the old” spirit of the 1950s-70s (Chapter 5), perhaps there never was a permit.

The upshot was that the building seemed ugly to many people who looked at it naively. A person needed a reasonably high level of visual intelligence and sophistication to “see” the building without the shade structure. Sadly, too few people appeared to have that much visual intelligence.

GENERAL DETERIORATION. All buildings require maintenance—roofs must be replaced, wood painted, plumbing repaired, and so on. It is beyond dispute that the building had been neglected for a very long time. Already at the time the final owners purchased it in 1977, it was in bad shape. Indeed, the amount of work required to achieve City permission to operate it as a hotel seemed to have figured in the decision to, in effect, close that part of the building.

By 1999-2000, the deterioration had advanced much farther and was obvious even to the casual observer. This fact prompted some to think that the decay had gone so far that the time had come to get rid of it. (Achieving this perception is, of course, what is meant by the well-known and widely-observed strategy of “demolition by neglect.”)

8) EVIDENTIAL UNCERTAINTY

Having offered the above multi-factor account, I feel it is important to place it in the context of forms of evidence for such accounts and how this one relates to them.

For our purposes, we may think of causal accounts as being grounded in three kinds of data collection and analysis. First, there are causal accounts derived from the random assignment of “subjects” to **experimental** treatments. Second, there are causal accounts derived from the **statistical** controls possible when working with a large number of cases on which measurements have been made. And third, there are causal accounts derived from the close inspection of a single **case**.

For reasons we need not review here, the confidence we can have in a causal account declines as we move from the experimental to the statistical to the case. For better or worse, the method used in this book is that of the case rather than of the experiment or of statistical manipulation. It is the shakiest basis on which to mount a causal account. But, since it is the only one we have, we must choose between no account and a shaky one. I have chosen the latter.

For this reason of evidential uncertainty, what I have said above should be read with tentativeness and caution.

Here, near the end, I want also to reiterate what I said at the beginning about framing questions. One can legitimately disagree with my organizing this inquiry in terms of answering the question, “Why did preservation fail?” An alternative view might be that there was nothing to

preserve, so there was no preservation to fail. In that other view, the question might be, “Why did demolition succeed?”

I doubt the empirical details of one’s answer would be that much different, but the approach certainly would. So, empirical work can take us a good distance, but in the end values couch how we organize inquires.

9) CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Accepting the fragility of case causal-accounts, what might we nonetheless venture in a summary way about why preservation failed?

I think two variables were seen in strong form with striking frequency among the various groupings. The first was **lack of knowledge** at the level of what was, as a practical matter, involved in getting a preservation process underway. Second and concomitant, there was **lack of experience** with preservation at the level of having previously coordinated the preservation of at least one building.

It later came to light that even the various architects were merely architects and had never themselves organized a preservation project. Architectural knowledge was an indispensable skill in preservation, but far, far short of the construction cost and financial expertise necessary to make a preservation project happen (Klemm, Ullrich and Wilkinson, 2001; section 10 of Chapter 14).

Likewise, non-architects who claimed preservation knowledge and experience had been or were primarily government employees, or government contract firms, rather than private sector preservationist developers. These people could cite laws and give you booklets, but they had never themselves actually done what such documents described as possible. As a consequence, interactions with them had an abstract and remote character (mere “book learning”) regarding actual preservation.

Of course, most people in the Terminal drama were not as close to preservation matters as people such as architects and government specialists. For them, preservation was truly a foreign country, a nice place to visit, perhaps, but not one to which one had gone and returned to tell the tale.

Without claiming it would have changed the outcome, let me venture this “hypothetical.” The **absence** from this situation of even one preservationist developer with a proven record of conducting valid feasibility studies and of completing rehabilitation of historic buildings significantly contributed to preservation failure. Indeed, this may have been among the strongest of variables that contributed to preservation failure.

Stated in the reverse: No one involved in the Terminal matter (in **any** group) could with credibility and competence explain in detail how preservation of the Terminal Building might (or might not) happen.

Of course, some will say that the owners were never actually open to preservation—despite what they said—and the entire exercise was meaningless because of this. This may be true, but there is no way we can ever know for certain.

But, we do know, I think, that the owners and others never had access to a credible preservationist alternative. There **was** a push for a feasibility study that failed. What was missing, though, was an appreciation that the very idea of a “feasibility study” itself needed to be explained and placed in the context of a larger preservation process.

A preservationist developer with a solid history of well-founded feasibility studies and success with historic buildings could have made that case. But no such person was present and the case was never made.

Instead, we saw a quagmire of groping, milling, hesitation, and flailing about on all sides. Events drifted and in the absence of credible alternatives, demolition happened.

SOURCES, METHODS, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For me, this is an unusual book because of the large differences in units of time making up the story. In Part I, the time-units are, primarily, decades and even longer. Then, in Part II, the units reduce to, mostly, years and months. Finally, in Part III, the prime units are days, hours, and minutes.

These differences in the scale of time signal differences in sources and types of data, methods of analysis, and kind of debts I have to the many people who helped me.

1) HEYDAY HISTORY: CHAPTERS 2, 3 and 4

The first three chapters of Part I are traditionally “historical,” here meaning that hardly anyone who lived during the period covered is now alive. One is therefore almost entirely dependent on the written record. In the case of this book, that written record was primarily microfilm copies of the *Davis Enterprise*.

Fortunately, before deciding to write this book I had previously completed a project that required that I read a great deal of that newspaper covering the early decades of the twentieth century. My quest was for information on an area now called “Old North Davis” (Lofland, 1999). Almost nothing of that neighborhood’s origin and development was known and one key source of information was the microfilmed *Enterprise*.

Even though I was specifically searching for Old North items, I could not resist photocopying a variety of other stories I found delightful. In three-ring binders, these photocopies came to consume some two feet of shelf space. (Fortunately, the dime per copy slot device attached to the Davis Branch Library photocopy machine virtually never worked and I was spared the chore of feeding it a huge number of dimes. I thank the Branch librarians—especially Jay Johnstone—for trusting me to pay lump sum amounts of my own assessment.)

When the June 11, 2000, G Street Plaza event was scheduled (Chapter 9), I went back and reviewed these photocopies for information on the building. I was excited to discover that, without realizing it, I had compiled a nice record of social doings in and around the Terminal Building. Initially, I assembled these reports for an exhibit at the June 11 celebration (seen, for example, in Fig. 9. 6). Having done that work, it was easy then to re-process the stories as they appear in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

My reading of *Enterprise* microfilm was not without error and early-on I missed some important aspects. Happily, Davis resident Betty Rivers also read the *Enterprise* on microfilm from time and time. It was from her I learned the building was constructed in two phases in 1924 and in 1926-27, a fact my previous readings had missed.

2) NEGLECT HISTORY: CHAPTERS 4 and 5

As reported in section 8 of Chapter 1, the 1950s through the 1990s were decades of Davis' explosive growth and transformation. Forming a nuanced view of these changes and their relation to Davis local history and preservation—and therefore to the Terminal Building—was no easy task and one on which I spent several months.

I was able to spend any time at all—much less months—because of five people who made invaluable records of those decades available to me and/or who spent considerable time relating events to me.

The first of these five was Debbie Davis, the Editor of the *Davis Enterprise*. Desiring to clear clutter out of the paper's printing plant and knowing of my interest in Davis history, in January, 2001 she gave me 83 bound volumes of the *Davis Enterprise* covering late 1966 through 1983. Stacked waist-high on a pallet, the Enterprise's forklift truck was needed to place this heavy object onto the bed of a medium-sized pickup-truck—squeezing the bed down to just slightly touching the tires (this is partially pictured in Sherwin, 2001a). Day-after-day for some weeks, I immersed myself in these volumes. At the end of each session in which I wrestled with these awkward objects, my hands were almost entirely black with newspaper ink.

Second, in July of this same year, the heir of deceased Professor and Mrs. Hubert Heitman was selling their former home. He asked the realtor, Cynthia Gerber, to help him dispose of several boxes and paper bags of issues of the *Davis Enterprises* found in storage rooms on the property. Mrs. Gerber thought the Hattie Weber Museum of Davis, rather than the county landfill, was the appropriate place to take these bags and boxes, which she did. Now called the Heitman Enterprise Collection at the Museum, it contains a large portion of the issues of that paper from the late 1950s through the mid-1960s, including the entire year of 1964 (of which, previously, there were no known copies *at all*) (Sherwin, 2001b). I spend much time reading all these papers.

The methodological importance of these “hard copy” *Enterprises* is that they freed me from the constraints of both a library microfilm machine and the only other existing hard copy, those in bound volumes kept by the UC Davis Department of Special Collections.

The *Enterprise* photos from the 1950s-90s seen in Chapters 4 and 5 were scanned from these hard copies. This results in the best available quality because: 1) the microfilm version contains limited gray-scale; 2) the huge bound volumes in UC Davis Special Collections are, as a physical matter, virtually unscannable; and, 3) the Davis Enterprise says it has no files of its old photographs. Therefore, the original newspapers provide the best surviving versions we have of a vast number of photographs taken by and used in the *Davis Enterprise*.

Moreover, these papers were available to me in my own study and at my own computer equipment. This was a locale much more conducive to slow and deliberate inspection than the reading rooms of either the Davis Branch Library (with microfilm) or the UC Davis Special Collections Department (with bound volumes) (as marvelous as both those institutions otherwise are).

Together, these collections provided me a unique and unfettered access to a detailed chronicle of Davis history. So, my debts to Debbie Davis and Cynthia Gerber are great, indeed. (I, however, only scratched the surface of this record for the limited purposes of this book. These rich Enterprise materials are available to all other serious researchers and I hope that they will use them for a variety of other types of projects.)

Third, Phyllis Haig was a participant in virtually all 1960s-1990s local history and preservationist activities, an assertion that cannot be made about anyone else. As important,

Mrs. Haig saved pretty-much every document that came her way in these involvements. Moreover, she **took notes** on a very large portion of the meetings she attended over the decades. These items resided in eight storage boxes in her garage and she was extraordinarily generous in allowing me to review all their contents and to photocopy whatever I desired. The account of Davis local history and preservation spanning Chapters 5 and 6 would be enormously poorer (and perhaps non-existent) without this assistance.

Fourth, Robin Datel saved her files from the period she was active as a historical commissioner and very kindly loaned them to me for this research.

Fifth, several detailed conversations with Esther Polito about events of the late 1980s and 1990s were indispensable in helping get the historical record right. She also did me the very great favor of looking up a number of dates and Council and Commission votes.

In addition to these five, I want also to acknowledge the very helpful observations on and insights about this period related to me by Bob Black and Lynn Campbell.

3) PRESERVATION FAILURES: CHAPTERS 7, 8, 10, 11

The focus and methodological work changes sharply when we come, in Part II, to what we might call the four “struggle” chapters, those numbered 7, 8, 10, and 11.

In these, my decision was to let the story tell itself as much as possible by means of the public record. The public record here consists of two main parts: 1) newspaper accounts, and 2) documents **produced by** and **given to** the City of Davis. The text I provide is the minimum needed to tie the public record together.

As anyone would expect, there was, of course, also a “back-story,” a private spate of jockeyings among the most involved parties that was done behind closed doors and out of public view. Only occasionally did I get a glimpse of what went on in it and who its more hidden participants seemed to be. (For example, I am told that early-on Heather Caswell had serious discussions with the owners about her—together with others—buying the building.)

I made little effort to dig out this back-story. I made this decision for two reasons. One, it seemed to me that what we saw on the surface and in public were sufficient to provide us a basic understanding of what happened and the causes of it. While an elaborate and **accurate** back-story would be interesting (and, especially, amusing), I doubt if it would substantially change our understanding. Two, reports of who said what and what “really” happened in the back-story are especially contentious and the subject of competing and contradictory claims. I might have been able to assemble a set of these contradictory claims. But, I would still be left with having to report that I could not know which were more true and which were less true.

As I said in Chapter 1, I decided to write this book on September 18, 2000, the day demolition began. This means that I had not previously been collecting either form of the public record—the newspaper reports or the City documents.

Subsequently, I went back to old *Enterprises* to assemble the rather detailed record we see in Chapters 7, 8, 10 and 11. I thought I had it all, but then I learned that Phyllis Haig was independently clipping and pasting in a scrapbook every *Enterprise* item on this matter! I asked her to let me check her record against the one I had put together. I found that her chronicle was more complete than mine. She graciously allowed me to photocopy items I had missed, thus saving me hours in front of a microfilm reading machine. In Chapters 7, 8, 10 and 11, her clippings are distinctive in having detailed identifying information from the paper pasted above them.

As can also be seen in these four chapters, the City document record is even more complicated than the one in the *Enterprise*. City documents are public records and, by law, I could examine and photocopy all the pertinent Terminal Building files. Even so, their meaning, sequence, and context was not always clear. When puzzled, I would ask city planner Ken Hiatt for elaboration and clarification. He was always an exceedingly cooperative and helpful guide through this maze.

On a variety of these “struggle” matters, I have learned a great deal in conversations with Laura Cole-Rowe and Gerald Heffernon. I thank them for sharing their insights with me and offering much good advice.

4) CELEBRATION: CHAPTER 9

The celebration of Terminal and Davis history held on the G Street Plaza on June 11, 2000 posed a special problem of data. Heather Caswell and I were the lead organizers. At the time of its preparation and performance, I was not thinking of writing a book on the Terminal matter. This meant that I did not even bring a camera and take any pictures on that day, much less make any sound or motion picture images. I was, instead, attending to backstage matters of making sure the event went as planned (which it did).

So, when I decided to write a book, there was the question locating visual data on the event. As it happened, Davis residents Laima Druskis and Sunny Shine had, on their own, shot a large number of still photographs of pretty much everything. Indeed, they presented a box of them to Heather and I in the way that people at any special event show one another pictures taken of it.

Liam and Sunny are credited in Chapter 9 and I am happy again to thank them.

Integral to the four “struggle” chapters and the celebration chapter is, of course, the work of Heather Caswell. At one level, I am indebted to her in the odd sense that there likely would have been little story to tell without her. Had she not been very important in catalyzing citizen action to save the building, the structure might well have gone down without much of a murmur.

At another level, she recruited me to be part of the loose band of activists energized to try to save the building. Importantly through her, I knew about the struggle as it went along.

Her role in all this was so important that I have thought it appropriate to dedicate the book to her, shared with the more than one-hundred year history of Davis published in the *Davis Enterprise*. Together, they provided a very large portion of the data for this book.

5) DEMOLITION: CHAPTERS 12 and 13

The two pages introducing Part III provide an account of the data and methods regarding demolition “processes” (Chapter 12) and “moments” in those processes (Chapter 13). I will therefore not repeat that material here.

With regard to the demolition, I am very pleased to thank Stan Bowers for treating me in a consistently genial and helpful manner over its 73 days—and beyond. He went out of his way to let me know what was happening in many matters and to point up aspects of the situation at the demolition site that I would otherwise have missed.

In November, 2002, I gave him a draft of this book to review. He responded by telling me he had located the second missing plaque from the Terminal Arch Mural (Chapter 13, section 12).

Further, if I would come and pick it up at his suburban Sacramento home, I could have it. I went and got it. Thanks, Stan.

Likewise, his chief associate, John Sheehy, was always very helpful, most spectacularly in rescuing the Terminal Cafe cash register from the building's basement (Chapter 13, section 3), but in many other concrete ways as well.

6) REVIEWERS AND ADVISORS

On completing the first draft in late October, 2002, I was concerned that I did not want to print anything about anyone who appeared in the book in any important way without first giving them an opportunity to read and respond.

To this end, I went through the draft and counted the names of everyone who seemed to me to be a "principal participant." In my estimation, there were 29 such persons. (Given all the letters, events, consultant reports, and such, the list of names of everyone mentioned is obviously much, much longer.)

Because the manuscript was some 350 pages long in hard copy, I tried to keep my costs under at least some control by producing it in Adobe Acrobat (pdf) on a compact disk. Accompanied by hard copy of the front matter and Chapter 1, I delivered or sent this package to the 29 principal participants. In addition, I offered hard copy for those who could not read the document on a CD. Six of the 29 asked me for hard copy, which I supplied.

In the space of three months, I had heard back from only a few. I saw several of these people regularly or from time-to-time. When seeing them, I would sometimes raise the question of why I had not heard from them on the draft and would be told it was, indeed, in the stack of things they planned to read. Jokingly I said to some of them that "silence is consent" and that I would not be sympathetic with complaints they might have **after** printing.

In addition, I asked a number of other people knowledgeable about preservation and/or Davis affairs but not involved in the Terminal matter to review the draft.

Despite being a "picture book" of a sort, I am aware that the manuscript is long and tells a complicated story. I am therefore all the more appreciative that quite a few people actually did wrestle with it in detailed and extremely helpful fashions.

Because of them, this book is quite significantly improved over the draft that each read. My very heartfelt thanks to each of these readers:

Lynn Campbell	Merrily DuPree	Joann Leach Larkey	Wendy Nelson
Heather Caswell	Jim Frame	Lyn Lofland	Ken Wagstaff
Robin Datel	Phyllis Haig	Stephen Mikesell	Mike White
Mark DuPree	Mike Harrington	Scott Neeley	David Wilkinson

Among these hardy helpers, I owe a special debt to three who, without me asking them, read the manuscript in proof-reader detail and caught an enormous number of typing and kindred errors: Merrily DuPree, Jim Frame, Lyn Lofland.

As with previous books I have written, I owe Lyn Lofland a profound debt. She believed in the value of this work and helped at every step to bring it to a respectable public product. Although I did the work, I do not think I could have carried it through without her love and support.

I have tried to make this book as complete and accurate as possible. But, like every other inquiry ever conducted, it surely still contains errors of substance and style and of commission and omission. The reader should therefore bring a critical mindset to it. And in turn, I hope the reader will bring a critical mindset to the criticisms generated by that critical mindset.

John Lofland
Davis, California
March, 2003

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BY AND ABOUT THE AUTHOR

BY THE AUTHOR

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Old North Davis: Guide to Walking a Traditional Neighborhood (1999)

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A Professor of Sociology Emeritus at the University of California Davis, since the mid-1990s John Lofland has been involved in Davis, California historical research and historic preservation.

For this work, he has received the Sacramento County Historical Society's Award of Merit for Publication, the City of Davis' Preservation Appreciation Award, and the Davis Downtown Business Association's Volunteer of the Year Award. In 2002, he was elected the first President of the newly-formed Davis Historical Society.

In his academic career, he was the founding editor of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, served as President of the Society

for the Study of Symbolic Interaction and of the Pacific Sociological Association, and as Chair of the American Sociological Association's sections on Collective Behavior and Social Movements and the Sociology of War and Peace. He is a recipient of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction's G. H. Mead Award for outstanding lifetime contributions to the study of human behavior and social life.

His previous book-length inquiries include studies of the Unification Church—the "Moonies"—in America in the 1960s, protest demonstrations at the California State Capital in the 1970s, and the American peace movement of the 1980s.

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