Historic Preservation on an Industrial Riverfront: Local Perspectives of Minneapolis's Upper Harbor Terminal

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## **ABSTRACT**

In the last few decades, urban riverfronts have begun transitioning from industrial usage to more recreational usage and green space. When an industrial site is replaced, judgments regarding the historical significance of the site are made, often by historical or city planning experts. Using the Upper Harbor Terminal, a barge terminal in Minneapolis, as a case study, we aimed to reveal the historical and current significance of this industrial site as understood by local residents through focus groups, in order to integrate the professional and residential perspectives into a richer historical account and discover the complex significance of the UHT to local residents. We found that in general, residents 1) lacked an awareness or attachment to the Upper Harbor Terminal or its history, 2) were very difficult to reach, 3) believed barging history was important to Minneapolis, and 4) emphasized the importance of their voices in redevelopment decision-making. These findings suggest that it is crucial to seek out the opinions of communities so that the history of the UHT and similar sites can be remembered in a way that accurately reflects the relationship between communities and industrial sites from the residents' point of view as well as the professional history that is often told.

### INTRODUCTION

The Mississippi River watershed encompasses a diverse mix of landscapes, from un-built wilderness to agricultural land to expansive urban areas. Large cities along the Mississippi like Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans only account for a small part of the watershed area, yet they have great influence on the river and are hotspots for planning and generating ideas about how to manage the Mississippi in a human-dominated landscape. These urban riverfronts present a complex case for planners because of the often-conflicting social, aesthetic and ecological concerns that coexist in a small, densely populated area (Gobster 2007; Gurnell et al. 2007; Johnson 1995; Wohl 2005).

Historically, urban riverbanks were dominated by industries that were located along riverfronts in order to make use of the river's kinetic power, transportation opportunities, and convenient ability to pass off the problems of sewage and other pollutants to those downstream

(Kelman 2003). However, urban riverfronts are increasingly being appreciated for their aesthetic, recreational, and cultural value (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006). Many recent city plans for riverfront redevelopment present ideas of mixed riverfront usage that emphasize restoring natural riverbanks and connecting people to the river aesthetically and recreationally (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006). The long-term plans that outline Minneapolis's future seek to 'revitalize' its riverfront. This entails a dramatic removal of existing industrial infrastructure and converting that riverfront land into a green parkway corridor, with residential, commercial and/or business park areas nearby (City of Minneapolis 2013).

In this era of shifting land use and riverbank redevelopment, it is important to consider the role of the river's industrial sites in the city's history, and the historic effects of industrial land uses in the local community. Historic preservation of industrial sites has sometimes been used to preserve the memory of significant industrial places. However, the determination of historical significance, often carried out by academic experts working within the bounds of national criteria, is traditionally seen as an objective process, that is fixed and final once complete, and may not capture the nuanced meanings of a historical site to all its stakeholders including local residents (Mason 2004). Because the stated significance of a site affects the story that is told through its preservation, the voices of the local community are important seek out in order that preservation not disregard the local community's relationship with the site in question.

In light of the major changes that are set to occur to its physical structures, we have chosen the Upper Harbor Terminal (UHT), also known as the Port of Minneapolis, as a case study to investigate the importance of an industrial site in a local community context, set inside of a broader historical context. The UHT is a municipal barge terminal built in 1968 on the northern section of Minneapolis's riverfront. It operates as the city's port, receiving, storing, and sending commodities by truck, rail, and barge. This terminal and three privately owned barge docks are the only terminals above St. Anthony Falls in downtown Minneapolis, and mark the northernmost commercially navigable point on the Mississippi River, also known as the head of navigation. Due to the UHT's declining usage and the high value of the land it sits on, the city plans to cease operations of the site by the end of 2014 and begin the redevelopment process as outlined in the recently updated "Above the Falls Masterplan." (City of Minneapolis 2013; Rao 2014) The site will likely be transformed into a combination of parks, commercial areas, business parks, and/or light industry (City of Minneapolis 2013; Flack 2014).

The site presents a complicated case of historical preservation because of the engineering feat and lobbying efforts that the site was born out of, its underwhelming financial success, and its relatively short working life span. On one hand, the site has been deemed by a Hess Roise and Company, historical consultation group hired by the City, to be "historically significant" according to national historic designation standards (Roise and Berg 2007), yet several amateur historians of Minneapolis river history have understood the site as having relatively little historical importance (Maguire 2013; Smith 2013). The report by Roise and Berg does not investigate the site's significance to the neighboring area's current residents. We believe resident perspectives to be integral to understanding what value the UHT holds for those affected by its redevelopment, and if and how historical preservation should be incorporated into redevelopment plans. In light the of current redevelopment plans we ask: What is the historical significance of the Upper Harbor Terminal from the perspective of the local neighborhood residents? What is their current relationship to the terminal? We will break down these questions further:

- How has the UHT affected the lives of nearby residents throughout its existence?
- Do residents feel connected to or value the UHT? Why or why not?
- How do residents' feelings about the UHT or industry in general on the upper river play into their wishes for redevelopment?

We use "historical significance" in our research question as a broad term to mean the perspective of local residents regarding the ways in which they have related to and been affected by the UHT historically. Our usage of "historical significance" is not indicative of the national criteria or in the larger context of historical events or trends. We took in two different approaches to answering these questions. First, we engaged in traditional historical research about the UHT to provide a framework of the site's history; second, we conducted focus groups and surveys with residents to solicit their knowledge and views on this topic. Expert interviews with professionals and community representatives were done to supplement this research.

In this paper, the term resident will be used to refer to the people who we spoke with in interviews and focus groups. We planned to limit our definition of residents to people who lived in the two neighborhoods on either site of the UHT--Marshall Terrace and McKinley--however, we experienced low attendance at our focus groups and so we expanded our scope to people who attended a mosque in McKinley, worked at a business in Marshall Terrace or McKinley or were

part of Facebook pages for North Minneapolis. The participants of these groups were not all confirmed residents of Marshall Terrace or McKinley, but they had some connection or exposure to the area.

The results of our research suggest that the Upper Harbor Terminal is not historically significant for its impacts on its surrounding communities. In general, residents around the UHT do not and have never had a strong connection to the UHT or its history. Although resident opinion is by no means unanimous, residents around the UHT would prefer to replace the existing UHT structures with public green space, and some combination of commercial and/or housing developments that appropriately factor in the value that the river bestows on the land. Our findings suggest that minimal historic preservation could be done to cultivate a community connection to the city's barging history, but should not be impede more desired development outcomes. However, these findings are incomplete and a more thorough inclusion of residents' voices should be done in order to preserve identity and culture, and to avoid socially undesirable and affronting outcomes of redevelopment.

In the following sections of our paper, we will couch our case study in current literature on historic and industrial preservation, collective memory and place attachment, and social and environmental justice. We will contextualize the research and results with a thorough history of the UHT (illuminated by experts' traditional historical research) and explanation of the neighborhoods surrounding the UHT (we focus on Marshall Terrace and McKinley). Our results are presented according to their source/collection method, but discussed together as a whole.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

### Historic preservation

Historic preservation aims to cultivate collective memory and place attachment. The term "historic preservation" broadly encompasses everything from the total physical preservation of a historic building or site to the incorporation of small architectural details from an old structure into a remodel, to a simple commemorative plaque or interpretive display (Barthel 1996). Preservation can extend to entire districts or even landscapes. Preserving history is an aspect of riverbank redevelopment that is often cursorily mentioned in plans, including those for

Minneapolis and the UHT, but deserves a more thorough consideration due to its role in maintaining and cultivating peoples' connection to places. The city's most recent riverbank redevelopment plans include a brief historical narrative and a section on historical resources, but do not address residents' relationships to the industrial sites along the river that the city wants to remove. However, the plans indicate openness to historical preservation, saying that "celebrating history and culture should be an important aspect of development," but also identify a need for more in-depth research into the history and importance of industrial sites along the river.

Randall Mason writes that, "Conceptually, the heart of historic preservation lies in the intellectual and emotional connections we make between memory and environment... Fabric [physical material] is essential to sustaining memory" (Mason 2004). By cultivating collective memory, historic preservation can be an important means of maintaining cultural landscapes that support place attachment and community identity, both of which are important for community support of development. In geology, hydrology, and ecology, the effects past land-uses have on the current landscape have been referred to as a place's "land-use legacy," a concept that can be applied in a cultural as well as an ecological context (Foster et al. 2003). Scholars stress the importance of situating current land-use plans and changes in the context of effects still emanating from past land-uses (Foster et al. 2003; Ramalho and Hobbs 2012). The land-use legacy concept is useful when considering the importance of maintaining existing cultural landscapes—landscapes that "provide a sense of place and identity"—during the implementation of riverbank redevelopment plans (The Cultural Landscape Foundation 2013). Cultural landscapes can develop as communities form relationships to places over time, through events and activities that bring people into contact with specific sites. Continuity with the past, often through physical reminders, is important in maintaining cultural landscapes.

In urban settings, continuity with the past can reside in physical and architectural features that form "legible landscapes" which can hold collective memory (Drenthen 2009). Places act "as a focus for memories that [people] wish to preserve" (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Reflecting layers of human history like a palimpsest—a text that has been rubbed away and written over, leaving discernible traces underneath—urban legible landscapes help communities to maintain a sense of attachment to places (Lewicka 2008; Drenthen 2009). The historical connectivity that legible landscapes provide allows people and communities to inhabit places in dynamic ways that are resilient to change, and fosters a sense of place identity (Drenthen 2009;

Kyle 2004; Lewicka 2008). Place identity, a relationship formed over time between people and places that are deemed significant to them, plays a large role in the formation of individual and community identity and can inspire greater involvement with local places. As Pretty points out, "It follows that people's bonds with...places will impact their engagement in such places, whether it be to maintain or improve them, respond to changes within them, or simply to stay in that place." (Pretty et al. 2003) Though it may seem intuitive, this concept warrants reiteration: the more attachment people feel to a place, the more likely they are to be involved in maintaining and improving that place (Manzo and Perkins 2006). Thus, place attachment is desirable to maintain, and should be cultivated and protected from "social and economic forces that can lead to displacement through property abandonment or gentrification" (Saegert 2000; see also Pretty et al. 2003).

Altering the physical fabric of places can disrupt place attachment/identity and collective memory, or be perceived as doing so by the community, due to its role in sustaining memory (Manzo and Perkins 2006). Because of the positive effects of place attachment on community coherence and involvement, being aware of existing place attachments that may be affected by development is essential. Drenthen urges planners and project managers to be conscious of the relationships between people and place embodied in physical details, claiming that such mindfulness will "... help prevent... restoration projects [from] unwittingly destroying the fabric connecting people to their places" (Drenthen 2009). Identification and preservation of historically meaningful places can help ensure that new development does not detrimentally alter existing place attachments. Our study attempts to determine if and how the UHT is a part of the cultural landscape of the surrounding neighborhoods, and if attachments exist between nearby residents and this place. This knowledge will be useful in ensuring that development is respectful of this site's relationship to local residents, and is not destructive of positive relationships that may exist between them.

Traditionally, historic preservationists have focused their efforts on sites that qualify as "significant" according to criteria set forth by the National Park Service (NPS) under the Department of the Interior (see Appendix A). The NPS oversees the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), which is administered by State Historic Preservation Offices. Local historic designation, unconnected to the NRHP, is dealt with by municipalities, sometimes with slightly different criteria. Historical places can be preserved unofficially by individuals and

communities without designation on either the local or national level; conversely, designation on the National Register does not necessitate preservation. However, under section 106 of the National Register does not necessitate preservation. However, under section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, a site listed on, or eligible for, the National Register must be reviewed by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation if government money is being used in a development project that will alter the designated site. Minneapolis's guidelines for local designation state that designated properties "cannot be modified or removed without review by CPED [Community Economic Planning and Development Department] and the HPC [Historic Preservation Commission]. However, designation does not mean freezing a building in time. Many projects throughout the City demonstrate the commitment of the local government and the private sector to "adaptively reuse" old buildings and find new uses that enable historic building to remain a part of the city's living history" or memorialize certain aspects of the site if the buildings are removed (Heritage Preservation Commission: City of Minneapolis 2013).

Traditional historical significance designation is often reserved for only site that are more than 50 years old. In the past two decades, many studies have considered historical significance and preservation of industrial history, but they tend to focus on industrial buildings and areas that stretch quite far back in time (Bigga 2004; Jacobson 2012; del Poso and Alonso Gonzalez 2012; Barthel 1996; LaFever 2013; Günter 1999). This farsightedness overlooks the importance of recent history; yet as Jackson writes, "The recent past is part of the future of preservation" (Jackson 2013). Our study contributes to this discussion because it examines an industrial site less than 50 years old, with most of its physical structures built only within the past 30 years or less. Our study site, the Upper Harbor Terminal in Minneapolis, has also been reconfigured and restructured over this time period; thus preservation of any of its constructed elements would be less to monumentalize that structure in and of itself, but to use that structure as a memorial to the varied industrial life of this part of the river.

Determining the significance of a place is currently the essence of preservation. Once determined, a "statement of significance" is commonly used to guide preservation planning and decision-making (Mason 2004). However, the significance of a site is highly subjective and context-dependent. Different approaches to contextualizing and interpreting a site's significance can result in radically different preservation outcomes, and thus affect how the preserved site transmits and fosters collective memory (Barthel 1996). Historic preservation scholars have began to critique the way that "significance" is traditionally assigned to places, asserting that

significance is determined in an overly objective, scientific, unreflective and uncritical way that relies too heavily on academic experts, who are often removed from the local community's experiences (Mason 2004). As Mason writes,

"Significance reduces many shades of gray to fewer lines of black and white... consider[ing] all the meanings of a place, and winnow[ing] out the few most important ones. The way significance has traditionally been used and talked about makes it seem clear and objective... Once 'found,' significance is taken mostly as a matter of faith, and a priesthood (historians, architects and preservation professionals) and group of the faithful (preservationists) interpret the results for the public. Such a view of significance presumes that a building will always mean the same thing, that all of society views the building in the same way, and that there is only one kind of significance." (Mason 2004)

Traditional preservation processes may ignore what seems obvious: significance is socially constructed and highly subjective, and likely to change through time and across contexts and interpretations, and depending on who is assigning it (Mason 2004). A more progressive approach to defining significance "seeks to be more extensive, detailed, and complicated; it suggests that there may be multiple valid arguments about the meaning of a place." (Mason 2004) Re-thinking how significance is determined, and including more community voices in the process can help construct a more nuanced picture of the multiple meanings of a place. If historic sites are to accurately embody the public memory of a community, the voices and values of the community must be taken into account. Following Mason's initiative to redefine the term "historical significance," we will alter our use of "historical significance" in discussing our research to mean the perspectives of residents regarding the UHT and its impact.

Mason's critique of traditional methods of determining historical significance is relevant to UHT redevelopment. In 2007, Hess Roise and Company, a historical research firm in Minneapolis, released a report commissioned by the City of Minneapolis investigating the history of the city's Upper Mississippi Harbor Development in preparation for the Upper Harbor Terminal's closure and redevelopment. The Upper Mississippi Harbor Development, an area that extends upriver from the Northern Pacific Railroad Bridge below St. Anthony Falls to the Soo Line Railway Bridge near the northern city limits of Minneapolis (see Appendix F), includes the UHT. The report, written by Roise and Berg, provided a detailed evaluation of the site's

historical significance and that of the surrounding area, and identified parts of the Upper Harbor Development as historically significant and eligible for national designation as a historic district. The Upper Harbor Development, which including the UHT, was determined to be significant because of its relationship to the St. Anthony Falls lock and dam, and the local political struggle to acquire this development. The UHT itself was found to be eligible for local designation "for a site envisioned, promoted, constructed and funded by the City of Minneapolis in association with the Upper Mississippi Harbor Development." (Roise and Berg 2007)

While the report is exhaustive in its use of traditional historical sources, it does not attempt to incorporate perspectives of the community in which the site resides, most likely because such research is not traditionally done when assessing the historic significance and value of sites. However, as mentioned above, values are perceived differently by different people at different times and places, and in order to get the clearest picture of a place's significance, multiple stakeholders should be consulted in addition to a traditional historical investigation (Mason 2004). Early conversations with prominent community leaders indicated potential community disinterest and even opposition to the preservation of the UHT site, suggesting that the historical meaning and importance of the UHT is contested and that professional and resident perspectives of the site's importance do not align. A community leader and resident of Marshall Terrace gave her strong opinion against preservation of the UHT, saying, "You're kidding me. The Upper Harbor? Why? [laughs] It expanded shipping in an unsuccessful way. This isn't controversial at all. It was a total waste of money, time and resources, a total failure since the time it was opened. Taxpayers for Common Sense listed it as one of the Top 10 Biggest Losses of taxpayer money [we could not confirm this statement, although she made it several times]. The city has never made a dollar on it" (Maguire 2013). This potential disconnect between historians and residents makes it imperative to further investigate the significance of the UHT, defined here as the local perspectives of the UHT, so that redevelopment of the site is sensitive to the relationship between the site and the community where it resides.

#### Communities Voices and Environmental Justice

Industrial sites like the UHT are particularly important places to involve the community in conversations about preservation. Historically oppressed or marginalized groups of people are more likely to live near undesirable or locally unwanted industrial sites that may be the focus of preservation efforts (Bullard 1990). Historically marginalized communities often struggle to make their voices heard in the political processes that precede development, which can be detrimental to community historic preservation because of the role that "domination and uneven access to a society's political and economic resources" plays in questions of social memory (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). Marginalized groups will likely have had experiences that differ from mainstream academic perspectives on history, making it particularly important to pay attention to these perspectives in the preservation process. As Eichstedt and Small write, "How history is written and made socially important through the landscape is... vital to achieving fairness and preventing the 'symbolic annihilation' of marginalized social groups and their historical identities" (Eichstedt and Small 2002, as cited in Dwyer and Alderman 2004). Del Poso and Gonzalez (2012) also point out that discussions of identity, memory, and class and power dynamics are often overlooked in industrial preservation. Lay people's criteria to determine and appreciate historic values are insufficiently covered by expert criteria, making lay involvement very important because perspectives of professional historians and analysts may be at odds with those of the local community (Coeterier 2002). If preservation is conducted in a way that does not include community input or speak to community experiences, preservation projects can alienate local residents.

The conversation about the voices of marginalized communities in development decisions extends well beyond preservation and into redevelopment and treatment of industrial sites in general. This has been extensively addressed in the Environmental Justice literature. As *Dumping in Dixie* explains, "historically... locally unwanted land uses have followed the 'path of least resistance,' meaning black and poor communities have been disproportionately burdened with these types of externalities" (Bullard 1990). Those with political power can affect public policy and city planning decisions to their advantage such that poor communities end up with locally unwanted land uses. Areas labeled as "industrial", whether or not this label is justified, can be written off as dumping grounds for unwanted land uses, to the indignation of people who call these places home (Maguire 2014). As a community leader and resident of Minneapolis's Marshall Terrace neighborhood told us, "This area of town [Northeast] is not respected by

downtown and south, we're kind of a dumping ground... and that's kind of ongoing, similar with North Minneapolis. If there's something nobody wants, let's put it up in North Minneapolis because nobody cares. And now we're having a new respect for the river. So even though it's an industrial area, that's a throwaway label." (Maguire 2013)

In riverfront development in particular, access to the river can be seen through an environmental justice lens as attitudes about rivers shift from a focus on utility to a focus on enjoyment and appreciation. As Bigga explains, "industrial areas at the waterfront have often been structurally, functionally and mentally segregated from their surroundings. As a result, it is necessary to create links between existing and new emerging neighborhoods... the population is thereby directed towards the river and can identify with it in a new way" (Bigga 2004). The UHT is a perfect example of an industrial site that almost completely restricts access to the river, and is itself cut off from surrounding communities by the river on one side, and highway I-94 on the other. River access around the UHT is a key issue in the site's redevelopment. However, it is not always easy or prioritized to link historically marginalized inner-city communities to rivers or other natural areas, due to issues of transportation and other impediments such as existing industry (Bullard 1990). This is an issue that developers will have to be aware of when considering the UHT site.

### Changes in Riverfront Valuation

Rivers have been the foundation upon which many major cities have been built, providing convenient means for transportation and industrial power (Francis 2012). The last 30 years have seen a transition in cities worldwide - including Minneapolis - away from using their rivers for industry and energy to uses that favor public access, recreation, aesthetics, and environmental integrity (Sairinen 2006). In a turn of equal weight to the development of industry along riverfronts, cities have begun considering them as aesthetically and ecologically valuable land fit for public parks, greenways, housing and economic revitalization. Many factors have contributed to this shift in attitude, namely changes in transportation, rapid urbanization, increased environmental awareness, and developing urban economies (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006). In the case of Minneapolis, a major catalyst has been the expansive development of interstate highways and rail as alternatives to river transport and the development of energy technologies that can distance industry from flowing water. Riverfront

land use has changed in Minneapolis due to these shifting public and political values, technological innovations, market forces.

This trend also owes something to the sentiment that arose in late 19th century America (now taken quite for granted) that idealizes landscapes seen as pristine, untouched, and natural (Cronon 1995). A riverfront park shaped by with this in mind and built on former industrial land might not acknowledge the historical relationships between the river, the city, and that piece of land. One could argue that the 'nature' of the river and its banks have, over the past two centuries, become tied to the industries and settlements that have used its banks. A professional historian explained to us, "so much of the industrial history of the Minneapolis riverfront has been sanitized, and its really hard to get a sense of how it was responsible for creating this city... Having some physical reflection helps remind people. I think that's really critical to societies."

In Minneapolis, the redevelopment trend of replacing industrial sites along the riverfront to green space have roots in the ideologies of renowned 19th century landscape architect Horace Cleveland. His ambitious 1880s master plan for the city's 'Grand Rounds of parkways are at the heart of many of the Minneapolis Park Board's accomplishments of the past century. It was also upon his recommendation that the City turned the river gorge downstream of the Falls into a park: "You have it in your power to convert its banks into the most attractive and most conspicuous ornament of the city, one that is entirely unique... of such picturesque character as no art could create," he wrote in the 1880s (Smith 2012). By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Park Board had acquired most of the riverfront land stretching from St. Paul to the Falls for public parkland (MPRB 2010). Cleveland also called for the extension of these parkways into the central riverfront, but by that time the area had already been filled with mills and factories (Nathanson 2010). It is interesting that these divergent attitudes towards riverfront land use existed at the same time, though they only really came into conflict at the central riverfront.

At that time, there was something of a consensus that their different natural features made the lower and upper riverfronts more fit for parkland and industry respectively. The lower river was largely unbuilt due to its dramatic topography – the very reason Cleveland saw it to be ripe for a park. His visions were driven by a principle of public access still but also by a principle that found striking natural formations (bluffs, lakes, islands) to be the source of quality in a park. While enthused about the lower gorge, Cleveland saw the more topographically neutral upper

river as less suited for parks, calling it "unremarkable" and "ideally suited for railroads and industry," and half-heartedly suggesting a driving park in Northeast Minneapolis (Smith 2010).

The Park Board still cites the legacy of his ideas - which were among the earliest that considered the potential of riverfronts as places for the public and 'natural' aesthetics - as an impetus for what they do today. Speaking in 2010 of plans for a new riverfront park in central Minneapolis, District 3 Park Commissioner Scott Vreeland said, "it was Horace Cleveland's plan—and a darn good one—that we provide public access to the river and other park properties. It's of historical significance" (MPRB 2010). Though this may be true, the idea that the upper riverfront in particular could be most valuable for anything but industry is not much older than the Above the Falls Master Plan.

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### Case Selection

Minneapolis is a useful setting in which to study the place of industrial history in riverbank redevelopment, because the city has been part of the global trend of transitioning urban riverfronts from areas of industry to recreational green spaces and commercial areas. Current plans for industrial riverbanks in Minneapolis call for gradually removing heavy industry, and establishing green corridors (recreational parks, walking trails and ecologically restored areas) in conjunction with commercial areas, business parks, light industry and/or housing (City of Minneapolis 2013; Friends of the Mississippi et al. 2004). Our findings will add to the body of literature on recent industrial preservation that can help inform other cities as they implement riverfront redevelopment plans.

The riverfront inside the city of Minneapolis is commonly broken into three sections (starting upstream)—the "upper river", the "central riverfront", and the "lower gorge" (Minneapolis Riverfront Partnership 2013). Our study focused on the upper river, a particularly interesting section to examine because it has the fewest parks and public access points and the most remaining industry adjacent to the river. An organization working on river revitalization in Minneapolis considers the upper river to be the least well studied section of the river in

Minneapolis, with the highest potential for significant positive change (Minneapolis Riverfront Partnership 2013).

Following several sets of plans for this area that were never fully realized, an updated master plan was released in mid-2013, titled the "Above The Falls Master Plan Update." This plan calls for redevelopment of the Upper Harbor Terminal (UHT), the northernmost port on the Mississippi, now set to close in late 2014. We have selected the UHT as our study site because it will be among the earliest pieces of property within the purview of the Above the Falls Masterplan that has become available for redevelopment (see Figure 1). The demolition of the UHT's existing structures and subsequent redevelopment of the property could soon be underway, making questions concerning their significance to history and the surrounding community both timely and time-sensitive.



Figure 1. Map of the UHT area. The UHT is outlined in blue.

Source: Google Maps

The UHT is also a unique and interesting site for study because of where it stands in the course taken by the city's valuation of the riverfront in the past century. It sits on land that was long considered fit only for industry and was built recently, only three decades before a master plan that consigned it to closure. Even during the movement to revitalize the central riverfront into a place of public access and city pride, the UHT was being increasingly built up. Eventually the UHT area became subsumed into the push for river parks, a project presented a legacy of Minneapolis's grand scheme for parks, though that scheme originally relegated the area to live an industrial life. Consequently, the UHT site is at once a legacy of Minneapolis's history of barging and industry and of its park system.

Moreover, the UHT is a good site to study because there has been minimal research on public attitudes towards the site. The one public scoping and outreach event regarding the UHT that we are aware of—part of the UHT Redevelopment Study (Friends of the Mississippi 2004)—asked participants about their views on redevelopment but skimmed over history or site attachment questions. This study also suggested that community members would appreciate an incorporation of history in redevelopment plans of the UHT, and that they want a stronger voice in the redevelopment process. In a survey question from this study, residents were asked to identify desirable characteristics from a series of potential redevelopment features. The options for a "unique design with fun history" and "education about wildlife, environment and history" were listed as "consensus responses" among participants. However, the option for "public art and interpretive signage to celebrate the river's ecology and industrial history" was only chosen by one participant (Friends of the Mississippi 2004). Clearly, public attitudes towards redevelopment are ripe for more detailed study.

A notable outcome of the previously mentioned public outreach event was participants' critique that the study was "designed to pursue a particular outcome and therefore flawed" (Friends of the Mississippi 2004). This response indicates that participants did not feel as though their true opinions were heard, and desire more representative community participation in the redevelopment planning process. As they stand now, the plans for the UHT site do not detail the preservation of its industrial character and do not investigate the potential historical value to the community in context of the broader industrial landscape (City of Minneapolis 2013). Our study probes into these questions, and contributes a gap in the historical preservation literature on the

importance of including local community voices in preservation and redevelopment, and how the process of gathering community voices plays out.

## Historical Background/Case Description

As context for understanding the complexities of this case, we engaged in traditional historical research. This research sought to illuminate the historical significance of the Upper Harbor Terminal in a broad context, from a scholar's perspective, in order to frame the historical relationship of the UHT and neighboring industrial area to the local community over time. These methods also served to flesh out the details of our particular case and how its present situation came to be. We searched the archives at the Minnesota Historical Society (see Appendix E), as well as the online newspaper archives of the Star Tribune from 1986-present (earlier dates were not available in a searchable format), and Sanborn historical maps. We used the background information gathered from expert interviews, as well as the Roise and Berg report, and other secondary sources, as starting points to give context to our research.

#### Data Collection

Mason argues that historical significance, as a social construct, is determined as much by the people assigning it as by characteristics inherent in the site itself (Mason 2004). Based on this argument, we evaluated the significance of the UHT to residents using both traditional methods of archival historical research as a framework, and by eliciting information on public sentiment towards the UHT from nearby residents. Both parts were supplemented by expert interviews. Originally, we had planned to gather public sentiment through a series of focus groups with residents of the neighborhoods adjacent to the UHT. However, these focus groups had very low attendance, so we turned to surveys to supplement our data.

## **Expert Interviews**

To supplement our background knowledge of the issue, gain insight from knowledgeable and involved individuals, give context to our data, and generate ideas for the direction and focus of our research and analysis, we conducted interviews with experts in the fields of river/local

history, historic preservation, urban planning and neighborhood organizing, as well as individuals involved with the barge industry. Interview questions were tailored to the specific interviewee, and were semi-structured so as to give the interviewee and interviewer freedom to pursue topics as they came up in conversation. Interviews were audio recorded and selectively transcribed. Additionally, we conducted a focus group with members of the Above the Falls Citizen Advisory Committee (AFCAC), a city-organized committee made up of 30 members--18 citizens, 6 business representatives, and 6 environmental advocates--whose purpose is to help implement the Above the Falls Master Plan. This focus group was conducted in order to access the opinions of people with greater than average knowledge and involvement in river issues, in a discussion-based format. This meeting was advertised through AFCAC's monthly meeting and email list-serve. The meeting began with four participants and ended with ten, as people entered throughout it. We followed a semi-structured set of questions/topics, specifically focusing on the surrounding community, but allowed the conversation to take its own course if it seemed to be yielding useful information. The subjects of all of these interviews and the AFCAC focus group are referred to throughout this paper as "experts."

# Focus Groups

In order to solicit the perspectives and opinions of local residents on the history, current state, and future of the UHT site, we organized four neighborhood focus groups. We chose focus groups as a data collection method because we were interested in obtaining a more nuanced perspective than a survey would provide, and we felt that focus groups were a good way to see how these issue are viewed and talked about in a social context (Smith (unpublished)). We wanted to observe how participants would discuss, and agree or disagree on the questions we set forth as a way to investigate the contentiousness of the issue. We organized two focus groups in the McKinley neighborhood (at the Center for Families) and two in the Marshall Terrace neighborhood (at the River Village assisted living center, where the Marshall Terrace community holds monthly meetings). We focused on these two neighborhoods because they are the closest to the UHT site and would therefore have had the most potential to interact with it, and be most affected by its redevelopment. We originally worked through contacts at neighborhood associations in both neighborhoods. In Marshall Terrace, our advertisement was displayed on the front page of the community newsletter that was distributed door-to-door and available online.

The event was also posted on the online calendar on the community website and on the community Facebook page. We hung posters in several local businesses and the local library (see Appendix C). In McKinley, we were unable to advertise through the neighborhood organization. However, we distributed flyers to approximately 1/3 of the houses in the neighborhood and invited 15 people in person by knocking on doors. We planned a semi-structured set of questions (see Appendix D). Unfortunately, we were not able to conduct these focus groups exactly as planned due to a striking dearth of attendees.

Additionally, an online survey (see Appendix B) administered through Facebook groups was used to generate discussion about UHT redevelopment. To each of the four Facebook groups mentioned below, we posted a link to an article published very recently (Feb. 6, 2014) in the Star Tribune about the fate of the Upper Harbor Terminal, "Final Year for money-losing Upper Harbor Terminal" (Rao 2014). The article was posted with a request for comments and thoughts, along with a link to our survey. One of these postings, in North Talk, generated discussion in which people voiced ideas, argued about these ideas, and built off of one another's comments. We classified this back and forth discussion as an online focus group.

## Survey

To supplement our participant-deprived focus groups, we devised and distributed a short survey to solicit the views of citizens involved in McKinley and Marshall Terrace neighborhoods on the significance of the UHT and its redevelopment (see Appendix B). We designed the survey to be short, while still collecting adequate information, so as to increase response rate. We asked mostly yes/no questions to collect quantitative data, with one open-response at the end of the survey to collect qualitative information. To obtain a convenience sample, we administered the survey in four ways:

- 1) We administered the survey to workers at local businesses in our original study neighborhoods, Marshall Terrace and McKinley, in person. We did this at night, so open businesses were limited. We obtained two surveys using this method, both from liquor store owners. Because the survey was conducted in person, these respondents had the opportunity to offer comments on any of the survey questions, which we noted during the conversation.
- 2) We administered the survey over the phone to businesses within a 1-block radius of our original study neighborhoods. A list of businesses was collected by visually surveying the

area within a 1-block radius of the Marshall Terrace and McKinley neighborhoods on Google Maps, and searching phone numbers on Google. We called each business and administered the survey to willing respondents. Several of the respondents did not live in the area; however, we included their responses because they spent significant time working in the area. These respondents also had the opportunity to comment on any question.

- 3) Two hundred paper copies were distributed to a mosque—Masjid An-Nur—in North Minneapolis. This sample is not necessarily limited to people who live in our study area because people presumably attend the mosque from all over the city; however, we assume that mosque attendees spend a significant amount of time in the neighborhood and that many live nearby. These respondents did not have the opportunity to comment on questions except the last free-response question.
- 4) We administered the survey online by posting a link to an online version on four Facebook groups catering people from or interested in North Minneapolis ("North Talk," "North Side Mpls People," "McKinley Community CSA," and "I Am North Minneapolis"). North Minneapolis includes, but is not limited to McKinley; Marshall Terrace is part of Northeast, which was not a group included in the online surveys. These groups were suggested to us by an AFCAC member who had previously used them to gather public opinion. Because the groups were open for anyone to join, we did not have control over where the respondents to this survey lived, but assume that the majority either live in or have a significant interest in North Minneapolis. These respondents did not have the opportunity to comment on any question except the last free-response question.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Upper Harbor Terminal was built in 1968 to meet Minneapolis's demand for a larger barge terminal industry along the river. Yet, around the turn of the nineteenth century, Minneapolis's identity as a river city had hardly anything to do with barging. Instead, downriver neighbor, St. Paul, profited early on from national lobbying for a more navigable river for industry. The river from Cairo, Illinois to St. Paul was dredged from four feet to six feet to nine

feet and 26 locks and dams were put in between the two cities. Engaging in a rivalry for the head of navigation on the Mississippi River, Minneapolis pursued plans to move barge traffic upriver past St. Paul. Minneapolis built a small barge terminal under the Washington Avenue bridge, claiming the title of head of navigation, but the site was space-limited. The city wished to extend barge traffic above St. Anthony Falls and build a larger terminal. After considerable lobbying, a massive national project to build two locks and dams around the Falls and expand the barging industry in Minneapolis was undertaken. The key element of this Upper Harbor Development Project was the building of the city-owned Upper Harbor Terminal. Yet, the completion of the Terminal proved anti-climactic, its financial gains never reaching predicated levels. After several decades of marginal profit, the City of Minneapolis asserted plans, starting in the 1990s, to redevelopment the UHT site into a more profitable and public space. Closure is planned for the UHT at the end of 2014.

## Minneapolis's Industrial River and St. Anthony Falls

Minneapolis's identity as a river city began early, with industries that preceded the arrival of commercial barge transport. From the early 1800s onwards, the city grew up on the banks of the Mississippi River around St. Anthony Falls, the river's only natural waterfall. Minneapolis's relationship with the river began as a wholly functional one; its long channel ferried boatloads of people and cargo to and from the city, its current moved cut logs downstream from northern forests, and the force of the falls provided enough energy to power an industrial center that would dominate domestic and global markets. Minneapolis's identity, image, and economic successes became deeply rooted in the river, and the river in turn became thoroughly changed-settlements grew along its banks, its once-flexible channel was restricted, its water was diverted into tailraces, and the Falls were dammed (Kane 1966, Nathanson 2010, Borchert et al. 1983).

Mills were the first industry to seriously take root, budding up along the riverfront in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1899, Minneapolis's sawmill production was the highest in the entire nation (Kane 1966). Likewise, the flour milling industry was booming, and in 1876, eighteen flour mills had been built along the west bank of the Mississippi, just south of St. Anthony Falls (Pennefeather 2003). At the turn of the century, Minneapolis led the nation not only in sawmilling, but in flour production as well, milling 14.1% of the nation's grain, earning it

the nickname "Mill City" (Danbom 2003). As a result of these booming milling industries, fueled by the unmatched water power of the time, railroads were built to transport these goods from the city (Hofsommer 2009).

By the 1930s, shifting economic and technological forces - namely advances in electricity production technology - diminished the advantage the Falls gave to Minneapolis's flour mills, leading to their decline (Borchert et al. 1983) Buffalo, NY rose in place of Minneapolis as the dominant city for milling and exporting flour. Mill buildings were demolished or vacated. Moreover, the lumber industries faded away as the forests in northern Minnesota dwindled, with the last sawmill closing in 1919 (Borchert et al. 1983). As this industry was in decline, commercial river transportation was growing in importance and capacity. Minneapolis was intent on profiting from this burgeoning market.

## Regional Barging History

Until the rise of railroads and interstate highways, the Mississippi River was undoubtedly the most important means of transportation in the central United States, transporting grains, timber, and people. Yet the Upper Mississippi, stretching from Lake Itasca in northern Minnesota to Cairo, Illinois, posed some difficulties for commercial navigation with its complex, braided channels characterized by their unpredictable course, depth, and debris. Settlers, intent on expansion and profit, sought the easiest way to navigate this part of the river. In 1823, the first steamboat travelled from St. Louis to St. Paul, proving the river's navigability (Roise and Berg 2004). From then on, river traffic steadily increased to a point where the total river-going tonnage on the Mississippi exceeded the tonnage of goods shipped by the entire British Merchant fleet (Roise and Berg 2004).

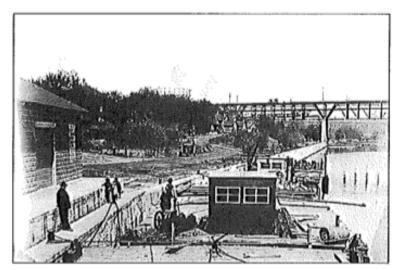
This increase in river traffic developed largely from a movement amongst politicians and businessmen from states along the Upper Mississippi to lobby for a more navigable river. The impetus, other than the hope for economic profit and an influx of settlers, was a desire to rein in the runaway shipping rates that railroads, unchecked by competition, were charging (Roise and Berg 2007). Beginning in 1870, these navigation lobbyists called for the government to engineer the river between Alton, Illinois and St. Paul, Minnesota into a more navigable state by means of dams, dredging, and removal of snags. For Minneapolis leaders, this was only marginally

appealing. They wished for Minneapolis, rather than St. Paul, to assume the head of commercial navigation (the point furthest upstream navigable by boats) on the Mississippi (Roise and Berg 2010). St. Paul, situated downstream of St. Anthony Falls and endowed with a wider and more navigable stretch of the Mississippi, held this privilege at the time. Minneapolis had so far been limited by St. Anthony Falls and the steep, gorge-like riverbanks below it. As these twin cities developed, St. Paul had grown into the role of port city, and Minneapolis, the industrial powerhouse (Miller 2014). However, Minneapolis sought to tap into the potential riches of becoming a viable port as well, and it was this competition between Minneapolis and St. Paul for barging business that gave birth to the plans for the Upper Harbor Terminal (Roise and Berg 2007).

In the decades that followed, the economy and shipping technology developed quicker and grew bigger than Congress could pass bills and the Army Corps of Engineers could engineer the river. Over time and much persistent lobbying on the part of Minnesota politicians, dredging deepened the river between Cairo, IL and St. Paul, MN from four feet deep to six feet deep by 1907, and finally to nine feet deep by 1930. By 1938, an impressive and highly transformative system of twenty-six locks and dams had also been constructed on the Upper Mississippi River. Of these, Lock and Dam #1, built in 1917 in St. Paul, raised the river level upstream enough to allow commercial travel (Anfinson 1995; Fugina 1952).

With the building of this dam and the extension of the 6-ft channel above it, river traffic was able to reach Minneapolis below the Falls. In 1918, Minneapolis claimed the head of commercial navigation on the Mississippi when the city's first first municipal barge terminal was built (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). The terminal was a 16-acre port just downstream of the Falls, below the Washington Avenue Bridge, in an area known as the Bohemian Flats (see Figure 2) (Minneapolis CPED 2003, Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). This area was a village within the city, its houses and shacks without electricity or running water, its roads unpaved, and its residents mainly poor immigrants from Eastern and Northern Europe (Federal Writer's Program 1941). As the promise of commercial navigation neared, the city put pressure on these residents, many of whom were paying no taxes or rent, to leave the area and make room for a port. The community resisted the city's efforts for many years; the final resident remained steadfast in his house until 1931, when the city ramped up its efforts to fully convert the area into a port and storage area for goods, mainly coal (Federal

Writer's Program 1941). The first large tow arrived in 1927, (Minneapolis City Planning Commission 1937). A barge operator told us, "It was a big deal. To have the head of navigation in Minneapolis [initiated] active competition between Minneapolis and St Paul" (Miller 2014). However, this original barge terminal did not satisfy the City for long.



**Figure 2**. Minneapolis's first Municipal Terminal below the Washington Avenue Bridge in 1927. Source: Roise and Berg 2007.

## The Upper Harbor Project

Soon after the nine-foot channel was dredged and the series of locks and dams was built, the Washington Avenue terminal was considered too small, inconvenient, and obsolete to handle increasing business. An expansion project to move the barge industry into a larger area above St. Anthony Falls was undertaken, but it took many years of back and forth lobbying, reluctant support and funding roadblocks to complete the project.

The "Upper Harbor Project," an expansion of the channel above St. Anthony's Falls to accommodate barges, was lead by Minnesota Senator Henrik Shipstead. (Roise and Berg 2007) Leaders envisioned a pair of locks and dams at the Falls that could allow access to a harbor above the falls, an area much more suited for a harbor due to its relatively neutral topography (See Appendix E for a map). This "Upper Harbor" was intended to be much bigger and more accessible than the existing terminal at the Washington Avenue Bridge, which was referred to by one booster as "comparable to having a road stop at the edge of town" (Kane

1966). These boosters had very high expectations for this project. It would lower freight rates, promote trade, bring goods from far and wide to the city, and "give Minneapolis a firm foundation upon which to build a greater industrial city" (Kane 1966). An experienced barge operator explained, "It was a wave of navigation investment that washed upstream, or was pulled upstream by the city of Minneapolis. [If not for the insistent lobbying] I think it never would have happened; I don't think it was some person sitting in DC saying gee, don't you think it would be a good idea to put locks in Minneapolis? I think the people who governed Minneapolis said we need this, we got to have this up here right now, lets agitate and get it done" (Miller 2014).

There were, however, many skeptics. Residents were concerned that, because railroads had, by that time, become the dominant means of freight transport, the economic potential of Upper Harbor would be eclipsed. One skeptic claimed that "Minneapolis has about as much need for a second river harbor as a pig has for pockets." Another charged the city to "cease its advocacy of the harbor and courageously face the fact that the benefits which can be derived from it are inadequate to justify its greatly expanded cost" (Kane 1966).

In 1936, the project was discussed but development plans were rejected by the Army Corps of Engineers (Minneapolis City Planning Commission 1937). In response, Minneapolis's City Council appealed the decision and the City Planning Commission, led by Herman E. Olson, went to Washington to convince Congress of the economic value of the project (Zalusky 1962). In 1937 the Upper Harbor Development Project became an official project when the decision to build the harbor was reversed and the U.S. Congress passed a bill to establish the upper limits of navigation on the Mississippi River at 41st Ave. N. in Minneapolis (Zalusky 1962), justifying the navigation system as a national economic benefit to provide transportation cost savings (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). It was hoped to be only a matter of time before Minneapolis would have "the best inland harbor in America" (Roise and Berg 2007).

Due to a lack of funding, it took several years for the Upper Harbor Project to begin, (Abbott 1941). However, in 1945 Congress finally authorized the funding of the project (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979) and in 1949 the project began with dredging. By 1956 most of the Lower Lock and Dam had been constructed at a cost of \$12,111,600. Public support began to dwindle at this time. Money was still needed for the Upper Lock and Dam, which was proving to be a costly investment (Friends of the Mississippi et al.

2004; Zalusky 1962). The estimated cost of building the Upper Lock was \$20 million, totaling around \$32 million for both locks and dams (more than \$300 million in today's dollars), paid for mostly by the federal government. At a hearing in Washington on January 20, the Army Corps of Engineers denied support for the Upper Lock and Dam, however, later in the year on April 23, in another hearing led by then Minneapolis Mayor Eric Hoyer, the Army Corps agreed to support the final steps of the project. After the go-ahead, a nine-foot channel was dredged between the Upper and the Lower Lock and Dam at St. Anthony Falls from 1958 and 1960 (and, in doing so, destroyed Spirit Island, a small island at the base of the Falls that the local Dakota knew to be inhabited by the spirit of a broken-hearted woman) (Zalusky 1962).

Work on the Upper Lock and Dam began in 1959 (Friends of the Mississippi et al. 2004) and was not yet finished in the summer of 1963 when it was first used. On September 21, 1963, after 15 years of construction, the lock and dam project at St. Anthony Falls were finished and, for the first time, the Mississippi River was opened to commercial navigation above the Falls, the inaugural barge carrying cast-iron pipe (Kane 1966). At this opening, an attendee voiced concerns that the Upper Harbor Project was an economic folly, to which MN Representative Walter H. Judd responded, "I don't know of any public works appropriation that I voted for that will bring as many benefits as this one in 50 or 100 years" (Kane 1966).

## The Upper Harbor Terminal

When the lock and dams around St. Anthony Falls were completed, the city started planning for the development of a terminal site. The city council established a Citizen's Upper Harbor Committee. This committee then formed the Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission (MIDC) to develop the facilities of the Public River Terminal, as the UHT was called at the time (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). In 1967, the Public River Terminal (established in the Upper Harbor by the Citizen's Committee and MIDC) was put in and a year later, the Upper Harbor Terminal was officially established along the at its current site above the Falls as the Port of Minneapolis. Here the Terminal joined the ranks of Upper Harbor barge users, which then included the NSP Power Plant (later Xcel), Holcim Cement, and Aggregate Industries (Miller 2014). Finally, after nearly two generations and many, many

peoples' worth of work to make Minneapolis the head of commercial navigation on the Mississippi and then to expand their capacity to profit from it, these vision were realized.



**Figure 3**. St. Anthony Falls Lock and Dam. Lock is visible on the left; dam on the right. Source: National Park Service

Over the next couple of decades, the facilities of the UHT were developed – the grain elevators in the 1970s and the four concrete granular storage domes between 1982 and 1987 (see Figure 4) (Minnesota Industrial Development Commission 1979; Roise and Berg 2007). As the UHT expanded, the barge terminal below the Washington Avenue bridge was going through many transitions. Northern Waterway Terminals Corporation, who had operated the terminal since 1949, went bankrupt in 1973. Much of the barge traffic shifted to the UHT (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979) Similarly, at the UHT, river traffic ebbed and flowed with the needs of the economy, leading some of the managing companies to bankruptcy.



**Figure 4.** A view of the UHT from the river as it is now.

Source: Friends of the Mississippi River

## Minneapolis Transitions Away from Industry

The development of the Terminal happened at a time of broad change on Minneapolis's riverfronts. Since downtown mills and factories faded, the City continued to use the riverfront for industry but also began to re-evaluate the riverfront for the conversion of former industrial land into parks or high-tax-paying private uses. As the built landscape and the population of the city grew, land became more scarce and more valuable, particularly along the riverfront. Writing in 1983, Borchert et al. explain that "the scrap yards along North Washington [in the vicinity the UHT] are the latest phase in the cycle of land use along the river above the falls. Like the brickyards and sawmills before them, these operations need large areas of land at low cost. Because their product is bulky and of relatively low value, river barges are an efficient form of transportation. However, the junkyards are there because, until now, the riverbanks were not highly valued" (Borchert et al. 1983). Minneapolis Tribune reporter Howard Erickson wrote in 1971 that, "with the exception of the Upper Harbor, the city had turned its back on the river during the decades following the milling industry's collapse. It's been ignored so long people have forgotten it's there" (Nathanson 2010).

In the 1970's and 80's this attitude changed as the city began to pay attention to the crumbling dregs of the downtown industrial riverfront with an eye for redevelopment, seeing it as an "untouched municipal gold mine" (Nathanson 2010; Borchert et al. 1983). Many

entrepreneurs and city officials sought to rebuild the area into a public space for commercial and community purposes. In the '90s, the administration of Mayor Sharon Sayles-Belton turned towards a concerted effort to "rediscover and reclaim the city's birthplace on the downtown riverfront" (Nathanson 2010). The city appreciated the high value of riverfront land for its potential to bring in tax revenue. Though the bureaucratic system of city-planning proved complex and often dragged out plans and their implementation, this revitalization project worked quite well (Nathanson 2010). Though there has been concern that Minneapolis is losing the industrial land that is necessary to retain economic diversity in the city, most planners and influential decision-makers are intent on redevelopment (City of Minneapolis 2006). City professionals now tend to turn towards the river as a source of aesthetic, historic, and public value, but their vision has not yet been actualized north of St. Anthony Falls in the Upper River.

The City's 1999 Above the Falls plan set forth ambitious goals of redeveloping the banks of the upper river from Plymouth Avenue to the Camden Bridge into a regional park - in essence, one extensive public park with the Mississippi River in the middle (City of Minneapolis 1999). This requires buying up riverfront land from private owners and converting land already owned by the City. Twenty-four years later, very little land has been redeveloped to this effect, but prospects for doing so are increasing. Not far north of the Falls is Boom Island, which used to host lumber milling operations and, later, a rail yard. It and a neighboring, formerly industrial, property were bought by the Minneapolis Park Board in 1987 and converted into green, public parks a year later (MPRB). Another park is planned for a plot of land just north of Boom Island, formerly owned by Scherer Brothers Lumber Company. The Minneapolis Park Board bought the land in 2010 and is currently in the process of converting the area to a park that will, in a way, act as an extension of Boom Island Park (MPRB). This redevelopment will be among the first Above the Falls plans to be fulfilled, and is hoped to serve as a gateway to the intended regional park. Though these parks are very young relative to the life of the city, the motive for their creation has deep roots. The Park Board views these projects as part of – and an extension of – an over-100-year-old set of plans laid out by renowned 19<sup>th</sup> century landscape architect Horace Cleveland, who pushed for parks that encourage public access to the river; "since 1993 the MPRB has led the charge to expand parkland to provide a connection from the downtown area north of the Falls" (MPRB 2010).

## Economic Decline and Current State of the Terminal

The Upper Harbor Terminal arrived perhaps too late. While the terminal has remained active since its creation, its revenue and role in the local economy have fluctuated widely in response to markets (both domestic and foreign), weather, construction activity, regulations, and costs of competing shipping methods (City of Minneapolis 1999). One could say that the UHT, to borrow a term from Freudenberg et al., was "obsolete on delivery" (Freudenberg et al. 2007). The early projections for yearly barge traffic through the Upper Harbor (those which persuaded Congress to approve the project) were strikingly higher than the reality: Minneapolis's Planning Commission guessed 10.3 million tons, but the peak shipping year (1975) saw only 2.3 million tons (City of Minneapolis 1999). We were informed by a long-time barge deckhand and dispatcher, in detail, of many factors in the Terminal's decline, including increasing ethanol production in the Midwest, a lack of vertical integration with grain companies, accelerating suburban sprawl, the growth of rail transport, Xcel's switch from coal to gas, shifting industrial supply chains, and changing dynamics between the City and industries, among other things (Miller 2014). "I think it was a noble experiment, to do this terminal in Minneapolis," he said, "but I'm skeptical that it was ever a paying proposition for the property owner" (Miller 2014). Though the UHT has generally produced revenue every year, hefty subsidies have nonetheless been needed to account for debt, leading to consistent annual deficit (City of Minneapolis 1999).

Business has markedly decline for the terminal over the years; in its early years it would receive around thirty or forty full barges everyday, but these days it is lucky to get three barges at a time (Miller 2014). In fear that the Army Corps of Engineers would stop dredging the Upper Harbor due to low traffic through the Upper Lock, the City even had to relocate a convenient sand and gravel dock from the heart of downtown to the UHT (Miller 2014).

The financial success of the Terminal was also impeded by the narrow width of the river at St. Anthony Falls, which limited the size of the locks such that they can fit only two barges at a time, whereas all other locks and dams along the Mississippi can fit fifteen (Miller 2014). As such, the process of bringing a fifteen-barge tow from downtown St. Paul to the Upper Harbor is about a twelve hour round trip and makes bringing freight to Minneapolis relatively uneconomical (Miller 2014). Due to the multitude of forces opposing the success of the UHT,

not to mention high future maintenance and replacement costs and bankruptcy of a past operating company (the UHT has changed managing companies six times), confidence in the financial benefit of the UHT has gone downhill (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979; City of Minneapolis 1999).

The Above the Falls Master Plan heralded the decline of the Terminal. In it, the UHT was slated as a site ripe for redevelopment, and since then, the city has sought to close the Terminal in response to its unprofitability. After these plans, the terminal's facilities have deteriorated to some degree, as no companies, nor the city, are willing to make long-term investments in its upkeep. Currently, the closure date is December 2014, when the contract with its current operator, River Services, Inc. expires (Kerr 2012). River Services now employs 12 people at the UHT (a third of the number employed there 24 years ago), all of whom are likely to lose their jobs (Rao 2014). According to the Above the Falls Master Plan, Minneapolis's long-term plans for the property are very likely to consist of converting the riverfront portion of the land to a park and redeveloping the portion of the land further from the river for light industry, business or retail uses, with an eye towards development that will attract the public (Lee 2005; City of Minneapolis 1999). The site will be surveyed within the year to get a sense of what new infrastructure will be needed and how redevelopment could proceed. After this, planners will begin a detailed planning process, with the hope of implementation and completion within the decade (Flack 2014).

Closing the Terminal will very likely have a ripple effect to the businesses and the site's surrounding river connections. Currently, the terminal is a main reason that the locks and dams at St. Anthony Falls are still in operation and that the Army Corps of Engineers still dredges the river above the Falls (City of Minneapolis 1999). The continued operation of the Ford Dam (Lock and Dam #1) in St. Paul also has stake in the activity of the UHT, but less than the locks and dams at St. Anthony Falls. However, the Army Corps reported in the late '90s that "it is very unlikely that the Federal Government would close [the Ford Dam or the St. Anthony Falls dams] unless the city of Minneapolis eliminates the commercial terminals in the upper [harbor]" (City of Minneapolis 1999). Another factor in this decision is concern about the spread of Asian carp, an invasive species that has been moving its way up the Mississippi River. The dams at St. Anthony Falls are too high for the carp to jump over, but they can hitch a ride through the locks when boats and barges use them (Landwehr 2013; National Park Service). There is much worry

that these species will spread to the many lakes and tributaries north of Minneapolis, including the Boundary Waters, and wipe out native species, thus the environmental voice calls for the locks to be closed.

Regardless of the fate of the locks, the redevelopment of the Terminal will "potentially have a major impact on other commercial navigation on the Upper Mississippi River, as well as other uses of this stretch of the river" (City of Minneapolis 1999). A retired city councilman who worked with development of the UHT, told us in an interview that it is important to keep the Terminal open because, even "if you close the harbor, you don't close the need...The material that comes up there and gets moved, taken to different locations, doesn't disappear."

Consequently, shipping needs will likely transfer to trucks, and, in his words, "Can you imagine all the trucks loaded, beeping of the highway, burning gas, and the cost of driving that much further to get it done?" On the other hand, another source claimed that the industries that use the UHT "won't bat an eyelash. They'll find another way," either by totally bypassing river transport or by just trucking their commodities to the ports in St. Paul or Savage, MN, with what he thought would be only a marginal increase in cost (Miller 2014).

### SITE DESCRIPTION

The stretch of the riverbank that the UHT is part of has long been used for industrial purposes. The first industry to take root there was a mill operated by famed timber mogul Frederick Weyerhauser's Northland Pines Lumber Company. As the lumber industry faded the area surrounding the UHT site was settled by a more diverse mix of industries (Friends of the Mississippi River 2004). After the entire Northland Pines mill burned down in 1920, the particular plot of land on which the UHT lives today became host to a variety of used previous to the construction of the terminal. At least by 1951, the latest date relevant maps are available, the land north of Dowling Avenue was mostly vacant and privately owned but left largely unbuilt, with the exception of a bag-making factory. South of Dowling Avenue also was mostly vacant (including a privately-owned, subdivided, yet undeveloped plot, and a government-owned plot), except for an assembly of greenhouses and a large plot of cultivated land on the former site of the Northland Pines Lumber yard (Digital Sanborn Maps 2014; U of M Borchert Map Library 2014). The Terminal's grounds were acquired piece-wise by the City of Minneapolis from 1944

to 1972 from the State of Minnesota as tax-forfeit land, from a private company by eminent domain, and from private companies for purchase (Miller 2014; Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). This site was chosen because the land was generally flat, there was room for expansion, had access to roads and rail, and the city already owned some of the land by the time the locks at St. Anthony Falls were built (Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). Today, the UHT consists of 48 acres of city-owned land along the west side of the river above the falls that house several commercial storage facilities, a storage site for dredged material, commodity transfer facilities, and 2.5 miles of freight rail tracks (Minneapolis CPED 2003).

The site is one of four active barge terminals north of the Falls, the rest of which are privately owned (Holcim Cement, American Iron and Aggregate Industries) (Lee 2005; Minneapolis Industrial Development Commission 1979). Its facilities have been built up and its layout reconfigured over time - its current facilities include storage spaces for bulk commodities (rentable to private companies), rail tracks for moving commodities, liquid storage tanks for fertilizer and petroleum, a high-speed grain handling facility, and a port, receiving and sending a range of commodities, including grains, fertilizer, coal, sand, cement, and steel (Lee 2005).

The Upper Harbor Terminal is located an area in North Minneapolis known as Camden. More specifically, the land it sits on is referred to on some maps as the "North River Industrial Area," but on others is included as part of the McKinley neighborhood, which is part of North Minneapolis, and falls just west of the site. Interstate 94 runs conspicuously through the area, parallel to the river, effectively severing the residences on its west side from the river, the UHT itself, and its neighboring industries. The Interstate, finished in 1984, created a strikingly distinct, linear pocket of industry between itself and the river. As a result, the local perspective is strongly that this industry-dominated riverfront - as well as the river itself - is disconnected from the surrounding neighborhoods (Friends of the Mississippi 2004; Miller 2014).

As we found through several interviews and focus groups, the McKinley neighborhood, as well as the general North Minneapolis area, is generally characterized as an area of low-income and minority residents. Census data show that McKinley, while not the poorest area in Minneapolis, does fall below the citywide median in terms of household income (see Table 1 below) (U.S. Census Bureau). In 2012, the median values of houses in McKinley were the lowest of any of the city's census tracts. Unemployment and poverty rates also prove to be higher in the

McKinley area than in Minneapolis as a whole. The 2010 poverty rate in McKinley was 41.8%, compared to the city-wide rate of 32.95%. Minneapolis's North Side in general is one of the most economically disadvantaged areas in the city (U.S. Census Bureau).

The Marshall Terrace neighborhood, which sits across the river from the North Side, directly east of the UHT, has long been known as a working class neighborhood (Maguire 2013; AFCAC 2014). From the riverfront in Marshall Terrace (on the eastern bank of the Mississippi), the UHT is visible. Marshall Terrace's riverfront, however, is almost entirely dominated by industry (a concrete company, a lumber company, and the Xcel Power Plant), except for Marshall Terrace Park and the very small Mississippi River Park. These are the only two public access points from which one can see the UHT, though a significantly large plot of land in the north part of Xcel's property is vacant, which can offer a distant view of the Terminal. In short, the current use of Marshall Terrace's riverfront does not do much to foster a strong connection between the public and the river, and especially not between the public and the opposite riverbank (and thus the UHT). The Xcel Plant (formerly NSP) has been operating in its current location since 1911, which has fostered the area's industrial character. We have been told that the Xcel Plant, until it stopped burning coal in the late 1970s, would blanket the whole Marshall Terrace area with coal soot, invasively reminding the neighborhood of its presence and perhaps contributing to the rugged image often associated with the area. This image, however, has been contested by some residents of Marshall Terrace, seeking to make clear that the neighborhood is more than its industry, and has been residential since its birth (AFCAC 2014).

This neighborhood and the whole of North Minneapolis have experienced large population shifts in the past century. In the 1920's the area started to be settled by black communities, but limited mostly to just north of downtown. In 1950, no census tract in North Minneapolis, other than those directly above downtown, had a population that was over 0.25% black. By 1970, the McKinley neighborhood itself was only 2.3% black, as the black population was concentrated around Plymouth Avenue to the south. The 1980's and 1990's brought marked change in this regard; in 2000, the Camden area (north of Lowry Ave. was 34% black, and Near North was 58% black. In 2010 as well, the whole North and Near North side of Minneapolis had a notably higher black population than the rest of the city, ranging from 17% to 66% throughout its census tracts, but predominantly hovering around the 40-50% range (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). McKinley itself is 45% black - quite high relative to the city-wide average of 18%.

Marshall Terrace has higher household incomes and housing values than McKinley, though still lower than those of the city as a whole (see Table 1 below for data). Marshall Terrace's unemployment rate is above average, but less than that of McKinley's. The poverty rates in Marshall Terrace are however notably lower than the city averages, and much lower than those of McKinley. Marshall Terrace has long been a mostly white neighborhood and the today has a higher percentage white population than does the city on a whole. The neighborhood has a lower percentage of black residents than does the city, though this number has risen since 2000, at which time it was 6.5% black. Bottineau, the neighborhood just south of Marshall Terrace, is 30% black, a dramatic change from 2000, when it was only 5.5%. Going back longer, some changes have occurred - in 1970, Marshall Terrace was 0.3% black.

Although demographics have shifted geographically since 1967, Harry (Spike) Moss, a Minneapolis black activist, said that 40 years later, not much had changed about the condition of blacks in the North Side - "We're still fighting for our basic rights in this city, this state, and this country. Why? Because we're still denied the equal opportunities - education- and employmentwise - that we have fought, bled, sweat, and shed tears over" (Nathanson 2010). The 1960's and 1970's were rife with racial tension, civil rights activism, and strained attempts on the part of the city government to quell these disturbances. Black community leaders were discontented with these attempts, saying they just held the status quo. What we can gather from this that the Minneapolis's North Side community has experienced prolonged discontentment with the leadership of the city and has felt disadvantaged by its decisions and policies. In the 1990's, though, Minneapolis elected its first black and first female mayor, Sharon Sayles-Belton. Under her administration, relations between white and minority communities apparently gained some stability. Sayles-Belton also turned the city towards an effort to "rediscover and reclaim the city's birthplace on the downtown riverfront" (Nathanson 2010). The North Side, however, seems to have been only peripheral on this agenda.

	Marshall Terrace	McKinley	Minneapolis
Median Household Income (2012)	\$34,209	\$32,717	\$48,881
Median House Value (2012)	\$172,500	\$96,500	\$216,800
Unemployment Rate (2010)	9.05%	10.5%	6.5%
Poverty Rate, <18 years old (2010)	9.92%	41.8%	32.95%
Poverty Rate, 18-64 years old (2010)	10.91%	24.5%	20.64%
Percent Black (2010)	11.8%	45%	18%
Percent White (2010)	69%	28.9%	63.8%

**Table 1.** Demographic data for Marshall Terrace, McKinley, and Minneapolis. Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

### **FINDINGS**

We found that the UHT is not a well-known place to most residents; however, there is some desire to remember the site's history. Overall, residents suggested non-industrial redevelopment of the site, but a few citizens suggested preserving UHT history in the process.

# **Expert Interviews**

While conducting expert interviews, we generally allowed the interviewee to expand on areas that they were particularly knowledgeable about or interested in, resulting in rather free-form interviews. However, we made sure to ask each interviewee all the questions we had prepared ahead of time. Some data from expert interviews has been used in preceding sections.

Participants in the Above the Falls Citizen Advisory Committee (AFCAC) focus group agreed that if the UHT's construction had impacted the surrounding neighborhoods, it would have done so negatively, but they seemed to think that its impact on residents was and continues to be minimal, because it is physically separated from nearby neighborhoods (AFCAC 2014). We asked a former city councilman who had been in charge of UHT operations for the city after it opened why it was built on that particular site. While he was not certain, he thought the site was chosen because "there were no homes there, there was industry along side of it, so we weren't disturbing any of the local neighbors because they were industry. And it was on the river!" As one AFCAC participant pointed out, no one lives near the UHT site so no one identifies with it because "no one calls it home."

Although it was acknowledged in the AFCAC focus group that the UHT's construction led to some industrial growth up the river, AFCAC participants expressed dissatisfaction that the industries in question do not employ many people from the area, instead employing people who live elsewhere in the city or suburbs. Residents do not perceive that the UHT has created substantial employment opportunities for them.

During an early interview with Mary Maguire, a very active community leader from Marshall Terrace and member of both AFCAC and the Minneapolis Riverfront Partnership, we asked for her thoughts on Roise and Berg's findings that the UHT could meet national standards of historical significance. She responded, "You're kidding me, the Upper Harbor? Why? (laughter) It expanded shipping in an unsuccessful way. This isn't controversial at all. It was a total waste of money, time and resources, a total failure since the time it was opened. The city has never made a dollar on it" (Maguire 2013). At the AFCAC focus group, when we brought up the possibility of preservation again, she responded incredulously, "[Preservation] of the INDUSTRY?" Other participants seemed to share her indignation and lack of enthusiasm for preservation of the UHT, laughing at the mention of it. Maguire continued, "There are no buildings that are significant, it is not unique, the fact that it was there is interesting but... preservation should be sensitive to its context." Another participant responded that the history could be important to *some* people, but "what about the people who have to live near it?!" Another AFCAC professional working on river activism, often specifically concerning the UHT, commented that people "freaked out" when the Hess Roise report was released, because they were worried that historical designation and preservation efforts could thwart development

outcomes that were more of a priority for the neighborhoods. The consensus at AFCAC was that people did not want preservation to impede more desirable plans.

The former city councilman was in agreement with AFCAC members that the UHT would not merit historical preservation, saying, "The fact is its not historical. It hasn't been there that long." However, he thought strongly that the UHT should not be closed because it plays an important role in transportation, and was in favor of its preservation as a functioning terminal.

A professional historian gave us her expert's perspective on the importance of understanding a site's history before redevelopment. She said, "A lot of times people don't understand that understanding history is... part of due diligence," comparing a historical investigation to an environmental impact analysis or similar report. She continued, "Most people have not been very receptive to the fact that the industrial history is valuable...so much of the industrial history of the Minneapolis riverfront has been sanitized, and its really hard to get a sense of how it was responsible for creating this city... Having some physical reflection helps remind people. I think that's really critical to societies."

A senior city planner with the City of Minneapolis was cautiously optimistic about the historical preservation potential of the UHT, saying that the barge industry has been influential to people in the area and that people remember the history. She confirmed that current plans call for complete demolition of existing infrastructure, but that the city would be open to preservation options if certain structures were determined to be historically important.

From our first meeting with Mary Maguire, she alerted us to a perception held by North and Northeast Minneapolis residents--that the northern part of the city is not adequately respected by those down south, in downtown. She said, "This area of town [Northeast] is not respected by downtown and south. We're kind of a dumping ground... and that's kind of ongoing, similar with North Minneapolis. If there's something nobody wants, let's put it up in North Minneapolis because nobody cares."

Maguire expressed these views again at the AFCAC meeting, and the other participants concurred. She added that the city doesn't seem to appreciate the true value of the land on the northern part of the river. Another AFCAC participant who owns a business adjacent to the UHT commented that the city doesn't invest in this area. Speaking of the lack of green space and river access on the upper river, Maguire said, "It's a social justice issue." The voices of North and

Northeast residents are not heard, but instead are "just trampled on" by the people from South Minneapolis who make decisions.

In the focus groups, AFCAC stressed the importance of making sure the riverfront has complete public access in all areas, and more connections with neighborhoods that are currently cut off from the river. Discussion also focused on how best to derive the maximum value from riverfront real estate. Several AFCAC participants suggested that after the green corridor, the first row of development should consist of fancy restaurants, luxury hotels and expensive houses or condos so as to maximize tax revenue for the city from this land. Lower income housing was suggested to go behind these more lucrative developments. Several members expressed indignation at the plan to put business parks or light industry near the river, because these types of establishments are "dead" and do not draw people to the river for recreational reasons. Participants were critical of government buildings that currently occupy prime riverfront real estate on the upper river for these same reasons, harkening back to the comment that the city undervalues this portion of the river and riverfront land.

A long-time employee of the barging industry in the Twin Cities area thought that the city was indeed thinking about maximizing the benefits of the currently industrial land. He said, "The mayor and the City Council just don't listen to a Holcim or an Aggregate, or a Northern Metals [who might want the lock and dam to stay open]. Yeah they like em, having the jobs, all recognize that heavy industry pays some good wages but it takes up a lot of land and they'd rather have some higher revenue thing." (Miller 2014)

The idea of a boat launch area or marina was mentioned several times at the AFCAC meeting. The barging industry employee mentioned above also shared his redevelopment wishes with us, saying, "If I were king I'd just take it all out, take the wall out, and plant a bunch of stuff that's good for the tweety birds, nice walkways, good for small boats..." (Miller 2014)

In spite of the lively discussion generated at the AFCAC focus group, and interesting conversations in individual interviews, the consensus at AFCAC was that UHT redevelopment is "Just not a hot topic right now." In general, people seemed a little surprised to hear what our project was investigating. As Mary Maguire put it, "People are waiting for something to happen [involving the UHT site or plans]... For over 100 years we've had all these plans that say the exact same thing and its still not implemented fully. It's taking forever."

### Focus groups

Of the four neighborhood focus groups planned, we had a total of two participants: one middle-aged white male from Marshall Terrace came to a focus group in there and one young black woman (and her very young daughter, who ate snacks and did not participate) from Webber-Camden, the neighborhood north of McKinley, came to a focus group in McKinley. We conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with these two individuals. The online focus groups gathered a total of 11 participants.

The participant from Marshall Terrace characterized residents' relationship to the UHT, saying, "The UHT doesn't bear significance to most people. They don't think about it." He went on to say that people who live nearby are too busy working and preoccupied with daily matters to know or care about it, because it doesn't affect them, and that people drive by the site to fast to notice its structures. The entrance to the UHT used by automobiles is at Dowling Avenue, which is also the location of an I-94 exit; our participant claimed that, for most people, 'Dowling Avenue' means nothing but somewhere to get on and off the highway. He himself did not demonstrate strong interest in the UHT; he was eager to discuss many things about Minneapolis history, but tended to steer the conversation away from the UHT whenever we brought it up again. People, he said, only care about the history of a thing if they have some personal connection to it. He made it clear that his connection to the UHT was limited to driving past it often to pick up lumber from a nearby lumber yard for his work as a carpenter, and that this connection was entirely cursory. Even as a 5<sup>th</sup>generation Northeast Minneapolis resident, he did not know anyone who had worked at the UHT or been involved with barging.

The participant from Webber-Camden told us that, since her family moved to Minneapolis when she was quite young, she had always lived on the North Side, moving progressively farther north over the years, with a time spent living in McKinley. She informed us that she had never seen the UHT and did not know what it was, although when we told her its location she discovered that she drove by it every day. When we showed her a picture of the site, she commented that it doesn't look like it belongs in the city, and that it should be somewhere in the countryside. She explained that no one lives near the UHT site, which is separated from the McKinley neighborhood by highway I-94, so it is not considered part of the neighborhood

(although there are actually several blocks of houses in this area). She felt disconnected from the river industry because she knew nothing about it or its history. She commented that "the river up here is all by itself" and that parks in this area would be nice. She currently doesn't feel safe walking near the river in this area. When asked in what ways she used/interacted with the river, she talked only about North Mississippi Regional Park, some miles north of the UHT, where she brings her children and walks.

Five participants in the online focus group (comments in response to our posting in the North Talk Facebook group) engaged in a discussion about the UHT site's future, with a focus on the tax potential of redevelopment. The participants seemed to agree that while green corridors, parks, and boat launches/marinas are very much desired, it is important to take advantage of the tax potential of riverside property (in contrast to the UHT currently) by including restaurants, bars and housing that capitalize on the view of the city and the river. As one participant remarked, "Parks don't pay taxes." Yet, another resident from Marshall Terrace told reported that people in the area were "clamoring for parks." Meanwhile, it was suggested that a business park, which would provide needed employment, should go behind the commercial/housing/green corridor area. Nobody mentioned historic preservation or memorialization in the focus groups.

While participants mostly favored removal of the UHT infrastructure, opinion was not unanimous. "It's really is a shame this port hadn't been shut down earlier, maybe we could have had the Twins Stadium or the new Surly's Brewery/Restaurant/Beer Museum there!" said one participant, another adding that, "[It] would be nice just to see all that junk out of the way of the River and the land greened up for awhile... I would prefer a bit healthier water front than... concrete chunks and the igloos [referring to the distinctive concrete domes of the UHT]." In contrast, another participant explained his mixed reaction to the site redevelopment: "The port is not pretty and has been in a state of decline for a long time however a part of me is going to actually miss it. River commerce is special and unique, it keeps bulk goods off of roadways and a river is much easier to maintain than a highway."

Four more participants joined the discussion, voicing their concern with cost of cleaning up the site and the city's perceived unwillingness to invest needed funds for the redevelopment that residents want. Participants expressed concern that site clean-up for non-industrial uses is not a city priority, saying "there is NO funding for the reclamation of that riverfront, it is not a

priority for the City of Minneapolis, and the Above the Falls Plan has a long lifespan with no way to accomplish the changes." One participant felt that the city's attempts to gather resident opinions are hollow, saying "We, in Camden, are often asked for opinion or information and then NOTHING comes of it. Quite disappointing."

### Survey

Survey distribution garnered a total of 44 responses (see Table 2). Not every participant answered every question in the survey, leading to highly variable sample sizes between questions. Over half of the responses were from the online survey. While we had hoped to survey residents in Marshall Terrace and McKinley neighborhoods, only a total of two respondents confirmed residency in these neighborhoods, and seven described their neighborhood as "North" or "Northeast," which include but are not limited to Marshall Terrace and McKinley neighborhoods. Despite this, over 75% of respondents stated they live in or very near to McKinley or Marshall Terrace.

Survey Source	Respondent characteristic	Number of Respondents
Online	Member of North neighborhood Facebook pages	23
Mosque in McKinley	Mosque member	6
In-person with businesses in McKinley and Marshall Terrace	Business owner or employee	2
Phone survey with businesses in McKinley and Marshall Terrace	Business owner or employee	13

**Table 2.** Source of survey responses. Most participants responded to a survey posted online. Data collected February 2014.

Although not unanimous, survey data indicated that people were largely unfamiliar with the UHT and had disconnected or negative views of the industry. Twenty-eight out of 44 had

heard of the UHT/Port of Minneapolis, only 1 out of 33 knew someone who had worked at or been involved with the UHT, and 4 out of 39 knew someone who had worked in the barge industry in general, suggesting that many people don't interact with these industries on a daily basis. Moreover, 13 out of 44 respondents surveyed knew what the UHT was used for, and 21 out of 39 said that they were familiar with the local history of barging. One respondent did note her previous exposure to the history of the UHT when she visited the locks and dams around St. Anthony Falls as a child on class field trips, and that her parent's had been enthusiastic about the local river history.

Of 44 respondents surveyed, only five remembered the UHT being built, two of whom thought it changed the neighborhood negatively, one thought positively, and one thought it didn't change the neighborhood at all. Seventeen of 23 total respondents thought that the UHT currently affects the neighborhood negatively, five respondents thought the site did not affect the neighborhood at all, and there was one individual who believed that the UHT had a positive effect on the surrounding neighborhoods. Additionally, nineteen people felt that removing the physical UHT structures would affect the neighborhood positively, as opposed to only two negatively, and seven not at all. Almost three quarters of respondents felt that the UHT was a negative presence in the surrounding neighborhoods.

When asked about the value of the river in general, 39 out of 44 respondents said the Mississippi River is important to Minneapolis and 31 out of 34 said it was valuable to their neighborhood. Survey respondents were also asked to identify what the river is most valuable for: 19 cited recreation, 12 cited industry, three mentioned barging and river transportation, and nine said both or multiple reasons. One comment mentioned that currently industry was the most important use, but he'd like to see the river's recreational use and value increase. Twenty-eight of 31 considered the UHT unattractive, and had mixed feelings at best about the aesthetics of the Upper River. When asked about the aesthetics of the Upper River, 16 out of 40 found it attractive, and 13 out of 40 decidedly unattractive. Several people expressed strong dissatisfaction with the upper river's aesthetics, one commenting "Hell no! [it's not attractive]! You can quote me on that!" Of the 11 undecided respondents, several commented that some parts were attractive, particularly those that are "natural." However, comments indicated that the aesthetics of the UHT and the upper river may be appreciated by a minority of people.

Comments included "I think it would be cool if it wasn't in such disrepair," "I like the shapes of the domes, I think they look nice," and "I think industry looks appealing."

Because industry was not reported as a desired use of the land the UHT occupies (except by two respondents, one who wanted "green" industry; alternatively two respondents wrote strong preferences against industry), several alternatives were suggested in our surveys. The overwhelming suggestion was to use the land for outdoor public spaces. Seventeen of 44 survey respondents suggested some sort of public park or green space in an opened ended response to the question "If the terminal were removed, what would you most like to be put in its place?" Suggestions of picnic spaces or an outdoor amphitheater, were also given. A boat launch or marina was commonly mentioned. Along with the public park space, 6 respondents to the survey emphasized the importance of plant and wildlife rehabilitation and ecologically purposed land along the river. Moreover, public access was also a common response to this survey question. Seven out of 44 survey respondents mentioned access, 7 respondents mentioned biking or walking trails along the riverfront (to connect the parkway gap), and two respondents suggested bridges across I-94 connecting McKinley to the park or across the river connecting Marshall Terrace.

Respondents commonly brought up recreation, in a general sense, as well as several forms of entertainment and public amenities. Restaurants, bars, or coffee shops with riverfront views were most often recorded (five times) in the surveys. Versions of historical education or preservation were also cited 5 times in surveys. Respondents suggested museums and repurposed architecture to memorialize history of industrial river usage in Minneapolis or history in general. A movie theater, mosque, market center, school, community gathering center, museum, and wildlife education center were also suggested. Furthermore, upscale housing like condos were suggested by four survey respondents.

### **DISCUSSION**

While historians have suggested that the Upper Harbor Terminal may be historically significant, residents around the UHT generally do not and have never had a strong connection to the UHT or its history. However, most respondents expressed that barging history was important to the city of Minneapolis, and a handful of participants suggested historic preservation or

remembrance as key concerns or recommendations for the site redevelopment. Nevertheless, our data suggests that most people may be in favor of removing the UHT, which is no longer seen as important either for economics or services provided and is perceived as aesthetically unappealing. Residents prefer to replace existing UHT structure with green and public space, among other suggestions. Our findings suggests that historic preservation could be done to build a community connection to the overall city's history, but should not be imposed to the exclusion of more desired development outcomes. However, these findings are incomplete and a more thorough inclusion of residents' voices should be done in order to preserve identity and culture, and to avoid socially undesirable and affronting outcomes of redevelopment.

## Local community connection to the UHT

Experts from the historical consultant group Hess Roise and Company reported that parts of the Upper Harbor Development, including the UHT, were historically significant because of their relationship to the St. Anthony Falls lock and dam and the local political struggle to acquire this development (Roise and Berg 2007). However, we found that residents around the UHT generally did not have a strong connection to the UHT or its history. Less than two thirds of survey respondents had ever heard of the UHT, less than one third knew what the UHT was used for, and only one survey respondent in total knew someone affiliated with the UHT's operations, suggesting that many people don't interact with these industries on a daily basis. Only just over half of the survey respondents were familiar with the local history of barging in general. Experts who we interviewed and focus group participants agreed that the UHT was not a well-known site.

There are several possible reasons why residents did not have a strong connection to the UHT. First, the UHT is disconnected from any neighborhood, cut off by the river to the east, and I-94, which was built in 1984, to the west. The UHT has no preconceived neighborhood identity because no one calls it home, explained a member of AFCAC. It's more a part of the river than a part of a social space because mostly of I-94. The residential neighborhood is also on a large hill whose steep, mostly unbuilt east face slopes downwards to I-94 and the UHT, with a large highway sound barrier wall at the top of this slope. For many of the residents who have homes

on the eastern crest of the hill (and thus the only ones potentially privy to daily, direct visual contact with the UHT), this barrier also obstructs any view of the terminal. Since there is no easy river access nearby the terminal and little but private businesses and industries on the east side of the Interstate, the only recurrent reason most local residents would have to go near the UHT is employment in that area or getting off the northbound Interstate.

Historically and up to the present, people may have had little reason to notice the UHT. As one focus group attendee from Marshall Terrace said, "Most people pass by [the UHT on the highway] too fast to notice it." Of 44 respondents, only five chose to respond to the question "If you remember the Terminal being built, did it change the surrounding area positively, negatively, or not at all?" and there was no consensus among them, suggesting that the UHT's construction is not a widely remembered event, and its effects on the local population were not drastic. Since its construction, business in and out of the terminal has been moderate at best, and declining in recent decades. For this reason, it seems likely that activity at the terminal has not been noticeable by people in the surrounding areas.

Additionally, we speculate that the demographics may have played a role in the low recognition of the terminal and river history. As previously described, the McKinley neighborhood and adjacent census tracts have below-average median household income, lowest median housing values, and higher than average unemployment than Minneapolis as a whole (US Census Bureau). While we cannot take their word for it, several interviewees speculated that many residents in our study area don't have the time or energy to invest in knowing all the surrounding industry and developments in the area that do not affect them directly. As one focus group attendee said, "People here are too busy working to know or care, unless its about parks."

When we recounted our low focus group attendance to a liquor store owner in Marshall Terrace, he responded that, "Not for three-hundred dollar bills could you get [these residents] to come out" to such a focus group. This comment indicated a potential lack of community engagement in this area that could make residents hard to reach. The low focus group attendance could also be a function of the lack of connection residents feel to this site, as discussed above. However, these ideas risk reading too far into the situation. There are other more logistical reasons that could have contributed to low focus group attendance, such as the extremely cold (below 0 F) weather that coincided with our meeting dates. As well, three of our four meetings were scheduled for 6pm on weeknights, which may have conflicted with dinner time. It also

became apparent that despite our efforts at advertising, residents of Marshall Terrace may have been unaware of the meetings, perhaps because our advertisement in the hand-delivered neighborhood newsletter was overlooked, or should have been run for multiple issues instead of just one. After talking to several Marshall Terrace residents we were informed that the neighborhood list-serve had not received any of the promised email blasts that we were counting on to advertise the meetings. In McKinley, where we distributed flyers and knocked on doors, several of the residents we spoke to were unfamiliar with the location of the meetings, although it was within several blocks of their homes. We left flyers at the front doors of houses, but noticed that most of the houses had sun porches that were not used in the winter, so the flyers may not have been seen or read. Many houses had a numerous uncollected flyers outside, suggesting that flyers were not an effective advertising method. Our lack of success in door knocking was probably due to timing--we can vassed mid-morning on a weekday, when many residents appeared to be away from home. It is also possible that the picture of the UHT used on our flyer was not recognizable as such, especially to people on the west side of the river who would not normally see the UHT from the angle of the photo. Lastly, residents may have felt that their participation in a college students' project would have little impact on the city's actions, and therefore not be worth their time. Overall, this experience highlighted for us the importance of thorough investigation and open communication with dependable community leaders to determine the best ways to reach community members, and the most convenient times and locations to hold meetings.

### Historic preservation

Our respondent's overall ambivalence about the UHT seriously draws into question its significance to current residents, and its importance to their history. These findings hearken back to the discrepancy identified in the literature between professional and lay peoples criteria for defining historical significance, and the power differential between those making decisions about significance and about development, and those who have to live with the results of these decisions (Coeterier 2002). When we asked experts (including AFCAC) to comment on the possibility that the UHT qualified as historically significant according to national criteria, and

had potential for preservation, many participants were emphatic about the and current irrelevance and negative presence of the UHT, and saw no reason to preserve its physical structures. Many expert interviewees expressed concern when we mentioned historic preservation, perhaps because they imagined preservation of the UHT's physical infrastructure, or even preservation of it as a functioning terminal. Some of the expressed concern may have been due to our wording—we did not explain what we meant by "preservation" when we asked for thoughts on it. As we explained in the literature review, we use the term "historic preservation" to broadly encompass everything from total physical preservation of a historic building or site, to incorporation of small architectural details from an old structure into a remodel, to a simple commemorative plaque or interpretive display. Had these options been laid out, we might have received more favorable responses to the idea of preserving of the UHT's history.

We did not ask directly about preservation in our survey, opting instead for questions that would elicit respondents' unprompted views on the subject. Almost two-thirds of respondents thought that removing the UHT's physical structures would affect the neighborhood positively (while only two thought removal would be negative, and seven had no opinion). Almost three quarters of respondents felt that the UHT affected the surrounding neighborhoods negatively, potentially due to its poor aesthetics—90% (28/31) respondents considered the UHT unattractive. One online focus group participant explained he wished the UHT had been removed earlier, saying, "[It] would be nice just to see all that junk out of the way of the River and the land greened up for awhile... I would prefer a bit healthier water front than. . . concrete chunks and the igloos [referring to the distinctive concrete domes of the UHT]." This data suggests that preserving the physical structures would not be welcomed.

Despite respondents' negative views towards the UHT, five people mentioned some version of historical preservation or education in response to the question "If the Terminal were removed, what would you most like to be put in its place?" Two people suggested repurposing existing structures, while others suggested a museum, some form of commemoration, and historical education. Over three-quarters of respondents were of the opinion that regional barging history was important for Minneapolis residents to know, and over half said they would like to know more about the city's barging history. These numbers indicate a desire to be more informed about and connected with the city's industrial river history, which would include the

history of the UHT, and indicate that some form of historic preservation of the UHT or Upper Harbor Development Project could be beneficial and appreciated by residents.

## Community Voices and Environmental Justice

In both our expert interviews and online focus groups, participants voiced concern that North and Northeast Minneapolis were not respected or cared about by the rest of the city, that voices of residents in this area were not listened to but instead "trampled on" or disregarded, and that the city does not prioritize or invest in this area or appreciate the riverbanks' value, as exemplified by the lack of riverside recreational space or river access. An active neighborhood leader from Marshall Terrace characterized these problems as social justice issues. Our findings hearken back to Hoelscher and Alderman's claim that "historically marginalized communities often struggle to make their voices heard in the political processes that precede development" (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004), as well as Bullard's assertion that historically oppressed or marginalized groups of people tend to be burdened with undesirable or locally unwanted land uses for exactly this reason (Bullard 1990). The population of McKinley, our study neighborhood on the North Side and the area targeted by the online focus group, fits the definition of a "historically marginalized" population (high unemployment and poverty, low median household income, and 45% black relative to 18% in the city overall) and has historically experienced discontentment with the leadership of the city and felt disadvantaged by its decisions and policies (Nathanson 2010). Given this situation, and the fact that we found voices of the average resident hard to reach, it seems necessary for those involved in planning and development to make a particular effort to ensure that development in North Minneapolis is sensitive to the desires and needs of this community. (Although Marshall Terrace, our study neighborhood in Northeast, cannot be characterized a marginalized population, it was included by AFCAC members when talking about the lack of voice of northern Minneapolis in general, and should be given the same consideration).

Seeking out the voices of historically marginalized communities such as McKinley is particularly important when development involves issues of history and preservation, as is the case with the UHT. As Eichstedt and Small write, "How history is... made socially important

through the landscape is... vital to achieving fairness and preventing the "symbolic annihilation" of marginalized social groups and their historical identities" (Eichstedt and Small 2002 as cited in Dwyer and Alderman 2004). Although we found that the surrounding communities do not seem to have a strong historical identity with the UHT, this in itself is important and relevant, because it demonstrates the discrepancy between professional and lay people's criteria for determining historical significance (Coeterier 2002). In other cases and other locations, this discrepancy could be more conflicting and problematic. Because residents of North and Northeast Minneapolis have expressed frustration with making their voices heard in the development process, and given the role that "domination and uneven access to a society's political and economic resources" plays in questions of social memory (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004), those involved in redevelopment plans and implementation should take care to investigate the community's social memory of redevelopment sites, and thoroughly explore community wishes regarding any sites that are important to them.

## Site redevelopment possibilities

Our data suggests that most people may be in favor of entirely removing the UHT, which is generally seen by residents as aesthetically unappealing and of little value to the local neighborhoods and the city's economy. Residents would prefer to replace existing UHT structures with other uses seen as more valuable. Our responses were filled with a sentiment that this riverfront—and the riverfront in general—is most valuable as a multifaceted public space that provides access to the river's amenities and satisfies the needs of a diverse local population. We received a variety of suggestions to that end. First, although only mentioned by two respondents, a pedestrian-friendly bridge connecting McKinley to the river over I-94 is seen as an important step. The prevailing desire we encountered was for a park, with amenities like picnic areas, trees and grass, an outdoor amphitheater, and trails for walking and biking, uses capitalize on the aesthetic appeal of the river and its banks. A few residents also expressed the desire for a public marina, which would offer a more tangible connection to the river itself primarily as a vehicle for recreation, rather than as a setting for it (however this option is limited to boat owners). A small number of respondents emphasized the importance of ecological restoration on the site and/or an

environmental education center, both of which could be incorporated into, and indeed enhance, a public park. The intended value of ecological restoration would be primarily for the health of river ecosystems but could also serve to connect the public to the river as a complex natural system with its own needs, rather than merely as an amenity for human use.

A few of our respondents also expressed that, while public access and ecologically oriented redevelopment is much desired, it is also important for the City to capitalize on the potential high value of riverfront land. In one resident's words, "Parks don't pay taxes." In contrast to parks and the UHT, if the land was rezoned for privately-owned business, housing, or restaurants, bars, and coffee shops with a view of the river and downtown, the city—and thus its residents—would reap financial benefits. More preference was shown for the latter idea, which would provide both tax benefits and services for local residents. Following this 'best-of-bothworlds' approach, others suggested that a strip along the riverbank be developed into a green, corridor-like park and either an employment-providing business park, hotels, or high-end housing put between the park and the interstate. It is telling that among these responses, 'industry' was only mentioned as an option twice, both times with qualifiers like 'Green' and 'light.' To build industry on the river is now considered by most to be an undervaluation of that land. However, some respondents work in neighboring industries and expressed concern that the redevelopment of the Terminal would foreclose the long-term survival of their own businesses.

The variety of our respondents' ideas gives voice to the many perspectives of riverfront valuation that have come into play in the last century. That public access, particularly in the form of parks, was commonly desired reflects the widespread trend of the past thirty years to value urban riverfronts for direct public and environmental benefit rather than for industrial use. One could see the voices arguing for business parks and light industry as products of antiquated values, but in truth, the voice for riverfront parks in Minneapolis is just as old. As some members of AFCAC stated, the public has been waiting over 100 years for Horace Cleveland's master park plan to come into fruition. Be it as it may that Cleveland and his successors highly valued public access to their parks, the idea that this particular, very flat stretch of the riverfront could be most valuable for anything but industry is less than thirty years old. Responses suggest the opinion that the city has long undervalued this part of the riverfront. As our data would suggest, most residents now see a publicly accessible riverfront as a right and a necessity for everyone. Despite this pervasive view, the UHT's redevelopment does not seem to be, as an AFCAC

member put it, "a hot topic." This is partly due to fact that plans for redevelopment have been around for 24 years with little to show for it. Nonetheless, when the topic of redevelopment is raised, residents know what they want for their riverfront, and it is not the Upper Harbor Terminal.

### Data limitations and future studies

In the course of this study, we encountered many obstacles that limited our ability to collect all the relevant data we sought, and discovered many shortcomings in our data-gathering process that further limited and skewed data collection. Given these challenges, our conclusions are only tentative, and more in-depth and strategically planned research should be done to confirm and understand our findings. We decided to take a focus group approach to datagathering, the emergent difficulties of which have been discussed above. As this tactic was met with little success (other than providing a hazy sense of disinterest or dispassion in the target communities regarding the UHT), we reconsidered the use of surveys, which we had dismissed early on. Due to time constraints, we depended in part on pre-existing groups to reach survey respondents, and thus ended up with responses coming from North Side Facebook users, members of a North Side mosque, employees of two stores on the east side of the river, and workers at North Side and Northeast businesses. This is plainly a convenience sample, and is not necessarily representative of the overall opinions of the McKinley and Marshall Terrace neighborhood populations. The respondents from Facebook were already part of groups of North Siders interested in North Side happenings and actively chose to respond this survey, and thus were not randomly chosen and most likely were more knowledgeable about river issues than the average citizen. The businesses were probably motivated by self-interest to respond to certain questions about redevelopment in particular ways. The mosque responses were also biased; for example, three of the six responses from the mosque suggested the UHT be replaced by a mosque. As a consequence these biases and the relatively small sample size, our data are not fit for statistical analysis or extremely reliable generalization. However, this does not change the fact that the data we gathered are voices of members of the local public, and are therefore valuable. Our findings--that North Minneapolis residents have very little local connection to the

UHT--barely scratched the surface of public views on riverfront redevelopment. More in-depth research should be done before our findings can be validated or acted upon. As redevelopment plans get underway, it is important to seek out these local voices to assure that identity and culture of the area are preserved in order to avoid socially undesirable outcomes. Focus group and survey participants echoed this sentiment, explaining how they wanted to be a part of the redevelopment discussion and believed it was extremely important to include local voices. Additionally, in this study we attempted to reveal and integrate a more local history of communities surrounding the UHT's with the professionally determined history that has been recorded by historians (Hess and Berg 2007; City of Minneapolis 2013). Our efforts fell short, primarily because our attempts to elicit residential memories and histories of the UHT or the Upper River in Minneapolis were not fruitful, leaving us little to work with. Understanding the UHT and its history integrated with a more local perspective of the site is an important step towards including more voices in the redevelopment plans for the Upper River, and we suggest this as an important avenue for future study.

# **CONCLUSION**

The Mississippi River has played a great role in shaping communities that rise up alongside it, and is at the center of these urban environments, physically, economically, and culturally. Cities have built their identities in connection with the river's role in their history, so when redevelopment brings change to their riverbanks, the question of preserving the story of this identity arises. Industry has historically been a prevalent land use on the banks of the Mississippi, and we chose to focus on its role in shaping the identity of both a city as a whole, as well as a local community in which it resides.

By investigating the Upper Harbor Terminal in the face of its imminent closure and redevelopment, we aimed to add a local perspective to its professionally-determined history, so that the identity of neighboring communities would not be lost in redevelopment due to a lack of their input. We engaged in this research in order to find a more well-rounded and rich understanding of the UHT's place in the surrounding communities, and to explore how to best remember the UHT's history. We found through focus groups and surveys that residents of the local community were largely unaware of the UHT and its function, and had little identification with the site or its history, perhaps because of the UHT's isolated location, demographic

characteristics of the surrounding neighborhoods, or the UHT's minimal economic influence. Yet, we also found that participants considered the history of barging in Minneapolis to be important to the city. Based on these findings, we suggest that incorporating historic preservation into redevelopment plans could connect the local residents to the UHT's importance in the history of Minneapolis as a whole. We suggest that historic preservation should be done only if it does not hinder development plans that are more pressing and desirable to local residents.

Residents' lack of connection to the UHT does not indicate that their voices can be overlooked or that the historic interpretation of the site should be based solely on the professionally determined history. Rather, the difficulties we experienced in talking to residents and the resulting small and inconsistent sample we used, in combination with resident's articulated desire to have their voice heard, demonstrate the increased importance of seeking out the opinions of this "marginalized" community, so that their experiences can give dimension to the professionally determined history that is often told. The implications of this study reach beyond the UHT. As we explored this specific site and set of voices, we found that to understand the story of the UHT and its affect on local communities, it is critical to examine the broader web of related issues including power dynamics in city or nation-wide decision-making, social justice in historically marginalized neighborhoods, and changing values of the riverfront land usage.

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### **APPENDICES**

Appendix A: Historical Designation Criteria

National Register of Historic Places (Quoted directly from the National Park Service Website, <a href="http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15\_2.htm">http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15\_2.htm</a>)

### Criteria for Evaluation

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- **A**. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- **B**. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in or past; or
- **C.** That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- **D.** That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

### **Criteria Considerations**

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties *will qualify* if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- **a.** A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- **b.** A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- **c.** A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life; or
- **d.** A cemetery that derives its primary importance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- **e.** A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- **f.** A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- **g.** A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

"In addition to significance, a property must maintain physical integrity to be considered for the National Register, and must usually be over fifty years old unless it ranks as exceptionally significant" (Roise and Berg 2007).

<u>Local Historic Designation Criteria</u> (Quoted directly from City of Minneapolis website: <a href="mailto:kmv.minneapolismn.gov/www/groups/public/@cped/documents/webcontent/convert\_27">kmv.minneapolismn.gov/www/groups/public/@cped/documents/webcontent/convert\_27</a> 4715.pdf>.)

## **Criteria for Designation**

Local and national criteria used to evaluate the value of historic resources and the potential for designation. While criteria for both designations are similar, there are more criteria for local designations which are location specific. Properties may be designated both local and nationally, or designated separately. Locally designated individual properties are called landmarks and nationally designated properties are listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

The Minneapolis Heritage Preservation Ordinance establishes criteria to be considered in determining whether a property is worthy of designation as a local landmark or included in an historic district because of its historical, cultural, architectural, archaeological or engineering significance. To be eligible for local designation, a property must meet at least one of the following criteria:

- 1. The property is associated with significant events or with periods that exemplify broad patterns of cultural, political, economic or social history.
- 2. The property is associated with the lives of significant persons or groups.
- 3. The property contains or is associated with distinctive elements of city identity.
- 4. The property embodies the distinctive characteristics of an architectural or engineering type or style, or method of construction.
- 5. The property exemplifies a landscape design or development pattern distinguished by innovation, rarity, uniqueness or quality of design or detail.
- 6. The property exemplifies works of master builders, engineers, designers, artists, craftsmen or architects.
- 7. The property has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history

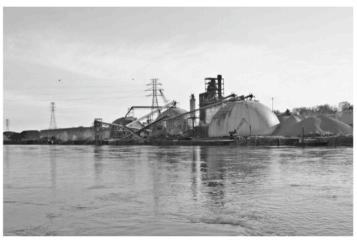
# Appendix B: Survey Instrument

RIVERFRONT SURVEY

1)	Which neighborhood do you live in?			
2)	How long have you lived in that neighborhood?years			
	a. In the Twin Cities metro area? years			
3)	For you, is the Mississippi River an important part of living in Minnea	apolis?	Yes	No
	a. Do you think the River is valuable to your neighborhood?		Y	$\mathbf{N}$
	b. (IF YES) Is it most valuable for <b>recreation</b> , <b>industry</b> , (write below)?	or <b>oth</b>	er reas	ons
4)	Have you heard of the Upper Harbor Terminal?	Y	N	
	(IF NO) Please look at the picture and map of the Terminal below.			
	a. Do you recognize this place?	Y	N	
5)	(IF NO) Skip to Question 9			
	(IF YES) Do you know what it is used for?	Y	N	
6)	If you remember the Terminal being built, did it change the surroundi	ng area		
	positively, negatively, or	not at	all	?
7)	Currently, does the Terminal's presence affect the area			
	positively, negatively, or	not at a	all	?
8)	Do you know anyone who has worked at the Terminal or been involved	ed in its	opera	tion?
		Yes	No	
9)	Do you know anyone who has worked in barging or river transportation	ion in g	eneral'	?
		Y	N	
10)	Are you familiar with the history of barge transportation in Minneapo	lis and	St. Pau	ıl?
		Y	N	
11)	(IF YES) Do you think this history is important for Minneapolis resid	dents to	know	?
		Y	N	
12)	Would you like to know more about the history of the Upper Harbor	Γermina	al?	
		Y	N	
13)	Do you think the Terminal is appealing to look at?	Y	N	
14)	Do you think the riverfront above downtown is appealing to look at?	Y	N	
	If the physical structures of the Terminal were removed, would this at ghborhood	ffect yo	ur	
	positively, negatively, or not	t at all_	?	
16) <b>bel</b> o	If the Terminal were removed, what would you most like to be put in <b>ow</b> )	its plac	e? (wr	ite

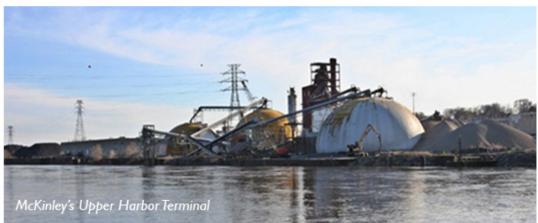
Map and Picture of the Upper Harbor Terminal





# McKinley residents:

What do you think about your riverfront?



(photo from http://www.uer.ca/forum\_showthread\_archive.asp?fid=3&threadid=67119)

Are you a resident of McKinley? Are you interested in local history and the future of your riverfront? We are senior Environmental Studies majors at Carleton College and would like to hear what the river and the Upper Harbor Terminal (see map at right) means to you. The City plans to close the terminal and redevelop the area - we want to make sure their plans take into account what is important to you.

Please join us for a focus group session on either January 25th at 3pm or January 27th at 6 pm at the GMCC Center for Families at 3333 North 4th Street, Minneapolis. Light refreshments will be provided. E-mail jenkinsg@carleton.edu if you are interested, or just stop by. We hope to see you there!



	29	<u> </u>		RAY GRUMNE	Y • Star Tribune
Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu	Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls, jenkinsg@carleton.edu  Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls, jenkinsg@carleton.edu	Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu	Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu	Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls. jenkinsg@carleton.edu	Riverfront discussion Jan 25, 3PM or Jan 27, 6PM 3333 North 4th Street, Mpls, jenkinsg@carleton.edu

# Appendix D: Focus Group Protocol

## **Greet the group:**

Hello everybody, thank you for joining us today. Our names are Sebastian, Lauren, and Gwen. We're seniors at Carleton College majoring in Environmental Studies. The conversation we'll have today will contribute to our senior thesis project – the product of which will be passed on to people we've been talking with that are involved with planning the redevelopment of Minneapolis's riverfront.

Can you all introduce yourselves and tell us how long you've lived here?

### Pass out Consent form

[inform them that we might quote them if they consent to it, etc.] We're audio recording the session but the recording will not be shared with anyone.

Lay out plans, guidelines: What are our goals for the focus group and how we will proceed. We will ask questions to guide the conversation. We are looking to go for an hour, but if the conversation is lively we might go on for an hour and a half.

[Open space for questions] Ok, we'll get started.

# SHOW PICTURE(s) of the UHT.

Do any of any of you recognize this site? Tell us what you think it is.

So this is the Upper Harbor Terminal [only necessary if people don't know]. It's a 48 acre plot of land on the riverfront that's currently occupied by the Upper Harbor Terminal, which is a barge terminal that spans the space between N. 41<sup>ST</sup> St. and Lowry Ave.

### **SHOW A MAP OF AREA**

We're in McKinley/Marshall Terrace today because we're interested what place this site has in the life of the neighborhood. As you might know already, the UHT is slated to close soon for a number of reasons, namely because it hasn't made the city quite as much money as was originally hoped for. There are some plans to redevelop the area, with visions that include a business park, a residential area, a green, riverside park, 'light industry,' or some combination of these. Plans also include building more pedestrian friendly bridges across the highway, [and potentially across the river], and long-term visions for greenways stretching along the river.

These plans have the potential to make some major changes to the character of the area. So, we are interested in what place the UHT has in the life of the community. We'd like to know how it is important to you. And, more generally, we're interested in how riverfront industrial sites like this are treated in redevelopment. So, to start out:

**QUESTIONS** - [To guide the discussion, not to ask them all]

[Guiding questions: What does the surrounding community (YOU) think about the UHT? What is its significance to you and the neighborhood? Is its history significant to you?]

**Neighborhood drawing activity** - can you draw on the map (maybe with the person next to you) where your neighborhood starts and ends?

Do you feel there is a strong sense of community in this neighborhood? How have you seen its character change over the years?

Do you consider the industrial riverfront area to be part of your neighborhood? Does anyone here use the river? How do you use it? [fishing, running near it, swimming, boating, etc] Do you use the river more often here or elsewhere?

Is the river important to you and this community? Is the river a reason you live here? (If you were around before the highway was built (~'84), how has that changed the your/the neighborhood's relationship with the river?)

Does anyone here know anything about the UHT? Does anyone know what the function of the UHT is?/what role it plays in the local economy?

Does anyone have specific memories about the UHT?
Have you ever been to the site?
Has anyone known anyone who works there?

Do you like seeing it there? [Do you think it has aesthetic appeal?] Does its appearance contribute to the way you think about your neighborhood? How?

Has the terminal played a part in how you think about the Mississippi River? Do you like seeing barges on the river?

Ok, I think now's a good time to give a very brief little synopsis of the terminal's history, for those who aren't well acquainted with it.

### (Brief Presentation about the History of the UHT)

Have any of you heard any of this history before? Do you think this history is interesting? Are there aspects of this history that we did not mention that you think are particularly important?

(If no) Do you know of anyone that might know or might be interested in this history? (Get new contacts).

Is there anyone you know who's been a part of this story? (in construction, shipping, engineering, politics, or more indirectly?)

Do you think knowing the history of the terminal is valuable to you as a resident of McKinley/Marshall Terrace or would be valuable to the neighborhood as a whole?

Does knowing this history change the way you see your neighborhood or Mpls on a whole?

If you've lived here for a long time, how have you seen the UHT area change over time?

In light of redevelopment plans, what would you like to see the area used for? What would you like to see the area used for?

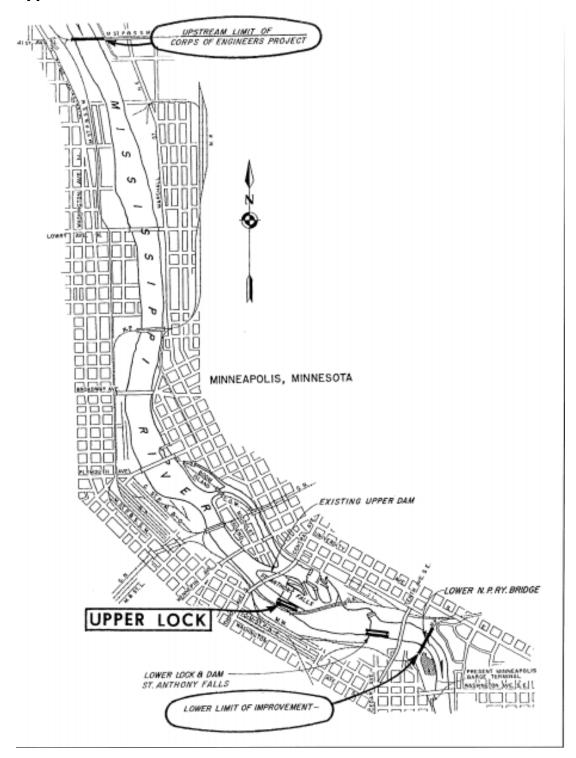
Were the terminal removed in its entirety, do you think it would benefit or hurt the neighborhood?

Are there any particular structures of the UHT that you would want to see kept in place, in some form [as a form of memorializing the history and its place in the neighborhood]? Are there any particular parts that you would like to see removed?

Do you think memorializing the terminal and its history would contribute to the neighborhood?

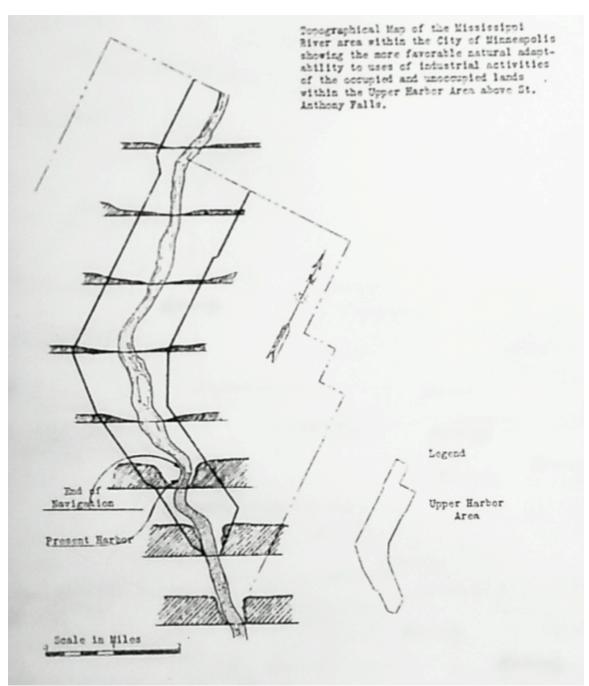
How important do you think preserving part of its physical structure is to relaying such information?

# Appendix E:



# Upper Mississippi Harbor Development Project area

Cited in Roise and Berg 2007 from "Tour of Saint Anthony Falls Upper Lock," Typescript, August 1970. Prepared for American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE) Hydraulics Division Eighteenth Annual Specialty Conference, University of Minnesota.



**Diagram of Minneapolis's riverbank topography, 1937.** 'Present Harbor' here means the Washington Avenue Terminal. 'Upper Harbor Area' indicates the area affected by the Lock and Dam project. Source: Minneapolis City Planning Commission, 1937.

# Appendix F: Minnesota Historical Society Archives

### • Photographic Collections:

Upper Harbor Project Photographic Collection of Lock and Dam Construction

### Reports

- o Report on Economic And Engineering Study of UHT (1968)
- The upper Mississippi navigation improvement providing a 9-foot channel depth between Minneapolis and the Missouri River
- A preliminary report on the harbor facilities of the city of Minneapolis in relation to the commerce and the industry of the city (1937)
- The Mississippi River Grain Trade: an argument for the 9 foot channel on the upper river and an explanation of what it is expected to do for northwestern farmers (1933)

### Plans:

- Conceptual river corridor plan: Mississippi Corridor Neighborhood Coalition, a neighborhoodbased plan for the upper river (1994)
- The Upper River in Minneapolis: a concept plan for discussion (City Planning Department) (1985)

### • Books/Articles/Papers:

- o The Upper Harbor: its trials, its tribulations, and its final triumph, Joseph Zalusky (1962)
- Old Man River Awakens, Fugina (1952)
- o Howard S. Abbot family papers about Upper Harbor Project (1942)