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SOCIAL UPGRADING AND RESIDENTIAL DISPLACEMENT
IN THE EFFORT TO PHYSICALLY UPGRADE AND
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HOUSTON, TEXAS

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Angelo R. Podagrosi III

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**SOCIAL UPGRADING AND RESIDENTIAL DISPLACEMENT IN THE EFFORT TO
PHYSICALLY UPGRADE AND REDEVELOP DETERIORATED INNER-CITY
AREAS OF HOUSTON, TEXAS**

By

Angelo R. Podagrosi III

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL UPGRADING AND RESIDENTIAL DISPLACEMENT IN THE EFFORT TO PHYSICALLY UPGRADE AND REDEVELOP DETERIORATED INNER-CITY AREAS OF HOUSTON, TEXAS

By

Angelo R. Podagrosi III

For over fifty years, the public and private sectors have engaged in various initiatives and programs to physically upgrade deteriorated inner-cities. However, often the by-product of physical upgrading is social upgrading, the displacement of many of the original residents of the central city neighborhoods who are often low-income and minority. This thesis explores the various processes of physical and social upgrading—including locally-driven urban renewal, private-sector ‘block-busting’, and gentrification—occurring in the latter 20th century in the city of Houston, Texas.

This thesis focuses on the city of Houston because of the extensive resources recently directed towards the revitalization of its downtown and surrounding neighborhoods. This thesis examines the occurrence of different forms of physical and social upgrading, which are taking place simultaneously, but in different combinations, in different areas of the city. The research also examines the neighborhood characteristics and demographic patterns that influence the occurrence of specific upgrading processes. One location of particular interest in this study is Houston’s historic African-American community of Freedmen’s Town which has experienced decades of conflict over land and space. Most recently, Freedmen’s Town has been at the focus of Houston’s urban revival, where physical upgrading has been accompanied by the displacement of the community’s traditional population and the destruction of a historic neighborhood.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xix
1 INTRODUCTION	1
The City of Houston.....	1
Background	4
Statement of Problem.....	5
Research Objectives.....	7
Outline of Thesis.....	9
2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	12
Introduction.....	12
Explaining the New Demand for Inner-City Living	13
Urban Renewal/Land Clearance	20
Displacement.....	22
Use of Urban Renewal in Ethnic and Racial Areas	23
Locally-Driven Urban Renewal Tactics	26
Private-Sector ‘Block-busting’	29
Gentrification	31
Causes of Gentrification	32
Characteristics of Neighborhoods Experiencing Gentrification	35
Displacement.....	36
Commentary on Physical and Social Upgrading	38
3 HOUSTON	41
Introduction.....	41
Brief History and Development of Houston	42
Economy	46
The Laissez-Faire City.....	49
Growth Coalitions.....	51
Government Involvement in Business.....	53
Postmodern Transition.....	56
Houston’s Modernist Roots	57
Houston’s New Postmodern Direction	59
Local Economic Development Strategies: Focusing on Houston’s Central City	67
The Main Street Management District and TIRZs	70
Main Street and Infrastructure Projects	74
Entertainment Venues: Stadiums, Hotels, Conventions, Performing Arts	81
The Role of Subsidies	91
Tax Breaks and Subsidies for Residential Developments	96
Conclusion	97

4	DATA ANALYSIS.....	98
	Variable Selection and Data Preparation	98
	Geographic Limits of Analysis	99
	Data Selection	101
	Variables of analysis	104
	Data Collection	104
	Data Aggregation for Comparison.....	106
	Changes Occurring in Harris County.....	110
	Principal Components Analysis & Clustering	147
	Areas of Houston Experiencing Redevelopment.....	153
	Independent Municipalities.....	158
	The Heights	165
	Rice Military/Magnolia Grove.....	171
	Freedmen's Town	182
	Conclusion	192
5	FREEDMEN'S TOWN	193
	Brief History of the settlement of Freedmen's Town area	193
	Development and Success of Freedmen's Town	198
	Early Conflicts of Space	201
	Declining State of the Community	212
	Recent Pressures for Development & Conflicts of Space	216
	Allen Parkway Village.....	217
	Historic Structures & Preservation Attempts.....	219
	Issues Regarding Various Land Holdings.....	233
	HISD in the Fourth Ward.....	236
	Physical and Social Upgrading of Freedmen's Town.....	240
	Discussion of Data and Trends	240
	Current Upscale Developments	244
	Conclusion	250
6	CONCLUSION.....	252
	Reflecting on the Robustness of Urban Revitalization Initiatives	252
	Physical and Social Upgrading	253
	The Houston Context	256
	The Data Analysis.....	258
	Freedmen's Town	261
	Research Contribution and Future Directions.....	263
7	APPENDIX.....	270
	LITERATURE CITED	295

LIST OF FIGURES

Images in this thesis are presented in color

Figure 2.1 – Rent gap diagram.....	17
Figure 3.1 – Union Station as entrance to Minute Maid Park (baseball stadium) (Source: Author).....	63
Figure 3.2 – Interior of renovated Union Station (Source: Author)	63
Figure 3.3 – Hogg Palace (Source: Author).....	64
Figure 3.4 – Rice Hotel (Source: Author).....	64
Figure 3.5 – Rice Hotel (Source: Author).....	65
Figure 3.6 – Orientation map of the Houston area and Freedmen’s Town.....	68
Figure 3.7 – Locations of downtown sites and recent redevelopment projects.....	69
Figure 3.8 – Locations of Tax Increment Reinvestment Zones in the City of Houston...	71
Figure 3.9 – Highly-successful Midtown area southwest of downtown redeveloped with a TIRZ. (Source: Author)	73
Figure 3.10 – Remaining land in the Midtown area prepared for development. (Source: Author).....	73
Figure 3.11 – Improved streetscape designs and street integration with the light-rail line. (Source: Author)	76
Figure 3.12 – Façade improvements and new streetscape designs along Main Street in downtown. (Source: Author)	76
Figure 3.13 – District signage as part of downtown revitalization. (Source: Author).....	77
Figure 3.14 – Cotswold Streetscape Improvement Project (Source: Author)	77
Figure 3.15 – Main Street Improvement Project with the construction of the light-rail line along Main Street in downtown. (Source: Author).....	79

Figure 3.16 – Main Street Improvement Project with construction of light-rail line (Source: Author)	79
Figure 3.17 – Completed light-rail line integrated with Main Street. (Source: Author) ..	80
Figure 3.18 – Completed light-rail line integrated with Main Street. (Source: Author) ..	80
Figure 3.19 – New 1,200 room Hilton Americas-Houston hotel. (Source: Author)	82
Figure 3.20 – Close proximity of new Hilton hotel and George R. Brown Convention Center as viewed from Minute Maid Park. (Source: Author).....	82
Figure 3.21 – The redeveloped, historic Lancaster Hotel in the downtown Theatre District. (Source: Author)	83
Figure 3.22 – George R. Brown Convention Center (Source: Author)	84
Figure 3.23 – Minute Maid Park (formerly Enron Field) (Source: Author).....	86
Figure 3.24 – Interior of Minute Maid Park (formerly Enron Field) (Source: Author)....	86
Figure 3.25 – Toyota Center (Source: Author).....	87
Figure 3.26 – Reliant Stadium under construction, October 2001 (Source: Author)	87
Figure 3.27 – Reliant Stadium (Source: Author)	87
Figure 3.28 – Wortham Center (Source: Author)	89
Figure 3.29 – Jones Hall (Source: Author)	89
Figure 3.30 – Alley Theatre (Source: Author).....	90
Figure 3.31 – Hobby Center for the Performing Arts. (Source: Author).....	90
Figure 3.32 – Bayou Place entertainment complex. (Source: Author)	90
Figure 3.33 – Bayou Place entertainment complex. (Source: Author)	91
Figure 4.1 – 2000 U.S. Census Tracts of Harris County and Houston City Limits.....	100
Figure 4.2 – Location of the City of Houston and the counties it occupies.....	102
Figure 4.3 – Independent Municipalities of the Houston area.....	103

Figure 4.5 – Orientation map of the Houston area.....	111
Figure 4.6 – Map of the change in total population – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	113
Figure 4.7 – Map of the change in the White population – Harris County, 1980-2000 .	114
Figure 4.8 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is White – Harris County, 1980-2000	115
Figure 4.9 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is White – Harris County, 2000	116
Figure 4.10 – Map of the change in the Black population – Harris County, 1980-2000	117
Figure 4.11 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is Black – Harris County, 2000	119
Figure 4.12 – Map of the change in the Hispanic Population – Harris County, 1980-2000	120
Figure 4.13 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is Hispanic – Harris County, 1980-2000	121
Figure 4.14 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is Hispanic – Harris County, 2000.....	122
Figure 4.15 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract population (age 25+) that are college graduates – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	123
Figure 4.16 – Map of the percentage of census tract population (age 25+) that are college graduates – Harris County, 2000	124
Figure 4.17 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract families that are below the poverty level – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	125
Figure 4.18 – Map of the percentage of census tract families that are below the poverty level – Harris County, 2000.....	126
Figure 4.19 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract households that are female-headed – Harris County, 1980-2000	127
Figure 4.20 – Map of the percentage of census tract households that are female-headed – Harris County, 2000.....	129
Figure 4.21 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract households receiving public assistance income – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	130

Figure 4.22 – Map of the percentage change in median gross rent – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	131
Figure 4.23 – Map of the percentage change in median value of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	132
Figure 4.24 – Map of the median value of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000	133
Figure 4.25 – Map of the percentage change in median household income – Harris County, 1980-2000	134
Figure 4.26 – Map of the percentage change in per capita income – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	136
Figure 4.27 – Map of the change in percentage of census tract employed population whose occupation is considered ‘professional’ – Harris County, 1980-2000	137
Figure 4.28 – Map of the percentage of census tract employed population whose occupation is considered ‘professional’ – Harris County, 2000	138
Figure 4.29 – Map of the change in total number of households – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	139
Figure 4.30 – Map of the change in total number of housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000.....	140
Figure 4.31 – Map of the change in the total number of occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000	141
Figure 4.32 – Map of the change in the total number of vacant housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000	142
Figure 4.33 – Map of the change in the total number of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000	144
Figure 4.34 – Map of the change in the total number of renter-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000	145
Figure 4.35 – Map of the change in the percentage of total housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities – Harris County, 1980-2000	146
Figure 4.36 – Graph of Change in Incremental F-Values based upon K-Means Clustering Process	152

Figure 4.37 – Map of the Harris County census tracts that clustered with Freedmen’s Town in experiencing similar characteristics of redevelopment from 1980 to 2000	154
Figure 4.38 – Zoomed-in map of the near-downtown cluster of redevelopment census tracts.....	159
Figure 4.39 - A ‘teardown’ in progress within the separate municipality of Bunker Hill Village. Notice the smaller housing next door. (Source: Author)	161
Figure 4.40 - Example of some of the original housing that occupied these areas. Houses of this size and style are often what are being torn down to be replaced by larger homes. (Source: Author).....	161
Figure 4.41 - A new, larger home being built to replace a smaller home torn down in the separate municipality of Hunters Creek Village. (Source: Author).....	162
Figure 4.42 - A new, larger home being built to replace a smaller home torn down in the separate municipality of Hunters Creek Village. (Source: Author).....	162
Figure 4.43 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights. (Source: Author)	166
Figure 4.44 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights. (Source: Author)	167
Figure 4.45 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights (on the right) with new two-story construction on the left. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	167
Figure 4.46 – New upscale housing being constructed in The Heights. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	168
Figure 4.47 - Architecturally-unique housing being physically upgraded in the gentrifying area of The Heights. (Source: Author).....	169
Figure 4.48 - Architecturally-unique housing being physically upgraded in the gentrifying area of The Heights. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	169
Figure 4.49 - New, upscale townhomes being built in the Rice-Military area. The remaining house next door is typical of original housing of this area that has largely been replaced. (Source: Author)	172

Figure 4.50 - Deteriorated housing in the Rice Military area mostly likely awaiting demolition to be replaced with upscale housing. (Source: Author).....	172
Figure 4.51 - New, upscale townhomes being built in the Rice-Military area. (Source: Author).....	173
Figure 4.52 – Sign advertising the newly-built townhomes in the Rice-Military area. (Source: Author)	173
Figure 4.53 - Older housing stock remaining in the redeveloping Rice-Military area. (Source: Author)	174
Figure 4.54 - Older deteriorated commercial property remaining in Rice-Military. Next door encroach the construction of new upscale townhomes. (Source: Author)	174
Figure 4.55 – Deteriorated housing, most likely awaiting demolition, in the Rice-Military area with upscale townhomes in the background. (Source: Author)	175
Figure 4.56 - Older housing in Cottage Grove area similar to what is being demolished for newer upscale construction. (Source: Author)	178
Figure 4.57 - Older housing awaiting demolition in the Cottage Grove area. (Source: Author).....	178
Figure 4.58 - Older housing and newer construction in the Cottage Grove area experiencing forces of urban renewal and private-sector ‘blockbusting’. (Source: Author).....	179
Figure 4.59 - Older, deteriorated housing remaining next to a large empty lot awaiting development. (Source: Author).....	179
Figure 4.60 - Older housing dwarfed in size by new townhome construction in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)	180
Figure 4.61 - Older housing dwarfed in size by new townhome construction in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)	180
Figure 4.62 - New townhome construction next to older trailer-style housing in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)	181
Figure 4.63 – Newly constructed two-story, single-family rowhouses in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)	181
Figure 4.64 – Boarded homes awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	187

Figure 4.65 – Boarded homes awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	187
Figure 4.66 – Newly-constructed homes across the street from deteriorating ‘shotgun-style’ homes in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)	188
Figure 4.67 – Upscale lofts of the ‘Urban Lofts’ development being constructed in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)	188
Figure 4.68 – Boarded housing awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author).....	189
Figure 4.69 – Boarded housing adjacent to a burned-out shell of a home and newly-constructed, upscale townhomes in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)	189
Figure 4.70 – Early stages of construction of new housing adjacent to deteriorating housing in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)	190
Figure 4.71 – New housing being constructed across from the historic 1926 Gregory School building in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author).....	190
Figure 5.1 – Map of original Houston wards.	195
Figure 5.2 – Freedmen’s Town ‘shotgun-style’ housing (Source: Author).....	197
Figure 5.3 – Freedmen’s Town Housing (Source: Author)	197
Figure 5.4 – Picture of the Houston Black Chamber of Commerce established in the Fourth Ward. (Source: http://www.houstonhistory.com/erhnic/history2blacks.htm)	200
Figure 5.5 – Snapshot of active daily life along W. Dallas Avenue in the Fourth Ward from around the 1940s. (Source: http://houstonhistory.com/decades/history5k.htm)	200
Figure 5.6 – Map of Fourth Ward and downtown expansion projects	204
Figure 5.7 – City Hall (Source: Author)	205
Figure 5.8 – Sam Houston Park, west of City Hall (Source: Author)	205
Figure 5.9 - Sam Houston Coliseum (site of the current Hobby Center for the Performing Arts built in 2002) (Source: http://www.houstonhockey.net/page9.html).....	206

Figure 5.10 – Conversion of Gulf Freeway into Interstate 45 (Source: http://www.texasfreeway.com/houston/historic/photos/houston_historic_photos.shtm)	206
Figure 5.11 - Un-redeveloped western Section of the former Albert Thomas Convention Center (Source: Author).....	208
Figure 5.12 – Antioch Baptist Church in the midst of the modern glass skyscrapers of the Allen Center (Source: Author).....	208
Figure 5.13 – San Felipe Courts public housing project (currently Allen Parkway Village) (Source: Author)	210
Figure 5.14 – Original San Felipe Courts public housing project housing. Currently named the Historic Oaks of Allen Parkway Village (Source: Author).....	210
Figure 5.15 - New public housing construction of the Historic Oaks of Allen Parkway Village (Source: Author).....	218
Figure 5.16 – Historic cottage moved from the Fourth Ward in 2002 by developer Larry Davis in preparation for the construction of upscale housing. The cottage was placed within Sam Houston Park with other historic homes of the area including the home of the Reverend John Henry ‘Jack’ Yates, pastor of the Antioch Baptist Church, whose home was also originally in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author).....	220
Figure 5.17 – Placard describing the historical importance of the Fourth Ward cottage. (Source: Author)	221
Figure 5.18 – The home of Rev. John Henry ‘Jack’ Yates also moved to Sam Houston Park from Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author).....	221
Figure 5.19 – Cleared residential site at 1713 Lubbock Street in the historic Sixth Ward. (Source: Author)	223
Figure 5.20 – Burned-out shell of the Bethel Baptist Church in Freedmen’s Town (Source: Author)	225
Figure 5.21 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author).....	226
Figure 5.22 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author).....	227
Figure 5.23 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author).....	227

Figure 5.24 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author).....	229
Figure 5.25 – Remaining original brick street in Freedmen’s Town (Source: Author)..	229
Figure 5.26 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author).....	230
Figure 5.27 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author).....	230
Figure 5.28 – Boarded-up Gregory School set to reopen Houston public library branch and African-American Archival & Cultural Center (Source: Author)	232
Figure 5.29 – Back of the boarded-up Gregory School set to reopen Houston public library branch and African-American Archival & Cultural Center (Source: Author)	232
Figure 5.30 – Land south of the Gregory-Lincoln school acquired for expansion of the current school and construction of a new high school for the visual and performing arts. (Source: Author).....	239
Figure 5.31 – Land south of the Gregory-Lincoln school acquired for expansion of the current school and construction of a new high school for the visual and performing arts. (Source: Author).....	239
Figure 5.32 – Map of the locations of the new Urban Lofts townhome construction (Source: www.urbanlofts.com)	246
Figure 5.33 – Construction of new, upscale townhomes of Urban Lofts. (Source: Author)	246
Figure 5.34 – New townhomes across the street from a few of the remaining original housing in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)	247
Figure 5.35 – New, upscale townhomes of Urban Lofts. (Source: Author)	247
Figure 5.36 – Land held by Camden Property Trust to be used for a \$70 million, multifamily complex on the far eastern edge of Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)	248
Figure 5.37 – Informational flyer of a newly constructed Crosby Lofts for sell on the east side of Freedmen’s Town.....	249

Figure 5.38 – Newly constructed Crosby Lofts (Source: Author).....	250
Figure 7.1– Map of the total population – Harris County, 2000	271
Figure 7.2 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is Black – Harris County, 1980-2000	272
Figure 7.3 – Map of median gross rent – Harris County, 2000	273
Figure 7.4 – Map of median household income – Harris County, 2000.....	274
Figure 7.5 – Map of per capita income – Harris County, 2000	275

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 – Conditions for gentrification schema.....	34
Table 3.1 – Population growth for the City of Houston (Source: U.S. Census Bureau) ..	44
Table 3.2 – Facts and Figures – City of Houston 2000 (Source: City of Houston 2003a)	45
Table 4.1 – Census Data Variables of Analysis.....	105
Table 4.2 – Complete List of Variables Used in Principal Components Analysis	148
Table 4.3 – Loadings from Principal Components Analysis – Varimax Rotation – 7 Dimensions	150
Table 4.4 – Calculations of Incremental F-Values based upon K-Means Clustering Process	152
Tables 4.5 – Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Independent Municipalities. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)	164
Tables 4.6 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up The Heights. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)	170
Tables 4.7 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)	176
Tables 4.8 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)	185
Tables 4.9 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)	186
Table 5.1 – Early population growth in Houston, TX (U.S. Census Bureau 1853, 1864, 1872)	194
Table 5.2 – Population and race data for the Freedmen’s Town census tract, 1970-2000. (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005).....	241

Table 5.3 – Education and poverty data for the Freedmen’s Town census tract, 1970-2000. (**Calculated of the population that is age 25+) (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)	241
Table 5.4 – Housing data for the Freedmen’s Town census tract, 1970-2000. (*** Will not add up to 100% because of the vacant housing units) (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)	242
Table 5.5 – Income and money data for the Freedmen’s Town census tract, 1970-2000. (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005).....	242
Table 7.1 – Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 1..	276
Table 7.2 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 2 ..	277
Table 7.3 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 3 ..	278
Table 7.4 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 4 ..	279
Table 7.5 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 5 ..	280
Table 7.6 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 1 of 14.....	281
Table 7.7 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 2 of 14.....	282
Table 7.8 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 3 of 14.....	283
Table 7.9 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 4 of 14.....	284
Table 7.10 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 5 of 14.....	285
Table 7.11 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 6 of 14.....	286
Table 7.12 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 7 of 14.....	287
Table 7.13 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 8 of 14.....	288

Table 7.14 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 9 of 14.....	289
Table 7.15 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 10 of 14.....	290
Table 7.16 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 11 of 14.....	291
Table 7.17 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 12 of 14.....	292
Table 7.18 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 13 of 14.....	293
Table 7.19 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 14 of 14.....	294

1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the various types of physical and social upgrading processes that have been used in the city of Houston, Texas to facilitate the city's recent local urban revitalization initiatives. The study focuses particularly on the negative social consequences of physical upgrading that have been encouraged throughout many U.S. cities, including Houston, as local economic and political leaders attempt to improve downtown urban quality. Such initiatives have generally been evident in cities that have made a shift from a traditional manufacturing economy to a specialized service and high-technology economy. While urban revitalization is generally viewed as positive by policy-makers, local businesses, and local developers, the physical upgrading involved in urban redevelopment usually leads to the displacement of low-income, minority residents that have traditionally occupied the central city neighborhoods. In the context of Houston, several different processes of physical and social upgrading are evident, including locally-driven urban renewal programs, private-sector 'block-busting', and gentrification. The focus of this thesis is to explore the complex processes involved in Houston's urban revitalization and the role of the public and private sectors in driving these initiatives.

The City of Houston

The city of Houston was established in the spring of 1836 along a swampy, largely un-navigable bayou near the Gulf of Mexico. The early economy of the city grew to include manufacturing, trade, and eventually the processing of resources extracted from the surrounding region. This included lumber, cotton, and particularly important

within the Houston context, petroleum, which would shape the growth and development of the city in the twentieth century. After the city's recession of the 1980s, largely due to the fall in petroleum prices, the city has attempted to diversify its economy from its traditional petroleum-based economy, placing a new emphasis on medical research, health care facilities, specialized services, tourism, and finance.

The city grew at a rapid pace both in terms of its population and spatial area. The early population of 2,073 in 1839 grew to a size of 44,633 people in 1900, 596,163 in 1950 and just under two million people in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau 1901, 1952, Johnston 1991, U.S. Census Bureau 2005). The original settlement of 2,000 acres in 1836 grew to a size of 72 square miles by 1930, 160 square miles by 1950, 447 square miles by 1967 and 633 square miles by 2003 (Federal Works Agency 1942, McComb 1969, City of Houston 2003b).

The city of Houston, known for its highly conservative nature, has traditionally been viewed as the archetypical *laissez-faire* city with minimal government involvement in various planning issues—although this image has been increasingly challenged (Vojnovic 2003a). Houston's traditional *laissez-faire* philosophy is perhaps best evident with the city's continual rejection of citywide zoning, the absence of a formal plan, and the city's low-tax/low-services approach to local government. While many city officials argue that this governing strategy is necessary to maintain a favorable business climate, this approach to local government has had a history of producing severe social and environmental injustices disproportionately affecting the city's lower-income citizens (Feagin 1988). The low taxes and the resulting minimal provision and maintenance of

urban infrastructure, including the disinterest in social service provision, has particularly affected the lower-income and marginalized citizens.

In this *laissez-faire* environment, business leaders have historically maintained an important role in guiding the development of the city (McComb 1969, Feagin 1988, Vojnovic 2003b). As argued recently by Joel Warren Barna, in his comments regarding local planning, “[i]n a manner typical throughout modern Texas, private interests began to develop the comprehensive vision that public entities had failed to achieve” (Barna 2003, p. 47). This is a sentiment that is widely echoed in Houston. The local business leaders have been known for ensuring the continuation of local policies that maintain the city’s ‘favorable business climate’ and for recruiting businesses to Houston. This has been generally considered successful given the city leaders’ ability to entice companies with the low tax and minimal government benefits of the city. Historically, Houston’s business leaders have been a strong influence in shaping the local economic development strategies and in influencing the growth of the city.

Similar to the experience of many other U.S. cities in the latter 20th century, the city of Houston has concentrated considerable efforts and resources towards the redevelopment of its downtown and surrounding neighborhoods. Given Houston’s well-known history of urban decentralization, this was clearly a new development direction. In fact, downtown revival has emerged as an important part of Houston’s new local development strategy, as local leaders placed a new focus on developing the city’s high-technology and specialized service economy. Recognizing that a high quality urban environment is necessary to attract ‘white-collar’ professionals, businesses, and tourism into the central city, extensive public resources have been devoted to increasing the

attractiveness of Houston's downtown. Large-scale public construction projects have been combined with the encouragement of mixed-use neighborhoods to promote downtown living. In this revitalization process, local developers have benefited from heavily subsidized physical improvement projects and direct subsidies for new developments, while lower-income, minority populations have faced considerable redevelopment pressures in their traditional communities.

Background

Many U.S. inner-cities faced increasing physical and social decline, especially in the post-World War II period. As the U.S. economy strengthened after the war, levels of suburbanization steadily increased. This resulted in large population losses for most U.S. central cities. The residents able to leave the city largely consisted of those that could afford to suburbanize, while those who remained behind in the city centers were predominately poor, minority, and marginalized populations. This brought increasing social ills on large segments of the population sub-groups trapped in the city, as levels of drug use and crime increased, and education quality and employment opportunities decreased (Wilson 1987).

In an effort to physically revitalize downtowns and surrounding areas, various forms of physical upgrading have been evident in U.S. cities over the last fifty years. Federal programs to fund and stimulate central city redevelopment began with large-scale urban renewal projects and have more recently followed with renaissance zones and community development block grants. Throughout the U.S., various local level initiatives have been introduced to attract or encourage development in certain, often deteriorated,

areas of a city. Private developers are also involved in this physical and social upgrading of neighborhoods, with acquisitions of private property in areas holding high potential for profit from redevelopment.

Another process of physical and social upgrading that has been evident in many U.S. cities is gentrification which is the refurbishment of unique, older, deteriorated housing stock in inner-city areas by middle- and upper-income professionals. This process is largely predicated upon the theory, known as the rent gap, that certain inner-city neighborhoods (housing and property) have deteriorated and decreased in value to such a low point that redevelopment is possible and profitable by developers and gentrifiers.

Statement of Problem

Literature discussing redevelopment processes have typically focused on the individual forces observed, such as the literature on gentrification (Smith 1979b, Henig 1980, Beauregard 1990, Betancur 2002, Hackworth 2002) or the literature on urban renewal (Wilson 1966, Bellush and Hausknecht 1967). This has included studies on specific cases of gentrification seen in cities such as New York City or Chicago and federal urban renewal of the 1950s and 1960s in Boston or Detroit. This thesis intends to provide a broader perspective of the various physical and social upgrading processes that can simultaneously take place in a city and the multiple actors involved in guiding these initiatives. The research will also attempt to articulate clearer definitions of the different typologies of physical and social upgrading. In addition, the thesis intends to contribute to the existing redevelopment literature with a thorough assessment of when the different

physical upgrading processes are employed, based on the physical characteristics of a neighborhood and/or the local demographic patterns.

The focus of this research is placed on Houston because of the unique and complex combination of public and private sector redevelopment programs and initiatives involved in the upgrading of Houston's central city neighborhoods. This public and private sector collaboration has developed a unique synergy that has enabled a rather efficient—and politically, largely undisputed—demolition of a number of historically significant ethnic communities. Ironically, this is taking place at the same time that local officials are devoting considerable resources to the marketing and celebration of Houston's historical and ethnic neighborhoods in their attempt to encourage downtown revival and tourism. One area of particular focus of redevelopment in Houston and this thesis is the historic Freedmen's Town area. The original settlement of Houston's African-American community dating to the mid-1860s, Freedmen's Town has been one of the centers of conflict in Houston's desire to redevelop its downtown area.

This thesis will explore the different urban upgrading processes that have been utilized throughout Houston, including Freedmen's Town. This analysis will contribute to the existing revitalization literature by illustrating how complex and multi-faceted urban redevelopment strategies can become. The thesis will also examine the continual conflict of space and the resulting physical destruction and residential displacement, taking place in Freedmen's Town. This will provide yet another case study illustrating the role of marginalized populations in the new and growing appreciation of central cities in the U.S.

Research Objectives

The focus of this thesis is to analyze the different combinations of physical and social upgrading processes that can take place simultaneously in a city pursuing urban revitalization. Three main objectives will be accomplished in this study. First, an assessment will be undertaken into the different redevelopment initiatives, projects, and policies that have facilitated the physical and social upgrading of Houston's central city.

The second objective is to statistically measure and graphically display the changes in population, housing, and socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of residents in Harris County (of which Houston is a part¹) from 1980 to 2000, using data from the U.S. Census Bureau. This analysis will determine the areas of the city that are experiencing similar physical and social upgrading processes and will enable a spatial assessment to be performed into the patterns of neighborhood change. This will include an examination of how specific areas of Houston have experienced different combinations of upgrading based on the specific characteristics in the built environment and the demographic characteristics of the neighborhoods. This review will provide new insight into the complexity and multi-faceted nature of physical and social upgrading forces that can occur within a city and the nature of involvement among the various public and private economic and political agents driving these processes.

The third objective is to examine the changes being experienced in the traditionally-black community of Freedmen's Town, west of Houston's downtown, and to assess the continual conflicts of space that have occurred between the community, private developers, and the city. This historic Houston community has experienced

¹ The majority of the city of Houston, some 95 percent, is located within Harris County.

extreme redevelopment pressures that have resulted in the displacement of large segments of its lower-income, minority population.

The data collected and evaluated in this analysis consists largely of census data from the national Census Bureau. Although weaknesses are inherent in this data source and its collection, it is one of the most accurate and thorough compilations of data on the U.S. population and housing characteristics. The other benefit of using census data is that it is consistently collected across the nation every ten years, enabling the necessary demographic assessments in the city of Houston over the two decades of interest. Analyses of similar datasets have also been completed in other studies on physical and social upgrading experienced in cities across the U.S. (Henig 1980, Galster 1985, Beauregard 1990, Knox 1991, Freeman and Braconi 2004) and Canada (Ley 1986, Dantas 1988, Filion 1991). This extensive literature provides support for the selected method of analysis pursued in this thesis.

This thesis is unique in that it will articulate the simultaneous interaction of the physical and social upgrading forces of locally-driven urban renewal, private sector ‘block-busting’, and gentrification that has lacked in the literature to this point. As stated before, this thesis will provide an assessment of the different physical and socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods that interact to encourage and facilitate the physical upgrading processes. The thesis also provides a unique set of variables to study the change experienced in neighborhoods including the analysis of the turnover in residents (renter and owner) as well as renter- and owner-occupied housing units. Also important is the contribution of a comprehensive dataset illustrating the unique physical and social

changes that have taken place in the historically-significant and minority Freedmen's Town area of Houston.

Outline of Thesis

Chapter two of the thesis provides an assessment of the existing literature on the processes of physical and social upgrading experienced in North American central cities over the last five decades including urban renewal, private-sector 'block-busting', and gentrification. While many urban revitalization programs are presented as beneficial to the community and residents, these initiatives have a history of producing considerable negative impacts on large segments of the population that are displaced in the physical upgrading process. The importance of the rent gap theory and the emergence of new urbanites, population subgroups that have rediscovered the amenities of the inner-city, on the three upgrading forces will also be discussed.

The third chapter provides an overview of the city of Houston, its historical development and the city's current focus on downtown revitalization. An important part of Houston's growth agenda has been based on the city's *laissez-faire* philosophy, with minimal government involvement being the cornerstone of its local economic, social, and planning initiatives. However, while the city maintains this minimal government rhetoric, historically governments at all levels have been extensively involved in the subsidization and financial aid programs in a number of key projects and development initiatives in the city of Houston. The recent focus on the physical upgrading of Houston's central business district and surrounding neighborhoods has come at a large price as local taxpayers have once again been extensively involved in subsidizing local developers and

private businesses, and many of the original residents of these communities experiencing redevelopment have been displaced in the resulting physical and social upgrading.

The fourth chapter measures the changes in population, socioeconomic, ethnic, and housing characteristics of Harris County and its residents from 1980 to 2000. A statistical principal components analysis was performed on the change in data for the variables from 1980 to 2000. One of the goals of the analysis was to determine areas of the city experiencing characteristics of physical and social upgrading similar to that being experienced in Freedmen's Town. The result was the clustering and identification of several specific areas in Houston experiencing varying combinations of physical and social upgrading.

The fifth chapter focuses on the conflict over space that has occurred in Freedmen's Town between residents, developers, and the city for over eighty years. With the increased levels of physical and social upgrading associated with downtown revival in the early- to mid-1990s, the near-downtown location of Freedmen's Town came under increased pressure for redevelopment by private developers and local government officials seeking to physically upgrade this transition area. Spurred by downtown revival, the physical and social upgrading of Freedmen's Town has resulted in the large-scale displacement of many of the original poor, minority residents and the destruction of one of the most historically and ethnically significant neighborhoods of Houston.

The final chapter summarizes the analysis of physical and social upgrading processes and the results of these upgrading forces in the Houston context. The complexity of these forces and their occurrence in combination based upon local physical and socioeconomic factors is also discussed in the different areas of Houston. This

chapter concludes with a discussion of the contributions of this research, possible future research studies, and various alternatives to the severe displacement of lower-income, marginalized populations in the process of physical upgrading so encouraged by cities across the nation.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Beginning largely after World War II, many U.S. urban centers and downtowns began experiencing economic struggles. Over the past sixty years, the economic downturn in U.S. inner cities was reflected in the deterioration of their physical infrastructure, loss of employment, a decreasing tax base, and the abandonment of neighborhoods, particularly by White and upper-income populations. Many of these problems faced by U.S. downtowns were partially a result of, or exacerbated by, increased levels of suburbanization encouraged and subsidized by the federal government (powell 1999, Hanchett 2001, powell 2002, Jackson 2003). Although residential and commercial decentralization had been taking place for several decades prior to World War II, during the post-war era decentralization began to take place at an even greater scale and with more detrimental impacts upon residents remaining in the city. The level and quality of services provided in the inner-cities decreased as opportunities for employment became difficult and urban social problems magnified, especially for lower-income minorities (Kasarda 1985, Grigsby 1987, p. 48-58, Wilson 1987, Galster 1991).

In an effort to physically redevelop downtowns and surrounding areas, various physical upgrading processes have been evident in the U.S. context. For some fifty years, the literature on urban renewal, private-sector 'block-busting', and gentrification have examined the impacts of inner-city redevelopment and urban revival on residential displacement. It has been evident that in the history of urban revitalization, physical upgrading processes have also facilitated social upgrading, producing severe detrimental

impacts upon the original residents of an area that are forced to leave or are priced out of their traditional communities.

The large scale physical and social upgrading processes in the U.S. began in the late 1940s with the federal urban renewal program, initiated to replace substandard housing units that occupied inner-cities. Eventually this program led to the removal of many poor, mostly minority residents, from their traditional neighborhoods. Many of these residents were also not provided with adequate replacement housing, further worsening their condition. While urban renewal has ended, in recent years local governments have become involved in the acquisition of private property for development with the use of eminent domain. In addition, private sector agents, including developers and gentrifiers, have also been extensively involved in the physical upgrading of downtown neighborhoods. Developers have been acquiring and consolidating land parcels for large-scale development, at times with the use of questionable techniques that enable them to more easily and cheaply acquire private property. Smaller scale physical upgrading processes have involved gentrification, in which older, lower-income housing units with unique architectural characteristics are occupied and physically upgraded by upper-income earners. All of the above redevelopment and refurbishment processes result in the displacement of original residents of the area and surrounding neighborhoods.

Explaining the New Demand for Inner-City Living

One explanation of the new demand for the inner-city lifestyle is associated with cultural and consumption orientations. It is based on the idea that without the growing demand by population sub-groups for inner-city housing, these physical upgrading

processes and inner-city revival would not be taking place. Within this context, it can be reasonably argued that the study of these new urbanites themselves is key to explaining this mid- to latter-20th century interest in urban revitalization. Some have paralleled the changing structure of the worldwide economy towards a service economy with the increasing incidents of inner-city revitalization (Mullins 1982, Beauregard 1986). This market shift has created the supply of white-collar professional workers necessary for the physical upgrading to take place. A part of this market shift included increasing numbers of employees working in downtown cores. With rising transportation and suburban living costs, many began seeking residences closer to places of employment, thereby increasing the demand for inner-city locations (Berry 1985).

An additional attraction of a particular inner-city location are the amenities of an urban lifestyle. These include such attractions as increased accessibility to public amenities, cultural activities, as well as historically significant residences and districts. These attractions create certain pull factors that further increase the demand for inner-city housing by middle- and upper-income groups (Ley 1986).

While existing literature has focused on gentrification in explaining and exploring the characteristics of gentrifiers, it is important to recognize that a new demand for downtown lifestyles is evident throughout U.S. cities, and that while some of this demand is met through the gentrification process, other forms of physical upgrading are also supplying this new housing demand. In particular, private sector block-busting and locally driven urban renewal programs, as the Houston case will illustrate, are important physical upgrading processes that are producing new units in the housing market.

With regard to the actual population sub-groups that are generating this new demand for inner-city living, a number of different population groupings can be identified in driving this new market segment. These population sub-groups are upper-income earners typically with college degrees or higher. A large percentage are employed in various 'professional' or white-collar occupations and are two-income households. Many of these families are childless and typically younger in age (25-40 years old) (Henig 1980, Ley 1986, Vigdor 2002). In many cases, populations seeking alternative lifestyles initially move into these neighborhoods (artists, musicians, and fashion designers) and facilitate the transition between the minority lower-income groups and the middle and upper income professionals that eventually take over the neighborhood. As baby-boomers age, and become empty nesters, they are also likely contributing to this demand for smaller residences in the inner city. All of these sub-groups maintain a desire to live in areas in close proximity to rich urban amenities (social, cultural, entertainment, and retail). Also, for some there is an appeal for historic buildings, or those with pre-modern designs, that contain more 'character' than the structures offered in typical post-war suburban communities.

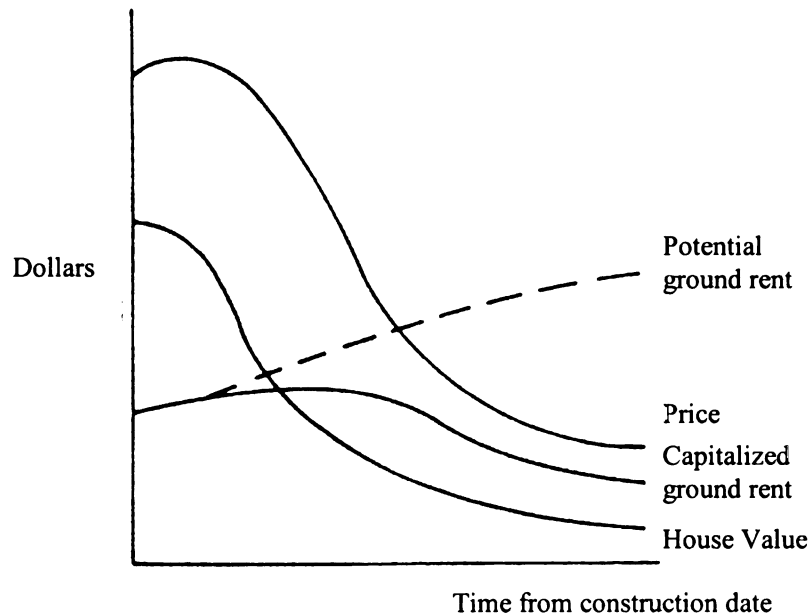
In contrast to the above demand side explanation of the recent interest in inner city revitalization, a second explanation is based on supply-side factors. According to this perspective, inner-city revitalization is driven by the availability of dilapidated housing and land in the inner-city that has become affordable enough to encourage reinvestment and redevelopment. This explanation is known as the rent-gap theory, and it has been the framework used for explaining the refurbishment of the older housing stock in inner-city areas by gentrifiers. Although developed to explain gentrification, the rationale of the

rent-gap theory can also provide insight into the two other physical upgrading processes discussed in this research, locally-driven urban renewal and private sector ‘block-busting’.

The rent-gap theory is a framework advanced and popularized in the literature by Neil Smith. The supply-side explanation of physical upgrading and urban revitalization offered by the rent-gap theory stresses the production of urban space (including the operation of the housing and land market, and the role of developers and lending institutions). The characteristics of actual housing are perhaps the most important variables in this process, since the value of these homes must fall to certain levels in order to make them attractive enough to upper-income renovators.

This argument begins with the illustration of land values in the nineteenth century city depicted with the classical conical form with a peak at the urban center and then a declining gradient towards the periphery. This was first widely discussed by Hoyt (Hoyt 1933) in reference to Chicago in the 1930s. With increasing rates of suburbanization of population and industries, the land values of the inner-city fell relative to the downtown central business district and the suburbs. This sharp decline in land values in the inner city then provided the basis for profitable reinvestment. The key in this argument is the actual difference between land value and property value. With continued disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods, existing structures will decline in value and depreciate. Eventually a point in time will be reached at which the ground rent currently being capitalized on a site is less than the potential ground rent at its ‘highest and best use’ because of its advantageous central location near downtown. This disparity between the potential ground rent and the actual ground rent currently being capitalized under the

present use is termed the rent gap (Figure 2.1). Once this gap is large enough that it becomes profitable for economic agents to cheaply acquire the structures, pay refurbishment costs, and sell the end product for a satisfactory profit, inner-city revitalization, according to the rent gap theory, will occur (Smith 1979b).



(Source: <http://www.casa.ucl.ac.uk/~david/AAG2001/2.html>, Adapted from (Smith 1979b))

Figure 2.1 – Rent gap diagram

While the decline of the structures and the eventual reinvestment and refurbishment in these properties by individual homebuyers specifically applies to gentrification, it can also be argued that the decline of property values can also reach levels that accommodate large-scale clearing and redevelopment of sites. This would facilitate private sector block-busting and locally driven urban renewal programs that will be discussed in the context of Houston's recent inner-city revitalization.

One contribution of this research will be to explore how the role of government and public policy will affect land values and determine the timing and location of development and redevelopment decisions. The rent gap theory does not acknowledge the importance of local government financing and investment in affecting property values, and hence the role of the public realm in redevelopment. However, the role of government—for instance, utilizing public subsidies to entice developers and upper-income renovators to areas of decline—can play a major role in affecting the timing of both large scale redevelopment and the piecemeal refurbishment of older structures.

The supply and demand side explanations of physical upgrading—one focusing on the importance of population sub-groups in the U.S. that have rediscovered the attraction of inner-city lifestyles and the other on declining land and property values—have important implications in all three of the social upgrading urban revitalization processes discussed in this thesis. Municipalities have long focused on developing inner-city areas with depressed land and housing values in order to increase their taxable assessment base. Upper-income professionals and new urbanites are also important as they seek out housing opportunities near employment centers, cultural attractions, and areas of rich urban amenities in central city locations. This high demand for upscale inner-city housing subsequently encourages cities and private developers to acquire land in these high demand locations as well as providing the basis for the gentrification of inner-city locations with unique characteristics and housing qualities.

The literature covering the three physical and social upgrading processes—gentrification, private sector block-busting, and government facilitated urban renewal (whether federal or local)—has tended to discuss the three forms of upgrading as separate

with fairly independent driving forces. The assessment and implications of the different types of physical upgrading processes occurring synergistically in a city has not been discussed in the literature. While researchers tend to focus on any one of these physical upgrading processes independently, the Houston case study illustrates that a number of these processes can take place simultaneously, as both public and private agents might be involved in a large-scale revitalization process. Recent revitalization initiatives in Houston illustrate the importance of synergies between municipally supported urban renewal, private-sector 'block-busting', and gentrification, occurring in a relatively focused spatial location at one period of time. This research will show, in fact, that there are specific patterns to the nature of physical and social upgrading processes selected. Which processes occur in which areas is influenced by particular variables, including the condition of the housing stock, the economic characteristics of the current residents, whether the population is primarily composed of renters or owners, and the political difficulty in displacing the existing population and acquiring their land.

Also of importance is the fact that in the literature the terms 'urban renewal', 'private sector block-busting', and 'gentrification' are often used interchangeably to describe any physical and social upgrading process, when in fact there are distinct characteristics associated with each. The term 'redevelopment' is also many times used inappropriately, both in the academic literature and popular media, to describe any one of these three phenomena. Additionally, the term redevelopment has the underlying connotation that all residents are benefiting in this process, which as the Houston experience will illustrate, is certainly not the case. This literature review and the Houston case study will help clarify the distinction between the various physical and social

upgrading processes and the importance in understanding how each works, both independently and in combination with the others.

Urban Renewal/Land Clearance

Beginning with Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, the U.S. federal government began a program to rebuild dilapidated neighborhoods throughout the nation. It began as a slum clearance and housing program, but soon included a commercial focus as well. Urban renewal, as it came to be known, had four main goals: eliminating substandard housing, revitalizing city economies, constructing good housing, and reducing *de facto* segregation (Foard 1966). In an effort to help cities compete with suburban locations, federal funds were directed to clear large tracts of land to make them more attractive to developers. The intent was to replace the substandard housing that was being demolished and thereby provide higher quality housing for all of the original residents. But most of the time the housing was not replaced on a one-for-one basis, it was not marketed to the original residents, and it was not affordable enough for them. The displaced residents faced extreme struggles. They were provided with very little, if any, funds for their relocation, while their community and social networks were dismantled (Anderson 1964). Urban renewal exemplified the severe effects of displacement caused by an attempt to physically upgrade neighborhoods.

Many interested parties and groups rallied behind this 1949 federal legislation, each with their own vested interests. Mayors saw a tool to increase tax revenues, social welfare leaders hoped to clear dangerous slums, while low-income housing advocates hoped the legislation would increase the stock of affordable, decent dwellings in central

cities. Although intended to focus on residential slum clearance, the Title I legislation was fairly ambiguous, and in fact, it did not specifically mandate the construction of low- or moderate-income housing (Teaford 2000). This lack of specificity relating to low-income housing (especially relating to the poor residents that were displaced) would haunt the program throughout its life.

The need for legislation to assist in the redevelopment of deteriorating urban centers was, however, a real necessity in many large U.S. cities. The economic difficulty of redevelopment and revitalization in already built-up areas became one of the largest rationales for the federal urban renewal program. Builders and developers faced two difficulties when attempting a construction project. First to build on land that already contains a structure, the builder must cover the costs of the land itself, the demolition, as well as any compensation to its previous owners. Also, in urban areas land ownership is typically highly fragmented, which makes property acquisition for a large project difficult and expensive (Davis 1966). The Housing Act of 1949 established Local Public Agencies (LPAs) with the power of eminent domain to acquire the necessary sites for redevelopment or renewal. Sites could then be cleared and sold or leased to private developers. This particular aspect of urban renewal drew large amounts of criticism as developers and builders were subsidized in the purchase and development of residential and commercial sites (Anderson 1964). The redevelopment by private developers usually resulted in the new housing being much higher in price and therefore out of the range of the original residents cleared from the slums (Weaver 1955). Some have argued that many cities gave low-income housing a low priority and instead used urban renewal funds to clear land for the expansion of their central business districts, to remove Blacks

or other minorities from their jurisdiction, and/or to provide middle- and upper-income housing (Marcuse 1978, Keating 2000).

Displacement

Residents of renewal sites were forcibly displaced without adequate compensation or replacement housing. Not only did they lose their property and housing (in the case of owners) but social networks and communities were also destroyed in the displacement process. Research had estimated that households displaced by federal urban renewal suffered an average uncompensated loss amounting to 20-30% of one year's income (Downs 1970). With little to no compensation or support for relocation, many poor families and individuals could only settle in other poor areas. Early research concluded that by 1961, approximately 60% of those displaced by urban renewal simply ended up living in other slums (Gans 1967). Replacement housing requirements were stipulated in the original 1949 legislation but these fell far short of the demands of the high numbers of displaced residents (Keating 2000). In the end, urban renewal made the housing crisis worse in many cities, as developers were generally not building as many housing units as they were destroying (Macionis 2001). This created more severe overcrowding conditions, particularly in the slums, and higher housing costs for the poor (Hartman 1964). Accurate figures of the number of people displaced from urban renewal projects are difficult to estimate. Through the mid 1960s it was reported that 85,154 families had been displaced/relocated from urban renewal properties (Urban Renewal Administration 1961, Fisher 1962). In 1967 it was estimated that federally funded renewal and highway

programs would displace up to 100,000 families and 15,000 businesses per year, most of which were in urban areas (Frieden 1967).

Use of Urban Renewal in Ethnic and Racial Areas

In addition to the difficulties of relocation, another controversial aspect of federal urban renewal programs was the fact that most of the clearance zones were located in ethnic minority neighborhoods (Jones 2004). “We called it ‘urban move-the-brothers’” said a resident of Charleston in reference to the urban renewal programs that destroyed many Black communities in Charleston alone. “Black people were forced to move and they weren’t given anywhere to go. A way of life was destroyed” (Finn 2002, p. 1). This was seen in numerous examples throughout the U.S.

In the early 1950s, in the process of redevelopment, Detroit focused on new plans for the Gratiot Park area. This area east of the central business district was largely low-income, nearly all-Black, and contained poor-quality housing. Similar to other urban renewal projects, the goal was to clear the slums and replace them with higher quality housing that would hopefully attract and retain middle- and upper-income residents. Nearly 1,900 poor, African-American families were displaced in this process of redevelopment, with over half relocating into surrounding slums with often worse conditions than the original residences (Thomas 1997). Although considered partially a success because of its unique architecture, design, and somewhat racially-integrated housing (although not integrated by class), the project renamed Lafayette Park failed to provide adequate relocation and replacement housing for the majority of the displaced residents.

In the late 1950s, Boston experienced a similar situation with its West End project, which bordered the city's central business district. The city eyed this low-rent, low-rise tenement, Italian community for redevelopment, with many local officials claiming that it was a downtown eyesore (Teaford 2000). Not feeling their neighborhoods were slums, local Italians of the West End angrily protested what they felt was an opportunity for private interests looking for profits to team with public officials to steal their homes (Teaford 1990). The demolition and leveling of the 41 acre site began in 1958 and continued for five years, displacing 9,000 residents. Land bought and condemned (with federal assistance) for \$7.40 per square foot, was revalued at \$1.40 per square foot and leased to private developers (McQuade 1966). The cleared land was used for the development of high-rent, high-rise apartments that were largely unaffordable to the original displaced residents of the area. The problems of displacement associated with urban renewal received added attention through the late 1950s and early 1960s as projects such as those in Detroit and Boston were repeated in cities across the nation, including in Chicago, St. Louis, and New York City.

The focus on some of the poorest, and already marginalized residents made the issues of relocation even more difficult, as these citizens were already disadvantaged and largely powerless in their struggle to maintain their communities. With the concentration of urban renewal projects in areas largely inhabited by non-Whites, this only further increased the concentration of minorities in other slums and public housing projects. Legal discrimination and segregation, until Civil Rights legislation of 1964, further complicated the difficulties of relocation of Blacks as housing options were very limited. Some supporters of urban renewal felt the housing issues would be solved by the process

known as ‘filtering down’ or ‘upgrading’ in which any increase in the supply of housing would ease the pressure for housing in all segments of the market². The difficulty was that at the time of legal residential segregation, a free competitive market did not exist. The housing market was not freely open to all citizens, and specifically non-Whites (Weaver 1955). By the official end of the federal urban renewal program in 1974, many neighborhoods had been destroyed in the process of slum clearance and redevelopment, displacing hundreds of thousands of residents and often making their situations even worse.

The federal government continues to remain highly involved in aspects of housing across the nation. Legislation has attempted to downsize the role of the federal government in public housing and shift the responsibility towards the private sector. The 1974 Housing and Community Development Act (HCDA) streamlined earlier legislation to create the Section 8 program, that provides rental subsidies to public housing tenants to move into private-sector housing (Bratt 1986). This fit with the Nixon Administration’s intent to “downsize substantially, if not eliminate, public housing” (Hackworth 2003, p. 536). During this period fewer funds were made available for the construction and maintenance of public housing units while increasing the number of approvals for public housing demolitions. The Section 8 voucher program, and programs to encourage home ownership, led to a further decline in federal government involvement in physically providing public housing (Lowry 1987).

The federal HOPE VI program, established in 1993, sought to reduce the concentration of low-income families through the redevelopment of sites, and particularly

² For a thorough analysis of the economics of urban housing markets see Rothenberg 1991.

troubled projects (Wyly 1999, U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development 2005). This important housing legislation also eliminated the previous 'one-for-one' housing replacement requirement of public housing units. This meant that local public housing authorities (PHA) could demolish public housing units without replacing them, placing an increased emphasis on public housing demolition (Wyly 1999, powell 2002). From 1993 through 2002 over \$4.3 billion was allocated to PHAs to demolish the most devalorized housing units. Research also indicates that of the nearly 70,000 units demolished by the HOPE VI program, as of 2001, nearly 68.4% of the units built in their place were "reserved for tenants making a higher income" (Hackworth 2003, p. 536). Those displaced by such projects often receive the Section 8 housing vouchers for relocation, but little to no public relocation assistance. Landlords are also not required to accept the Section 8 housing vouchers. The vast majority of those displaced end up in other areas of concentrated poverty facing similar socioeconomic difficulties (powell 2002, Hackworth 2003).

Locally-Driven Urban Renewal Tactics

Houston never had a formal federal urban renewal program because of the city's refusal to adopt zoning (Teaford 2000). In spite of this, Houston has engaged, and continues to engage, in land clearance programs driven by the local government. Several land clearance programs now operate in the city under the pretense of economic development through the use of eminent domain. Eminent domain was designed to support government in the acquisition of the land necessary for public projects (such as highways) with the provision of compensation for the land owners. The original use of

eminent domain had largely been shaped by the *Berman v. Parker* ruling of 1954, in which the court ruled that the compulsory transfer of families' and landlords' property to developers in an urban renewal project in Washington was allowable under the constitution because it represented slum clearance. The fifth amendment of the U.S. Constitution protects that compensation must be received for a taking of private property for 'public use'. The notion of 'public use', however, is what has come into question, since some communities have expanded the scope of eminent domain to more questionable applications. 'Public use' has been now expanded to include 'public purpose' or even 'public benefit', such as local economic development projects (Shlaes 2002).

A well-known example includes the clearing of 465 acres of the working-class, ethnic neighborhood of Poletown in Detroit for the expansion of a General Motors manufacturing facility in the early 1980s. Causing the displacement of 3,438 residents, the plant was to bring over 6,000 direct jobs and many other spin-off industries to the area (Thomas 1997). The area to be cleared was not considered a slum (as the usual use of eminent domain required), but the project was defended as producing public benefits such as direct and indirect employment, as upheld in *Poletown Neighborhood Council v. City of Detroit* in 1981 (Darden 1987). Numerous smaller-scale examples of land clearance in the name of economic development can be seen throughout the recent past. For instance, in December 2002 the city of Riviera Beach, Florida approved the development of "Harbor Village" by commercial yachting, shipping and tourism companies, causing the razing of approximately 1,000 homes (Shlaes 2002).

Similarly, in the early 1990s, the city of Atlanta used federal and city funds to demolish two historic public housing projects in preparation for the 1996 Summer Olympics. In a city haunted by the forced removal of 68,000 people during the urban renewal initiatives of the 1960s, residents were once again forced from these public housing projects with only half of the residents receiving minimal relocation assistance. Some residents were lucky enough to receive Section 8 vouchers, providing subsidized rent but for a limited period (Rutheiser 1997). The redeveloped land was used for an upper-income residential complex with support from elected and business officials (Keating 2000).

Other cities have more recently been questioned in their use of eminent domain for economic development and the public benefits that are actually produced. Some consider this taking of property for economic development as an abuse of eminent domain. A legal case regarding the taking of private property for redevelopment and its questionable public benefit in New London, Connecticut reached the Supreme Court in 2005 (*Kelo vs. City of New London*). Public officials in New London were frank with the fact that they were attempting to attract higher-income professionals with the new developments in the blighted area (Peterson 2005). The highest court in the nation upheld the use of eminent domain not only for public projects, such as roads, but also for private developments that benefit the community economically. Some fear this ruling will leave the door open for further abuses of eminent domain and result in the disregard and displacement of original residents in areas considered to have economic potential and an advantageous location, all in the name of economic development.

As the Houston case study will illustrate, cities and state governments interested in inner city revitalization can and may use similar tactics as those used during the federal urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s. Focusing on economic development, the projects are often not as large or do not displace as many residents as the large scale federal urban renewal projects, but these types of physical and social upgrading processes still continue to impact communities, neighborhoods, and the original residents.

Private-Sector ‘Block-busting’

Prior to the Civil Rights legislation of the mid-1960s, racial segregation had made the process of finding decent affordable housing difficult for most Blacks in the U.S.. In response to this demand for decent housing, real estate agents during the 1950s and 1960s would prey on the racial fears of Whites by convincing residents of the anticipated arrival of Blacks to their neighborhood. Whites feared that this would increase crime and lower property value in their neighborhoods, selling their property prematurely and potentially at lower than market value prices (Orser 1994). Blockbusting came to describe this, now illegal, process by which real estate agents induced homeowners to sell their properties by making representations regarding the entry, or prospective entry, of persons of a particular race or national origin into the neighborhood (Northwestern University Law Review 1978, Mehlhorn 1999). These real estate speculators would produce large profits from racial turnover in the real estate market by encouraging the already-prevalent racism of the era and buying homes from urban Whites at below-market prices only to resell them at inflated prices to Blacks seeking better housing than the current ghettos in which many were segregated.

In addition to this commonly accepted definition of blockbusting, there are other examples where the private sector has been involved in breaking up neighborhood blocks for development. In Toronto, developers have been able to buy up and demolish inner-city homes thereby “destroying the fabric and social cohesion” of the neighborhoods (Ryerson Polytechnical Institute 1989, p. 4-4). To acquire property for private development, local developers have sometimes used questionable practices in order to convince owners to sell. Similar to racial blockbusting, many of these practices attempt to take advantage of the economic, racial, or ethnic position of current residents. Many homeowners in lower-income areas do not necessarily realize the full potential of their property and sell at a low price to the first developer who applies pressure. Cases have also existed where developers have been able to convince landowners that the government will eventually take their property by eminent domain and thereby encourage a quick sale at a low price. Developers have also been known to actively try and make an area appear worse to lower land values and encourage residents of the neighborhood to sell their properties. Buying up surrounding property and boarding it up, or tearing down structures and not maintaining vacant land, are just two examples of this type of blockbusting.

In addition, renters face unique threats since they are vulnerable to the decisions of their landlord who is often willing to evict residents in order to sell their property once the potential value of their property is understood. Areas that contain predominately renters and whose geographic location is attractive because of proximate amenities are particularly prone to private-sector ‘block-busting’ because of the lack of power of renters and the desire by landlords to maximize profits on the value of their land. Similar

to the racial blockbusting of the 1950s and 1960s, this new private sector 'block-busting' has torn apart communities, has generated losses to homeowners, and has enabled developers to realize significant profits.

Gentrification

Beginning in the early- to mid-1970s, several U.S. inner cities that had experienced economic downturns and large population losses began to realize the revival and redevelopment of some neighborhoods. One part of this 'rebirth' process included the movement of some residents 'back' to the city, often from suburban locations (Mullins 1982, Palen 1984, Ley 1986, Rothenberg 1991, Huu Phe 2000). These residents were characteristically younger, middle-to-upper income earners, and professionals that were searching for different amenities than those offered by the suburbs. Some have argued that the land in these downtowns had become inexpensive and therefore attractive to investors, while others maintain that these young professionals were, and are, searching for a certain kind of urban lifestyle, with unique cultural resources that the suburbs are often lacking (Sumka 1979a, Smith 1979b, Hamnett 1991). A serious consequence of this movement back to the city by moderate-income earners is the displacement of many of the original residents that occupied the inexpensive downtown housing (Atkinson 2000). The process of lower-income, working class properties being purchased, occupied, and renovated by upper-income professionals, produces substantial physical and social changes to the affected neighborhoods (powell 2002). This process, known as gentrification, was originally termed by Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the 'invasion' of working class quarters of London by the middle class (Glass 1964).

Gentrification describes the actual physical improvements of an existing (often older) structure.

Causes of Gentrification

The causes of gentrification are varied and widely debated in the literature, with an important question being, ‘what actually causes this movement of upper-income residents to particular lower-income neighborhoods?’ As discussed in the opening of this chapter, the literature focuses on two main explanations of this gentrification process. The rent gap theory is based upon the idea that values of inner-city property and housing must fall to certain low levels to make them appear attractive and economically viable to upper-income renovators.

This explanation, while offering considerable insight, is an economically deterministic model that does not account for underlying political, class, and racial issues within a city. One issue, as the Houston case study will illustrate, is the large level of local government involvement in the process of redevelopment. The extensive use of public subsidies and investment by local officials in targeted neighborhoods can in fact encourage gentrification in these parts of a city. In certain deteriorated areas in which land values have not quite fallen low enough to encourage redevelopment by private developers or upper-income gentrifiers, local officials might offer subsidies to provide the impetus for redevelopment. These subsidies can take the form of cash incentives, physical infrastructure improvements, and tax breaks on new investments.

The second explanation of gentrification widely discussed in the literature focuses on the production of gentrifiers themselves and their associated cultural and consumption

orientations. The premise behind this explanation of gentrification is that without the high demand for inner-city locations because of numerous attractive characteristics of the areas (including close proximity to employment opportunities, cultural and entertainment areas, and unique housing styles) the process of gentrification would not exist regardless of the local housing economics associated with the rent gap theory.

It is also argued that the cause of gentrification is a combination of the demand and supply side explanations, since they complement each other (Hamnett 1991). It has been realized that production and consumption are both crucial to a comprehensive explanation of gentrification. Hamnett (1991) discusses several shortcomings of these two theories. The demand side explanations, as exemplified by Ley (1986), largely take for granted the existence of potential areas suitable for gentrification while the supply side explanations, as exemplified by Smith (Smith 1979a, Smith and LeFaivre 1984), take for granted the existence of a supply of potential gentrifiers. Based upon these two viewpoints, Hamnett identifies four requirements for gentrification to occur. Three of them are concerned with the supply side elements of the equation and include the supply of suitable areas for gentrification, the supply of potential gentrifiers, and the existence of an attractive central city environment. The fourth requirement deals with the preference for inner-city living that is desired by a certain group of the service class. Hamnett provides a table displaying the range of possible outcomes (Table 2.1).

	Rent Gap Exists	No Rent Gap Exists
<i>No Potential Gentrifiers</i>	No Gentrification	No Gentrification
<i>Supply of Potential Gentrifiers Exists</i>		
No Inner City Demand	No Gentrification	No Gentrification
Inner City Preference by a section of the 'new class'	Gentrification	Gentrification?

Source: Hamnett 1991

Table 2.1 – Conditions for gentrification schema

He concludes that with a growth in the service class job opportunities downtown and increased disposable income by many dual-career childless couples, the demand for central city living (with various entertainment and cultural activities) becomes key to the gentrification of an area. Hamnett argues that gentrification would be unlikely to occur without this demand for central city living, however large the supply of potential gentrifiers and however large the rent gap. These explanations are all important as they are all seen to some degree in the context of gentrification in Houston.

The overall metropolitan housing market also plays an important role in producing gentrification. As demand for inner-city housing increases with the growth of the world-wide service economy and downtown employment, certain housing markets, such as San Francisco, Chicago, and New York City, have become very constrained and experience a rise in housing prices. Experiences such as these of a tight housing market also force higher-income people to seek homes in locations where they formerly would not have lived (powell 2002). These changes in demand and supply will eventually constitute changes in demographic and physical attributes of neighborhoods as the housing market adjusts to new influences. One of the most important results of these

changes is the eventual physical displacement of pre-gentrification, often lower-income residents (Galster 2003).

Characteristics of Neighborhoods Experiencing Gentrification

Neighborhoods that are prone to possible gentrification hold several characteristics in common. As discussed in relation to Smith's rent gap theory, these neighborhoods have experienced severe disinvestment of private, and often public, capital causing the physical decline of the neighborhood and housing structures. The value of the structures and their property value have fallen to such lows that reinvestment by outside developers appears profitable (Smith 1979b). In order to encourage the demand for refurbishment of these structures, there are generally unique characteristics in these neighborhoods that make these locations attractive. These characteristics include such attractions as an advantageous location near downtown, historically significant and unique housing, cultural areas (including alternative lifestyle areas), and aesthetically pleasing landscapes (Rose 1984, Ley 1986, Hamnett 1991).

The original (pre-gentrification) residents of these neighborhoods are predominately lower-income and of working class or 'blue-collar' occupations. The households are fairly large in size (larger than the city's median) with a large number of female-headed households. There is a larger share of renters than owners in the neighborhood, and the landlords may often be characterized as absentee, which often leads to increased decline in the physical structures and disinvestment. Education levels of residents are also lower, with high school and college graduation rates often lower than the city average. As can be expected from the above described characteristics, these

residents have per capita and household incomes that are low compared to other neighborhoods throughout the city (Ley 1986, Atkinson 2000). Also, in some cities these neighborhoods may have a large percentage of its residents that are of a certain minority or ethnic group. This race and ethnicity factor is very important in revitalization and redevelopment initiatives in the U.S., including in the case of Houston.

The multiple dimensions of gentrification have been analyzed thoroughly in the literature. Numerous case studies have also been documented in many locations throughout the world, including Chicago (Betancur 2002, Perez 2002), Portland (Howsley 2003), Philadelphia (Smith 1979a, Beauregard 1990), Washington D.C. (Williams 2002), New York City (Hackworth 2002, Freeman and Braconi 2004), and various locations in Canada (Ley 1986, Filion 1991), New Zealand, Australia (Engels 1999), and Western Europe (Pooley 1985, Bailey and Robertson 1997, Kleinhans 2003).

Displacement

A serious result of gentrification is the displacement of many of the original residents of these locations that are being occupied by upper-income gentrifiers. This displacement most often occurs in a complex scenario. As some would theorize, as the attractiveness of an area increases (either through falling land values, increasing character and culture of an area, and/or proximity to downtown employment centers) many landowners and landlords attempt to evict their current renters (who are often lower-income) as they see a more profitable use for their land in the form of redeveloped condominiums, town homes, or other uses attracting a much higher land rent (Atkinson 2000). If the original residents are instead owners of their property they face other

struggles as both public and private interests might be involved in attempting to acquire their land. The recent Houston experience will illustrate these cases in detail.

If approached by developers, landowners may sell the property at below market value, either because they do not realize the full potential of their land or because they do not understand the sale process and are manipulated to sell prematurely. A similar situation may also occur when an increase in the quality and character of a neighborhood causes the taxes of that surrounding area to become too expensive for the current residents and they again become priced out of the neighborhood (Lang 1982). An equally devastating situation occurs if local officials want to remove the existing residents from these locations. All of these situations threaten the livelihood of lower-income, inner city residents, their neighborhoods, and the community networks that have been developed. Similar to those affected by urban renewal, those displaced by gentrification often end up paying more in rent, they do not receive any financial assistance in moving, and they encounter difficulty connecting with their new neighborhood (Smith and LeFaivre 1984, Fillion 1991).

The issue of displacement was once a crucial focal point of gentrification research, as seen in the works of Henig (1980), Lee and Hodge (Lee and Hodge 1984), and LeGates and Hartman (LeGates and Hartman 1986). The numerous aspects of this displacement research included studies of how residents became physically displaced, the effect of public policy on gentrification (including the protection of residents), and where the displaced would move to, and how successfully they could relocate. In the more recent research, some feel that studies on gentrification have moved away from more critical accounts of gentrification to more centrist accounts, including investigations of

the practices of middle-class gentrifiers and focuses on the definition and meaning of the term gentrification (Slater 2004). The call has been reinitiated to critically analyze the social changes of physical redevelopment and attempt to represent the less powerful residents of affected areas.

Commentary on Physical and Social Upgrading

Based on the description of the characteristics of areas prone to redevelopment, and the traits of the area's current and prospective residents, it is possible to summarize the physical and socioeconomic changes that these redeveloping neighborhoods will experience. First, the economic status of the area increases as many of the lower-income residents are replaced by upper-income earners. The household size and median age of the residents decrease. The area experiences a rise in educational attainment levels, which is also related to the increase in income. Lastly there is an increase in the percentage of residents who are employed in 'white-collar', professional occupations. All of these changes concerning social and economic characteristics result from the replacement of the original residents with new upper-income residents.

The area of redevelopment also experiences physical changes exemplified by changes in the housing stock. First, many of the rental units become converted to owner-occupied housing units. Because of the refurbishment and reinvestment in the dwellings, the quality of the housing structures increases, as does the value. While gentrification indicates the refurbishment of older housing and their occupation by upper-income earners, redevelopment, as indicated by urban renewal and private-sector 'block-busting', has meant the clearing of land for the construction of new upscale housing units.

As the Houston experience will show, the differing housing and socioeconomic characteristics in the neighborhoods being redeveloped interact to produce varied combinations of physical and social upgrading. For instance, in Freedmen's Town, a neighborhood west of downtown that is the focus of this research, the very poor quality of the housing stock encouraged the active displacement of original residents by private developers using various private-sector 'block-busting' techniques. This is in contrast to the refurbishment of the well-maintained housing stock seen in The Heights area, northwest of downtown. In addition, because of Freedmen's Town's large percentage African-American population, the local government became involved in the acquisition of property for development likely because of the politically sensitive nature of displacing such a large minority population.

In the context of Houston, the rent gap theory would speculate that based on the current depressed land and housing values of inner-city Houston, extensive revitalization and 'redevelopment' would occur around Houston's downtown. This is also supported by the increase of white-collar, professional employment opportunities in Houston's central business district, producing a strong demand for upscale near-downtown housing. However, the rent gap theory fails to take into account the influence of local government involvement in the development process through public investments and subsidies. As this research will reveal, in the case of Houston, developers and gentrifiers are heavily influenced and supported by subsidies and tax incentives that have been facilitating the redevelopment and revitalization of Houston's inner city. The Houston downtown revitalization experience will show the complexities involved in urban revitalization

projects and the various public and private redevelopment tools used to achieve physical and social upgrading.

From the perspective of local public officials, local investors, and developers, a central issue associated with urban revitalization is centered on the changes in the community and city evident with tax revenue increases, increased spending in downtown neighborhoods, and the improved image of the revitalized core and the city itself (Vigdor 2002). It is for these reasons that many government officials, businesses, and surrounding residents seek to encourage physical and social upgrading. The often overlooked aspect of these neighborhood improvements is the threat of displacement of existing residents, as they may not be able to live in their changing community and may become overlooked in the rush to improve struggling neighborhoods.

3 HOUSTON

Introduction

In the city of Houston, local leaders and residents have been traditionally known for their support of the laissez-faire approach to local government, with the absence of formal zoning in the city being an illustration of this local public management style. The city leaders contend that this management strategy has been successful in guiding the development of the city from a small settlement on a swampy bayou to the fourth largest city in the nation and sixth largest port in the world. While the growth and economic development of Houston over the last century has been strongly dependent on petroleum and related products, since the recession of the 1980s there has been a recognizable shift within the city's development strategy, as local leaders have directed considerable efforts and resources toward the development of a high-tech and specialized service economy. Into the 21st century, it is hoped that this new economic direction will bring prestige and international recognition to the city.

Over the last three decades, many U.S. cities have experienced similar economic shifts, to varying degrees of success, in a period of U.S. history commonly referred to as 'de-industrialization'. The shift from manufacturing to services, however, has also involved new requirements in the urban built environment. To attract corporate headquarters, specialized services, tourism, and 'white-collar' professionals that support this new economy, strong central cities and high-quality urban environments have been considered a necessary precondition (Vojnovic 2003b). The initiatives to revitalize city

centers also have other advantages, such as an improved image of downtown and increased inner-city land values. However, as chapters four and five will illustrate, the idea of a ‘successful’ city to many city officials, business leaders, and residents of Houston often excludes large segments of the population, and more specifically, involves the removal and the displacement of many original low-income residents from their traditional central city neighborhoods. This has been especially seen in the physical and social upgrading of the historic Freedmen’s Town area directly west of the downtown and the resulting displacement of the area’s largely African-American population.

Houston’s focus on downtown revitalization has included several large-scale projects, including a new light-rail line, new sports stadiums, streetscape improvements, and numerous upscale residential developments. An important component of this revitalization has been the large-scale public involvement in the planning, implementation, and financing of many of these downtown projects. This chapter will provide a brief introduction into the historical development of Houston and also explore the nature of the recent changes in the city’s economic and urban development directions. This will provide a wider context to the changes that have been occurring in the city which have led to the physical and social upgrading of Freedmen’s Town.

Brief History and Development of Houston

John and Augustus Allen set up the town of Houston near the junction of the White Oak and Buffalo Bayous in April 1836. The brothers had purchased the 2,000 acre site for about \$5,000 and named the newly planned town after the hero of the battle of

San Jacinto³, in hopes of persuading the new government of Texas to locate their capital in their new town (Federal Works Agency 1942, Miller 1982). By the spring of 1837 the persuasive John Allen had convinced the first Congress of the Republic of Texas to place their temporary capital at the then-unbuilt city of Houston and thereby helped to insure the success of the town.

By 1839 Houston had a population of 2,073 people (Johnston 1991). About twenty years later, in 1860, the population of Houston was 4,845 with 22.1% of the population consisting of slaves. By 1870, Houston's population had grown by over fifty percent, to 9,382 people, and the city's black population made-up nearly 40%. This rate of growth continued for several decades (Table 3.1) as the city of Houston increased in size and prominence in the state and nation.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the seaport of Galveston was the most successful city in Texas until a devastating hurricane leveled the town killing between 6,000 and 8,000 people in 1900. This tragedy helped Houston to increase its economic power and size as it became the leader in the Texas economy and one of the largest cities in the nation. The discovery of oil reserves east of Houston just months after the Galveston hurricane also facilitated the city's new prominence.

Into the twentieth century, with increased personal automobile use and a lack of zoning, developments in Houston began to leapfrog over each other searching for cheaper land. Fearing it may be ringed by incorporated suburbs blocking future growth, Houston chose to expand its boundaries from 72 square miles in 1930 to nearly 447 square miles by 1967 (McComb 1969). This annexation process has continued to the present (although

³ It was this battle of San Jacinto that officially won Texas its independence from Mexico.

at a very small scale by the late 1990s) and has brought a huge price tag to the city as it expands public services to outlying areas.

City of Houston Population Growth							
				Free Colored		Slaves	
	Total Population	Total White	Total Black	Males	Females	Males	Females
1850	2,396	1,863	533	1	5	223	304
1860	4,845	3,768	1,077	1	7	502	567
1870	9,382	5,691	3,691				
1st Ward	738	488	250				
2nd Ward	1,638	1,164	474				
3rd Ward	2,812	1,737	1,075				
4th Ward	3,055	1,741	1,314				
5th Ward	1,139	561	578				
1880	16,513	10,026	6,479				
1890	27,557	17,178	10,370				
1st Ward	1,980	1,203	777				
2nd Ward	3,341	2,079	1,260				
3rd Ward	7,366	4,705	2,658				
4th Ward	8,761	5,079	3,678				
5th Ward	6,109	4,112	1,997				
1900	44,633	29,979	14,608				
1st Ward	3,475						
2nd Ward	3,947						
3rd Ward	13,611						
4th Ward	9,625						
5th Ward	9,577						
6th Ward	4,398						
1910	78,800	54,832	23,929				
1st Ward	6,954						
2nd Ward	7,572						
3rd Ward	24,705						
4th Ward	16,772						
5th Ward	16,854						
6th Ward	5,943						
1920	138,276	104,268	33,960				
1930	292,352	216,687	63,337				
1940	384,514	297,959	86,302				
1950	596,163	470,503	124,766				
1960	938,219	720,547	215,037				
1970	1,232,802	904,889	316,551	Hispanic			
1980	1,595,138	978,334	440,346	281,331			
1990	1,631,766	662,766	448,148	450,556			
2000	1,953,631	601,851	487,851	730,865			
2004 (estimate)	2,012,626						

Table 3.1 – Population growth for the City of Houston (Source: U.S. Census Bureau)

As of 2000, the city of Houston consisted of just under two million people (1,953,631) and 618 square miles (City of Houston 2003b). In terms of the city's ethnic composition, in the 2000 U.S. Census, Hispanics were the ethnic majority at 37.4% of the city's population. In 2000 the white and black populations were 30.8% and 25% of the city's total population respectively (Table 3.2) (U.S. Census Bureau 2005).

City of Houston - 2000		
618 Square Miles		
3,161 persons per square miles		
		% of Total Population
Total Population	1,953,631	
White	601,851	30.81%
Black	487,851	24.97%
Hispanic	730,865	37.41%
Asian	106,620	5.46%
Housing		
Total Housing Units	782,009	
Occupied Units	91.8%	
Vacant Units	8.2%	
Owner-Occupied Units	45.8%	
Renter-Occupied Units	54.2%	
Median Housing Value	\$79,300	
Median Household Income	\$36,616	
Median Family Income	\$40,443	
Per Capita Income	\$20,101	
% of Individuals Below Poverty Level	19.2	
Education		
% of Persons 25+ with High School Diploma	70.4%	
% of Persons 25+ with College Degree	30.9%	

Table 3.2 – Facts and Figures – City of Houston 2000 (Source: City of Houston 2003a)

Economy

As noted by David McComb (1969), a Houston historian, the early economy of Houston included the businesses associated with the capital (for the few years it occupied Houston), trade (because of the city's strategic location), and some manufacturing (such as saw mills and brick factories). The importance of trade in the area increased over time, initially linked to increases in cotton production in the Brazos Valley. Cotton traveled from surrounding plantations, through Houston, en route to the seaport of Galveston. Even as early as the 1840s, leaders of Houston began investing in ways to improve the movement of ships and goods down the Buffalo Bayou by clearing obstacles and dredging the bayou. These improvements in water transportation continued over the years and eventually led to the development of the Houston Shipping Channel, which would in time make Houston one of the largest ports in the world.

By the 1870s, Houston was a well-established commercial town with a rail network and a useful bayou. In the late 1880s, the economy of Houston was still dependent upon products extracted from the surrounding areas, including cotton and lumber. At the very beginning of the twentieth century oil began to be discovered in large quantities in southeast Texas which quickly put Houston on its way to becoming the center for oil refining and shipments as well as oil field equipment manufacturing (Miller 1982). Within the next several decades, Houston found itself in the middle of a region with ever-increasing oil discoveries, which forever changed the face of the city. This also brought about other needs in the city's infrastructure, such as an increasing need for a larger port to handle the shipments of oil. Local petroleum-supporting industries,

including refineries and petroleum research companies, also quickly developed along the Houston shipping channel.

With a strong market and some assistance from friends in Washington D.C., Houston was able to survive the Great Depression with slightly less difficulty than other major U.S. cities (Federal Works Agency 1942, McComb 1969). By the beginning of World War II the city's economy was gearing up for wartime production, which was especially dependent upon petroleum and petroleum-based products. Large federal government wartime contracts helped Houston to finish the war with a thriving city economy whose success carried into the 1950s. With an increase in population of 54% and bank deposits by 282% from 1940 to 1950, Houston was the fastest growing city per capita in the country in 1948 (McComb 1969).

In the post-World War II period, there were a number of other investments that also played an important role in shaping the development of the city in the latter-20th century. Two of the most notable are the Texas Medical Center and the Johnson Space Center. The Texas Medical Center was established in the early 1940s with initial money from the state legislature for a cancer program. Additional medical facilities were built after the M.D. Anderson foundation donated money and land to expand the Medical Center. The Texas Medical Center has continued to grow into a world-class healthcare facility that brings continued attention and prestige to the city.

In mid-1961, Houston was able to acquire the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) new \$60 million Manned Spacecraft Center. By 1966, not only was the center employing 4,854 people with a payroll of over \$50 million, but it was also producing nearly 65 jobs externally in supporting industries for every 100 it had created

internally (McComb 1969). Renamed the Johnson Space Center, it now employs 18,436 people and has an estimated yearly economic impact of \$4 billion (City of Houston 2003b).

In the more current context, although largely dominated by energy industries, Houston's economy has been diversifying over the last fifteen years. The Texas Medical Center is one of the largest medical complexes in the world, serving 5.4 million patients each year, employing over 61,000 people, and producing an indirect economic impact of over \$13 billion annually (City of Houston 2003b). After the implementation of recent trade liberalization policies both globally and in North America, and given its links to Mexico, Houston's role as a trading center has continued to increase. This has been evident with the expansion of the city's three airports and the continual improvements to the shipping port. As of 2003 the port of Houston was the sixth largest port in the world in total cargo volume (American Association of Port Authorities 2005). Within the U.S. in 2003, Houston was the second largest port in the nation in total trade (by cargo volume) and first in total foreign trade (imports and exports by cargo volume) (American Association of Port Authorities 2005). The Port of Houston has an impact of \$9.6 billion dollars on the local economy, producing 75,487 jobs directly and 129,033 indirectly (City of Houston 2003b).

Into the twenty-first century, the city has continued its economic diversification, with considerable interest in attracting corporate headquarters and developing its specialized services sector, particularly finance. With the emergence of tourism as one of the world's leading industries, and with regional success stories provided by San Antonio, Houston has also been making extensive investments in promoting local

tourism. The spirit of constant growth and diversification has helped the city maintain its economic advantage as it strives to become a world-class city in the new service economy.

The Laissez-Faire City

The city of Houston is perhaps best known as the archetypical laissez-faire city, with minimal government involvement in local economic, social, environmental, and planning issues. This is seen in the city's continual rejection of zoning and the fact that the city maintains the lowest taxes in a comparison of major U.S. cities (Vojnovic 2003b). While some will argue that this laissez-faire nature has made the region as successful as it is with many residents prospering, others will argue that this lack of government involvement has produced increased hardships for many local groups (Feagin 1988).

Throughout its history, the city has struggled with establishing a strong planning department and city-wide zoning. The city's first serious attempts at a comprehensive plan did not emerge until the late 1980s. Attempts at zoning have failed numerous times in the history of the city, with the largest conflicts occurring in the late 1920s to early 1930s, and soundly defeated by voters in 1938, 1947, 1962, late 1980s, and the early 1990s. The most recent vote in 1993 was narrowly defeated with 52% against and 48% for the zoning measure. Houston's real estate interests have proved to be a very powerful coalition against zoning. They view themselves as protectors of real estate interests in the city and have continually organized large-scale oppositions to zoning votes. While it may be argued that this freedom of development has brought economic prosperity to the city,

it has also been responsible for extensive social costs to many residents. The lack of zoning and land use planning have allowed the development of various hazardous and polluting land uses (such as refineries and sewage treatment plants) disproportionately located in poor, minority neighborhoods. The noxious facilities have generated severe social and health costs to these disadvantaged segments of the population, further marginalizing these Houston residents (Bullard 1987, 1990, Been 1994, Bullard 1996, Sonoma Technology 1999, Clean Air Task Force 2000, City of Houston 2003a).

In an attempt to attract development and maintain a favorable business climate, city officials argue that the free enterprise environment is maintained by allowing markets to operate with minimal government involvement, and that this management approach, in turn, is reflected in low local taxes. This has meant a severe reduction in, or lack of, services provided to residents, with a particular disinterest maintained for social services. This low tax environment has also meant a minimal provision of urban infrastructure to local residents. Some of the worst streets, police services, and oldest water and sewer lines are located in minority black and Hispanic neighborhoods (Bullard 1987, Feagin 1988). In comparison to other major U.S. cities, Houston continually spends less per capita on the provision of services, especially social services, such as housing and public welfare programs (Thomas 1991, Vojnovic 2003b). For many years the city has been upheld as a major example of how unrestrained free enterprise works better than state planning in creating a healthy and prosperous city. What often goes unnoticed and un-discussed, however, are the high social costs associated with this laissez-faire style of governance.

Growth Coalitions

Since its early years, business leaders have been very active in promoting and developing Houston. They have looked for ways to make the city more economically attractive to outside business interests and have maintained close connections with powerful interests in the state capital and Washington D.C. Historically, there have been many business leaders that have had considerable impact on influencing the development and growth direction of Houston. Perhaps, one of the most famous and influential of these leaders was Jesse H. Jones, who would help guide development of the city for nearly half a century. He amassed his fortune in the late 1880s in the lumber and railroad economy of east Texas. Jones would eventually find a place in Washington D.C. lobbying for Houston, helping the city survive the Great Depression, collecting funds to improve the Houston shipping channel, and developing the city's prominence as a global center in petroleum production and related petroleum products.

Historically, coalitions of business leaders have worked together and with the local government to guide the development of Houston, to recruit industries and businesses into the city, and to ensure the city's economic success. For instance, during the early 1930s when several Houston banks appeared headed for bankruptcy, Jones and leaders of other major banking institutions in Houston teamed together to bail out the failing Houston banks, and helped to ensure the city's survival through the Great Depression (McComb 1969).

Another example of this private and public sector collaboration is evident with the eventual construction of the city's newest airport. In 1954, voters turned down a new airport. City officials then became worried that there would not be a large enough tract of

land to accommodate the desired airport since developers were buying up large pieces of vacant land on the Houston periphery. When the Mayor approached business leaders in that same year regarding this anticipated problem, they formed a syndicate to buy land in north Harris County without letting anyone know what was being planned. The tacit nature of this agreement was formed in order to ensure that land prices were not forced up. When the new airport was finally approved, the city purchased the land from the syndicate of business leaders at the price that they originally paid for the land, saving the city considerable money (Miller 1982).

Business leaders and local government also teamed up to entice NASA's new Manned Spacecraft Center to the Houston area in 1961. When it became known that NASA was searching for a location for the new center, local Houston leaders got together and convinced Humble Oil and Refining Company to donate a small 1,000 acre site of its 30,000 acre holding in Clear Lake (southeast of Houston) to Rice University. The university, as a public entity, offered the site to NASA for its spacecraft center, and was accepted (McComb 1969, Miller 1982). Built in 1962, the Johnson Space Center, as it would be renamed, helped to bring thousands of jobs, billions of dollars, and increased prestige to the Houston area, largely because of the cooperation of business leaders and local and state government.

Business leaders have also been actively involved in the politics of the city and very often are a large force in deciding who becomes mayor (McComb 1969). The city's Chamber of Commerce has become especially strong and takes active roles in city issues traditionally handled solely by the city government and its agencies (Feagin 1988, Thomas 1991). This has included long-range planning for capital improvement projects

that often best serve the interests of local business. As the city and its economy have adapted to changing times and a changing economy, business interests have continually worked together to ensure the success of the city, at least when it comes to facilitating the needs of certain segments of Houston's population.

Government Involvement in Business

Despite Houston's claims of laissez-faire and minimal government involvement, local and state governments are actually heavily involved in ensuring that the economic interests of local businesses are being effectively addressed. In Houston, the free enterprise philosophy held by the city's political and business leaders does not mean a complete rejection of government. In fact, governments at all levels are extensively encouraged to facilitate the needs of local businesses, evident with extensive public aid programs, direct subsidies, and limited private sector regulation (Feagin 1988, Vojnovic 2003a). However, there is a dual nature to this government involvement, which has meant prosperity for some, while the historical disinterest in social services has generated considerable disadvantages for large population sub-groups—Houston's marginalized population.

One of the largest areas of government involvement, often rarely seen by most citizens, is the high level of subsidization of private development and businesses. This has been evident since the beginning of the town when the Allen brothers convinced the new Republic to locate its capital in Houston, and thereby securing government funds to subsidize the initial development of the city. Public funds have routinely been used to finance the expansion of infrastructure and services to suit the needs of business interests

in Houston. While the use of public funds for these types of projects is not unique to Houston, the continual focus on meeting the needs of business leaders, routinely at the expense of the provision of basic public services to Houston's neighborhoods, is what sets the laissez-faire city apart from other major U.S. cities.

One of the largest and most visible projects of subsidization for business interests has been the continual dredging, widening, and maintenance of the Houston Shipping Channel (Port of Houston). As early business leaders have looked to capitalize on Houston's waterways, they have sought funding from state and federal authorities to perform the necessary improvements for over the past 150 years. For many years, the federal government was providing a very large percentage of the funding for these improvements (greater than 95% between 1900 and 1963) (Rose 1965, Vojnovic 2003a). With strong lobbying in Congress, Houston was able to secure the necessary federal funding to ensure the port's success and the city's position as an international leader in petroleum industries and trade.

Private developments also subsidized heavily by taxpayers include the numerous sports stadiums within the city. In 1958 a bond of \$22 million (\$147.6 million in 2005 dollars) was passed to provide funding for the Astrodome, a new, fully-enclosed, air-conditioned, football-baseball park to be built and managed by the newly-established Houston Sports Authority (H.S.A.). Some argued this large public debt for a private corporation set a bad precedent, but little was noticed in the hurry to build the 'eighth wonder of the world.' As construction costs doubled to \$45 million (\$288.5 million in 2005 dollars) because of scale and new technology, the H.S.A. contributed \$6 million but

was only required to pay \$750,000 per year in rent, with the rest of the funds coming from public bonds (McComb 1969).

The heavy subsidization of public stadiums would become evident once again in the late 1990s. During this period, the H.S.A. was recreated to become the more powerful Harris County Sports and Convention Corporation, becoming in charge of the financing, development, and construction of the new stadiums. During the mid- and late-1990s, millions more dollars in public bonds were approved by voters, very typical of the city's freewheeling promotion of such large-scale projects. As just over \$1 billion was spent on stadiums in the late 1990s and early 2000s, it costs \$1.5 million a year just to maintain the Astrodome for smaller events. Taxpayers also still owe \$50 million for renovations completed on the Astrodome in the late 1980s (Nichols 2005).

As could be expected in a city built across such a large geographic area, the subsidies from the federal government to maintain the city's transportation facilities are also large. Houston often received larger shares of funding, both from the state and federal governments, for road improvements than other cities in Texas or other cities in the U.S. of comparable size (Vojnovic 2003a). The four-lane Gulf Freeway which tore the historic black Fourth Ward in half, displacing many residents and tearing the community apart, had 86% of the costs covered by state and federal funds (McComb 1969). Extensive federal funding was also needed to build and maintain Houston's major airports.

The local government has also been actively involved in acquiring land for private development. In many particularly politically sensitive situations, the local government acquires private land, including prime Houston real estate, and resells or leases the land

to private developers. The government also assists in the development of these lands by directly subsidizing private developers, particularly in the case of upper-income residential developments. This includes the provision of new infrastructure improvements in areas experiencing physical and social upgrading and the use of special tax financing schemes in upscale Houston districts to facilitate new development and redevelopment. Several such occurrences in the Freedmen's Town area will be discussed in chapter five.

Another interesting aspect of government involvement in business, in part related to a lack of formal zoning, has been the absence of regulations regarding environmental standards and industrial pollutants. In the continued effort to maintain the pro-business environment of Houston, government leaders comply with the needs of local industries by maintaining minimal industrial regulations. The environmental hazards generated throughout the city, in this political environment that maintains a disinterest in its marginalized populations, disproportionately affects minority and lower-income residents of Houston (Bullard 1987, Feagin 1988).

Postmodern Transition

Given that its principal period of expansion occurred throughout the 20th century, the most significant impact on Houston's development has been modernism. This is evident in the city's sprawling nature of outward expansion, its historical disregard and disinterest in ethnic groups, and a lack of environmental consciousness. Within the last fifteen years, however, the city has made a significant shift from its traditional economic development agenda. The new interest by the city's political and economic leaders, driven by the new focus on the development of the specialized services and high-tech

economy, has resulted in an increased recognition of ethnic groups and cultures, a new importance on urban-environmental quality, and increased efforts directed towards downtown revitalization (Vojnovic 2003b). These initiatives are part of the city's new interest in remarketing itself and improving its image as it establishes a new development and growth agenda. Houston has in large part been influenced by numerous successes of other U.S. cities that have pursued, and successfully realized, similar urban and economic revitalizations, including Seattle, Boston, Portland, and Denver (Ford 2003).

Houston's Modernist Roots

While there are a number of characteristics in Houston's urban landscape that reflect the city's strong modernist tendencies, there are three that are most relevant to the nature of physical and social upgrading that the city is experiencing. Houston has long been recognized as a sprawling metropolitan region. This sprawl was, of course, exacerbated by the increase in personal automobile ownership in the early decades of the twentieth century and further exacerbated by increases in federal highway and road construction during the 1950s. Even with a high concentration of businesses and people employed in the downtown area (currently over 140,000 people), the number of actual residents living in the downtown is rather minimal for a city of about 2 million people. Much of the city's growth in the second half of the twentieth century has been focused on outward expansion.

Several projects during the 1960s were important contributors to the city's decentralization, and these developments have also emerged as anchors to the city's suburban expansion. The construction of the Astrodome and NASA's Manned Space

Center took place several miles from the city's center, with the Astrodome seven miles south of downtown and the NASA Center over 25 miles southeast of Houston. Another example of modernist suburban expansion is evident with the Galleria/Post Oak shopping complex, located 10 miles west of downtown, an area that would eventually develop as an edge city. The nature of investment patterns throughout Houston, and specifically the city's low-density decentralization tendencies for much of the post-World War II period, was a reflection of the city's modernist tendencies emphasizing single-family housing construction and suburban growth.

Another example of Houston's modernist roots has been its reliance on heavy manufacturing, particularly the petroleum-based industries which, while being critical to the development of the region, have produced severe stresses on the natural environment. As noted earlier, Houston has historically maintained a poor environmental record with regard to the region's natural environment. This is perhaps best evident with the weak local and regional regulations on polluting industries, and the high geographic concentration of noxious facilities near poor, minority neighborhoods on the industrial east side of the city (Feagin 1988, Bullard 1990). Adding to the industrial emissions, the expansive system of road networks and the heavy reliance on the personal automobile have further contributed to pollutant emissions in the city. These severe environmental stresses in Houston, evident with high levels of particulate matter and ground level ozone, have generated significant health risks for large segments of Houston's population, and particularly the lower-income minority residents.

The disinterest in ethnicity and ethnic communities was another influence of modernism that played a crucial role in shaping Houston's urban landscape. During much

of the twentieth century, as in other U.S. cities during this period, the various ethnic neighborhoods of Houston were largely ignored and ‘invisible’ to the white middle classes of the city and regularly faced redevelopment pressures from both public and private interests who were looking to clear land for new development. These communities originally inhabited undesirable land surrounding the downtown and the industrial, east side of the city (Lin 1995). Although Houston did not participate in the federal urban renewal programs, deteriorating neighborhoods were still cleared with the use of federal funding for the construction of highways and public housing projects. The discussion of such pressures in the city’s African-American Fourth Ward will be explored in detail in chapter five. This disregard for ethnicity and ethnic neighborhoods was seen as an important element of the city’s modernist era.

Within the last fifteen years Houston has experienced a marked shift towards postmodern characteristics and tendencies, largely as a result of its new interest in developing a specialized services and high-tech local economy. These shifts have occurred as the city attempts to remarket itself and improve its image in the changing world economy. While these new initiatives may appear to contradict the city’s historical development, they do not in any way challenge the city’s traditional pro-growth economic agenda (Vojnovic 2003b).

Houston’s New Postmodern Direction

In 1999 Houston’s environmental struggles became well known as the Houston-Galveston region became the first metropolitan area in the country to surpass Los Angeles as the ‘smoggiest city’ in the nation, with the most days of ozone violations per

year. In the Houston region, however, ground level ozone was only one of many increasing pollutants and fine particle emissions in the area, which caused an estimated 500 premature deaths annually (Sonoma Technology 1999). This poor level of environmental quality throughout the region had begun to plague the city and its image, and was seen as being particularly detrimental in attempting to attract corporate headquarters and tourism. High ozone levels have also put federal highway funds in jeopardy. In response to the requirements of the service economy—which is seen as strongly dependent on urban quality indicators, including environmental quality—Houston has recently begun to aggressively pursue cleaner air and emission strategies (Vojnovic 2003b). Local economic and political leaders have been increasingly recognizing that improving environmental quality will improve the city's competitiveness in attracting corporate headquarters, specialized services, high-tech industries, and white-collar professionals that support the new service economy.

In addition to environmental quality, noticing the successes of other U.S. cities at capitalizing on various, but select, ethnic areas and neighborhoods (such as New York City's Little Italy and Chinatown, and Miami's Little Cuba), Houston sought to capitalize on its ethnically diverse population and resources. Strengthening the city's various cultural centers was seen as an initiative that would improve urban quality and encourage local tourism. As the numbers of Asians and Hispanics rapidly increased during the 1980s, the city experienced the emergence of a new economic group, ethnic place entrepreneurs, who were able to market ethnic places as commodities in postmodern Houston (Lin 1995).

One area of recent focus is the Chinatown area near the new George R. Brown Convention Center on the eastern side of downtown. Here ethnic entrepreneurs and city leaders aim to build a mixed-use development with a variety of ethnic restaurants that will build Houston's image as an international city, and perhaps more importantly, expose this dimension of Houston to the numerous convention participants nearby. The city is also looking to capitalize on recent developments of the Mexican-American population along the Buffalo Bayou, east of downtown. Here groups are developing a Latino festival marketplace along the bayou with sites and markers of historical and ethnic significance (Lin 1995). In a shift from the city's modernist tendencies, which generally ignored ethnic communities, the city now hopes to capitalize on the uniqueness of the local cultures that exist in the various areas of the city, in pursuit of remarketing itself as an international city with rich cultural amenities.

What must be recognized is that this embracing of ethnic diversity by the city is a selective process. A large group excluded from this celebration of ethnicity is Houston's African-American population, as evidenced by the displacement of residents from the city's Fourth Ward and a lack of recognition of the significance of African-American history in the city. Also important is that this increased presence and recognition of ethnicities in Houston has so far not been translated successfully into economic opportunities, as a substantially higher percentage of blacks and Hispanics live in poverty in comparison to whites (Vojnovic 2003b).

Another aspect of the city's postmodern transition is the new emphasis placed on Houston's historical buildings, landmarks, and history—as evident in the preservation of a number of important historic buildings in the downtown and surrounding areas during

Houston's recent redevelopment initiatives. During the development of the new downtown baseball stadium (currently Minute Maid Park) in 1997, architects and designers incorporated the city's abandoned train station as the main entrance to the stadium (Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2). The Union Station, designed by the architects of New York City's Grand Central Station, was completed in 1911 and served as the city's main passenger station until its closure in 1974. This project brought acclaim within the preservation field to a city that had often been known for its disregard of buildings with historical significance. The project even garnered the Greater Houston Preservation Alliance's 2000 Good Brick Award (Greater Houston Preservation Alliance 2004). Several other older buildings in the downtown have been preserved and renovated into successful lofts and apartments, including Hogg Palace (built in 1921) and the famed Rice Hotel (completed in 1913) (Figure 3.3 - Figure 3.5). However, similar to the ethnic diversity in the city, Houston is selective in its approach to historical preservation, which will become evident in the review of Houston's redevelopment of Freedmen's Town, discussed later in the thesis.



**Figure 3.1 – Union Station as entrance to Minute Maid Park (baseball stadium)
(Source: Author)**



Figure 3.2 – Interior of renovated Union Station (Source: Author)



Figure 3.3 – Hogg Palace (Source: Author)



Figure 3.4 – Rice Hotel (Source: Author)



Figure 3.5 – Rice Hotel (Source: Author)

Perhaps the most significant aspects of the city's postmodern shift have been evident with its focus on downtown redevelopment and revitalization. With the commercial sector considered successful and employing over 140,000 people, Houston's downtown core struggled with the lack of residential land uses, street activity, and nightlife. With assistance from city tax credits, one of the first residential construction projects garnishing attention involved the renovation of the historic Rice Hotel, which was closed and abandoned since 1977. The city also used the already-thriving theatre district as an impetus for development of further entertainment venues. The city focused on the development of street beautification projects, a light-rail line through downtown, and two major downtown sports stadiums all to be discussed in the next section.

An important dimension of the various private sector development and redevelopment initiatives were the extensive government subsidies provided to facilitate these projects. These public initiatives were clearly in contrast to the widely accepted claim of minimal government involvement in this laissez-faire city. In addition, similar to the discussions of ethnic areas and historic preservation, only a select group of Houston residents benefited from the downtown redevelopment. Houston's recent central city revitalization has placed tremendous pressure on land values in and around downtown. In addition, the redevelopment of the central city has resulted in the eventual destruction of several neighborhoods, including Houston's African-American 'mother ward', Freedmen's Town.

Local Economic Development Strategies: Focusing on Houston's Central City

Since the early 1990s, the city of Houston has devoted a considerable amount of resources to encouraging the redevelopment of its downtown and surrounding residential areas. Although the city's 1.08-square mile downtown core was once again prospering with over 140,000 workers in the upswing following the recessions of the mid-1980s, the city continued to lack a residential population living in the downtown. In order to encourage the construction of residential lofts, the city initially focused on physically upgrading several deteriorated areas near the downtown, including the Midtown and Freedmen's Town areas, located to the south and west of downtown respectively. In pursuit of downtown revival, the city developed a downtown management district, tax increment reinvestment zones, built new sports stadiums, hotels, and light-rail, and improved streetscape designs. (See Figure 3.6 & Figure 3.7 for maps of the Houston area and the locations of downtown redevelopment projects.) In this "laissez-faire" city, the local government became extensively involved in the planning and development of various projects, as well as financially invested with extensive public subsidies granted to private developers involved in these initiatives.

Major Roads and Sites of the Houston Area

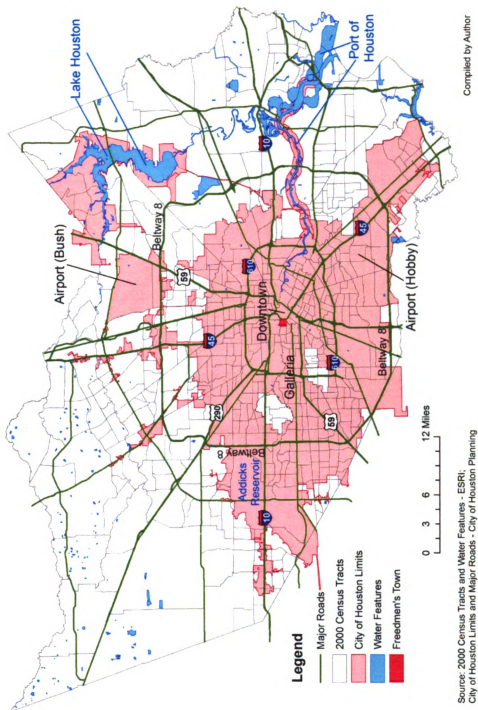


Figure 3.6 – Orientation map of the Houston area and Freedmen's Town.

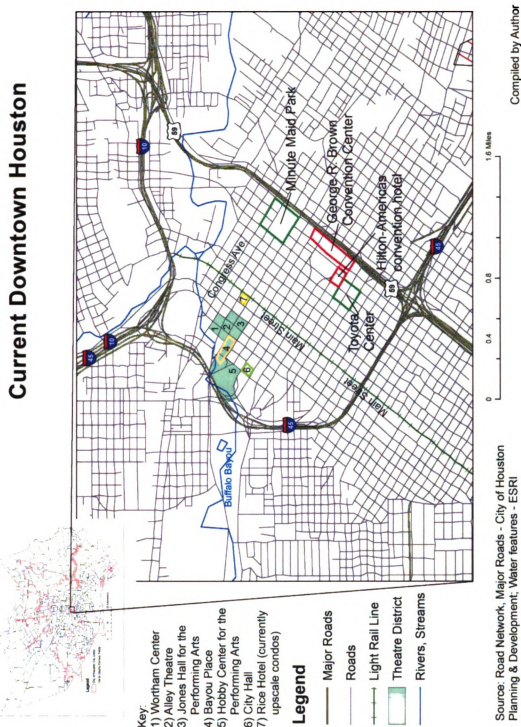


Figure 3.7 – Locations of downtown sites and recent redevelopment projects

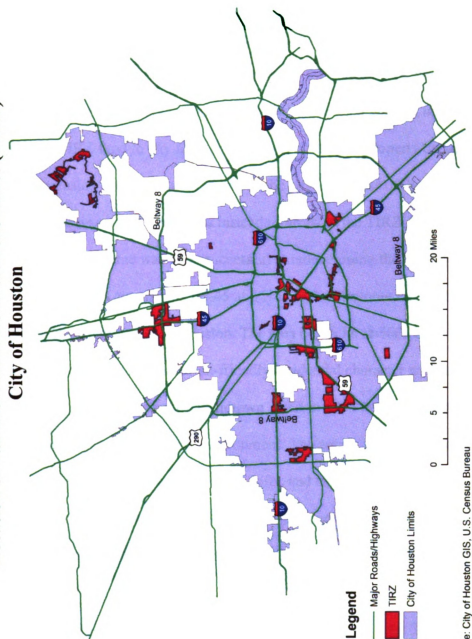
The Main Street Management District and TIRZs

To guide and encourage development during the 1990s, the city developed two specific programs with far-reaching effects. First was the establishment of the Houston Downtown Management District (1995), which is a nonprofit body, funded by a special assessment on downtown property, whose board of directors represents property owners, managers, and tenants in the downtown. Their purpose is to encourage the revitalization of Houston's downtown, including the construction of residential and commercial buildings, and various downtown improvement projects. In order to accelerate the renewal of the downtown, the district set several important goals with improved quality of life as the underlying theme. These goals included building a lasting constituency for downtown; recruiting investors, retailers and tenants while retaining those already downtown; and making downtown clean, safe and attractive to all (Houston Downtown Management District 2005). They have been an integral part of several important projects including the new light-rail system, Main Street improvements, and the Cotswold streetscape improvement project, all to be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Also designed by the city was a program that implemented the creation of tax increment reinvestment zones (TIRZs). TIRZs are a type of reinvestment financing tool designed to redevelop deteriorated areas. TIRZs were created throughout the city for one of three reasons: to address inner-city deterioration, to develop raw land in suburban fringe areas, or to proactively address the decline of major activity centers (City of Houston 2004). (See Figure 3.8 for locations of current TIRZs.)

Location of Tax Increment Reinvestment Zones (TIRZ)

City of Houston



Source: City of Houston GIS, U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3.8 – Locations of Tax Increment Reinvestment Zones in the City of Houston

The tax assessment levels are frozen in the reinvestment zones for a determined number of years. The idea behind the zones is that taxes attributable to new improvements (tax increment above the frozen level) are set aside in a fund to finance various public improvements within the zone. As new development in the zone occurs, the resulting increase in tax revenue (above what would normally be collected without improvements) is returned to the TIRZ fund to pay for further project costs. The property owners still pay the normally increasing tax bill, while the cost to the city is the loss of the increment tax above the normal assessed level, which is instead returned to the TIRZ.

The financing scheme was most successful at redeveloping the Midtown area south of downtown. This area between I-45 and U.S. 59 had become blighted with neglect with the suburbanization of Houston. The area began its revitalization in the mid-1990s with a plan to restore its pedestrian-friendly residential character with sidewalk cafes and shops. The establishment of a Midtown TIRZ in 1995 has been vital to the success of the area and in encouraging development. The area is now full of mixed-use developments and upscale condos, apartments, lofts, and townhomes, with close transit connections to downtown (Figure 3.9 & Figure 3.10). Since 1997 the area's list of new construction projects include 2,500 apartment units, 675 townhomes, 359,000 square feet of commercial, retail and restaurant space, and 8,000 new residents (Kaplan 2003). A TIRZ was also implemented in the deteriorated Freedmen's Town area. This tool has begun to assist in and encourage the physical upgrading of Freedmen's Town but not for the benefit of the original residents most in need of assistance.



Figure 3.9 – Highly-successful Midtown area southwest of downtown redeveloped with a TIRZ. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.10 – Remaining land in the Midtown area prepared for development. (Source: Author)

The TIRZ financing scheme has recently come under attack when it was implemented in the upscale shopping area west of the downtown known as the Galleria. Although still a thriving commercial and retail center, the argument was that the Galleria would soon lose business to retail outlets farther in the suburbs, because of increasing costs of business resulting from the congestion experienced in the Galleria area and the continual loss of city funding to residential areas. The new funds developed through the Galleria TIRZ were to be used to improve pedestrian areas and parking facilities to decrease congestion, particularly given the pressures of new improvements and projects in the area. Opponents of the Galleria-area TIRZ argue this is a case of ‘corporate welfare’ in which many developments often left up to the private sector are being financed with public money. “It’s a way for some well-connected people to make their projects even more money” said a local developer of the use of TIRZs in these types of thriving upscale areas (Cook 1999a, p. 8). As opposed to being used in deteriorating areas that are not generating tax dollars, the use of a TIRZ in areas such as the Galleria—which already maintain some of the highest property values in the city—will redirect money from the city into already thriving Houston neighborhoods.

Main Street and Infrastructure Projects

Some of the most visible redevelopment initiatives in the downtown have been the new construction projects along the city’s Main Street. This has included a light-rail line along Main Street and various infrastructure and streetscape improvements along most downtown streets. These physical improvements, although largely ‘cosmetic’ in

nature, were designed to be a catalyst for further developments, both residential and commercial, in the area.

In early 2001 the Main Street Coalition, made up of public and private leaders of Houston's downtown, published the Main Street Strategic Plan. This document detailed the physical and streetscape improvements that were to happen to Houston's Main Street in hopes of linking the areas of the downtown with sports venues, universities, museums, and Houston's hospital complex south of downtown (Main Street Coalition 2001). The streetscape improvements centered around the construction of a 7.5 mile light-rail line running along Main Street. The official 'Main Street Initiative', as it is known, has included the construction of fountains, new landscaping and pedestrian-oriented designs along the light-rail line and Main Street. For such an automobile-dependent city, these designs were meant to encourage pedestrian activities around the downtown, with the incorporation of benches, wide sidewalks, new building facades, district signage, and trees and overhangs to protect pedestrians from hot summer weather (Figure 3.11 - Figure 3.13).

Close to Main Street is a large-scale streetscape improvement project aimed at improving the aesthetics and pedestrian character of the northern portion of downtown. The project, known as Cotswold, covers a 90-block area highlighting the historic heart of Houston by linking the Theatre District, on the west side of downtown, with the new baseball stadium, on the east side of downtown (Main Street Coalition 2001) (Figure 3.14). In addition to the new pedestrian-friendly designs incorporated along Main Street, the Cotswold project has also included new streetlights, public art, metered on-street parking, and a courtesy patrol (security force) (Rouffignac 1999a). As with the Main

Street projects, the goal is that the Cotswold project will be a catalyst for private development in the area.



Figure 3.11 – Improved streetscape designs and street integration with the light-rail line. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.12 – Façade improvements and new streetscape designs along Main Street in downtown. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.13 – District signage as part of downtown revitalization. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.14 – Cotswold Streetscape Improvement Project (Source: Author)

One of the largest projects has been the construction of a 7.5 mile light-rail line, at a cost of \$300 million, running along Main Street. The Metropolitan Transit Authority of Harris County (METRO) operates the line, which was completed in December 2003. Design plans and campaigns had been in the works for over twenty years as residents, transit agencies, and officials debated the construction of a mass transit rail line in the city. After finally being approved in 1999, the construction process took nearly three years, as Main Street was completely reconstructed with the integration of the rail line (Figure 3.15 - Figure 3.18). Although this massive construction effort was highly disruptive to downtown business, significantly contributing to the closure of over a dozen small businesses and restaurants, the light-rail has proven very popular with over 100,000 people riding on the opening weekend (Hanson 2004).

This relatively short line links many important facilities along the Main Street Corridor. At the north end is the University of Houston's downtown campus, and traveling south the line runs through the central business district, and continues to the museum district, Rice University, the hospital complex, and the new football stadium. Although only connecting a few major points in Houston, the new light-rail has already proven to be very popular, with average daily ridership estimates between 18,000 and 20,000 people. In November 2003, local voters approved a proposal for another 65 miles of light-rail and 8 miles of commuter rail. The voters also authorized a \$640 million bond as initial funding for the next 22 miles of light-rail, which is expected to be in operation by 2012 (Wall 2003). This additional light-rail would link downtown with the city's two major airports, to the north and south, as well as the city's upscale Galleria shopping area to the west.



Figure 3.15 – Main Street Improvement Project with the construction of the light-rail line along Main Street in downtown. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.16 – Main Street Improvement Project with construction of light-rail line (Source: Author)



Figure 3.17 – Completed light-rail line integrated with Main Street. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.18 – Completed light-rail line integrated with Main Street. (Source: Author)

Entertainment Venues: Stadiums, Hotels, Conventions, Performing Arts

In the continual desire to redevelop its downtown and increase its presence as an international city and tourist destination, the city of Houston constructed numerous sports stadiums, convention center additions, hotels, and performing arts centers in the late 1990s and early 2000s. One of the first downtown redevelopment projects that the city undertook was the renovation of the historic Rice Hotel. In 1997, at a cost of \$32 million, this historic structure was refurbished into a mixed-use complex of upscale condos and apartments as well as restaurant and retail space. The developer who refurbished the Rice Hotel, which had been abandoned since 1977, received extensive public funds and tax breaks to facilitate the completion of this project. This was one of the first large-scale redevelopment initiatives to take place downtown and would help to stimulate further residential and commercial projects in Houston's central city.

Riding the wave of revitalization, increased convention business, and lucrative tax breaks from the city of Houston, an additional nearly 3,000 hotel rooms have been constructed in less than seven years in the downtown. This has involved the construction of three new hotels and renovations of nine older, mostly closed buildings. The largest of these hotel additions is the new 1,200-room Hilton Americas-Houston convention hotel built on the east side of downtown adjacent to the newest convention center (George R. Brown) (Figure 3.19). This luxurious hotel has been a model for new convention hotels across the country, with its 91,500 square feet of technologically-advanced meeting space and close proximity to numerous downtown attractions (Figure 3.7 & Figure 3.20). The city hopes that this hotel will stimulate the redevelopment of the east side of downtown and will be worth its nearly \$300 million investment. In addition to the new construction

of hotels and additions to existing hotels, large-scale hotel renovations have also been taking place in the downtown area such as the historic Lancaster Hotel in the Theatre District (Figure 3.21). One of the largest such renovations includes a \$30 million project to update the downtown Hyatt Regency (McCarthy 2000).



Figure 3.19 – New 1,200 room Hilton Americas-Houston hotel. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.20 – Close proximity of new Hilton hotel and George R. Brown Convention Center as viewed from Minute Maid Park. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.21 – The redeveloped, historic Lancaster Hotel in the downtown Theatre District. (Source: Author)

The city's third official convention center, the George R. Brown, was built in 1987 on the east side of town (Figure 3.22). A \$165 million addition to the convention center was completed in December 2003, increasing the total space by 38% to 1.85 million square feet. South of downtown, the city maintains the use of the Astrodome and surrounding facilities providing an additional 1.15 million square feet of exhibit space. These combined facilities, including the new convention center hotel, have been a major draw for national and international conventions and in helping the city to rank second in the nation for meeting space in square footage with a total of over 4 million square feet of meeting space across the city (City of Houston 2003b).



Figure 3.22 – George R. Brown Convention Center (Source: Author)

Another set of highly visible economic development projects has been the construction of three major sports stadiums in the downtown area for a total price of \$1.036 billion (Murphy 2005). All three of these stadiums were completed within three years of each other, representing the largest and fastest build-up of sports venues in the nation (Tolson 2004). The construction included a new baseball stadium, new football stadium, and an indoor arena for basketball and hockey events, as well as concerts and other indoor activities. In addition to aggressively trying to recruit a National Football League team back to Houston and the lucrative Super Bowl, the city was also at the time in the preliminary running for the 2012 Summer Olympics.

The first to begin construction was the baseball stadium, currently named Minute Maid Park, which broke ground in 1997. In addition to being a state-of-the-art facility with a fully retractable roof, the 40,950-seat air-conditioned stadium contains modern suites and luxury boxes (Figure 3.23 and Figure 3.24). These luxury areas, largely absent

in the former baseball venue of the Astrodome, account for a large percentage of a modern stadium's revenue and were part of the reason many team owners across the nation have aggressively pursued new stadiums within the last fifteen years. Since opening in March 2000, at a cost of \$265 million, the stadium has stimulated other projects in this previously undeveloped, northeast part of the downtown—including two new luxury lofts, several hotels, and numerous restaurants, clubs, and bars.

To replace the city's old indoor arena located well outside of the downtown (formerly the Compaq Center), a new arena was built in the central city adjacent to the new Hilton convention hotel (Figure 3.25). In addition to being home to the city's professional men's and women's basketball teams, the arena is used for over 300 events and activities a year, including concerts, hockey, graduations, and related convention activities. Although only opening in October 2003, city officials hope this \$252 million investment will work in conjunction with the convention center and hotel to continue further redevelopment on the east side of downtown. As of now, there are few activities and services in this area of the downtown, and it remains fairly disconnected from the activities in the city's central core.

Although not tied directly to the redevelopment of Houston's inner-city because of its location five miles south of the downtown, the city's new football stadium has served as host to the 2004 NFL Super Bowl and other large-scale events (Figure 3.26 and Figure 3.27). Completed at a cost of nearly \$500 million in August 2002, Reliant Stadium serves as the home to the city's new professional football team, the Houston Rodeo, as well as soccer and concert events. This site is also at the southern end of the city's new light-rail line and therefore connects the stadium with downtown. Although the stadium

has not been very successful in further developing the surrounding area, being at the southern node along the light-rail corridor and with its connections to downtown, the stadium provides a southern anchor and will likely help to intensify the light-rail corridor.



Figure 3.23 – Minute Maid Park (formerly Enron Field) (Source: Author)



Figure 3.24 – Interior of Minute Maid Park (formerly Enron Field) (Source: Author)



Figure 3.25 – Toyota Center (Source: Author)



Figure 3.26 – Reliant Stadium under construction, October 2001 (Source: Author)

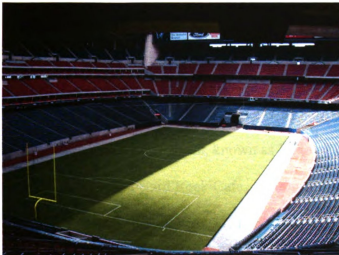


Figure 3.27 – Reliant Stadium (Source: Author)

Located in the northwest section of the downtown, the Houston Theatre District has long been an important part of downtown entertainment (Figure 3.7). In the recent revitalization initiatives, the Theatre District has been further enhanced and complemented by other entertainment and eating venues, which have considerably increased the vibrancy of the downtown outside of normal business hours. The District is home to eight nationally recognized performing arts organizations and contains nearly 13,000 seats for live performance, making it second behind New York City in number of theatre seats in a concentrated downtown area (City of Houston 2003b). This district has also taken part in the downtown redevelopment with the construction and renovations of numerous venues including: the opening in spring 2002 of the \$100 million Hobby Center (home to Broadway shows and plays), a \$7.5 million renovation of the Jones Hall in 2002 (home to the Houston Symphony), a \$30 million renovation of the Alley Theatre completed in 2005, and a new \$12 million underground parking garage for use by those visiting the entertainment venues and the central city and county offices (Figure 3.28 - Figure 3.31).

Another redevelopment opportunity in this area existed in the city's second convention center, which had largely been abandoned since the opening of the George R. Brown convention center on the east side of downtown in 1987. This Albert Thomas Convention Center was retrofitted in 1997 by a private entertainment company into a successful entertainment venue, known as Bayou Place, with a movie theatre for independent films, a Hard Rock Café, a 3,000-seat live performance venue, and multiple restaurants, bars, and dance clubs (Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.33). Overall, this new concentration of public and private projects in Houston's downtown clearly represent a

new direction for a city that has traditionally emphasized low-density suburban developments and regional shopping centers. All of these physical upgrading projects have also brought tremendous increased pressure on upscale near-downtown living geared towards upper-income professionals of the new service economy. This has produced new developments in areas such as Midtown as well as Freedmen's Town and the Heights to be discussed in the following chapters. Residents of these effected areas have been severely impacted by this physical upgrading, often including their eventual displacement.



Figure 3.28 – Wortham Center (Source: Author)



Figure 3.29 – Jones Hall (Source: Author)



Figure 3.30 – Alley Theatre (Source: Author)



Figure 3.31 – Hobby Center for the Performing Arts. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.32 – Bayou Place entertainment complex. (Source: Author)



Figure 3.33 – Bayou Place entertainment complex. (Source: Author)

The Role of Subsidies

Similar to the complaints leveled against the TIRZ project and the inappropriate subsidization of developments in general, some residents and city officials have also challenged the level of government involvement in Houston's downtown revitalization. Many say that the use of public money to fund these projects goes beyond the city's traditional mission of providing services and infrastructure, such as fire and police protection, streets and sewers. "The proper role of government is to provide the basic infrastructure and a good regulatory framework for the private sector" said City Councilman Rod Todd in 1999 (Rouffignac 1999b, p. 1). Given the local government rhetoric of minimal public involvement, and the city's historical disinterest in social services, many residents did actually believe that the city simply maintained a role in providing minimal levels of local public services.

In the Cotswold streetscape improvement project, the city went far beyond providing basic infrastructure improvements, and took charge in the redesign of streets and pedestrian walkways, with the goal of improving the aesthetics and pedestrian

character of this downtown area. The whole 90-block redevelopment has been estimated to cost between \$60 and \$65 million. As of early 2000, the City Council had already approved \$21.7 million of public money for the first phase of the 32 blocks (Rouffignac 1999a). Outside of Houston's traditional role of only providing the 'framework' for private sector development, the city has instead led and funded this highly aesthetic project in hopes of encouraging private development and redevelopment in the area.

Looking to build a large convention center hotel in the late 1990s, city officials struggled to locate a private company that would take on the challenge of such a large project in a struggling convention center market. Instead, the city decided to take on the risk of such a large investment on its own by creating a city-owned corporation to actually own the hotel and contracted with a private hotel chain to manage it. To finance this hotel project (as well as the convention center additions) in 2001 the city borrowed \$626.5 million from Wall Street investors. This amount also included a reserve fund to help pay off the loans when hotel revenues were down (Buggs 2005). An additional back-up plan for the city was even further subsidization. If the reserve fund ran out (and hotel revenues were down), the taxing agencies of the state, county, METRO, and city all agreed to rebate the majority of the taxes that the Hilton collects, taking further funds from these public groups and thereby placing added costs on taxpayers. Many hotel analysts fear the hotel's occupancy rates will start to fall below 50% (currently at around 55% from 2004) until 2007 which would result in a weakened ability of the city to repay its loans. This would require the use of all of the tax revenues from the hotel being used to repay the bonds which would take money away from the city and convention and visitors bureau. "Taxpayers would pay for this in hidden ways" as there would be no

money to market Houston and bring in more visitors says hotel industry analyst Bruce Walker (Buggs 2005, p. D7). Even with an increase in advance convention hotel room bookings by 45% over the previous year, the majority of this business will not be realized into the city's tourism industry until 2007, which leaves the city in a difficult position in the next couple years.

In connection with downtown revitalization has also been the construction of ten new hotels in the downtown area. Within less than three years the city has doubled the number of hotel rooms in the downtown. Most of the new hotels have received 50% tax rebates from the city during their first seven years of operation. Also city-backed loans were used to entice boutique hotels, economy chains, and mid-brand lodges to build downtown (Buggs 2005).

One of the most controversial aspects of public involvement in redevelopment has been the financing and construction of the city's three new sports stadiums. In 1997 the city established the Harris County-Houston Sports Authority to manage the construction of new sports facilities in the area and recruit sporting events and teams to Houston. In 1996 voters had narrowly approved (51%-49%) bonds for the construction of a football stadium and downtown baseball stadium (Tolson 2004). This bond money was to be repaid within 30 years with a 2% hotel and 5% rental-car tax. The idea was that people from outside the city would receive the additional taxes as opposed to the local residents.

The first stadium to be built was the baseball stadium, currently called Minute Maid Park and located in northeast downtown, completed at a cost of \$265 million in 2000. Approximately 32% of the project was financed privately with \$52 million (20%) from the baseball team's owners and \$33 million (12%) from a no-interest loan. The

remaining \$180 million (68%) came from the publicly issued bonds (Minute Maid Park 2005). The massive football stadium (Reliant Stadium) south of downtown was completed at a cost of \$500 million in 2002. Public money spent on the project included \$22.5 million (4.5%) in loans from Harris County and most importantly \$367 million (73.4%) from the bonds approved in the 1996 election. The public money spent on this project has been financed in the same fashion as the baseball stadium with bonds to be repaid with a 2% hotel and 5% rental-car tax. While the team that was to occupy the stadium did provide a \$25 million (5%) loan to be repaid, their final investment only totaled \$18 million, or 3.6% of the projects total cost⁴.

The city had a little more difficulty acquiring the necessary public money for the construction of the new downtown basketball arena. Frustrated with the amount of public money being spent on sports stadiums in such a short period of time, voters in 1999 rejected an arena proposal and financing plan. In 2000, after a massive \$2.5 million pro-arena campaign, voters approved the new arena whose projected cost of \$175 million was to be financed with publicly-issued bonds. To further sweeten the deal, the city outright purchased the land necessary for the arena for \$20 million (Berger 2000). With a final cost of \$252 million, this arena had the largest percentage financed with public money at \$212 million in bonds and bank loans, or 84.1% of the total cost (Tolson 2004).

The criticisms leveled against the public subsidization of sports stadiums across the country are also evident in Houston. Many argue that the economic benefits received

⁴ The remaining funds came from various other sources including \$50 million (10%) from fans purchasing seat licenses, \$7.5 million (1.5%) from Aramark, \$4 million (.80%) from the actual Harris County Sports and Convention Corporation, and a \$4.6 million (.92%) investment from the Houston Rodeo which occupies the complex for approximately three weeks a year (Tolson 2004).

from the stadiums are not worth the public money investment because much of the direct revenue stays within the sports team and less indirect revenue is produced than is initially projected. Another problem is that the owners of these sports teams are wealthy to begin with and continue to amass wealth with their investment in their sports team. Many consider it unfair to publicly subsidize wealthy team owners, who are only becoming wealthier with these ventures. In a broader context, it is worth noting again that these financial arrangements are occurring in a city that does not consider social services appropriate, since such programs do not promote an individual's work ethic.

Team owners, however, threaten to leave and take their teams to "more receptive" cities which include new stadiums with more modern suites (producing increased revenue for the team owners and not the city). All three of the Houston teams produced these threats with the football team actually leaving in 1997. In order to keep their sports teams, cities are forced to pay large amounts of public money to construct new stadiums and other amenities for their teams. The debate regarding how much economic development is indirectly produced by the sports teams, such as increased revenue from bars and restaurants and increased numbers of people simply visiting downtown areas, continues to be uncertain (Euchner 1993, Bachelor 1998, Sidlow and Henschen 1998). But the argument will always exist as to whether the public money spent on sports stadiums and their teams are worth the investment of cities and local taxpayers.

Tax Breaks and Subsidies for Residential Developments

As discussed earlier, one of the first downtown redevelopment projects was the renovation of the Rice Hotel. A large part of this project included the construction of upscale condominiums, which began to spur further residential developments. To encourage the Rice Hotel refurbishment, the city offered large tax subsidies and even arranged to purchase the building slated for demolition in 1996 for \$3 million. It was then leased back to the developers and their partners for renovation into upscale condos and apartments (Adler 1999). Additionally the developer received a \$5 million historic tax credit and \$7 million in incremental tax revenue from the area (Williams 1997).

Residential tax breaks such as these have played a very large part of downtown redevelopment in Houston. The Rice Hotel renovation has been followed by the conversion of numerous vacant or abandoned structures in downtown, such as Hogg's Palace, Capital Lofts, and Hermann Lofts. It took some time before the downtown housing market was ready for a new residential construction. Several smaller new construction projects began around downtown including the 'Lofts at the Ballpark', but construction is soon to begin on the first residential project in the downtown area in twenty-five years. The massive 32-story Shamrock Tower, located directly on the light-rail line, has spent several years in the planning and marketing stages and many downtown experts say it is a sign of the massive growth in residential population that is projected to reach 10,000 by 2010 (a 367% increase since 1980) (Sichelman 2004).

Conclusion

The city of Houston has come a long way from the small bayou settlement dependent on the production of cotton and timber. However, the historical coalitions between business and government leaders have continued to guide the development of the city. Most recently, these coalitions are evident as the city attempts to economically diversify from its traditional energy base economy. In the new efforts to remarket Houston and attract high-tech, specialized services, corporate headquarters, and tourism, as well as the white-collar professions that are the social infrastructure of this new service economy, a new set of actors and coalitions have emerged in this new growth agenda. In a city known for its laissez-faire style of governance, Houston government has become increasingly involved in many aspects of the city's attempts to improve its image, particularly in the recent downtown revitalization initiatives. This has come at a high price to local taxpayers and numerous neighborhoods that have been adversely affected by these physical improvements and revitalization. While this chapter has provided a broader focus of the changes taking place in Houston, the next two chapters will analyze in greater detail the social changes that have occurred as a result of these physical improvements, with a particular focus placed on the physical changes in Freedmen's Town and the resulting impacts on the local disadvantaged and marginalized populations.

4 DATA ANALYSIS

Variable Selection and Data Preparation

Houston's local economic development initiatives have brought extensive physical and social change to the city's downtown and a number of surrounding neighborhoods. This new demand for central city living has been coupled with Houston's traditional tendency for low-density, single-family suburban housing. Thus, urban decentralization has continued to remain an important element of Houston's expansion, while at the same time, a new interest in the central city contributed an added dimension to Houston's traditional growth and development direction. In the 1990s, as new suburban developments continued to ensure Houston's outward expansion, there was also an increasing demand for new developments and refurbished housing within Houston's 610 Loop, Houston's central city.

The objectives of this data analysis chapter are to measure and describe the physical and social changes taking place in Houston's central city, including Freedmen's Town. This data analysis will also explore areas throughout Houston that are experiencing similar physical and social upgrading processes as seen in Freedmen's Town. To accomplish this task a principal components analysis is performed on U.S. Census data followed by a K-means clustering process to group together tracts experiencing similar characteristics of change. This process enables us to determine the areas within Houston that are experiencing physical and social upgrading. The assessment of these neighborhoods will also reveal the complexity of physical and social upgrading processes. The following review will illustrate how different tools can be used

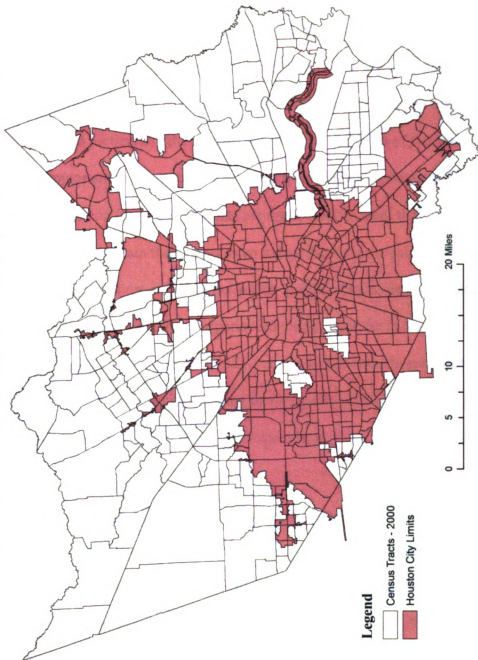
concurrently, but in different combinations throughout different areas of a city, to encourage redevelopment and revitalization depending on the physical and social characteristics of the original neighborhoods.

Geographic Limits of Analysis

Before the analysis process itself, careful steps were taken in order to select and prepare the data necessary for an accurate analysis. In order to show the physical and social upgrading resulting from Houston's local development and redevelopment initiatives, U.S. census data was used to examine various changes that have taken place between 1980 and 2000. This required a careful manipulation of the data in order to accurately compare various indicators, such as the ethnic mix, household income, employment status of residents, and value of housing units.

For the spatial analysis of the changes taking place it was necessary to make several alterations to the available data and important decisions with regard to what variables were being used for comparison. For instance, because the city of Houston's aggressive annexation of surrounding land routinely changing the city's limits, an accurate comparison of the changes occurring within the city over two decades was difficult. The city greatly increased its size through the mid-twentieth century, increasing in size from 160 square miles in 1950 to 556 square miles in 1980 (Nivola 1999). Although the rate of annexation has lessened since 1980, the official size of the city has increased to 581 square miles in 1990, and 618 square miles in 2000 (City of Houston 2003a). Also, the city limits do not accurately align with the boundaries of most of the census tracts and therefore would make any analysis of change within the city difficult and likely inaccurate (Figure 4.1). It is for this reason that the county within which the

2000 U.S. Census Tracts of Harris County and Houston City Limits



Compiled by Author

Source: 2000 Census Tracts - ESRI, City Boundary - City of Housing Planning Dept.

Figure 4.1 – 2000 U.S. Census Tracts of Harris County and Houston City Limits

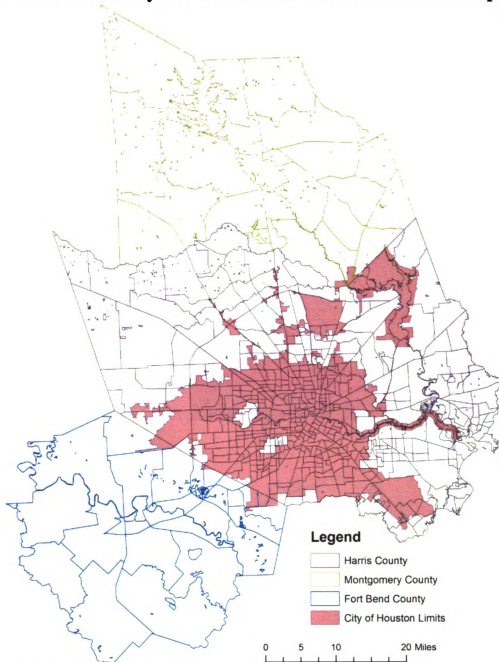
city of Houston lies was selected as the geographic limits of the study. The vast majority of Houston (>95% of the city's total area) is within the limits of Harris County, with only small sections falling within Montgomery and Fort Bend counties to the north and southwest respectively (Figure 4.2). The analysis of Harris County will adequately show the changes that have been experienced within much of the city of Houston over the past twenty-five years, and particularly the central city, which is the focus of this research.

It is also important to recognize the location of several independent municipalities within the city of Houston (Figure 4.3). These are upper-income areas that have had the resources necessary to maintain their status as an independent municipality and prevent annexation by the city of Houston. While not within Houston limits, they experience similar housing market forces and have experienced changes similar to that seen in other parts of Houston. Many of the processes of physical and social upgrading are not restricted to the boundaries of the city meaning these separate municipalities are still important in the discussion of the physical and social changes in the Houston area.

Data Selection

In order to study the physical and social changes occurring in Houston, it was necessary to collect data on population, socioeconomic, ethnic, and housing characteristics of Harris County and its residents using decennial U.S. Census Bureau data. As already noted, the analysis in this chapter will cover the years 1980 to 2000. A weakness of this data analysis is its inability to capture the dramatic physical and social changes that have been experienced in several areas of Houston, including Freedmen's Town, since the 2000 census. In fact, it was the observable changes in Freedmen's Town between 1999 and 2002 that initiated this study. Since the data will be incapable of

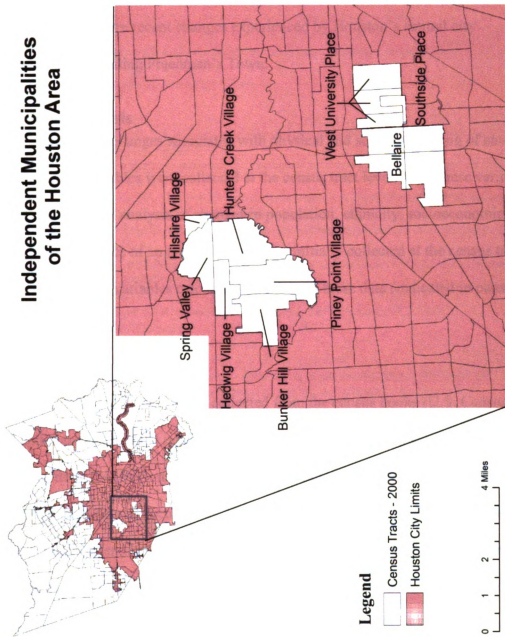
Location of the City of Houston and the Counties It Occupies



Source: County Census Tract Limits - U.S. Census Bureau website,
Houston City Limits - City of Houston Planning Dept.

Compiled by Author

Figure 4.2 – Location of the City of Houston and the counties it occupies



Compiled by Author

Figure 4.3 – Independent Municipalities of the Houston area

adequately representing the recent physical and social upgrading observed in many of Houston's central city neighborhoods, photographs will be used to allow for a visual assessment of the more recent changes experienced by Houston's central city neighborhoods, including Freedmen's Town.

Variables of analysis

To study the changes associated with physical and social upgrading of an area, data on specific variables were collected at the census tract level. With these variables, the study provides an analysis of changes in population, ethnicity, socioeconomic, and housing characteristics of an area. The variables initially collected at the census tract level, and additional variables calculated based upon these data (indicated in parenthesis) are listed in Table 4.1.

Data Collection

The entire 1980 dataset was collected from the census books (U.S. Census Bureau 1983) and manually entered into a spreadsheet for analysis. The data from the 2000 census was downloaded from the U.S. Census website (U.S. Census Bureau 2005). An issue with census data collected from 1980 is that tracts existed in which the population was very small (often times less than 100 people). In situations such as these, certain data were suppressed or "withheld to avoid disclosure of information for individuals or housing units" (U.S. Census Bureau 1983). This does not appear to have been done with the 2000 data based upon the information obtained from the Census website. Therefore some of the tracts that had information withheld in 1980 showed enormous increases by 2000 because of the lack of suppression in 2000. The tracts where this became an issue

Census Data Variables of Analysis

Population Variables

- Total population
- White population (Percentage of census tract population that is white)
- Black population (Percentage of census tract population that is black)
- Hispanic population (Percentage of census tract population that is Hispanic)
- Median age
- Total population age 25 years and older

Socioeconomic Variables

- Total number of high school graduates (Percentage of census tract population age 25 and older that are high school graduates)
- Total number of college graduates (Percentage of census tract population age 25 and older that are college graduates)
- Total number of families whose income is below poverty level (Percentage of census tract families whose income is below poverty level)
- Total number of female-headed households (Percentage of census tract households that are female-headed)
- Total number of households receiving public assistance income (Percentage of census tract households receiving public assistance income)
- Median gross rent (converted to 1999 dollars)
- Median value of owner-occupied housing units (converted to 1999 dollars)
- Median household income (converted to 1999 dollars)
- Per capita income (converted to 1999 dollars)
- Total number of employed residents (civilian population)
- Total number of employed residents whose occupation is considered 'professional' (Percentage of employed civilian population whose occupation is considered 'professional')
(‘Professional’ occupation for this research is defined in 2000 as “Management, Professional and related occupations; sales and office occupations.” For 1980 this includes “Managerial and professional specialty occupations; technical, sales, and administrative support occupations.”)

Housing Variables

- Total number of families
- Total number of households
- Total number of housing units
- Total number of occupied housing units
- Total number of vacant housing units
- Total number of owner-occupied housing units
- Total number of renter-occupied housing units
- Total number of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities (Percentage of census tract housing units that are lacking complete plumbing facilities)
- Total number of housing units that existed in 1980 and still remain in 2000
- Total number of owner-occupied housing units whose householder moved in 1980 or before and remained in the same housing unit in 2000
- Total number of renter-occupied housing units whose householder moved in 1980 or before and remained in the same housing unit in 2000

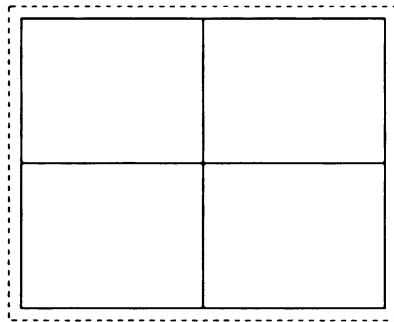
Table 4.1 – Census Data Variables of Analysis

were withheld from the mapping of change and the statistical analyses presented in this chapter.

Data Aggregation for Comparison

In order to standardize the comparison, and enable an accurate analysis of changes in data between 1980 and 2000, it was necessary to examine changes in comparable spatial areas between the two time periods. This would require that the tracts of the two sets of data correspond geographically. Over a twenty-year period, it can be expected that the boundaries of some census tracts will be moved to account for changes in the area—such as new growth due to suburbanization, an expansion of city limits, or a large new development (commercial, industrial, or residential). Often the case is that tracts are split or divided into pieces to account for new growth, as opposed to the ‘contraction’ of a tract in which neighboring tracts are combined together to create one larger tract. This ‘contraction’ of census tracts is typically more rare, especially in a region experiencing suburbanization such as Houston.

In carrying out a comparative analysis between 1980 and 2000 data, one possibility is to compare tracts using the 2000 census tract as the ‘base’ level for analysis. The 2000 tracts would thus be the base to which changes from 1980 are compared. Unfortunately, in this case there would be numerous tracts from 1980 that had been split to account for growth. Therefore, in order to accurately compare data across the decades it would be necessary to divide the 1980 data from the one tract into the respective number of tracts that had been created by 2000 (Figure 4.4). This is problematic and would most likely cause for inaccuracies in the data as the exact geographic division in



Note tracts are hypothetical for use in diagram and explanation.

2000 Census Tracts 1980 Census Tract

In order to use 2000 census tracts as the 'base' level, it would have been necessary to divide the 1980 data into the respective parts. This would have had to been done at many locations throughout the county. This would have been less accurate of a method than using the 1980 tracts as the base level of analysis.

Figure 4.4 – Hypothetical drawing depicting why 2000 census tracts were not used as the 'base' level of analysis

the 1980 tract necessary to fit in the 2000 tracts would be too difficult to calculate (See Figure 4.1).

It is for this reason that the 1980 census tracts were used as the 'base' level of comparison. For tracts that had been divided between the years 1980 and 2000, the appropriate spatial area and the data for the year 2000 tracts could be combined to create the respective data for 2000, which would spatially overlap the 1980 tract and enable an accurate comparison of change in the same spatial boundary. With the boundaries of the tracts, and the spatial area aligned, this would allow all 2000 tract level data to be precisely compared to the 1980 tract level data, accurately capturing changes that have occurred within different areas of Harris County between the years 1980 and 2000.

There are a few issues with this method that must be recognized. A weakness does exist in the sense that there are some tracts that have done the 'opposite' of what

was expected and described above from 1980 to 2000. For instance, tracts do exist in Harris County in which 1980 tracts were combined together to make one tract in 2000 instead of being divided as would usually be expected with 1980 tracts. These could possibly be areas that had experienced a decline in population and housing and therefore only required one larger tract now. Also it is possible that the Census Bureau changes some of its requirements and definitions of what, and how large, a census tract should be. It might also possibly be a combination of both reasons. In this analysis of change from 1980 to 2000 this phenomena occurred approximately 12 times. Several cases where this occurred in Harris County were along the shipping channel that most likely did lose population. But also the boundaries might have been expanded to simply include all of the industries and small sub-population groupings that existed there. For these few instances the 2000 data was divided as accurately as possible based upon geographic size of the 1980 tracts in comparison to the larger 2000 tract.

Also in areas in which the subdivision of tracts has occurred (such as places of suburban growth), using 1980 tracts as the 'base' level with certain variables (such as growth in number of households or current total population) will appear to overestimate the condition of that variable because of the year 2000 tracts that have experienced such tremendous growth and are now combined to equal larger 1980 tracts. Another weakness to recognize is that there were tracts that did not geographically overlap exactly. In this case the data was again divided as accurately as possible based upon the geographic size of the respective tracts. Again these cases were fairly rare as well and largely did not affect the overall analysis of change in Harris County.

Another important issue to recognize is that the data showing *change*, and the associated maps, are not always effective in capturing current conditions—for example the existing ethnic make-up within a census tract. For instance, a map illustrating the *change* in the percentage of a census tract that is black is only reflective of an increase or decrease in the black population in this tract. However, it must be remembered that there are many census tracts that maintain, and have historically maintained, a high percentage of African-Americans. In these cases, a map showing *change* in percentage of a tract that is black cannot capture the actual current ethnic make-up of that tract. For this reason, many maps of *change* are also accompanied by maps showing the current condition in the year 2000.

In order to accurately compare data from the 1980 and 2000 tracts, a series of steps were taken in data preparation and manipulation in order to enable an analysis that captured the same spatial areas. Using ESRI ArcMap software, year 2000 census tracts in Harris County were visually compared to see the extent to which they corresponded to 1980 tracts. These corresponding 1980 and 2000 tracts were then recorded in a “Key” Excel spreadsheet. The original data prepared for the 1980 and 2000 tracts had tract identification numbers corresponding to each tract. This “Key” file matched the 2000 tract numbers with its corresponding 1980 tract(s). Within Excel, a Visual Basic program was written to systematically take the original 2000 data and the “Key” file showing which 2000 tracts corresponded to which 1980 tracts, and calculate the 2000 data now corresponding to its respective 1980 tracts. This produced a new spreadsheet with 1980 tract numbers but now it included the 2000 data that corresponded to that tract. This enabled the calculation of an additional spreadsheet showing changes in the data from

1980 to 2000, but all based on the 1980 tracts. The above steps taken to standardize the spatial area of the census tracts have enabled a precise comparison of 1980 and 2000 data, based upon the 1980 tracts as a base level for comparison.

Changes Occurring in Harris County

Harris County, in which Houston lies, covers an area of 1,729 square miles. The city of Houston proper is 618 square miles (in year 2000), with the vast majority of the city located in Harris County (City of Houston 2003b). Before developing on the discussion of the changes that have occurred in Harris County between 1980 and 2000, a basic introduction and spatial orientation of Houston will be presented. (See Figure 4.5) Downtown Houston is located near the middle of the county with the newer George Bush Intercontinental Airport to the north and the older Hobby Airport to the southeast. The city is ringed by two major beltways, I-610 and Beltway 8. Two major interstates cut across the city—with I-10 stretching west to east through downtown and I-45 running north to south, connecting Dallas and Galveston, via Houston's downtown. The Port of Houston lies to the east of downtown flowing east to the Gulf of Mexico. The major upscale shopping area Galleria is located to the west of downtown, north of the intersection of I-610 and U.S. 59.

Major Roads and Sites of the Houston Area

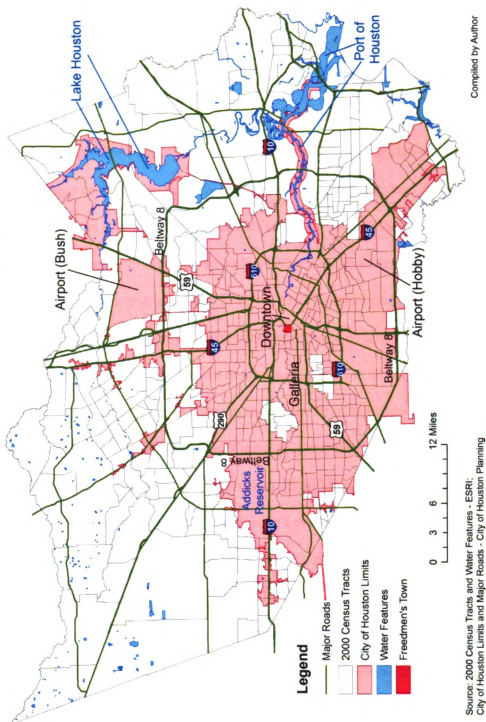


Figure 4.5 – Orientation map of the Houston area

The analysis of the changes that have occurred in Harris County over twenty years has revealed some interesting patterns⁵. These are depicted in the next series of maps—data on population, socioeconomics, ethnic, and housing characteristics—showing change that have occurred between the years 1980 and 2000, as well as the demographic compositions for 2000.⁶ The largest increases in total population have occurred in the western section of the county in a semi-circle pattern around downtown (Figure 4.6). These figures illustrate the direction of suburban growth that has characterized the development of Houston since the 1960s. On the eastern section of this semi-circle are areas of population loss. As will be realized in the coming discussion, these have been the predominately African-American and Hispanic areas of the city.

Many of the areas of suburban growth are the areas that saw the largest number of increases in white population. However, tracts to the northeast of downtown also experienced increases in the white population (Figure 4.7) and fairly large increases in the percentage of population that is white (Figure 4.8). In addition, as can be seen in Figure 4.9, the white population of Harris County is still clustered in specific areas throughout Houston in very high concentrations. The black population also increased in many places throughout the county (Figure 4.10). Although a small section south of downtown appears to have experienced a decline in its black population, as seen in Figure 4.10, an examination reveals that this area—as well as an area northeast and a smaller area northwest of the downtown—maintain very high percentages in the population that is black.

⁵ See Figure 7.1 - Figure 7.5 in Appendix (Ch. 7) for additional maps of change not reference in Ch. 4.

⁶ The maps appear in two different color schemes to more clearly distinguish between the maps showing change from 1980 to 2000 and those that are mapping data from the year 2000.

Change in the Total Population - Harris County 1980-2000

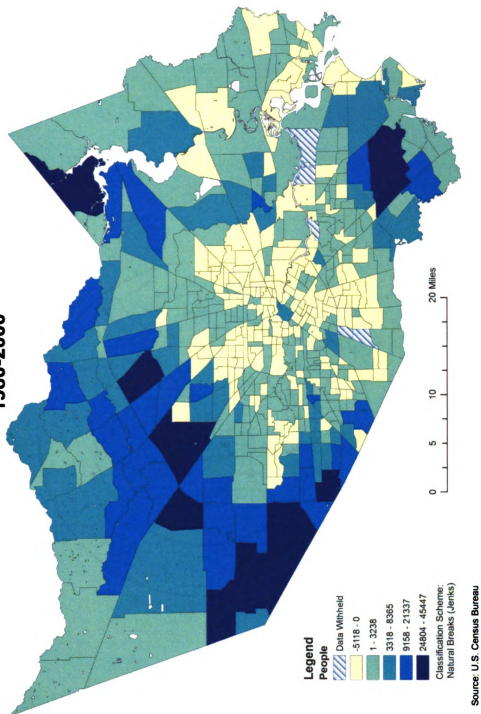


Figure 4.6 – Map of the change in total population – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the White Population - Harris County 1980-2000

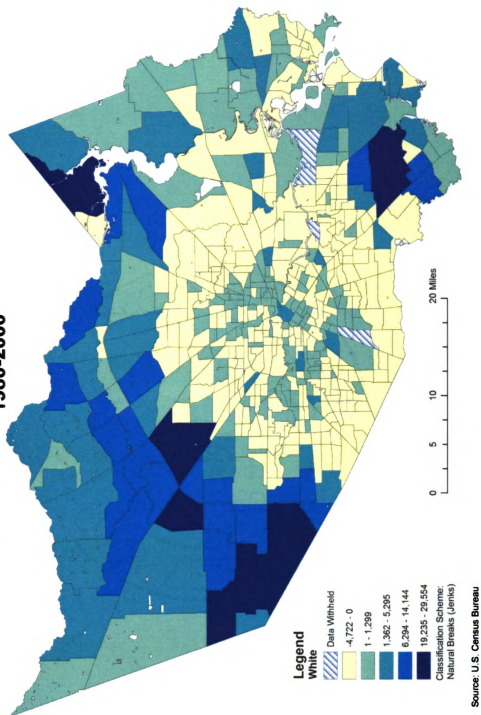


Figure 4.7 – Map of the change in the White population – Harris County, 1980-2000

**Change in the Percentage of Census Tract that is White - Harris County
1980-2000**

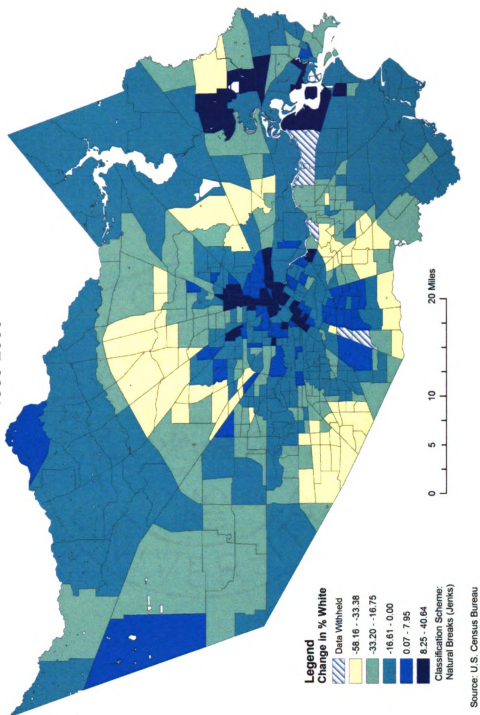


Figure 4.8 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is White – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage of Census Tract that is White - Harris County 2000

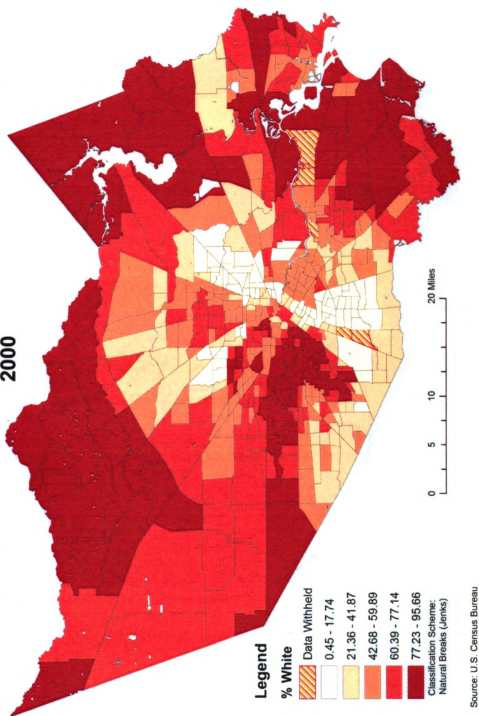


Figure 4.9 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is White – Harris County, 2000

Change in the Black Population - Harris County 1980-2000

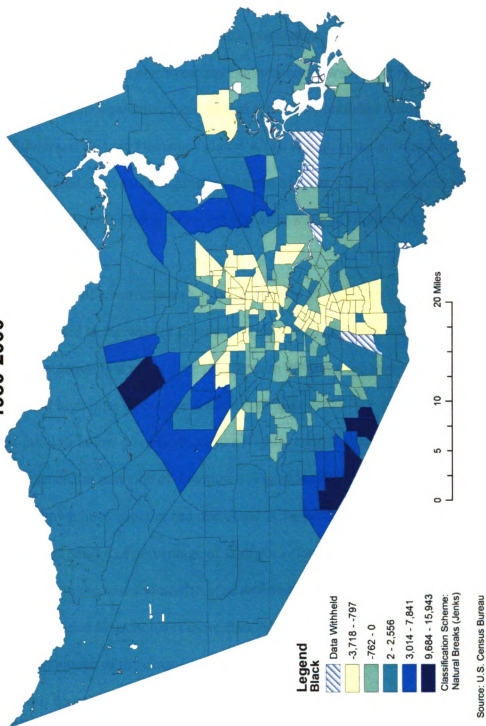


Figure 4.10 – Map of the change in the Black population – Harris County, 1980-2000

The majority of the remaining tracts in Harris County maintain very low percentages of blacks (Figure 4.11). With regard to the Hispanic population, the most significant increases occurred to the north, northwest and northeast of downtown (Figure 4.12), while the area west of the downtown experienced the most significant reductions in the percentage of the tracts that are Hispanic (Figure 4.13). A look at the current ethnic composition of Hispanics reveals a distinctive pattern of areas with large percentages of the population Hispanic to the north and southeast of downtown (Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14).

The percentage of a census tract's population (age 25 and older) that are college graduates has increased to the west of downtown (Figure 4.15). The pattern of percentage of census tract population that are college graduates in 2000 is even more definitive with clusters of low and high rates of college graduates (Figure 4.16). The change in the percentage of families below poverty displays a slightly sporadic pattern but still with a semi-circle pattern on the east side of downtown (Figure 4.17). Places such as downtown and west of downtown have experienced decreases in the percentage of families below poverty. The current pattern of percentage of families below poverty in 2000 is evident with very high rates to the east and northeast of downtown (Figure 4.18). The pattern of change in female-headed households is more even but with many areas showing an increase in the percentage of the census tract's households that are female-headed (Figure 4.19). In 2000 it is observed that areas to the northeast and south of downtown have the

Percentage of Census Tract that is Black - Harris County 2000*

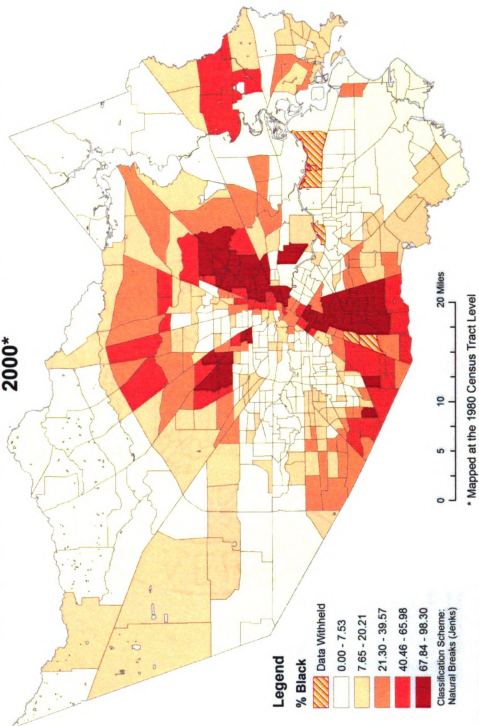


Figure 4.11 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is Black – Harris County, 2000

Change in the Hispanic Population - Harris County 1980-2000

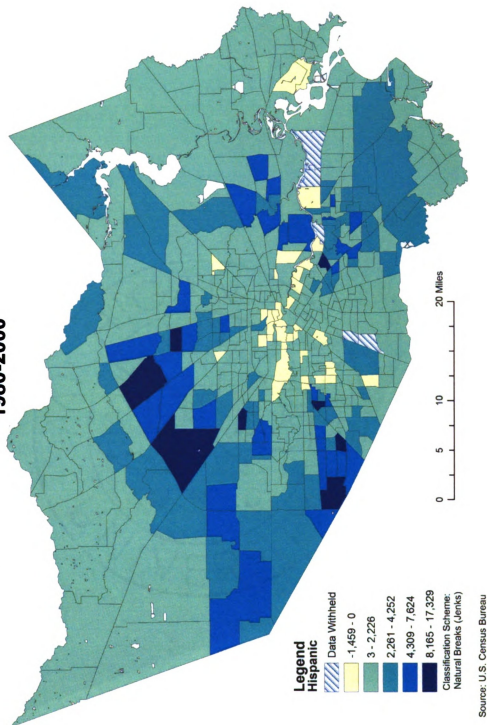


Figure 4.12 – Map of the change in the Hispanic Population – Harris County, 1980-2000

**Change in the Percentage of Census Tract that is Hispanic - Harris County
1980-2000**

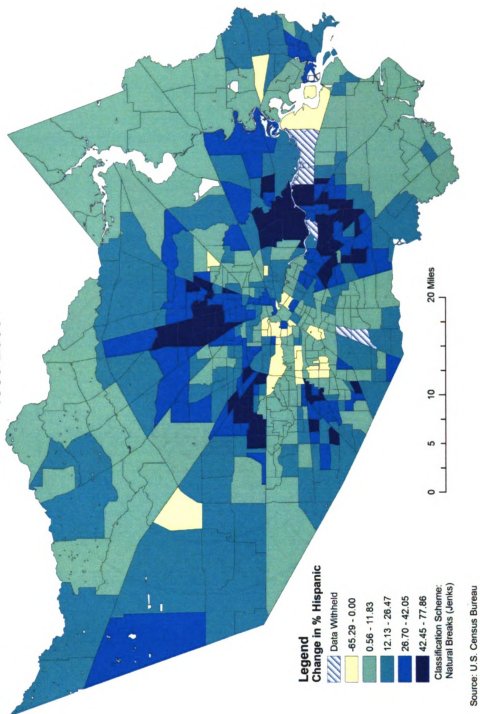


Figure 4.13 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is Hispanic – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage of Census Tract that is Hispanic - Harris County 2000*

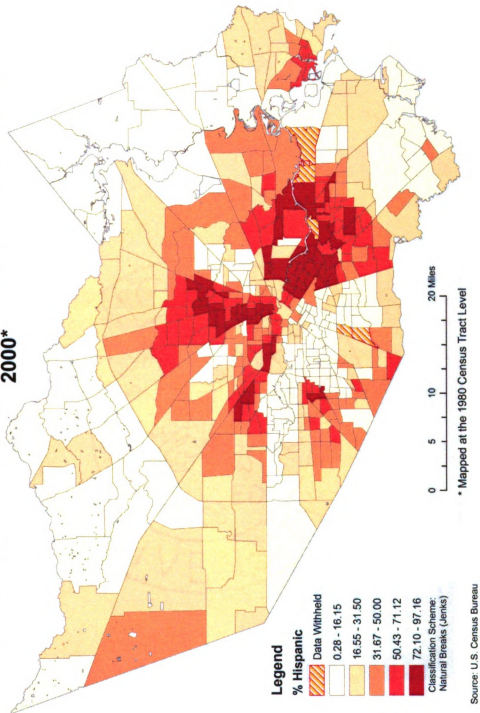


Figure 4.14 – Map of the percentage of census tract that is Hispanic – Harris County, 2000

Change in the Percentage of Census Tract that are College Graduates - Harris County
1980-2000**

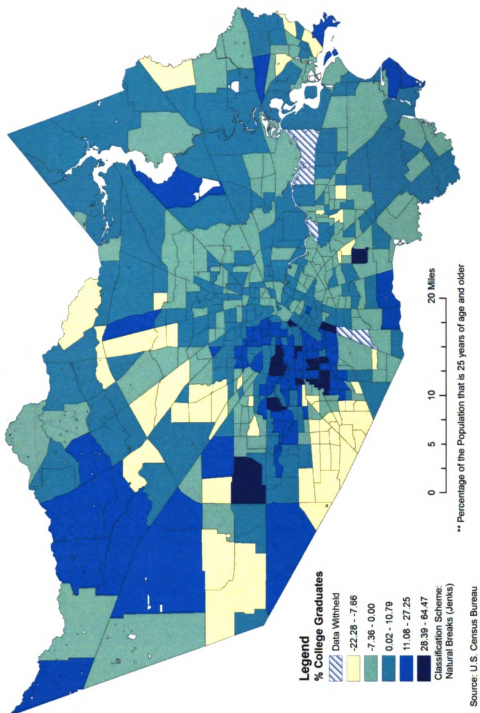


Figure 4.15 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract population (age 25+) that are college graduates – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage of Census Tract that are College Graduates** - Harris County 2000*

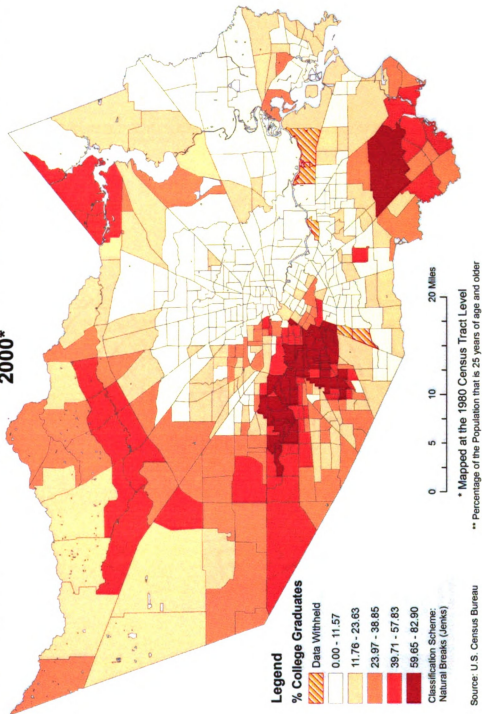


Figure 4.16 – Map of the percentage of census tract population (age 25+) that are college graduates – Harris County, 2000

**Change in the Percentage of Census Tract Families Below Poverty Level - Harris County
1980-2000**

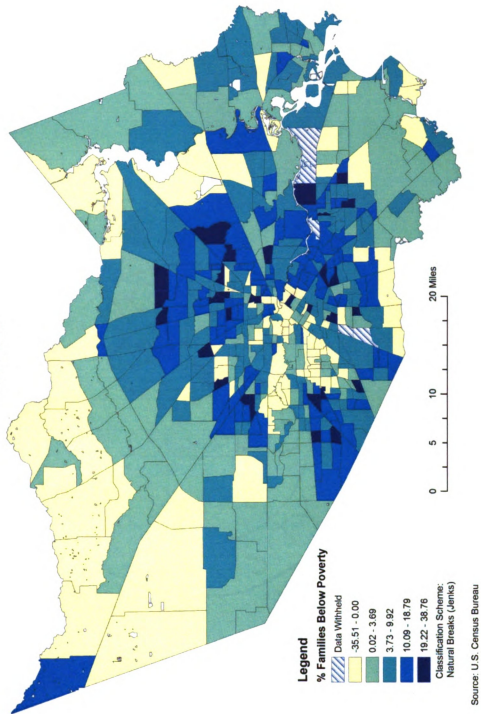


Figure 4.17 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract families that are below the poverty level – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage of Census Tract Families Below Poverty Level - Harris County 2000*

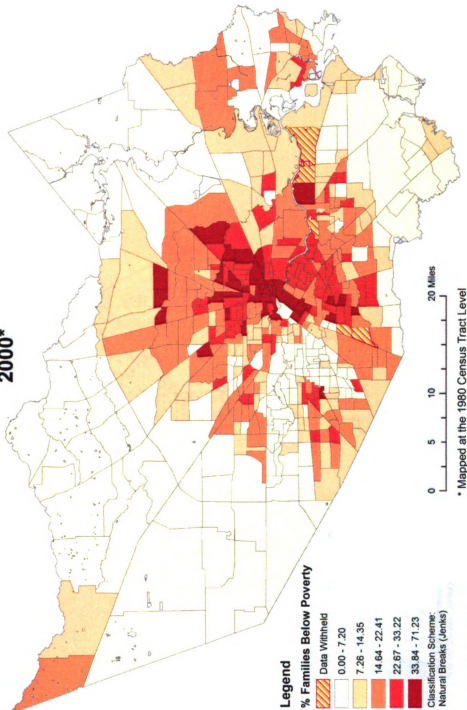


Figure 4.18 – Map of the percentage of census tract families that are below the poverty level – Harris County, 2000

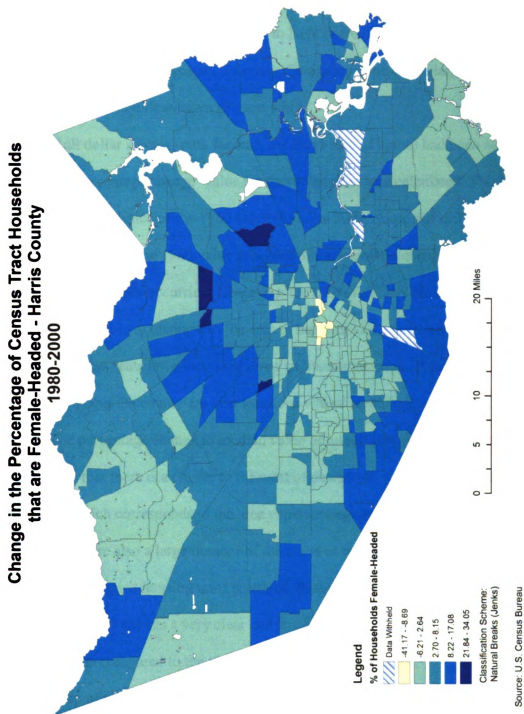


Figure 4.19 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract households that are female-headed – Harris County, 1980-2000

highest percentage of households that are female-headed (Figure 4.20). With regard to welfare programs, many census tracts appear to have decreasing percentages of households receiving public assistance income. However, some of the largest decreases are located in and around downtown (Figure 4.21).

After all dollar figures (rent, income, median value of home) had been adjusted for inflation a 'percentage change' value for these variables was calculated. This was calculated as the difference of the 1980 value from the 2000 value, this difference divided by the 1980 value. With the 1980 value as a base this was able to more accurately depict the changes that had been occurring. Observing the map of percent change in median gross rent, it is possible to distinguish the area to the west and southwest of downtown whose median gross rents have increased more so than other areas (Figure 4.22). Scattered throughout the county are also locations whose median gross rent has decreased. The percentage change in median value of owner-occupied housing (Figure 4.23) illustrates that there is a cluster to the west of downtown with large increases in median value, which corresponds to the area experiencing the largest increase in median gross rent. There are also a large number of the tracts experiencing a decrease in median value of owner-occupied housing units scattered throughout the county. The map of median value in 2000 depicts a very clear and small cluster of census tracts with a very high median value compared to the rest of the county (Figure 4.24).

The map of median household income depicts a similar pattern with the area west of downtown showing an increase as well as areas in the northwest part of the county (Figure 4.25). Two tracts in the group of largest percentage increase in median household income are the Freedmen's Town and Midtown census tracts both experiencing extensive

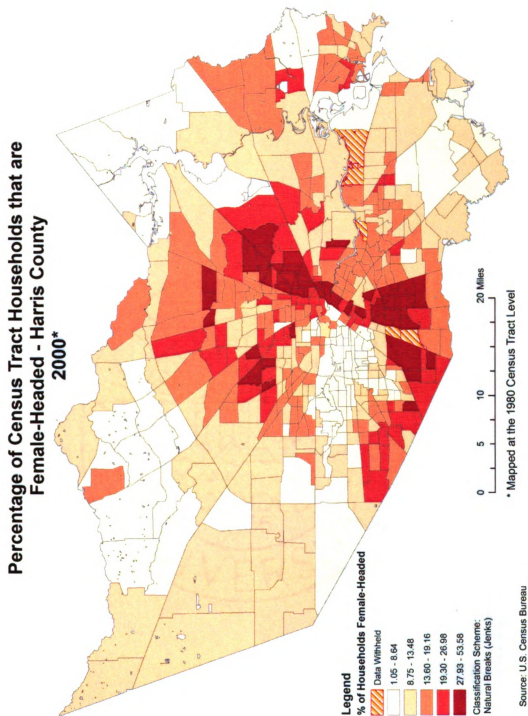


Figure 4.20 – Map of the percentage of census tract households that are female-headed – Harris County, 2000

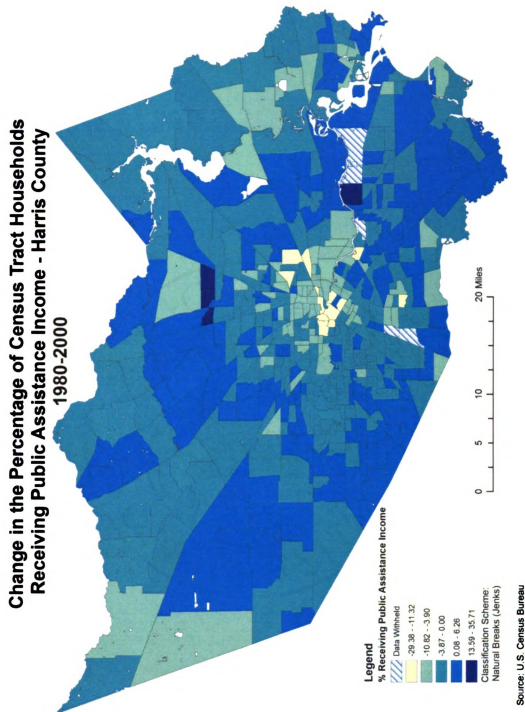
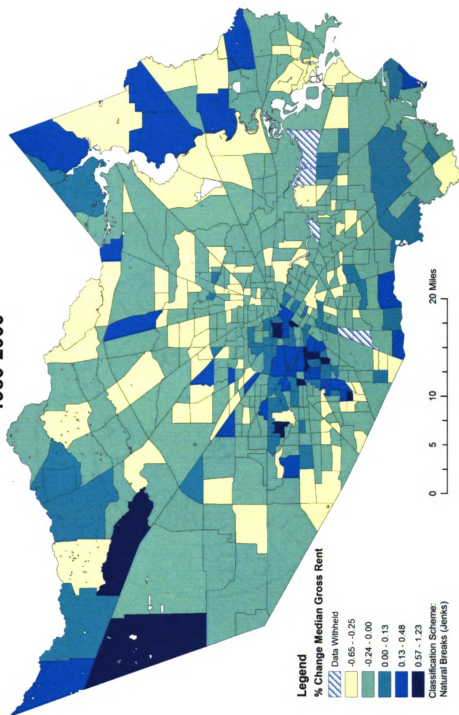


Figure 4.21 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract households receiving public assistance income – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage Change in Median Gross Rent - Harris County 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 4.22 – Map of the percentage change in median gross rent – Harris County, 1980-2000

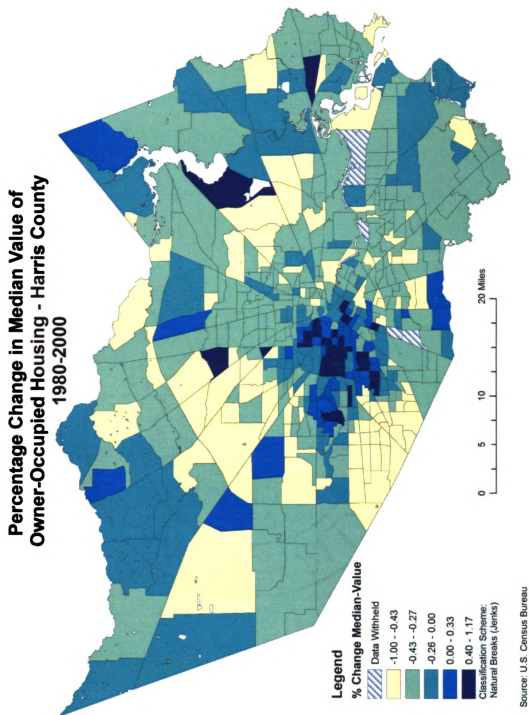


Figure 4.23 – Map of the percentage change in median value of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing - Harris County 2000*

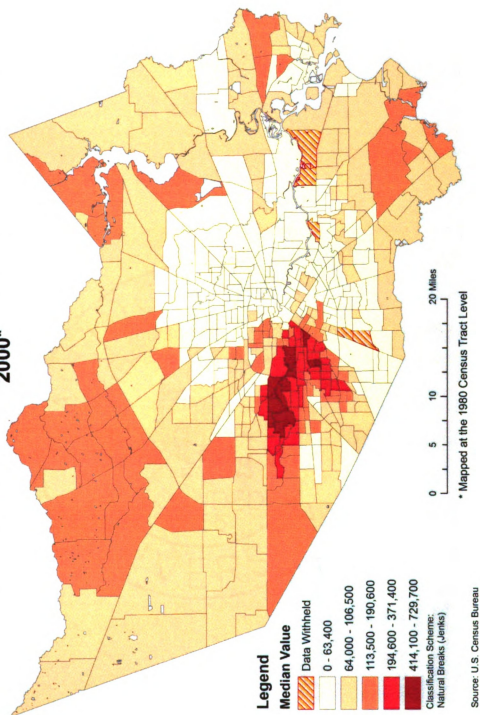
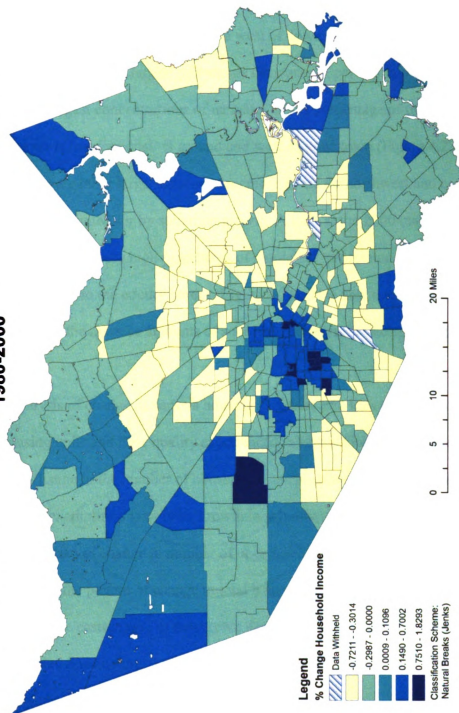


Figure 4.24 – Map of the median value of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

**Percentage Change in Median Household Income - Harris County
1980-2000**



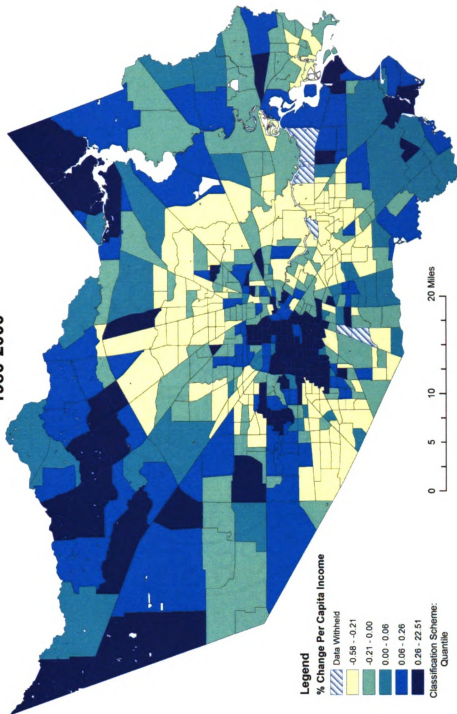
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 4.25 – Map of the percentage change in median household income – Harris County, 1980-2000

revitalization. The mapping of percentage change in per capita income depicts some very large percentage increases in the cluster to the west of downtown with an outer ring of tracts around the city with the largest percentage decreases in per capita income (Figure 4.26). One of the largest concentrations of increases in the percentage of the census tract whose occupation is 'professional' is around and west of downtown (Figure 4.27). Interestingly there are other large sections of increase to the far northwest and east as well, most likely accounted for by suburban growth. A look at the 2000 map depicts a grouping of tracts with a very high percentage of employed 'professional' to the west of downtown all the way to the county border (Figure 4.28). This area corresponds to the location of I-10 and the massive amounts of suburbanization in the western section of Harris County.

The analysis of change in various housing variables provides a picture of the change in housing units and their quality experienced in Harris County from 1980 to 2000. Maps of change in the number of households and housing units depict nearly identical patterns exemplified largely by growth in suburban areas (See Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30). The map of change in number of occupied housing units also corresponds in a similar manner to the pattern of change in total housing units (Figure 4.31). A semi-circle ring around the eastern side of downtown depicts the largest area of decrease in number of occupied housing units. Interestingly the areas of largest change in number of vacant housing units (Figure 4.32) corresponds much to the same areas that exhibited the largest increases in number of total and occupied housing units. In this case I would argue this is still depicting the massive growth seen in the suburban areas. Many of these areas have been right in the middle of their massive growth during this time period which could

Percentage Change in Per Capita Income - Harris County 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 4.26 – Map of the percentage change in per capita income – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the Percentage of Census Tract Employed* whose Occupation is Considered 'Professional'*** - Harris County 1980-2000

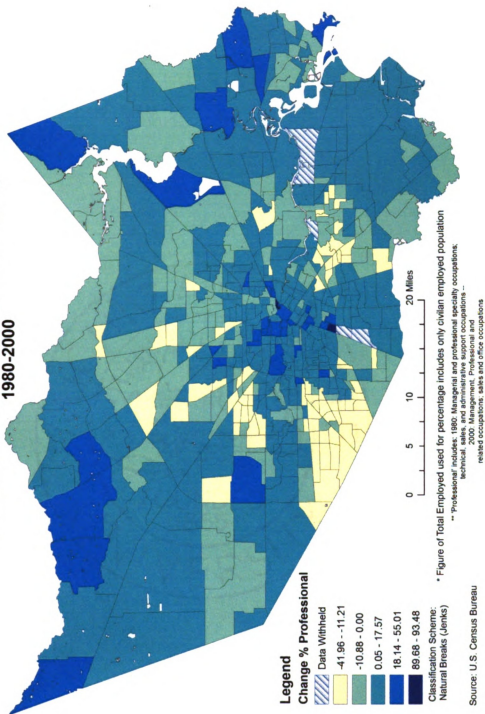


Figure 4.27 – Map of the change in percentage of census tract employed population whose occupation is considered ‘professional’ – Harris County, 1980-2000

Percentage of Census Tract Employed** whose Occupation is Considered 'Professional'*** - Harris County 2000*

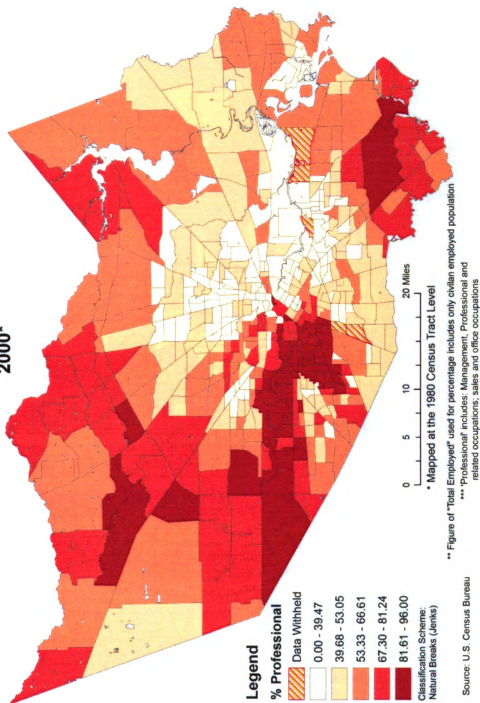


Figure 4.28 – Map of the percentage of census tract employed population whose occupation is considered 'professional' – Harris County, 2000

Change in the Total Number of Households - Harris County 1980-2000

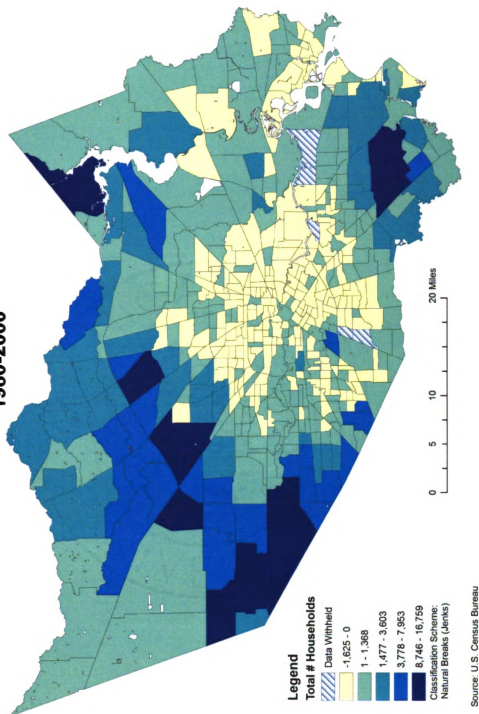


Figure 4.29 – Map of the change in total number of households – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the Total Number of Housing Units - Harris County 1980-2000

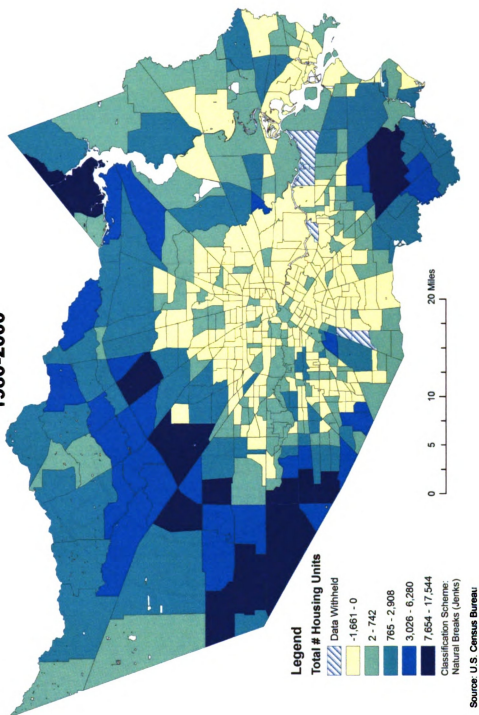
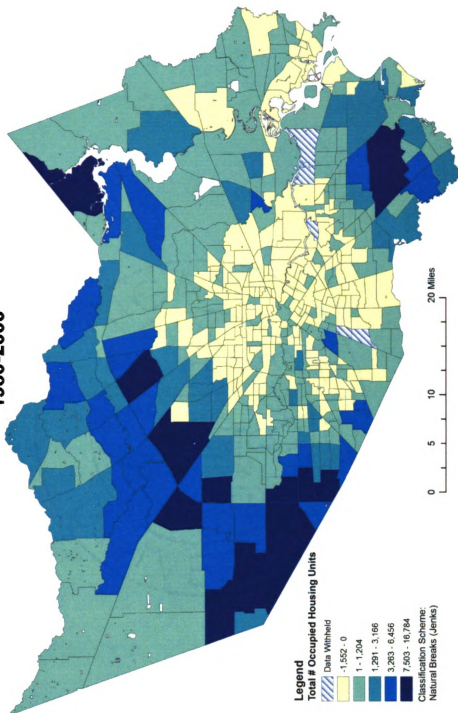


Figure 4.30 – Map of the change in total number of housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the Total Number of Occupied Housing Units - Harris County 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 4.31 – Map of the change in the total number of occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the Total Number of Vacant Housing Units - Harris County 1980-2000

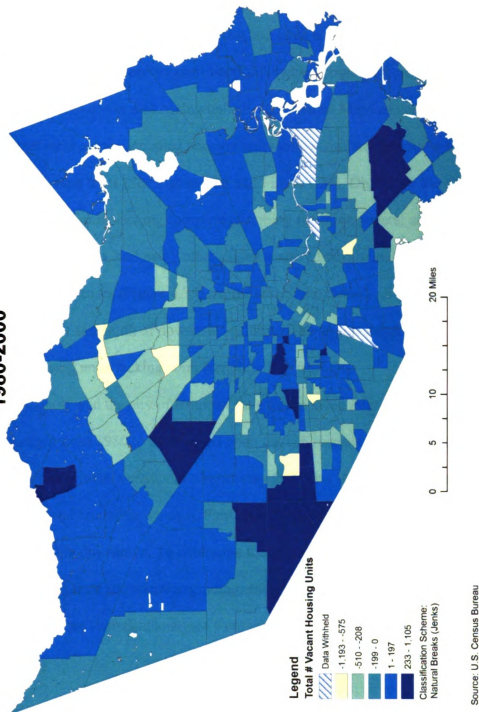


Figure 4.32 – Map of the change in the total number of vacant housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

account for a large increase in total housing units. At the same time as many of the new housing units become occupied, with such a fast and large level of growth, other housing units may remain vacant temporarily until being sold which could account for the relatively large number of vacant housing units in these tracts. Maps of change in the number of renter- and owner-occupied housing units follow similar patterns as seen in the change in total housing units (See Figure 4.33 and Figure 4.34). Observing the change in percentage of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities, several areas around downtown, the new airport, and many other places scattered throughout the county exhibit the largest decreases (Figure 4.35). At the same time though several scattered areas to the northeast and south of downtown exhibited the largest increases in percentage of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities.

Harris County and the city of Houston have experienced interesting and distinctive changes from 1980 to 2000 based upon the U.S. census data. At the same time as rates of suburban growth were continuing at very fast rates, the city was attempting to revitalize areas in and around downtown. Particular changes have been evident within the I-610 loop west of the downtown. To determine the specific areas experiencing the characteristics of physical and social upgrading, and the specific types of changes that had taken place, further statistical analyses were necessary.

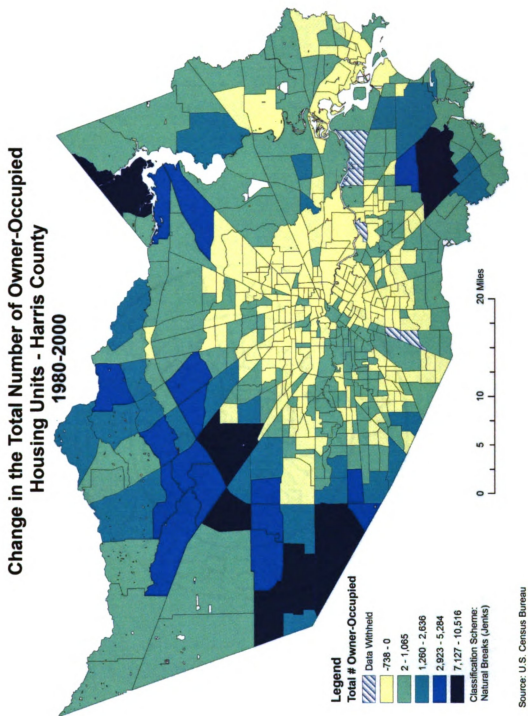
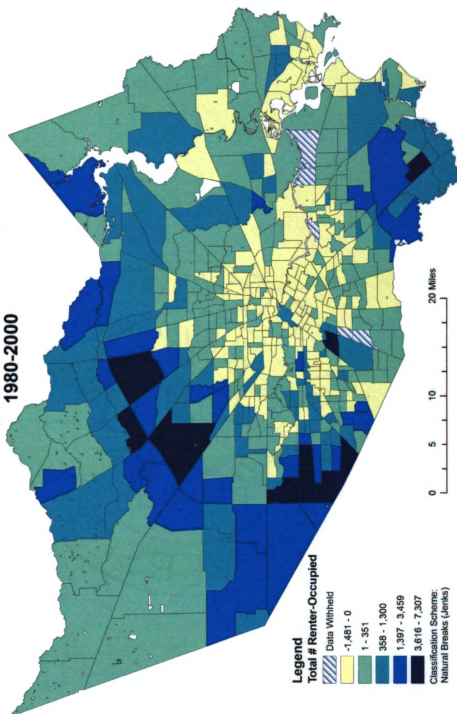


Figure 4.33 – Map of the change in the total number of owner-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

Change in the Total Number of Renter-Occupied Housing Units - Harris County 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 4.34 – Map of the change in the total number of renter-occupied housing units – Harris County, 1980-2000

**Change in the Percentage of Total Housing Units Lacking
Complete Plumbing Facilities - Harris County
1980-2000**

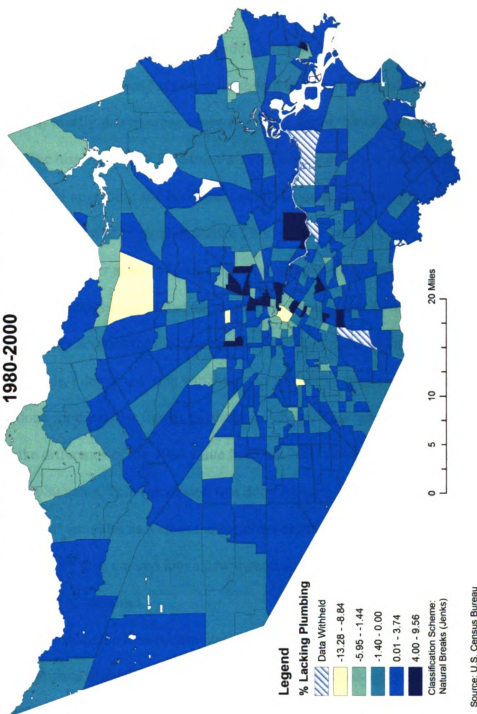


Figure 4.35 – Map of the change in the percentage of total housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities – Harris County, 1980-2000

Principal Components Analysis & Clustering

The processes of revitalization have produced important and complex results. Areas near Houston's downtown have experienced processes of physical and social upgrading such as locally-driven urban renewal, private sector 'block-busting', and gentrification. The historic area of Freedmen's Town has especially experienced large pressure for physical upgrading and residential redevelopment producing the severe effect of the displacement of original residents. This analysis section used statistical analyses to determine other areas in Houston that have experienced similar characteristics of physical and social upgrading as that experienced in Freedmen's Town.

To thoroughly account for the changes that had taken place and standardize the variables of analysis, I converted each variable to its respective 'percentage change' value as was done for the dollar figures as discussed above. This 'percentage change' was calculated as the difference of the 1980 value from the 2000 value, and this difference divided by the 1980 value. This conversion was done for each variable. All of the 'percentage change' variables as well as the variables calculated for 'change in the percentage of...' were then entered into a new dataset for statistical analyses. (See Table 4.2 for complete list of variables.)

In order to reduce the massive amounts of data and detect structure in the dataset, a principal components analysis (PCA) was performed in the statistical program SYSTAT. To determine the number of significant components to extract I experimented with several different factors in a PCA with varimax rotation. Based upon these results seven dimensions were extracted after examining which variables were loading high on specific dimensions and at which point 'noise' began to be produced in the rotation.

Complete List of Variables Used in the Principal Components Analysis

Population Variables

3CP_POP	% Change in Total Population (New)
3CP_WH	% Change in White Population (New)
3CWH	Change in % of Census Tract that is white
3CP_BL	% Change in Black Population (New)
3CBLACK	Change in % of Census Tract that is black
3CP_HISP	% Change in Hispanic Population (New)
3CHISP	Change in % of Census Tract that is Hispanic
3CMDAGE	Median age (years)
3CP_250	% Change in Population 25 years and over (New)

Socioeconomic Variables

3CP_HS	% Change in HS Graduate (New)
3CHSGRAD	Change in the % of CT that are High School Graduates
3CP_CG	% Change in College Graduate (New)
3CCGRAD	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates
3CP_FAMP	% Change in Families below poverty (New)
3CPOVFAM	Change in % of Families below the poverty level
3CFMHH	Change in % of HH that are Female-Headed
3CP_FHH	% Change in Female-Headed Households (New)
3CHHPI	Change in the % of HH Receiving Public As. Income
3CP_HHPI	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income (New)
3CP_MGR	% Change in Median Gross Rent - Adjusted (new)
3CP_MVAL	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. - Adj. (new)
3CP_MHHI	% Change in Median HH Income - Adjusted (New)
3CP_PCI	% Change in Per Capita Income - Adj. (new)
3CPEMP	% Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over: Total (New)
3CP_PRO	% Change in Professional (New)
3CPRO	Change in the % of CT Professional

Housing Variables

3CP_FAM	% Change in the Number of Total Families (New)
3CP_HSLD	% Change in Households (New)
3CP_HU	% Change in Total Housing Units (New)
3CP_OCC	% Change in Occupied HU (New)
3CP_VAC	% Change in Vacant HU (New)
3CP_OWN	% Change in Owner-Occupied HU (New)
3CP_RENT	% Change in Renter-Occupied HU (New)
3CPLM_N	Housing units: Lacking complete plumbing facilities (for % use total housing units)
3CPLUMB	% of Total Housing Units lacking complete plumbing facilities
3CP80HU	% Change in housing units that existed in 1980 and still remain in 2000
3CP80OMI	% Change in total number of owner-occupied housing units whose householder moved in 1980 or before and remained in the same housing unit in 2000
3CP80RMI	% Change in total number of renter-occupied housing units whose householder moved in 1980 or before and remained in the same housing unit in 2000

Table 4.2 – Complete List of Variables Used in Principal Components Analysis

The results from this PCA with varimax rotation are listed in Table 7.1 - Table 7.5 of the Appendix (Chapter 7). For easier visual interpretation, a list of the variables was also created showing their positive or negative loadings for each dimension (Table 4.3). An interpretation of these dimensions is helpful in further analysis of areas experiencing redevelopment and influences of specific variables. This interpretation of dimensions was assisted by the mapping of scores from the PCA. Referencing Table 4.3, I have interpreted this first dimension as an indicator of change in the stage of the life cycle or growth in general in the census tract as has been seen in suburbanizing areas of Houston. The second dimension depicts social upgrading as is often associated with redevelopment. Instead of a race component within this dimension as I was anticipating, there is instead a Hispanic ethnicity component loading negatively. The third dimension depicts the turnover of housing stock and residents as it identifies the owner residents from 1980 that remain in 2000 as well as the actual housing stock that existed in 1980 and still remained in 2000.

The fourth dimension depicts the racial segregation of Houston and the correlation of percentage of a census tract that is black and the number of households receiving public assistance income. The fifth dimension depicts areas experiencing the largest levels of growth in white and total populations as growth in total population is highly correlated with growth in the white population (as indicated by the “percentage change” variable). The sixth dimension I have interpreted as depicting housing change both growth and decline. The seventh dimension depicts physical upgrading of housing units as indicated by the change in number of households lacking complete plumbing facilities.

Dimension 1 - (22.8% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CP_250 - % Change in Population 25 years and over
 3CPEMP - % Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over: Total
 3CP_PRO - % Change in Professional
 3CP_HS - % Change in HS Graduate
 3CP_FHH - % Change in Female-Headed Households
 3CP_RENT - % Change in Renter-Occupied HU
 3CP_FAM - % Change in the Number of Total Families
 3CP_CG - % Change in College Graduate
 3CP_HSLD - % Change in Households
 3CP_OCC - % Change in Occupied Housing Units
 3CP_OWN - % Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units

Dimension 2 - (13.3 % of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CCGRAD - Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates
 3CP_MHHI - % Change in Median HH Income - Adjusted
 3CP_MVAL - % Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. - Adj.
 3CHISP - % Change in Hispanic Population (New)
 3CHSGRAD - Change in the % of CT that are High School Graduates
 3CPRO - Change in the % of CT Professional
 3CP_MGR - % Change in Median Gross Rent - Adjusted
 3CPOVFAM - Change in % of Families below poverty

Dimension 3 - (7.4% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

CP80OMI3 - % Change in Owner-Occ. HU, which householder moved in 1979 or before
 CP_VAC3 - % Change in Vacant HU
 CP80HU3 - % Change in 1980 Housing Stock remaining in 2000

Dimension 4 - (8.53% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CBLACK - Change in % of Census Tract that is black
 3CWH - Change in % of Census Tract that is white
 3CP_HHPI - Change in % of HH Receiving Public Ass. Income
 3CHHPI - % Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income

Dimension 5 - (6.94% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CP_WH - % Change in White Population
 3CP_POP - % Change in Total Population

Dimension 6 - (9.02% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CMDAGE - Change in median age (yrs)
 3CP_HSLD - % Change in Households
 3CP_OCC - % Change in Occupied HU
 3CP_OWN - % Change in Owner-Occupied HU
 3CP_HU - % Change in Total Housing Units

Dimension 7 - (4.73% of total variance)**Negative****Positive**

3CPLM_N - Housing units: Lacking complete plumbing facilities
 3CPLUMB - % of Total Housing Units lacking complete plumbing facilities

Table 4.3 – Loadings from Principal Components Analysis – Varimax Rotation – 7 Dimensions

Using the K-Means clustering process I hoped to group census tracts that were experiencing similar characteristics of physical and social upgrading as Freedmen's Town. But to simplify this process I sought to determine dimensions that were not very well relating to the Freedmen's Town census tract. Eliminating the dimensions that were not related to Freedmen's Town would simplify the clustering process. With score information available for each dimension, the score data was examined to see where the Freedmen's Town census tract was located along the spectrum of scores for each dimension. Dimensions in which the Freedmen's Town census tract was not at either end of the spectrum were going to be eliminated. Based upon the score information, the first and sixth dimensions were excluded from the clustering process.

The K-Means clustering process was used to cluster the census tracts based upon the factor scores from the PCA. To help in determining the number of clusters to be identified for the K-means clustering method, the K-means cluster process was initially run with a range of group values. The values from this output were used to calculate the incremental F-values in hopes of determining the number of clusters to use based upon a possible 'peak' in the incremental F-values. From SYSTAT, the K-means process produces the 'between and within sum-of-squares' and degrees of freedom for each group number that was processed. From these values the incremental F-value was calculated for each group. See Table 4.4 and Figure 4.36 for the worksheet with these calculations and the graph of incremental F-values. Based upon these incremental F-values, nine clusters were identified.

# of Groups	Between SS*	df	Within SS*	Degrees of Freedom	Total SS*	R2	Incremental F
2	358.147	5	2186.853	2540	2545	0.1407	
3	725.305	10	1819.695	2535	2545	0.2850	170.9656
4	1016.111	15	1528.89	2530	2545.001	0.3993	120.8291
5	1147.667	20	1397.333	2525	2545	0.4509	47.8273
6	1307.952	25	1237.048	2520	2545	0.5139	54.8299
7	1575.362	30	969.638	2515	2545	0.6190	99.9912
8	1672.958	35	872.042	2510	2545	0.6574	35.4916
9	1779.129	40	765.871	2505	2545	0.6991	39.0622
10	1816.362	45	728.639	2500	2545.001	0.7137	12.9534
11	1890.758	50	654.243	2495	2545.001	0.7429	26.1954
12	1939.019	55	605.982	2490	2545.001	0.7619	16.8109
13	1973.543	60	571.457	2485	2545	0.7755	11.7670
14	2006.583	65	538.417	2480	2545	0.7884	11.0939
15	2025.703	70	519.298	2475	2545.001	0.7960	6.2099
16	2041.411	75	503.59	2470	2545.001	0.8021	4.9303
17	2058.345	80	486.656	2465	2545.001	0.8088	5.1745

* SS = Sum of Squares

Table 4.4 – Calculations of Incremental F-Values based upon K-Means Clustering Process

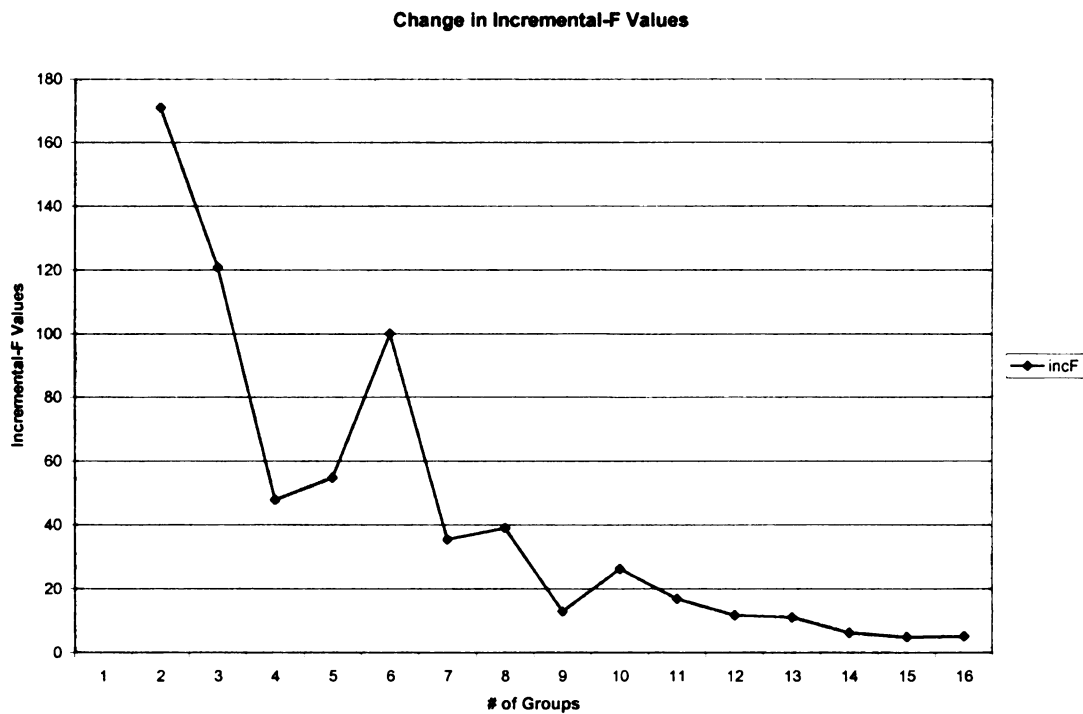


Figure 4.36 – Graph of Change in Incremental F-Values based upon K-Means Clustering Process

In the next step, the nine clusters were mapped to see what tracts had clustered together. Lower and higher cluster values were then used to see how the clusters change and what new patterns of clusters may have developed. Looking at all of the cluster maps I noticed a grouping of tracts immediately west of downtown that was consistently grouping together. Similar to Freedmen's Town this is an area that has experienced characteristics of physical and social upgrading. Observing the maps of clusters I was interested in what tracts were consistently grouping with Freedmen's Town and these surrounding downtown areas of physical and social upgrading. Grouping these tracks of redevelopment together I sought to identify specific areas of the city and county experiencing the characteristics of physical and social upgrading as in Freedmen's Town. Also importantly I hoped to determine the characteristics of these tracts that caused them to cluster together and what types of physical and social upgrading forces had been taking place.

Areas of Houston Experiencing Redevelopment

In total, forty six (46) census tracts in Harris County were consistently grouping together with the Freedmen's Town census tract and the small cluster of redevelopment immediately to the west of downtown. See Figure 4.37 for the locations of these tracts. The data of change experienced by all of these tracts, including the median value of change, is included in Table 7.6 - Table 7.19 of the Appendix. Many of the tracts grouping together were located on the west side of downtown, an area that has been known to have experienced several different forms of physical and social upgrading within the last fifteen years.

Harris County Census Tracts Experiencing Similar Characteristics of Redevelopment as Freedmen's Town

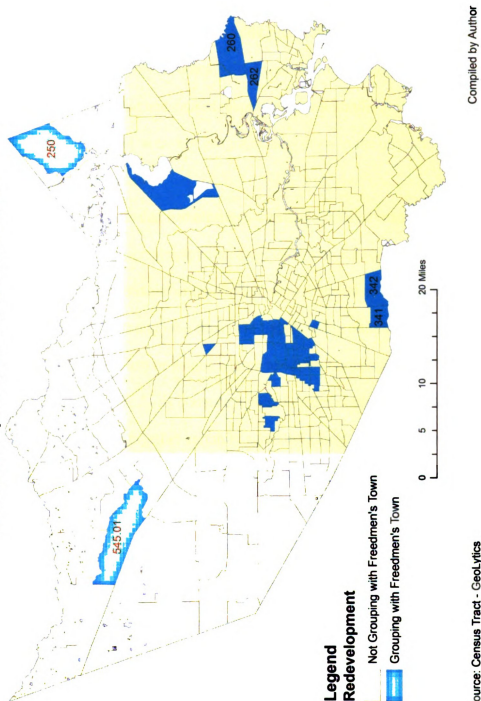


Figure 4.37 – Map of the Harris County census tracts that clustered with Freedmen's Town in experiencing similar characteristics of redevelopment from 1980 to 2000

These tracts and the processes of physical and social upgrading occurring there will be discussed in further detail later in this section. Additionally there were nine tracts located outside of this cluster that was west of downtown. I was also interested in the characteristics of these tracts that had caused them to cluster with this area of redevelopment even though they were not geographically close to the physical and social upgrading tracts west of downtown.

All of the forty six tracts that had clustered together exhibited many of the characteristics of physical and social upgrading associated with redevelopment. Issues such as population increase and racial or ethnicity change were not as consistent or important as was expected. Although the change in total housing units appears to not be consistent as many tracts have lost or gained a large number of housing units, the actual percentage change appears to be fairly consistent with a median value of 3.95%. Overall these tracts that have clustered together certainly and consistently appear to exhibit the characteristics of social and physical upgrading. The number of high school and college graduates and percentage of census tract population (age 25+) that are high school and college graduates all increased substantially. Families below poverty, female-headed households, and households receiving public assistance income also saw decreases both in raw numbers and as percentage of census tract. All monetary indicators have experienced increases, some very large.⁷ Median value of owner-occupied housing units increased a median value of \$46,361 (31.5%) while per capita income increased a median value of \$15,139 (55.5%). Another significant component of social upgrading related to redevelopment is the increase in number and percentage of ‘professional’, or ‘white-

⁷ Recall that all dollar figures have been adjusted for inflation.

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collar' employees. These tracts have all experienced a numerical increase in the number of 'professional' employees as well as a median value increase of 14.15 in the percentage of the employed population in the census tract that is employed in 'professional' occupations.

As would be expected of census tracts experiencing physical and social upgrading, the number and percentage of owner-occupied housing units (as a percentage of the total housing units) experienced an increase, while the number and percentage of renter-occupied housing units decreased. The only variable accurately indicating a change in housing quality, housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities, also saw a median value decrease of .27 in the percentage of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities.

Using census data on housing stock I also observed changes in three variables. First was the number of total 1980 housing units that existed in 1980 and still remained in 2000. Second I calculated the number of housing units, both owner and renter occupied, in which the householder moved in 1979 or before. This allowed a calculation of how many of these housing units with the same householder from 1979 remained in 2000 and therefore become an indicator of turnover in residents. Based upon these data, this grouping of tracks experienced large decreases in the number of housing units that originally existed in 1980 and still remained in 2000. In total this grouping of census tracts experienced a median percentage decrease in total 1980 housing units remaining in 2000 of -31.95 %. Renter-occupied housing units in which the occupant moved in 1979 or before and remained in the year 2000 saw a very large median value decrease of -98.5%. The change in owner-occupied housing units in which the householder moved in

1979 or before and remained in 2000 also saw a large decrease of -75%. This is an indication of the large turnover of residents, both renter and owner, experienced in these neighborhoods.

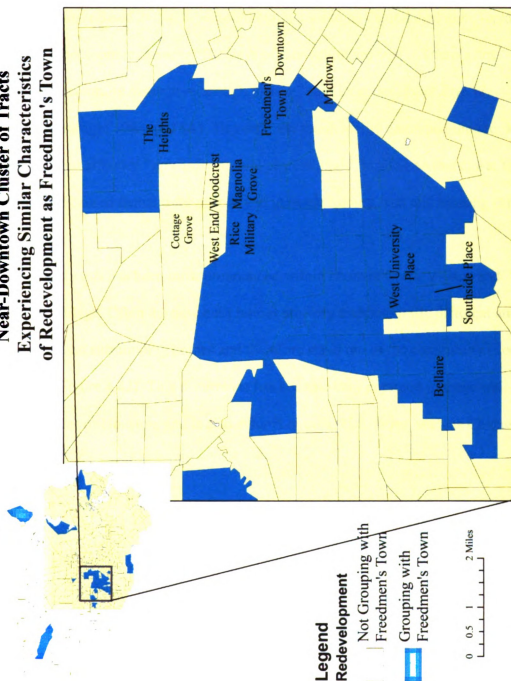
Of additional interest were the tracts located outside of this downtown area that had been recognized for their characteristics of redevelopment. After analyzing the location, recent developments, and the change in data of these tracts it is difficult to generalize what may have caused them to cluster with the original downtown-area redevelopment as they are spread geographically across the county. (See Figure 4.37) Tract 250.00, actually outside the city limits, is adjacent to the upscale and newly annexed area of Kingwood on Lake Houston. Developments have been very recent with improvements of State Highway 2100 and adjacency to such a wealthy area. Located in the city of Baytown, tract 262.00 lies along the improved and expanded Interstate-10. With a new mall built in the early 1980s, this area has seen a large increase in housing units and income. Tracts 341 and 342 are located east of the intersection of State Highway 288 and Beltway 8. This section of Beltway 8 was completed during the mid 1990s and spurred further development in this area. Interestingly this area saw one of the largest percentage increases in black population when combined with a percentage decrease in white population of the 46 tracts. This area, as would be expected because of the clustering, also experienced a significant social upgrading in increases in income and percent 'professional' although still not as large as many of the other tracts in this group. Lastly tract 545.01 in the northwest portion of the county is in part of the county which has experienced large rates of suburbanization. This area known as Cy Fair was already more established than some communities in this area of the county experiencing

suburbanization. I believe it is for this reason that the social upgrading occurring in this area distinguished this census tract from the other tracts in the western part of the county also experiencing suburbanization.

Independent Municipalities

Within the near-downtown location there are four particular areas experiencing characteristics of physical and social upgrading which this chapter will focus upon. Upon further in-person examination, it appears that not all of these 46 census tracts are experiencing what would be described as redevelopment. The separate municipalities of Bellaire (417.01, 417.02, 418.01, and 418.02), West University Place (409.00, 410.00), Hunters Creek Village (440.02), and Bunker Hill Village (440.04) have all grouped together within the 46 tracts of physical and social upgrading. (See Figure 4.3, Figure 4.37, and Figure 4.38 for reference.) These areas are known to be well-established, wealthy enclaves in the Houston area. Within the last ten to fifteen years and continuing to the present these areas have been experiencing what are known as ‘teardowns.’ This term has been used to describe the phenomenon when non-deteriorated, decent-sized, expensive homes in established areas have been torn down to be replaced by even larger, more expensive homes. Even with available land in the suburbs, some people with the means still desire to live in these wealthy, established areas and are willing to pay to build their own new home there (Fischler 1999).

Near-Downtown Cluster of Tracts Experiencing Similar Characteristics of Redevelopment as Freedmen's Town



Compiled by Author

Figure 4.38 – Zoomed-in map of the near-downtown cluster of redevelopment census tracts.

This was first observed in the Houston area in West University in the early 1980s as rising land values caused 2- and 3-bedroom bungalows to be demolished to be replaced with 5- and 6-bedroom mansions. “The days of renovation are over... There’s not anything architecturally distinctive enough to save” said local developer Eric W. Leibrock (Cronkright 1983, p. 16A). This separate municipality contained unique ‘small town’ charm that attracted “upwardly mobile professionals” looking to live closer to downtown and caused demand for property to increase forcing land and housing prices skyward.

Recently this has been most pronounced within Hunters Creek Village and Bunker Hill Village. Often the new built homes are very architecturally different and larger in size than surrounding homes and therefore stand out in the community (See Figure 4.39 - Figure 4.42). This occurrence has become very common in these well-established areas of Houston, and is also evident in other U.S. cities, such as Chicago and Boston.



Figure 4.39 - A ‘teardown’ in progress within the separate municipality of Bunker Hill Village. Notice the smaller housing next door. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.40 - Example of some of the original housing that occupied these areas. Houses of this size and style are often what are being torn down to be replaced by larger homes. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.41 - A new, larger home being built to replace a smaller home torn down in the separate municipality of Hunters Creek Village. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.42 - A new, larger home being built to replace a smaller home torn down in the separate municipality of Hunters Creek Village. (Source: Author)

Observing Tables 4.5 of the median changes in these independent municipality tracts we are able to put together a picture of the changes that have taken place here. Overall the population changes have been very small with slight increases in black and Hispanic populations. The remaining characteristics appear to correspond well with physical and social upgrading of the areas. Families below poverty and households receiving public assistance income have decreased while figures such as income, education and percent 'professional' have increased. Being in proximity to the areas experiencing physical and social upgrading in Houston, there has been an increased demand for properties in these municipalities, making them even more exclusive than before. This area is an interesting case in the sense that while this area has experienced characteristics of physical and social upgrading associated with redevelopment, it was not considered a place of deterioration prior to this period of upgrading. In these separate municipalities, the neighborhoods have experienced a different scale of physical and social upgrading. These upscale areas have become even more upscale and wealthy. Instead of experiencing redevelopment as it would be commonly considered, these areas have instead experienced extensive further social upgrading of its citizens in the area of wealth and education and physical upgrading of its homes.

Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families below poverty
210	5.91%	7	0.45%	76.99%	29	-7	-33.11%

% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
20.51%	41.96%	50.69%	82.01%	-82.98%	15.00%	10

Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total Housing Units	Change in Owner-Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units	Change in Renter-Occupied housing units	% Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
-5	-0.32%	76	5.54%	-67	-27.21%	-539	-41.26%	-863
								-74.70%

Tables 4.5 – Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Independent Municipalities. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)

The Heights

Based upon the data seen in Table 7.6 - Table 7.19 of the Appendix, a group of eight tracts is identifiable directly to the northwest of downtown—an area known as The Heights—that is experiencing similar forces of redevelopment as Freedmen’s Town. (Tracts 506.01, 506.02, 507.01, 511.00, 512.00, and 513.00, See Figure 4.38) This area contains architecturally unique housing largely built in the 1920s and 1930s. With overall rising transportation costs (including increasing levels of congestion), this area of unique housing styles (contrasting to the suburban housing lacking detail and originality) and ideal near-downtown location has become attractive to professionals and those searching for unique housing options (Figure 4.43 - Figure 4.48).

From 1980 to 2000 this area exhibited the characteristics of physical and social upgrading, but involving a mix of new housing construction and gentrification, as moderate and upper-income professionals have been refurbishing the traditional working-class dwellings. Although most of the area lost total population and total housing units, the area saw high levels of increase in housing unit ownership (in percentage of census tract occupied housing units that are owner-occupied) as well as very large percentage increase in median value of owner-occupied housing units and per capita income. (See Tables 4.6) The area experienced a large decrease in percentage of housing units that are renter-occupied (-5.16 median value decrease in percentage) while the percentage of housing units owner-occupied increased a median value of 5.16. Also importantly this area experienced an increase in percentage of census tract employed whose occupation is considered ‘professional’ with a median increase in percentage of 24.62 (343 people).

One characteristic of gentrification that is difficult to interpret from the dataset is the physical improvements that have occurred in the area. Most of the area did experience a decrease in the percentage of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities. This physical upgrading process was also observed through the early 2000s and continuing to the present (Figure 4.43- Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.43 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.44 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.45 - Older housing stock that has been renovated and gentrified in The Heights (on the right) with new two-story construction on the left. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)



Figure 4.46 – New upscale housing being constructed in The Heights. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)



Figure 4.47 - Architecturally-unique housing being physically upgraded in the gentrifying area of The Heights. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.48 - Architecturally-unique housing being physically upgraded in the gentrifying area of The Heights. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)

Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families below poverty
-1271	-19.36%	-387	-17.06%	139.58%	22	-41	-26.33%

% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
0.58%	49.83%	29.99%	70.07%	-76.21%	24.62%	22

Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total Housing Units	Change in Owner-Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units	Change in Renter-Occupied housing units	% Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
-488	-15.98%	-26	-1.85%	-328	-22.71%	-790	-31.60%	-849	-75.53%

Tables 4.6 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up The Heights. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)

Rice Military/Magnolia Grove

Another distinctive area experiencing redevelopment lies immediately to the northeast of the exclusive, upscale River Oaks neighborhood. Consisting of two census tracts, 515.01 and 515.02, the residential areas of this redevelopment cluster are known as Rice Military and Magnolia Grove respectively (Figure 4.38). The Rice Military census tract is largely occupied by Memorial Park and its golf course with the east side of the tract occupied by residential developments. Within the last ten years this residential area has experienced some refurbishment of its unique and older, deteriorated housing (similar to that experienced in The Heights). But also in this area there has been much new construction of housing units. This new construction is in the form of upscale townhomes and condominiums and has taken place in areas of prior housing which has meant the private acquisition and clearing of private land for development.

Observing Tables 4.7 it appears this area is experiencing interesting characteristics of redevelopment similar to what was seen in The Heights such as a total population decline. (See Table 7.6 - Table 7.19 of the Appendix for full datasets.) But the area has also seen large decreases in percentage of occupied housing units that are renter and increases in education levels, income, and percent of employed population whose occupation are considered 'professional'. Figure 4.49 - Figure 4.55 depict some of the physical improvements that have continued through the present. New construction (replacement of older housing units) has become very apparent in this area and is increasing quickly simply based upon several subsequent visual inspections.



Figure 4.49 - New, upscale townhomes being built in the Rice-Military area. The remaining house next door is typical of original housing of this area that has largely been replaced. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.50 - Deteriorated housing in the Rice Military area mostly likely awaiting demolition to be replaced with upscale housing. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.51 – New, upscale townhomes being built in the Rice-Military area.
(Source: Author)



Figure 4.52 – Sign advertising the newly-built townhomes in the Rice-Military area.
(Source: Author)



Figure 4.53 - Older housing stock remaining in the redeveloping Rice-Military area.
(Source: Author)



Figure 4.54 - Older deteriorated commercial property remaining in Rice-Military.
Next door encroach the construction of new upscale townhomes. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.55 – Deteriorated housing, most likely awaiting demolition, in the Rice-Military area with upscale townhomes in the background. (Source: Author)

Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families below poverty
-421	-13.37%	159	5.67%	160.29%	26	-25	-14.19%

% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Value of Owner- Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
5.89%	79.61%	32.99%	110.53%	-84.76%	49.51%	21

Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total Housing Units	Change in Owner- Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner- Occupied Housing Units	Change in Renter- Occupied housing units	% Change in Renter- Occupied Housing Units	Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
323	12.83%	316	39.37%	-169	-14.54%	-646	-32.93%	-377	-68.65%

Tables 4.7 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)

Of added interest there are also several tracts due north of this area that have also experienced very recent physical and social upgrading. Tracts 514.02 and 516.02 are considered the West End/Woodcrest neighborhoods while the eastern section of 516.01 is considered the Cottage Grove neighborhood. (See Figure 4.38) This upgrading process has mostly been seen in the construction of new upscale housing. This process is very recent, largely within the last three years based upon visual survey of the area, research of construction data, and discussions with neighbors. Prior to this new construction, many parts of this area were, and still are, considered deteriorated. With housing values low because of the deteriorated housing stock, and attractive location inside the I-610 Loop and near upscale neighborhoods and shopping, this area has become attractive to private developers who purchase and clear out land for development. Figure 4.56 - Figure 4.63 depict some of the current deteriorated housing stock and new upscale construction. Because of the very recent nature of the physical and social upgrading occurring in these two neighborhoods, it is not surprising that these areas did not group with the other redevelopment tracts as the last year of census data analysis was 2000. With the collection of the 2010 Census I speculate these tracts will show distinctive characteristics of the physical and social upgrading as depicted in this present analysis.



Figure 4.56 - Older housing in Cottage Grove area similar to what is being demolished for newer upscale construction. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.57 - Older housing awaiting demolition in the Cottage Grove area. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.58 - Older housing and newer construction in the Cottage Grove area experiencing forces of urban renewal and private-sector 'blockbusting'. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.59 - Older, deteriorated housing remaining next to a large empty lot awaiting development. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.60 - Older housing dwarfed in size by new townhome construction in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.61 - Older housing dwarfed in size by new townhome construction in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.62 - New townhome construction next to older trailer-style housing in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.63 – Newly constructed two-story, single-family rowhouses in Cottage Grove. (Source: Author)

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Freedmen's Town

Finally is a discussion of the Freedmen's Town census tract which, as mentioned, has been under constant threat of physical and social upgrading. This redevelopment has slowly been occurring since 1980, but has accelerated during the late 1990s. This is seen not only in the data (Table 7.6 - Table 7.19 of the Appendix) but also in continuing physical surveys of the area since 2001. Observing the location of the Freedmen's Town census tract along the spectrum of scores from the dimensions of the PCA also helps to explain the scope and magnitude of the changes that have been occurring in this area.

The area exhibited several interesting characteristics that differed from the other redevelopment tracts. From 1980 to 2000 the tract experienced a 75% decrease in population which was the largest of the redevelopment tracts. Much of this population loss was black residents (-3718, 85.4% decrease). (See Tables 4.8) Although the tract only saw a white population increase of 14 people, this time period has seen the percentage of census tract that is white increase 30.2% to now represent 40.3% of the total tract population. Freedmen's Town is at the very negative end (most negative score) of the scores for the fourth dimension exhibiting the highest rates of change in black population, which is correlated to the percent of households receiving public assistance income. Interestingly this tract has seen a large percentage increase in Hispanic population (23.8%) although this has only translated into a small total increase of 168 Hispanic people indicating a very small Hispanic population in 1980.

Although the tract did experience a decrease in the number of high school (-468) and college graduates (-13), the percentages of the census tract that were high school and college graduates increased modestly because of such a large decrease in population age

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25 years and older (-2,393, 69% decrease) which is used as the base in the calculation of percentage graduates. The tract experienced large increases in median household income (\$13,795, 125.9%) and per capita income (\$7,568, 126.3%). (See Tables 4.9) Along the spectrum of scores for the second dimension, Freedmen's Town is very near the positive end (32 tracts from the positive end) exhibiting a large level of social upgrading exemplified by increases in education and income levels.

Interestingly the tract also saw a significant decrease in the median value of owner-occupied housing units (-\$31,003, 36.7% decrease) while also experiencing an increase in median gross rent (\$68.65, 25.5%). (See Tables 4.9) While most of the 46 tracts experienced an increase in median value of owner-occupied housing units as would be expected with areas experiencing processes of physical and social upgrading, I believe the Freedmen's Town tract is in the middle of this upgrading process which is partially accounted for by this decrease in median value. With the construction of new upscale developments that have been observed in the area, it would be expected that the 2010 census will show a much larger increase in median value. The increases in education levels (% of the census tract), combined with income and money increases, and an increase in percentage of census tract employed 'professionally' caused this tract to become grouped with the tracts of physical and social upgrading.

An important point of change in this tract is exemplified by the decrease in total housing units (-65%), and owner (-68%) and renter (-69%) occupied housing units all of which were the largest percentage decreases of the forty six redevelopment tracts. This is important as the area has experienced a large amount of destruction and demolition of its deteriorated housing stock and most of which has been replaced by upper-income

housing. Other areas of the tract now sit vacant after the clearing of older housing and await construction of new units. This aspect of redevelopment is difficult to quantify in the census data but is easily seen upon visual survey of the census tract. This aspect can slightly be seen in the variable of housing units built 1980 or before that still existed in 2000. Freedmen's Town lost 2,139 of those housing units, an 83.7% decrease, the largest decrease of the 46 tracts. Along the spectrum of scores of the third dimension, Freedmen's Town is again very near the negative end (second lowest score) depicting the large turnover in residents who are owners and housing units that had existed in 1980. This supports the observation of the large level of resident turnover and demolition of housing units. The city's land use and demographic profile released in June 2003 revealed this Fourth Ward area to have some of the highest rates of demolition and new construction permitting in the city indicating intense residential redevelopment (City of Houston 2003a, p. 4-11).

The tract also saw a substantial decrease in renter-occupied housing units that had been occupied since 1979 or before (-2105, 99.3% decrease). As part of the physical upgrading of this area, the Freedmen's Town census tract is near the negative end of the spectrum of scores (forty-second from the negative end) for the seventh dimension depicting the upgrading of housing units by decreases in housing units lacking plumbing facilities. The recent physical upgrading of Freedmen's Town (especially since the 2000 census) is depicted in photographs taken over the past four years (Figure 4.64 - Figure 4.71).

Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	White Population (#) Change	% Change in White Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is white	Black Population (#) Change	% Change in Black Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is Black
-5118	-74.45%	14	2.02%	30.223	-3718	-85.35%	-27.037

Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families below poverty
-1625	-70.53%	-9.85%	7.35	-664	-87.37%

Tables 4.8 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)

% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
25.58%	-36.73%	125.94%	126.29%	-93.54%	-5.71%	19.51

Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total housing Units	Change in Owner-Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units	Change in Renter-Occupied housing units	% Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
-1661	-64.96%	-71	-68.27%	-1481	-69.63%	-2139	-83.69%	-96
								-94.12%

Tables 4.9 - Change in U.S. Census data (median values) from 1980-2000 for the tracts that make up the Rice-Military/Magnolia Grove area. (U.S. Census Bureau 1983, 1993, 2005)



Figure 4.64 – Boarded homes awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)



Figure 4.65 – Boarded homes awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)



Figure 4.66 – Newly-constructed homes across the street from deteriorating ‘shotgun-style’ homes in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Igor Vojnovic)



Figure 4.67 – Upscale lofts of the ‘Urban Lofts’ development being constructed in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.68 – Boarded housing awaiting demolition in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.69 – Boarded housing adjacent to a burned-out shell of a home and newly-constructed, upscale townhomes in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.70 – Early stages of construction of new housing adjacent to deteriorating housing in Freedmen's Town. (Source: Author)



Figure 4.71 – New housing being constructed across from the historic 1926 Gregory School building in Freedmen's Town. (Source: Author)

This area is especially significant and deserving of further discussion for several reasons. The area is important for its historical significance as one of the first settlements of freed blacks in Houston following the Civil War. After becoming one of the concentration points of black professionals this area slowly became extremely poor with a deteriorating housing stock. One of the poorest places in the city of Houston at one time, this area has continually come into conflict with the city on several specific occasions. Recently the demand for upscale housing near downtown has increased causing increased public and private pressure to redevelop this area directly adjacent to downtown. This pressure has meant the eviction and displacement of many of the poorest blacks in the city with nearly no resources or compensation for relocation. It is for these reasons that this Freedmen's Town area, its land conflicts, and eventual residential displacement and redevelopment will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

An interesting point to note is that in this city with a population that is 37.4% Hispanic (in 2000), the Hispanic population group has not appeared to have played a large part in the upgrading process of these neighborhoods. The change in Hispanic population only appeared on one dimension (#2) with a low loading. (See Table 4.3 & Table 7.3) Not only have the areas that have been upgraded not been predominately Hispanic prior to upgrading, but Hispanics have not appeared to have been a large part of this upgrading process as of current. As the Hispanic population continues to rise in the Houston area, this aspect of upgrading would certainly require additional research as to the very specific groups of people participating in the upgrading processes.

Conclusion

Using statistical analyses we have been able to use census data to determine the amounts and types of population, ethnic, housing, and socioeconomic change that has occurred in Harris County between 1980 and 2000. This has led to a clustering of tracts that have experienced physical and social upgrading characteristics associated with redevelopment. This clustering mainly focused on tracts around and west of downtown. This analysis corresponds to visual surveys of these areas and the physical and social changes that have been and are taking place. These areas, while experiencing similar characteristics of redevelopment as Freedmen's Town, have experienced slightly different processes of physical upgrading.

As can be seen from this overview, it is the particular built environment and housing stock characteristics that encourage specific typologies of physical and social upgrading. Areas such as The Heights, with its unique and attractive architecture building styles, have experienced gentrification as well as private housing construction. The Rice Military area has experienced more characteristics of private-sector 'block-busting' but only in pockets spread throughout the area. While in Freedmen's Town, poor residents have been displaced in large scale as the area's historic near-downtown location has attracted public and private development interests who have cleared out large tracts of land for upscale residential developments. This displacement of poor, minority residents and disregard of the area's historical significance—particularly in a political environment in which the city of Houston officials have devoted considerable resources to celebrating historical and ethnic neighborhoods—merits further investigation into the conflicts and changes that have taken place in this area of Freedmen's Town.

5 FREEDMEN'S TOWN

Brief History of the settlement of Freedmen's Town area

The first blacks in Houston arrived as slaves, largely supporting area plantations producing cotton and sugar cane. In the city of Houston most slaves worked as house servants, laborers on docks and warehouses, and some even as skilled craftsmen such as blacksmiths and carpenters. These 'urban' slaves tended to enjoy a comparable freedom in the city, for instance some were hired out by their masters who allowed some slaves to keep a sum of money for their wages. This relative freedom provided blacks with the opportunity to establish the beginnings of their own communities including churches and moderate social gatherings (Wintz 1984).

By the census of 1850, blacks represented 22% of the city's population, with 98.87% of them being slaves (See Table 5.1). The total black population rose from 533 to 1,077 in 1860, although they still represented 22% of the city's population. Freedom came to the slaves of Texas on June 19, 1865 with the arrival of the Union troops at Galveston Island. In the months following emancipation, thousands of former plantation slaves poured into Houston, with the black population rising from 1,077 in 1860 to 3,691 in 1870 (U.S. Census Bureau 1864, 1872). Searching for inexpensive housing most freed slaves settled on the outskirts of the city in the third, fourth, and fifth wards in the south, southwest and northeast sections of early Houston respectively⁸ (Figure 5.1).

⁸ The ward system had been established in the city charter of 1839 as a political system in which each ward elected two aldermen and would remain the political division system of the city until 1906.

Early City of Houston Population									
	Total Population	Total White	Total Black	Percentage White	Percentage Black	Free Colored		Slaves	
						Males	Females	Males	Females
1850	2,396	1,863	533	77.75%	22.25%	1	5	223	304
1860	4,845	3,768	1,077	77.77%	22.23%	1	7	502	567
1870	9,382	5,691	3,691	60.66%	39.34%				
1st ward	738	488	250	66.12%	33.88%				
2nd ward	1,638	1,164	474	71.06%	28.94%				
3rd ward	2,812	1,737	1,075	61.77%	38.23%				
4th ward	3,055	1,741	1,314	56.99%	43.01%				
5th ward	1,139	561	578	49.25%	50.75%				

Table 5.1 – Early population growth in Houston, TX (U.S. Census Bureau 1853, 1864, 1872)

Original Houston Wards, circa late 1800s

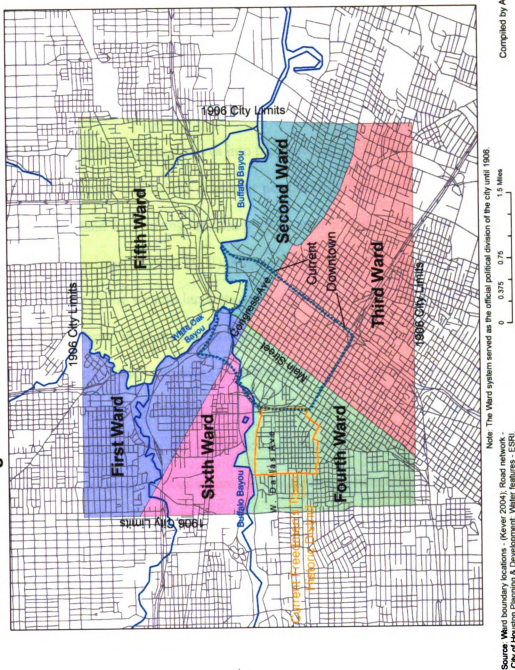


Figure 5.1 – Map of original Houston wards.

The area in the Fourth Ward west of Main Street and stretching along San Felipe Street (currently W. Dallas) attracted the largest number of new black residents and would become known as Freedmen's Town. This area attracted the African-American community for two reasons. First this area was on the San Felipe Road connecting the city with the plantations of the Brazos River area, and therefore situated the Fourth Ward on the major route bringing freed slaves into the city. Also, many white farm owners on the outskirts of the city realized the economic possibilities that existed and began subdividing their land for housing lots and rental houses to accommodate the rapidly growing black population (Wintz 2002). Many of these settlers were forced to live along the Buffalo Bayou where swamp land, stagnant water, and marshes had to be filled with nearly six feet of dirt to raise the land and produce stable grounds for building homes (Houston Progressive 2000). Housing consisted of mostly one-story frame residences, rows of cheap 'shotgun-style' houses, and several two-story tenements (Figure 5.2 & Figure 5.3). The prevalent 'shotgun-style' housing became characteristic of this area and was common along the Gulf Coast where its historical significance could be traced to blacks in Haiti and to their homelands in Africa (Texas Historical Commission 1985).



Figure 5.2 – Freedmen's Town 'shotgun-style' housing (Source: Author)



Figure 5.3 – Freedmen's Town Housing (Source: Author)

Development and Success of Freedmen's Town

The black population of the Fourth Ward continued to grow in size, and the community continued to expand physically during this period in the latter-half of the nineteenth century. Most developments spread west with the highest concentration of residences in the eastern part of the ward in what is now the western section of downtown. This area also housed the first black churches, schools, and political organizations in the area. Black Methodists began worshipping in their own church in 1851, which erected a permanent building in 1867 and became the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. This church along with Antioch Baptist Church were to become two of the most important and famous African-American churches in Houston (Wintz 2002). Antioch Baptist's first full-time pastor was the Reverend John Henry "Jack" Yates who arrived in Houston as a slave in 1865. He would become one of the earliest identifiable and most prominent residents of Freedmen's Town by strongly encouraging and promoting education and private home ownership within the African-American community. Churches were also involved in various civil, social, and political matters including the organization of the Harris County Republican Club in 1869 and the purchase of land for a park for blacks in 1872.

Another stabilizing and important factor of the Freedmen's Town community was the school system. The first evidence of a school for the African-American community was a private school operating in the black Methodist church in the late 1850s. Freed slaves had established the first public schools for blacks in the late 1860s, and by 1870 the post-Civil War Freedmen's Bureau schools setup to assist freed slaves consolidated at the Gregory School located in the Fourth Ward. As a result of the institute, Harris County

had the largest number of black students in school in Texas in 1871, with 734 males and 760 females (Wintz 2002). A few years later, the public school system of Houston was in place with separate schools for blacks and whites in each ward and in September 1876 the Gregory Institute became the black high school in the Fourth Ward. Also Reverend Yates worked with white missionaries to move the Houston College to its own piece of land in the Fourth Ward on San Felipe. This college sought to educate African-American youth and train them for the ministry (Wintz 1990). Over one hundred years later, the Gregory Institute and Antioch Baptist church are two of several important institutes in the conflict of redevelopment of Freedmen's Town and the Fourth Ward.

The Fourth Ward continued in its prosperity throughout the late 19th century and early 20th century as the economic, cultural, and intellectual center of the African-American community in Houston. Through the early 1900s, the Fourth Ward housed a disproportionate share of the city's black professionals, including doctors, dentists, teachers, and lawyers, and was home to over 80% of the city's black professional establishments (Figure 5.4) (Wintz 1990). In 1915, all but one of the city's black doctors and dentists, as well as 75% of the black attorneys were clustered in the downtown section of the Fourth Ward (Red Book 1915). The first medical facilities for African-Americans opened in the Fourth Ward in 1910, with the opening of the Union Hospital by black physicians unable to practice at the city's white hospitals.

In the 1920s, this successful community centered on West Dallas Avenue became known as Houston's "Harlem", containing numerous successful nightclubs, bars, jazz venues, and restaurants that were frequently visited by Houston's white citizens (Figure 5.5) (House 1998). After originally operating in a high school room for over six years, the



Figure 5.4 – Picture of the Houston Black Chamber of Commerce established in the Fourth Ward. (Source: <http://www.houstonhistory.com/ethnic/history2blacks.htm>)



Figure 5.5 – Snapshot of active daily life along W. Dallas Avenue in the Fourth Ward from around the 1940s. (Source: <http://houstonhistory.com/decades/history5k.htm>)

Carnegie Library for blacks opened on San Felipe in 1913, with building funds donated by Andrew Carnegie. The Fourth Ward even had its own community facility, the Pilgrim Temple, which provided office space for Houston's black population, their social and cultural events, and the office of the Houston Citizens Chamber of Commerce (Bullard 1987).

Beginning in the 1920s, the Fourth Ward began to lose some of its preeminence as the Third Ward surpassed the Fourth Ward in black population and began to attract more black institutions. But the Fourth Ward's dominant position in the early history of black Houston was not determined by the number of blacks who lived there, as it was never home to more than one-third of the city's black population. The Fourth Ward's dominant position was due to the fact that until the 1920s it housed many of the city's black businesses and professionals, and was the location of the most significant African-American institutions around which black Houstonians would organize their lives and confront the economic and social realities of Houston (Wintz 1990).

Early Conflicts of Space

While the community was experiencing considerable success in its growth and development, the Fourth Ward was beginning to face increasing struggles and conflicts beginning largely in the 1920s. Increased pressures of segregation, downtown expansion, and the construction of a public housing project, would slowly tear the Fourth Ward and the Freedmen's Town community apart. Although Houston never implemented a city ordinance segregating the residential areas of the city, blacks arriving in the city following the Civil War tended to congregate in particular areas of the city, leading to the

emergence of well-defined black enclaves and neighborhoods (Wintz 1984). When the City Planning Commission's recommendation for strict segregation zoning was not accepted in 1929, it was instead implemented on a *de facto* basis through deed and housing restrictions (House 1998). Blacks began to lose ownership of the Freedmen's Town in the 1920s, which continued into the 1930s with the expansion of Houston's downtown.

As the Fourth Ward lost its preeminence to the Third Ward in the 1920s, the Fourth Ward faced the added difficulty that its ability to physically expand was severely limited by surrounding new developments. In addition, throughout this period, the Fourth Ward had difficulty attracting new residents and also began to lose its more affluent residents to new housing developments, further weakening the stability of the community (Wintz 1990). Basic services provided by the city were also in poor condition, or non-existent, compared to most other areas of the city. A 1929 report by the National Urban League indicated that many of the streets of the Fourth Ward were unpaved and/or full of large holes, making travel difficult. The streets also filled with water because of the lack of storm sewers, and the city on the whole was not providing basic services to the city's black population (Texas Historical Commission 1985, House 1998). A housing study by the city's housing authority in the late 1930s revealed this Fourth Ward area to have the poorest housing conditions in the city as well as the lowest rates of owner-occupancy (Housing Authority of the City of Houston 1939).

In the 1930s new pressures emerged from downtown businesses and civic developments, as the Houston urban core expanded outward. From its initial beginnings near Main and Congress, the downtown expanded southwest, and in the process displaced

Fourth Ward families and divided the community (Figure 5.6). One of the major developments included what would eventually be called the Civic Center, which centered around the new city hall, completed in 1939 as part of the Works Project Administration during the Depression. This ten-story neoclassical building has served as the center of the city government through the present (Figure 5.7). To the west of the city hall lies the city's first park, Sam Houston Park, which opened in 1899 (Figure 5.8). Immediately north of the park was the Sam Houston Coliseum, completed in 1937 (Figure 5.9). It served as a showhouse, and was used for the famous Houston Rodeo and as a convention and exhibition hall until its demolition in June 1998. An additional wing of the Coliseum was the Music Hall, which was home to the various musical groups of the city including the symphony (Federal Works Agency 1942, Miller 1982). During the current period of downtown revitalization, the site of the Coliseum would become home to the new Hobby Center for the Performing Arts, which was completed in 2002.

The 1930s and 1940s were also a period of intense road and highway construction through Houston's downtown. The construction of the Gulf Freeway—which divided the Fourth Ward in half—connected the Houston area to the city of Galveston on the Gulf of Mexico. This physical division of Freedmen's Town would have huge repercussions on the stability of the community. The Gulf Freeway would become part of Interstate 45 in the 1950s, and the elevated portions of the Interstate would further divide the community and separate it from Houston's city-center (Figure 5.6 & Figure 5.10). The construction of this elevated highway meant the destruction of many residences and businesses, including the Pilgrim Temple community facility.

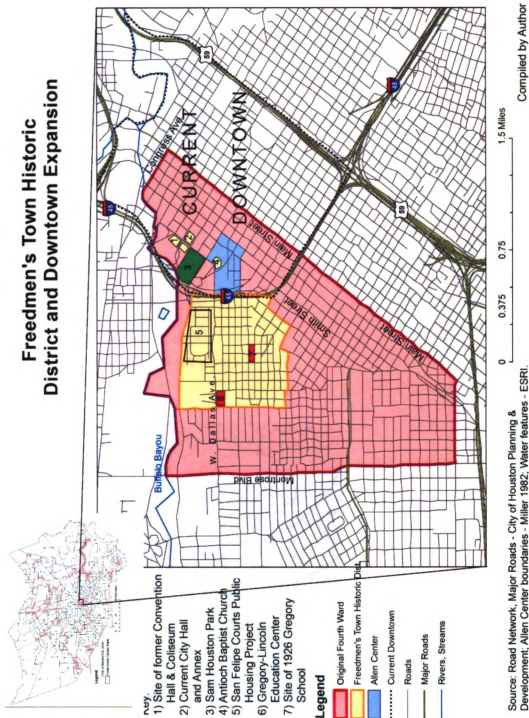


Figure 5.6 – Map of Fourth Ward and downtown expansion projects



Figure 5.7 – City Hall (Source: Author)



Figure 5.8 – Sam Houston Park, west of City Hall (Source: Author)



Figure 5.9 - Sam Houston Coliseum (site of the current Hobby Center for the Performing Arts built in 2002) (Source: <http://www.houstonhockey.net/page9.html>)



2071 Houston: Construction of IH 45 elevated section o

Figure 5.10 – Conversion of Gulf Freeway into Interstate 45 (Source: http://www.texasfreeway.com/houston/historic/photos/houston_historic_photos.shtml)

Further land was taken for massive downtown developments during the 1960s. Work on the city's second official convention center was begun in 1966 just north of the Civic Center. With the construction of a third convention center in 1987, the Albert Thomas Convention Center would be redeveloped into a nightlife and entertainment center in 1997, as discussed in chapter three (Figure 3.32 & Figure 5.11). Also opening in this area in 1966 was the Jesse H. Jones Hall for the Performing Arts, which served as the home for the city's symphony, ballet, and opera (Figure 3.29). In 1970 work also began on an 18-acre commercial development called the Allen Center, in an area between Smith Street and I-45 just south of the Civic Center (Figure 5.6). Land immediately south of this new development was also taken in the 1960s for commercial developments of the Cullen Center (Miller 1982). This large land area had been part of the Fourth Ward until the construction of the elevated freeway cut off this portion of the community. The Allen Center destroyed any remaining residential structures and sense of community that remained in the downtown part of the Fourth Ward. All that remains as a reminder of the original community in this area is the Antioch Baptist Church, which sits in the middle of a large cluster of glass commercial high-rises (Figure 5.6 & Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.11 - Un-redeveloped western Section of the former Albert Thomas Convention Center (Source: Author)



Figure 5.12 – Antioch Baptist Church in the midst of the modern glass skyscrapers of the Allen Center (Source: Author)

Another devastating impact on Freedmen's Town was the development of the San Felipe Courts public housing project in the early 1940s (Figure 5.6, Figure 5.13, and Figure 5.14). This project cleared nearly 40 acres of the oldest area of Freedmen's Town in a slum clearance project that replaced poor black families with white families. The National Housing Act of 1937 established the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA), as a division of the Public Works Administration, to fund up to 90% of the construction costs of slum clearance type public housing projects. By January 1938 the Housing Authority of the City of Houston (HACH) had been created. Between 1939 and 1941, HACH had built 2,215 public housing units in four main complexes that were segregated racially and ethnically. San Felipe Courts, the largest USHA housing complex completed in Texas in the 1940s, was the only slum-clearance type development of the original four public housing projects in Houston (Texas Historical Commission 1988).

This particular area west of downtown had been coming under increasing development pressures throughout the 1930s. In 1926, a park was built along the Buffalo Bayou, connecting the newly built Civic Center in downtown to the newly planned model garden suburb of River Oaks to the west of Freedmen's Town. This caused the low-income areas of northern Freedmen's Town to gain increased unwelcome prominence, as it bordered this park and the west-east corridor road of what would become Allen Parkway. As noted by the Texas Historical Commission, the San Felipe Courts were "intended to replace a too-conspicuously located slum neighborhood in order to tie together architecturally one of Houston's most important civic corridors" (Texas Historical Commission 1988, p. 5). In the Housing Authority's first annual report in 1940, the authority states:



Figure 5.13 – San Felipe Courts public housing project (currently Allen Parkway Village) (Source: Author)



Figure 5.14 – Original San Felipe Courts public housing project housing. Currently named the Historic Oaks of Allen Parkway Village (Source: Author)

[i]ts principal goals has been to redesign and reconstruct the old San Felipe district. This has been for years a section in which hundreds of families have lived under the worst of substandard conditions. This section lies almost under the shadow of Houston's magnificent new two million dollar city hall, and has heretofore defied all attempts that have been made to beautify or modernize it. The Authority plans to build one of its major projects for White families in this old area. In addition to the building of hundreds of new modern residential structures, it will construct a beautifully landscaped 150 foot parkway along Buffalo Drive (Allen Parkway) and adjoining Houston's civic center. This will replace one of Houston's undesirable residential sections with one of the finest beauty spots in the South, and will enhance the beauty of Houston's principal scenic drive (Houston Public Housing Program 1940, p. 9).

The thirty-seven acre site that would become the San Felipe public housing project was acquired by eminent domain and cleared in 1940 displacing the poorest blacks in the area and destroying nearly seventy years of history in the oldest section of Freedmen's Town, settled by the first of the freed slaves.⁹ Part of this land clearance project was also the removal of a historic cemetery of over 400 human remains, most of which were original settlers of Freedmen's Town, to make way for the construction of the housing project. All of these actions increased tensions between the black community and the housing authority. In fact, in the original discussions with the residents, the housing authority assured Freedmen's Town residents that they would be provided with housing opportunities in the new development (Texas Historical Commission 1988).

The project was built in two phases, one of 564 units completed in 1942 and the second of 436 units completed between 1943 and 1944. Great difficulties arose in 1941 when the U.S. officially entered World War II. Because of increasing war demands and limited resources, the San Felipe Courts housing project had to be designated as defense housing in order to be completed. This status required the housing be reserved for white-

⁹ In addition to the map (Figure 5.6), see also the completed public housing project at the bottom right-hand corner of Figure 5.10 for reference.

only war defense workers and military families (Texas Historical Commission 1988, Ghirardo 2003). A chain-link and brick fence was erected to separate the white housing project from the predominantly-black surrounding neighborhoods (Ghirardo 2003). Although a notorious slum neighborhood was cleared, it did not benefit those who formerly had lived in that neighborhood because of their forced displacement. The housing project remained all-white until the end of legal racial segregation in 1964.

Declining State of the Community

The struggles for Freedmen's Town and San Felipe Courts continued into the 1970s and 1980s, as the community physically eroded with declining home ownership and declining level of services provided by the city. By 1980 the inhabitants of the Fourth Ward were largely renters, elderly, black, and poor (Bullard 1987). (See Table 5.2 - Table 5.5.) The emerging new demographic patterns, and the rising number of residents that were renters, impaired the strength and stability of the community and furthered its decline. It also made the residents of the Fourth Ward increasingly prone to displacement, at a time when the city and developers began to engage in new efforts to capitalize on the areas' ideal near-downtown location.

During the 1970s, seeking to legitimize the destruction and demolition of the Fourth Ward neighborhood, local newspaper editors and city leaders would describe the area as a 'blighted neighborhood' or as a 'bleak collection of shacks' (Feagin 1988). Although many houses had fallen into disrepair, because of absentee landlords and failure of the city to provide services, a vibrant community held together by various religious

and community organizations was desperately attempting to hold on to what was left of their neighborhood.

As a mid-1970s evaluation by the city's Planning department revealed, the provision of public services to the Fourth Ward and its minority population continued to be below average (City of Houston 1979). As well as containing many old and inadequate sewer lines, one of the sewer districts serving the area was operating far above capacity and the area had serious storm drainage and flooding problems (Feagin 1988). Basic infrastructure facilities in the central city had been inadequately maintained and were aging rapidly. In a 1978 federal development grant application, city officials even admitted how deteriorated the central city neighborhoods had become:

The city, in its efforts to keep up with the tremendous growth of population and land areas away from the inner city, has been unable to maintain and upgrade the infrastructure of the inner city. These inner-city neighborhoods (lying in the intermediate zone between the Central Business District and the outlying fringe) are plagued by inadequate infrastructures (including unpaved streets, inadequate water and sewer capacity, nonexistent street lighting, decaying telephone and electrical lines) which are not adequately maintained and which negate locational advantages these areas may have to attract private investment (City of Houston 1978, p. 12).

The San Felipe Courts public housing project became predominantly-black, following desegregation in 1964, and was renamed the Allen Parkway Village (APV). The condition of the sturdy and well-built units began to deteriorate in the 1960s and continued to decline through the 1970s and 1980s, with decreasing funds available for repairs. Local government funds were directed away from the housing project allowing deterioration to progress at an accelerated rate (Cuff 1985). By the late 1970s, the land values in downtown were soaring and the strategic location of the APV public housing project once again put the area into a new land conflict, as it was now again an attractive

potential development site. HACH utilized a strategy used by other housing authorities to deceptively exaggerate the poor conditions of the housing project. They let recently vacant housing units remain empty (not replacing outgoing residents even when there were large numbers of people on public housing waiting lists), letting the units fall prey to vandalism, and perhaps most importantly, failing to repair the dwellings. In addition, the housing authority would board up units along major thoroughfares, such as the Allen Parkway, to create the idea of the housing project as an 'eyesore' to citizens of Houston (Cuff 1985, Ghirardo 2003). As citizens would journey to downtown from Houston's most affluent residential areas west of Freedmen's Town, they would encounter signs of physical decay and neglect that to them would appear beyond repair. HACH hoped these actions would create the public pressure they needed to tear down the project and develop the land at a higher use and rent.

Moreover, beginning largely in the mid-1970s, the housing authority actively selected Orientals, mostly refugees from Vietnam, over blacks in the process of selecting new residents. It was assumed that in the event that the housing project could be demolished, destroying a housing project that housed Oriental refugees would arouse less opposition and cause less political fallout in Houston, than demolishing a complex housing African-Americans (Bullard 1992).

In 1977 HACH began seeking approval to demolish the Allen Parkway Village from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), thereby making the units ineligible for federal money for repairs and further compounding the difficulties experienced in the area. By 1985 over 50% of the units at Allen Parkway Village were vacant as the city's housing authority would not fill vacant units (Cuff 1985). Many

residents and activists have long maintained that there has been a specific developer or business leader behind the pressure to clear the APV (Ghirardo 2003). Tremendous speculation has plagued this area as many developers have seen the Fourth Ward and Allen Parkway Village as the next big development area in Houston.

In addition, as discussed in the chapter on Houston, despite the city's claim to minimal government involvement, the private sector has historically been extensively subsidized. In the case of Houston's redevelopment efforts during the late-1970s, it was the developers who did not pay for the full costs associated with the land clearing and preparation for developments in neighborhoods proximate to the downtown. In the Fourth Ward area surrounding APV, landlords made deals with the Director of Planning and Development, Efaim S. Garcia, to have the local and federal government pay large amounts of money to "clear and improve the land" (Ghirardo 2003, p. 107). The taxpayers here again have paid a large portion of this land clearance and redevelopment. However, with the real estate bust of the 1980s, pressure for development in the Fourth Ward and Allen Parkway Village diminished temporarily.

Looking back to the 1980s, several researchers have identified various signs and events that signaled the massive redevelopment of the Fourth Ward was near at hand (Bullard 1987). The first was the decision by HACH to demolish the Allen Parkway Village, which originally covered more than thirty-seven acres. Second was the decision by the Harris County Hospital district to relocate the medical facilities from the Jefferson Davis Hospital to a new location in northeast Houston in the late 1980s. This historic building, built in 1938, was the site of the nation's first trauma center and helped provide quality healthcare to those in the area, and specifically the African-American community.

The building sat vacant until being demolished in the mid-1990s and the site is currently being used for the construction of a branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas.

Another important development was the lifting by the EPA of a sewer moratorium in the inner-city and the completion of a new city street sewage treatment plant that would greatly increase the capacity for inner-city development. All of these events, as well as shifts in the consumer economy and labor markets, once again placed added pressure on this historic near-downtown community.

Recent Pressures for Development & Conflicts of Space

Beginning largely in the mid-1990s, with a whole new intensity, the local government of Houston began focusing on redeveloping its downtown through a series of projects and physical improvement initiatives, as discussed in chapter three. With a new interest in downtown residential living emerging in the 1990s, the demand for land in Houston's downtown and surrounding areas began to increase. This new interest in downtown living became evident with a growing number of new construction projects such as upscale loft and townhouse construction in downtown, and south and west of downtown. The increased demand for near-downtown housing placed renewed pressure on historic Freedmen's Town. Residents were brought into a new round of conflicts over land with developers and the city government, whose sole interest was the physical and social upgrading of this ideal near-downtown location. Since this period in the mid-1990s, Freedmen's Town has experienced private-sector 'block-busting' and locally-driven urban renewal programs, as the original homes were cleared for development and new, upscale housing projects were initiated in the area.

Allen Parkway Village

In 1988 the APV was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the San Felipe Courts Historic District (Texas Historical Commission 1988). With rising demand for downtown and surrounding property again in the early to mid-1990s, pressure once again increased upon this historic public housing project. In 1995 a formal request for demolition was submitted to HUD. In June 1996 the residents of APV were forcibly evicted from their public housing units with 250 armed officers. By September 1996 demolition was approved for 700 units while 300 were to remain for rehabilitation. In 1993 HACH was granted a \$36 million federal HOPE VI grant to be used to complete the new housing project that would total 500 units—half the number of housing units available in the original project. The new public housing project would consist of 236 rehabilitated units in the existing residential buildings and 264 newly constructed residential units (Housing Research Foundation 2001).

During the demolition project nearly 400 human remains were discovered among burial shafts. The remains are believed to be part of a local African-American cemetery dating from 1879 to 1908. These were thought to be part of the original removal of buried remains that occurred during the original construction of the public housing project in the early 1940s. This further angered the African-American community as well as the decision to remove the remaining bodies in order to continue the projects (Houston Progressive 2000). The remaining original housing units sat vacant for over two and a half years before being restored and remodeled. The destruction of this community and the plight of its residents is a continuing story in the Fourth Ward as development pressures continue to increase.

With HOPE VI funds to provide rent subsidies in other parts of the city and to further de-concentrate public housing, the story of Allen Parkway Village has come to a short pause while the new residents wait to see the outcome of the upgrading of the rest of the Fourth Ward. With the number of units now available at less than half of what the original housing project totaled, there are still large amounts of land that have not been developed. Plans for this land are not known specifically but may likely be sold from the housing authority to the city or developers (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15 - New public housing construction of the Historic Oaks of Allen Parkway Village (Source: Author)

Historic Structures & Preservation Attempts

Although the city and the local leaders initially gave the impression that they were supportive of historic preservation, this appears to not have been the case. On the one hand, the historical significance of various Fourth Ward structures and the cultural and historic resources of the community are being promoted by the developers and the city in their redevelopment of the Fourth Ward. This includes the placement of various historical markers and a historic trail through the Freedmen's Town area (Stull & Lee 2003). At the same time however, in order to allow for the new upscale developments, what has been necessary is the large-scale destruction of the historic structures that originally made up the Fourth Ward and Freedmen's Town. In addition, it has also not been only the buildings that were involved in this physical upgrading process, as the whole community has been torn apart and its residents displaced. Historic preservation, in this very limited sense, has only been pursued in the effort of capitalizing on the historical significance of the neighborhood while in the revitalization process the actual historical fabric of the community has been destroyed and the original, lower-income minority residents of the community replaced with new upper-income and white homeowners.

Within this context, four original 'shotgun-style' homes from the Fourth Ward are being moved to different parts of the city to be displayed for their architectural, cultural, and historical significance (Houston Historic 2003). One of the cottages is on display in the Sam Houston Park, the location of several other historically significant homes from early Houston, including the home of Rev. Jack Yates (Figure 5.16 - Figure 5.18). It turns out that the original four historic 'shotgun-style' homes were on pieces of property acquired by Larry S. and Sherry Davis, the largest developers in the Fourth Ward (Hill

2002). Although they were possibly interested in historic preservation itself, it is also likely that these developers used the preservation of these four homes as a way of limiting local political backlash and making themselves appear more community-friendly, while clearing the land of the extensive number of historic structures on the site. These developers of the Urban Lofts townhomes (www.urbanlofts.com) are the largest in number of housing units in this section of the Fourth Ward and have been involved in the destruction of dozens of original housing units. These new units have all been built within the last five years, and with an average price of approximately \$225,000 they are well out of the range of the original Freedmen's Town residents.



Figure 5.16 – Historic cottage moved from the Fourth Ward in 2002 by developer Larry Davis in preparation for the construction of upscale housing. The cottage was placed within Sam Houston Park with other historic homes of the area including the home of the Reverend John Henry ‘Jack’ Yates, pastor of the Antioch Baptist Church, whose home was also originally in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)

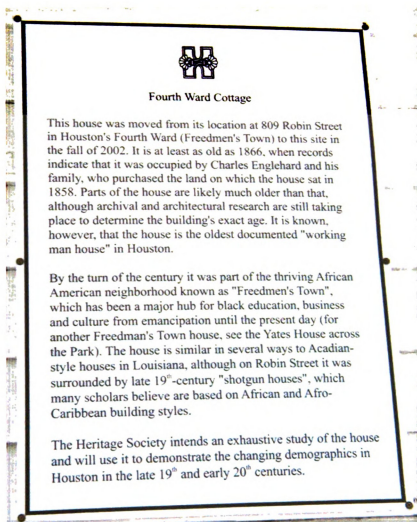


Figure 5.17 – Placard describing the historical importance of the Fourth Ward cottage.
(Source: Author)



Figure 5.18 – The home of Rev. John Henry 'Jack' Yates also moved to Sam Houston Park from Freedmen's Town. (Source: Author)

The city of Houston is well-known for having some of the weakest historical preservation ordinances in the country. In 1999, then-Mayor Lee Brown called for a replacement of the weak 1995 preservation ordinance. This has proved difficult as property rights associations see any stricter guidelines as an infringement on personal liberty, while local developers want less government involvement in building policies in general (Allers 2002). Currently, any person planning to alter the exterior of, add on to, or demolish structures within the city's historic districts must first apply for a Certificate of Appropriateness with the city's Archaeological and Historical Commission prior to beginning of work. After the Certificate of Appropriateness is either granted or denied, the property owner has 90 days in which to either comply with or completely disregard the recommendations of the Commission. After the 90 days the owner may do whatever they please with the property including its demolition (KPFT News 2002, Bryant 2004). Given that Houston does not have formal zoning or a plan, the lax preservation ordinances are not surprising.

In addition, even when the proper paperwork appears to be filled out, errors have often occurred and caused the inappropriate demolition of historic structures. In July 2004, Sixth Ward residents awoke to find the historic home at 1713 Lubbock Street demolished and completely removed (Figure 5.19). In this case the owner of the property, an investment firm, had filled out a permit for demolition and the permit received a hold because of its location within a historical district. According to the city's Planning and Development Department, a "city worker noticed the hold on the permit and called to see if it could be lifted, and permission was given to issue the [demolition] permit" (Bryant 2004, p. 5). Although the department says it will do its best to correct the current system

in place, the damage has already been done for this historic Sixth Ward neighborhood. Ward resident and officer of the Neighborhood Association, Larissa Lindsay even spends every Monday studying the pages of approved city permits and never saw anything regarding this structure. Other similar cases of ‘late-night demolitions’ have been retold in the Fourth Ward and have continued to weaken the fabric of Houston’s historic communities.



Figure 5.19 – Cleared residential site at 1713 Lubbock Street in the historic Sixth Ward. (Source: Author)

In this Sixth Ward neighborhood, also recently experiencing intense pressure for upscale redevelopment (in fact only one block away on Lubbock Street), historic homes continue to face the threat of demolition. After waiting 90 days since their demolition request was denied, owners of a historic home constructed in 1885 had the home at 1814 Lubbock Street razed in early September 2005 for the construction of a new upscale

home. Similar to Freedmen's Town, the near-downtown location of the historic Sixth Ward has also made these homes attractive for redevelopment. As noted by the owner of the home, Maria Isabel, "People want to move here because of the location, not because they want to refurbish an old house" (Gray 2005, p. 17). The demolition of historic homes such as these will certainly continue in this, and other near-downtown neighborhoods, as the demand for near-downtown locations, particularly by upper-income residents, continues to increase.

With the constant threat of upscale residential developments encroaching upon Freedmen's Town, many residents and community leaders have feared that various accidental fires of historic structures are in fact not accidents at all, but are possibly set intentionally by various parties interested in the acquisition of property and construction of upscale developments in the area. Many residents fear that developers are searching for many ways to displace residents, including the possible arson of community structures, in addition to various questionable demolition techniques already discussed. In late January 2005 a fire broke out nearly destroying the historic Bethel Baptist Church in Freedmen's Town. This church structure was built in the early 1900s after being founded by the Rev. Jack Yates in 1896 after he left the Antioch Missionary Baptist. Although heavily damaged, the building was not destroyed (Figure 5.20). But within only a few hours of the fire being under control and nearly extinguished, a bulldozer from the city had arrived to demolish the structure. Quick acting local community members arrived just in time to spare the historic structure temporarily (Rodriguez 2005a).



Figure 5.20 – Burned-out shell of the Bethel Baptist Church in Freedmen's Town (Source: Author)

Once again, the city was prepared to destroy the building without any thought to its historical significance or to whether an investigation into the cause of the fire should take place. The city was not intending to miss a more-legal demolition and land clearance of a site in Freedmen's Town. The church is considering rebuilding the historic structure if possible, but upscale lofts now surround the site and the majority of the congregation members no longer live in the area (Figure 5.21 - Figure 5.23). From the initial investigation into the cause of the fire, it was speculated that it might have been caused by arson, and many in the community suggested major developers in the area were behind the fire (Rodriguez 2005b). It was finally concluded that the fire was most likely set by accident by a homeless man attempting to stay warm (Hewitt 2005). This most

recent case of the destruction of this historic and cultural icon of the once-dominant African-American community has only renewed memories of the constant threats that continue to besiege the historic fabric of Freedmen's Town.



Figure 5.21 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author)



Figure 5.22 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author)



Figure 5.23 – Construction of upscale lofts surrounding the burnt-out Bethel Baptist Church (Source: Author)

In fact, several structures in the area have fallen at the hands of arsonists, including the historic Good Hope Missionary Church in February 1997 (Bardwell and Nissimov 1997). Established in 1872 the church had built several wooden frame structures until the building of its two-story gothic brick structure in 1929. Investigators eventually determined the cause of the fire was arson but an exact motive or perpetrator could not be determined (Villafranca 1997). Investigations into these cases of arson have largely come up empty, but many have speculated that private developers have been behind these cases in their continual development pressure upon the community as the land becomes increasingly valuable.

Residents and community activists are also struggling to save pieces of the Freedmen's Town Historic District in the form of bricks. Several streets in Freedmen's Town still bear the original bricks that made up the original streets of Freedmen's Town when it was initially settled by freed slaves. Some streets have been covered with concrete and cement with only small portions of the underlying bricks visible, but over one mile of Andrews Street is almost still completely exposed in the original bricks (Figure 5.24 - Figure 5.27). The brick streets were hand-laid by the original residents in the late nineteenth century, because city officials refused to provide services to the district (Harkinson 2004). Andrews is believed to be the only public brick street in Houston built without any help from the city. Residents now fear the city and developers have no interest in preserving the brick streets, as the bricks are quickly being dug up for new residential developments. Community activist Catherine Roberts says "the developers don't care" about trying to save the bricks and that the city has constantly

worked against her efforts to save the streets and their historical significance (Harkinson 2004, p. 2).



Figure 5.24 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author)



Figure 5.25 – Remaining original brick street in Freedmen's Town (Source: Author)



Figure 5.26 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author)



Figure 5.27 – Remaining original bricks partially covered by recent concrete and destroyed by local developers (Source: Author)

One hope, in this environment of general disinterest in historic preservation, might be found with the preservation of the original structure for Gregory School in the Fourth Ward. Plans have been approved by the city, and funds have been acquired, to redevelop the Gregory School building into a Houston public library branch and African-American Archival and Cultural Center (Billingsley 2003). The historic Gregory Schools first opened in the 1870s, providing education for blacks in several different locations before opening this building at 1300 Victor Street in Freedmen's Town in 1926. The city had acquired the property from the school district in 1999, after the structure had been closed and boarded up since 1983. The structure had physically deteriorated and fallen victim to vandals (Figure 5.28 & Figure 5.29) (Smith 2003). The Gregory School building has been designated a State Archaeological Landmark by the State Historical Commission, which is the highest historical landmark classification that can be placed on a building. Under this classification, it is stipulated that "the property cannot be removed, altered, damaged, salvaged or excavated without a permit from the Texas Historical Commission" (Texas Historical Commission 2004). This extremely high level of protection for this historic structure has ensured its preservation. Although the deals regarding the financing of this project were finalized in late 2003, as of July 2005 there was still no work of any kind occurring at the site, and its future remains in jeopardy.



Figure 5.28 – Boarded-up Gregory School set to reopen Houston public library branch and African-American Archival & Cultural Center (Source: Author)



Figure 5.29 – Back of the boarded-up Gregory School set to reopen Houston public library branch and African-American Archival & Cultural Center (Source: Author)

Issues Regarding Various Land Holdings

Within the past ten years, Freedmen's Town has experienced several interesting situations dealing with various land holdings and their acquisitions. The parties involved range from commercial businesses, developers, and public organizations, to the city's independent school district and private non-profit organizations. As redevelopment pushes its way into an area, the most susceptible to displacement are renters, as they do not own their land and their landlords are often looking for higher profits (Sumka 1979a, London 1984, Atkinson 2000). This causes renters to be in constant danger of eviction such as what was seen in Freedmen's Town with such a high percentage of renters, many of whom have rented the same cottage for nearly fifty years (Verhovek 1998). In an area now dominated by townhomes built by Perry Homes, in 1998 nearly 100 families, mostly renters, were moved by the city because of the new developments that were being built on the site. In addition to losing their community social support network, many of these residents also moved into dwellings that were considered to be in even worse structural condition (Snyder 2000).

Homeowners are also susceptible as they may be taken advantage of if they do not understand the complete value of their land or the process of selling their home. Various reports of homeowners being approached by developers, or other parties interested in purchasing their land, were very common in the mid- to late-1990s, and it continues to this day. Living in her small white house for over 45 years, long-time Fourth Ward resident Lucinda Campbell said that she has personally been approached by developers interested in her property but that their prices are "insultingly low." "They have one price

for the land if you're white, and another if you're black like me" said the 74 year-old homeowner (Snyder 2000, p. 1) Seeing the type of development that is coming into the neighborhood, she believes that city officials have purposely neglected this area to make it more "vulnerable for private development aimed at an affluent market" (Snyder 2000, p. 1).

In the mid-1990s local developers, with the assistance of city of Houston officials, established the Houston Renaissance, a private non-profit organization that was created to facilitate the redevelopment of the Fourth Ward. Its main role was to acquire property for redevelopment (Snyder 2000, Shmidt 2001). At this time, the city organized a plan to develop 80 blocks in the Fourth Ward into low-and moderate-income single family housing and gave the task of purchasing the necessary land with public money to the Houston Renaissance (Sarnoff 2000). In a form of blockbusting, long-time Fourth Ward residents such as Joseph Caronna tell the story of being approached by members of the Houston Renaissance and being told that their property was to be developed into low-income housing and that the city would take their land by eminent domain if necessary (Shmidt 2001).

The use of eminent domain by members of the Houston Renaissance may have scared many landowners into selling very early in the redevelopment process and at a very low price. For instance, Caronna's property was valued at \$55,000 from 1990 to 1994, but then in 1994, the year before Houston Renaissance began buying property, the value dropped to \$33,000. By the year 2000, now in the hands of Houston Renaissance, Caronna's property was valued at \$65,000 and by 2001 it was valued at \$130,000. If developed at the same level and value as the adjacent property—townhomes averaging

\$225,000/unit—Caronna’s property purchased from him at \$65,000 in 1999 (at \$5 per square foot) would be worth over \$468,000 (\$36 per square foot) (Shmidt 2001).

After acquiring extensive amounts of land for redevelopment with public funds, but unable to secure the funding for low- and moderate-income housing, the Houston Renaissance was forced to file for bankruptcy in 1999. At this time, the property held by the Houston Renaissance was transferred to the Houston Housing Finance Corporation, which began to sell the property for \$16 per square foot in order to recoup the financial losses of the Houston Renaissance. A small portion of the property, approximately 20 properties, was transferred to the Housing Authority of the City of Houston for future use to build affordable housing, while the remaining property was sold to developers. The very low prices at which the land was sold, \$16 per square foot, especially compared to downtown and Midtown land values, which often averaged \$115-125 per square foot, made private development in this once-risky part of town now very attractive with minimal risks.

A small unique success story involving affordable housing did emerge within the last few years. Upscale, custom-home builder Roke and Wright has teamed up with the community group and non-profit *Avenue CDC* in an attempt to provide high-quality low-income housing in Houston’s inner-city neighborhoods. Admitting that this form of community reinvestment is not profitable for them, Andy Suman of Roke and Wright Builders says they do it to “give something back to the community” and to prove that this type of work of building affordable housing can be done and done well (Kuffner 2004, p. 2).

However, the experience of building affordable housing units is a little different in the Fourth Ward, where builders have encountered difficulty in attempting to initiate moderate- and lower-income housing projects. Mike Karm of Larus Builders has teamed up with area CDCs and built 128 affordable homes, but says that the city of Houston is the biggest obstacle in getting the homes built since the city makes the special permitting process very difficult and user-unfriendly. In reference to the affordable housing market, Karm argues that “[i]f the city could get behind the builders, we could easily build 5,000 homes a year in this market” (Kuffner 2004, p. 2). This is not surprising in the context of Houston, however, where the city has been traditionally disinterested in the lower end, affordable housing market, with the local officials arguing that market forces should lead the way in determining the development of housing throughout the city. In this section it is clear that the upper-end of the housing market in Houston, the market segment that has a history of receiving extensive public subsidies, is approached very differently by local public officials.

HISD in the Fourth Ward

Various land conflicts continue in the western edge of the Freedmen’s Town Historic District between current and past landowners, residents, and the Houston Independent School District (HISD). The district currently operates the Gregory-Lincoln Education Center on West Dallas Avenue, which serves as a kindergarten through eighth grade magnet school and is one of the lowest performing schools in the district. (See Figure 5.6 for location of school.) Recently the district was looking to expand and revamp the current Gregory-Lincoln, while also locating a new high school for the

performing and visual arts at a nearby location. While Gregory-Lincoln needs significant structural improvements, and improvements in education quality, the highly-acclaimed High School for the Performing and Visual Arts (HSPVA) is overcrowded and in need of new facilities.

Beginning in 2002 the HISD, with the use of eminent domain, began acquiring property in the western section of the Freeman's Town Historic District to expand and build the two new schools. Several difficulties resulted from this situation. First, homeowners of the condemned properties were quickly frustrated by the lack of communication between the district and the homeowners, and the lack of a clear and definite plan of use for the acquired properties. As argued by Anthony Pizzitola, the owner of a single-family home his family built in 1926, "[m]y protest here is that they're taking my property and cannot even tell me what they're going to do with it; the story keeps changing" (Sarnoff 2002, p. 1). Related to this issue is the controversy surrounding the exact goal of building a new facility in this area. The district maintains that it is necessary to build a modern facility to serve the students of this area in the near future; however currently a very large majority (nearly 90%) of the students at Gregory-Lincoln are currently bused there because of the low student-age population of this area. Most importantly, the newest residents to this Fourth Ward area—many of those moving into upscale lofts and townhomes—are childless or with smaller families, and therefore the number of school-aged children in the area is anticipated to decrease.

Secondly, the source of the funds used to acquire the properties for the school sites is another contentious issue. The acquisitions by eminent domain were being funded with 'surplus' funds from a \$698 million bond. When it was put up for a vote in 1998, the

funds were marketed as being needed to renovate and repair aging and deteriorating inner-city schools. Although the funds were half of what independent studies felt would be needed to accomplish the monumental task outlined for the bond, four years later in 2002, the district had surplus funds for the acquisition of private property to hopefully be used for new schools (Schadewald 2002). The first \$8 million was used to acquire land directly to the south of the Gregory-Lincoln for the major expansion (Figure 5.30 & Figure 5.31).

Finally, there are rumors that there is a Civil War-era cemetery underneath the acquired property. Reports of this cemetery first appeared when the demolition began at which time a minor archival study determined there was a strong potential that a cemetery was located on the property. The district was also convinced that several feet of fill dirt already on top of the cemetery would preserve and protect the remains from the construction and heavy machines (Plocek 2004)¹⁰. To this day, nothing has been done with the properties acquired by HISD and all of the plots currently sit vacant and fenced with few plans for any upcoming developments.

¹⁰ When the Texas Historical Commission notified the school district in 2002 that many of the buildings it planned to tear down were eligible to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places, the district realized that the commission had no power to stop the razing of historical buildings so the demolitions continued.



Figure 5.30 – Land south of the Gregory-Lincoln school acquired for expansion of the current school and construction of a new high school for the visual and performing arts. (Source: Author)



Figure 5.31 – Land south of the Gregory-Lincoln school acquired for expansion of the current school and construction of a new high school for the visual and performing arts. (Source: Author)

Physical and Social Upgrading of Freedmen's Town

The physical upgrading in the Fourth Ward has involved the demolition of older, historic, working-class residences, which were then replaced with new upper-income townhomes, lofts, and single-family detached homes. The construction of these upscale housing units has been at the expense of the original, lower-income, minority residents whose displacement is the often-ignored side effect of redevelopment. Because of the recent nature of some of the most significant changes taking place in Freedmen's Town, which have occurred after 2000, the U.S. Census data cannot completely capture the full-scale of the physical and social upgrading that has taken place in this community. With the majority of the new construction projects in Freedmen's Town occurring between the years 1996 to 2005, the 2000 Census is only able to give a partial snapshot of the extent of the demographic changes.

Discussion of Data and Trends

The U.S. Census data for the Freedmen's Town census tract portrays many of the usual characteristics and trends of an area experiencing clearance and redevelopment. Since 1970, the total population of Freedmen's Town has declined by 76%. There is an ethnic and racial composition shift that is evident with the decline in population. The black representation in the census tract has decreased by 48%. The white population, on the other hand, which made up about 8% of the population in 1990, now represents 40% of the census tract (Table 5.2). Corresponding to the process of social upgrading, both rates of high school and college graduates have increased. Also the percentage of families below poverty and percentage of households that are female-headed have decreased dramatically (Table 5.3).

Freedmen's Town Census Tract	Total Population	% Change in Population	White	% of Census Tract that is White	Black	% of Census Tract that is Black	Median Age	Households
1970	7,448	-	1,042	13.99%	6,280	84.32%	N/A	1,374
1980	6,874	-7.71	694	10.10%	4,356	63.37%	24.7	2,304
1990	2,255	-67.20	189	8.38%	1,454	64.48%	28.4	763
2000	1,756	-22.13	708	40.32%	638	36.33%	28.6	679

Table 5.2 – Population and race data for the Freedmen's Town census tract, 1970-2000.
(U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)

Table 5.3 – Education and poverty data for the Freedmen's Town census tract, 1970-2000.
(**Calculated of the population that is age 25+) (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)

Freedmen's Town Census Tract	Persons, age 25+	High School Graduates	% of Census Tract that are high school graduates **	College Graduates	% of Census Tract that are college graduates **	Total # of Employed Persons (age 16+)	Employed Persons - Professional	% Professional	Families	Families below poverty level	% of Families below the poverty level	% of Households that are Female- Headed
1970	3,590	565	15.74%	21	0.58%	1,984	37	1.86%	1,541	747	48.48%	51.89%
1980	3,459	974	28.16%	132	3.82%	1,640	315	19.21%	1,415	760	53.71%	28.13%
1990	1,266	318	25.12%	14	1.11%	652	147	22.55%	478	230	48.12%	27.13%
2000	1,066	506	47.47%	119	11.16%	767	297	38.72%	356	96	26.97%	15.17%

Freedmen's Town Census Tract	Total Housing Units	Owner- Occupied Housing Units	% Housing Units that are Owner Occupied ***	Renter- Occupied Housing Units	% Housing Units that are Renter Occupied ***	Occupied Housing Units	% Housing Units that are Occupied	Vacant Housing Units	% Housing Units that are Vacant	Housing Units Lacking Complete Plumbing Facilities	% of Total Housing Units Lacking Complete Plumbing Facilities
1970	2,910	103	3.54%	2,434	83.64%	2,537	87.18%	373	12.82%	111	3.81%
1980	2,557	104	4.07%	2,127	83.18%	2,231	87.25%	324	12.67%	63	2.46%
1990	1,854	28	1.51%	735	39.64%	763	41.15%	1,091	58.85%	77	4.15%
2000	895	33	3.68%	646	72.10%	679	75.78%	217	24.22%	7	0.78%

Table 5.4 – Housing data for the Freedmen's Town census tract, 1970-2000. (* Will not add up to 100% because of the vacant housing units) (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)**

Table 5.5 – Income and money data for the Freedmen's Town census tract, 1970-2000. (U.S. Census Bureau 1972, 1983, 1993, 2005)

Freedmen's Town Census Tract	Median Gross Rent (adjusted to 1999 dollars)	Median Gross Rent as a % of the City's Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner- Occupied Housing Units as a % of the City's Median Value	Median Household Income (adjusted to 1999 dollars)	Median Household Income as a % of the City's Median Household Income	Per Capita Income (adjusted to 1999 dollars)	Per Capita Income as a % of the City's Per Capita Income	Households receiving public assistance income
1970	\$277	54.46%	\$59,091	\$15,377	34.25%	N/A	N/A	501
1980	\$268	42.70%	\$94,404	\$10,954	25.97%	\$5,993	29.68%	867
1990	\$297	56.81%	\$70,565	\$11,695	33.31%	\$6,620	34.43%	200
2000	\$337	58.61%	\$53,400	\$24,750	67.59%	\$13,562	67.47%	56

One of the critical drivers of urban revitalization is reflected in the demand for upscale housing units near the downtown, particularly by a large number of professionals ('white-collar' employees) moving into the area. Freedmen's Town also reflects this demographic shift, with an increase in the percentage of professionals living in the area increasing from less than 2% in 1970s, to nearly 40% by the year 2000 (Table 5.3).

As part of the physical upgrading of Freedmen's Town, many housing units have been cleared out accounting for a loss in 2,014 total housing units since 1970. The area also still consists largely of renter-occupied housing units instead of owner-occupied as would have been expected in the process of redevelopment. The percentage of housing units lacking plumbing has also decreased attributing to the physical upgrading process (Table 5.4).

Evidence of social upgrading in Freedmen's Town is also observed with the increase in real per capita income and median household income as a percentage in comparison to the city-wide figures (Table 5.5). What must also be noticed though is that these income and money values all still fall well below the city value for each respective variable. For instance, even with recent redevelopment, the 2000 median value of owner-occupied housing units, median household income, and per capita income in Freedmen's Town were 67% of the city-wide values for each respective variable. However, given that significant changes in the community have taken place since the Census Bureau had collected this data, these figures under-state the scale of social upgrading that has actually taken place in this community.

As can be expected of a community in the process of physical and social upgrading, as of the 2000 Census Freedmen's Town displays only several, but not all, of

the characteristics expected of an area in change. For instance, it would be expected that more of the housing units would be owner-occupied with a much lower vacancy rate (for such an ideal near-downtown location). Instead 3.68% of the total housing units are owner-occupied and the tract has 24% of its housing units vacant. The high percentage of housing units that are vacant and that are still rental reveals how early in the process this data has captured the changes taking place in this community. The visual images are in many fundamental ways more reflective of the physical and social upgrading that has taken place in this community over the last decade.

Although not true in all cases, racial and ethnic change is often experienced in areas of urban revitalization. In a city as racially and ethnically segregated as Houston, the case of Freedmen's Town is expected to follow similar patterns of segregation. With a current representation of the census tract at 40% white, up from only 8.4% in 1990, the growth of the white population in the area is expected to continue increasing. As the pace of redevelopment increases, data of the 2010 Census will most likely show marked increases in the white population, income and education levels, and an increase in the number of owner-occupied housing units.

Current Upscale Developments

The most visible elements of physical upgrading occurring in Freedmen's Town are evident in the construction of numerous upscale lofts, townhomes, and condominiums. Priced well out of the range of the original residents of the area, and being in close proximity to downtown, 'white-collar' professionals who work in Houston's central business district are purchasing the majority of these new units. As discussed earlier, the land for these developments has either been acquired by the city and

sold to developers, or purchased by developers themselves directly from previous land owners, whether landlords or home owners. The rapid growth of the upscale housing market in this area has placed even more added pressure on surrounding land occupied by original, pre-redevelopment Freedmen's Town residents. This will likely result in the eventual displacement of all the original residents, through either evictions or their inability to afford to live in this area.

The largest builder in Freedmen's Town so far has been the Urban Lofts construction and development firm (www.urbanlofts.com). This loft development is easily identifiable with its corrugated metal surfaces and various vibrant colors. This particular developer has also been successful in selling these exact dwelling designs in the central cities of Dallas, Atlanta, and Las Vegas. With construction starting in the late 1990s, the development in Freedmen's Town has been considered very successful. By March 2005 approximately 155 units had been built, with only 12 still being unsold. Another 30 were completed in late summer 2005 and nearly all of which sold. The units are mostly between 1,800 and 2,000 square feet and are selling in a price range between \$200,000 and \$225,000 (roughly \$111-112 per square foot) (Urban Lofts 2005). This development has grown to cover much of the east side of Freedmen's Town, as well as a number of small clusters scattered throughout the community. (See Figure 5.32 for map of property locations.) In some areas, the new lofts surround the original housing units and structures of the area (See Figure 5.33 - Figure 5.35). With the large scale of construction of the Urban Lofts, which are likely attracting 'professionals' who work downtown, this development has played an extensive role in the physical as well as social upgrading of Freedmen's Town.

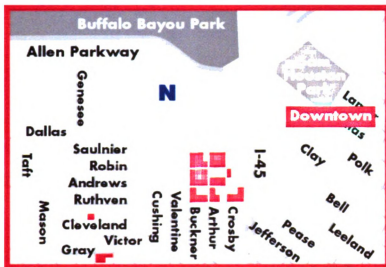


Figure 5.32 – Map of the locations of the new Urban Lofts townhome construction
(Source: www.urbanlofts.com)



Figure 5.33 – Construction of new, upscale townhomes of Urban Lofts. (Source: Author)



Figure 5.34 – New townhomes across the street from a few of the remaining original housing in Freedmen’s Town. (Source: Author)



Figure 5.35 – New, upscale townhomes of Urban Lofts. (Source: Author)

In addition, there are several new planned developments in this area. The large development firm of Camden Property Trust is set to break ground in mid-2005 on a 9.1 acre multifamily complex immediately to the south of the main Urban Lofts development (Figure 5.36). Constructed in two phases, the 618 apartment, four-story urban complex will be worth \$70 million (Dawson 2004). New, smaller developments are also evident throughout the area. The smaller Crosby Lofts development has built six units, one of which remains priced at \$289,000 for 2,350 square feet (Figure 5.37 & Figure 5.38). A 76-room Best Western hotel was also built in the fall of 2000 on the north side of Freedmen's Town, just west of I-45. While land was selling for \$50 or \$100 per square foot in downtown locations, and \$25 in Midtown, this 40,000 square foot site in Freedmen's Town was purchased for \$7.50 per square foot (Cook 1999b).



Figure 5.36 – Land held by Camden Property Trust to be used for a \$70 million, multifamily complex on the far eastern edge of Freedmen's Town. (Source: Author)



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Figure 5.37 – Informational flyer of a newly constructed Crosby Lofts for sell on the east side of Freedmen's Town.



Figure 5.38 – Newly constructed Crosby Lofts (Source: Author)

Conclusion

The city of Houston's recent downtown revitalization has increased pressure for upscale residential living in the city's core. In this process however, many low-income, minority neighborhoods are facing considerable redevelopment stresses—as demonstrated with the case of the traditional African-American Freedmen's Town. While generally marketed to the public as positive, downtown revitalization initiatives do not just involve the physical upgrading of communities. The closer examination of this Fourth Ward area demonstrates that a critical dimension of these programs is social upgrading, the displacement of most of the original African-American residents and their replacement with upper-income professionals.

In Freedmen's Town, numerous conflicts over land have occurred since the 1930s. This conflict has pitted the local residents against private developers and Houston's local government. A result of these early land acquisitions, and the disregard

by the city for this historic community over a period of eighty years, has been a substantial loss of the original, pre-redevelopment residents (including African-American professionals). The accompanied demographic shifts and physical changes in the area have been evident with decreasing home ownership rates, the decreasing overall quality of the area in service provision and structural character of the homes, and eventually the displacement of original residents that are replaced with upper-income professionals. These land conflicts, and the resulting physical and social upgrading, have continued to the present with the involvement and assistance of such groups as the Houston Renaissance and the local school district. The displaced residents are left with no relocation funds and often relocate to even worse living conditions, with poorer quality housing, and perhaps more importantly, the loss of the social support network provided to them in Freedmen's Town. Despite the city of Houston's new celebration of its ethnic and historic communities, and focus on downtown revitalization, the destruction of Freedmen's Town and displacement of its residents are the little-discussed by-products of Houston's urban renaissance.

6 CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the Robustness of Urban Revitalization Initiatives

In attempting to revitalize central cities, various forms of physical upgrading have been evident in U.S. urban centers over the last five decades. With the aim of removing ‘blight’ and signs of ‘physical decay’, these revitalization projects have included both public and private initiatives, including infrastructure improvement projects, large-scale neighborhood redevelopment, private-sector ‘block-busting’, and gentrification. In most cases, physical upgrading is also coupled with extensive social changes in the make-up of the neighborhoods experiencing redevelopment, generally involving the replacement of poor, working-class residents, with wealthy, white-collar, professionals. Perhaps the most significant negative side-effect of physical upgrading is the exclusion of the lower-income residents that have originally occupied these neighborhoods in the revitalization of central city neighborhoods. The case of Houston is no different from other local initiatives—with Freedmen’s Town providing an example—as generally lower-income, minority residents have been displaced in the name of physical upgrading and urban revitalization.

While studies have traditionally focused on one specific physical and social upgrading process, this thesis has shown the potential robustness of a city’s urban revitalization program. This has included combined public and private sector involvement in the physical and social upgrading, as well as the use of multiple tools and techniques to facilitate the removal of populations and the redevelopment of neighborhoods. Also important in the Houston case study have been the specific neighborhood and built environment characteristics (the quality of the neighborhood

housing stock and the demographic composition) that have influenced the nature of the physical upgrading process, or processes. The Houston case study also illustrates the degree to which local governments can be involved in facilitating urban revitalization and the associated displacement of lower-income populations. This is especially significant in the Houston context, given the city's contention that it maintains a laissez-faire philosophy in local governance and the organization of local government.

An examination of the rent gap theory and role of 'new urbanites' has provided insight into the new demand for, and supply of, inner-city housing. According to the rent gap theory, inner-city revitalization is driven by the availability of dilapidated housing and the fact that inner-city land has become affordable enough to encourage reinvestment and redevelopment. At the same time so-called 'new urbanites' have increased demand for inner-city housing largely with the increase in white-collar employment opportunities in city centers with market shifts towards a service-based economy. These theories have provided insight into the physical and social upgrading processes discussed in this thesis, including locally-driven urban renewal, private-sector 'block-busting', and gentrification.

Physical and Social Upgrading

In this thesis, the examination of different processes of residential displacement in the U.S. over the last five decades has provided a review of various physical upgrading programs and the nature of specific displacement pressures associated with each of the urban revitalization types. The original federal urban renewal program was established to clear tracts of substandard or slum housing with the hope of providing higher-quality housing for the original residents. This rarely happened as most original residents were

forcibly displaced and provided with minimal, if any, relocation assistance. Most importantly, many residents were not provided with housing in the new developments as originally proposed. Given the regularity and the repeated nature of these occurrences, one can reasonable assume that the federal urban renewal program had a tacit policy of purposely removing African-Americans to reduce their concentration within various parts of the city.

Recently, cities have initiated urban renewal policies similar in purpose to the federal programs that ended in 1974. Municipal governments have used tools such as eminent domain to acquire private property for questionable uses, which extended considerably beyond the traditional scope of eminent domain. These locally-driven urban renewal programs have continued to cause the displacement of residents, to the benefit of developers, the city, and incoming residents occupying these new, often upscale, housing developments.

Private developers have also been actively involved in the displacement of residents in the process of assembling large tracts of land for redevelopment. The acquisition of developed land has often involved questionable tactics to make areas appear less attractive in order to acquire property more easily and at lower prices. The new projects built on the acquired land usually consist of various upscale commercial and residential developments. In a number of U.S. cities, this process has been recently driven by the increased demand for housing—largely by white-collar, professionals—in ideal near-downtown locations. This new housing demand has emerged particularly in cities that successfully transitioned to a service-based economy, as evident in New York City, San Francisco, and Boston. Although successful at providing housing for wealthy

residents, private-sector 'block-busting' and local redevelopment projects have brought about extensive residential displacement, particularly evident among lower-income and minority residents.

Also important within the context of physical and social upgrading has been the phenomenon of gentrification. In this process, comparatively inexpensive housing, in working class neighborhoods, are occupied and refurbished by upper-income professionals. An important aspect of this process is the availability of cheap, architecturally-unique housing located in close proximity to concentrations of employment or rich cultural amenities. Areas experiencing gentrification are generally in the downtown, or surrounding neighborhoods, that maintain a rich concentration of amenities, including museums, fine arts centers, theaters, restaurants, and night-life. This process occurs when the attractiveness of an area increases (because of specific location requirements, improvements in nearby amenities, or changes in consumer preferences for specific housing type) in combination with a decline in housing value to create a new demand for older and the architecturally-unique housing. This usually results in the displacement of original residents, either forcibly by landlord evictions, or gradually by being priced out of the housing market because of increasing rent or property taxes.

These processes of physical upgrading have inadvertently or advertently meant the displacement of many original residents in the neighborhoods experiencing urban revitalization. Cities and public officials encourage these physical improvements with a general disregard for the original residents that will be adversely affected by these urban revival initiatives. The original residents become displaced in the social upgrading process that results from the redevelopment encouraged by local officials and commercial

interests. To many local residents, the physical upgrading may appear as a positive indicator of local economic growth and urban vibrancy, but to displaced residents, this social upgrading generally brings about severe hardship to those in the community that are already marginalized.

The Houston Context

In the case of Houston, it has been shown that the city's major redevelopment focus has been on the downtown and surrounding areas to the west of this urban core. Specific projects have included new hotels, sports stadiums, light rail, residential developments, as well as infrastructure and streetscape improvements. These projects have resulted in large-scale private investment in the commercial and residential sector of Houston's central city. From a broader perspective, many of these projects have revolved around the city's interest to be a leading urban center in the specialized services economy. A large component of achieving this status is having a rich concentration of urban, cultural, and commercial amenities necessary to attract corporate headquarters, high-technology industries, specialized services, and tourism.

Another area of economic focus has been the city's ethnic neighborhoods. Here the city has successfully marketed various ethnic communities that are considered crucial in developing a vibrant and dynamic city center, as evident in other major U.S. cities such as New York City, Miami, Los Angeles and San Francisco. In Houston, however, this marketing of ethnic groups has been a selective process, as some groups have been excluded from the city's new celebration of ethnicity (Vojnovic 2003b). This is clearly evident with Houston's African-American community, despite the fact that this ethnic

group possesses some of the most historically and culturally significant resources within the city. The destruction of Freedmen's Town, at the same time that ethnicity and history is being celebrated in the city, is a clear illustration of the selective acceptance of pluralism.

In addition, for a city known for its traditional laissez-faire philosophy, Houston has played a large part in the planning, development, and financing of many projects crucial to downtown revitalization. This is seen in the use of tax increment reinvestment zones in upscale areas and subsidies and public aid packages provided to local developers for central city residential and commercial projects. Similar to federal urban renewal programs, the city has also sold to developers, at bargain prices, private land acquired using public funds and eminent domain. This has been most evident in Freedmen's Town where private land originally acquired with public money by the non-profit Houston Renaissance was sold at below market prices to developers. These urban renewal practices also maintain a tacit policy, similar to the federal urban renewal program, of focusing on the clearance of minority neighborhoods, with the land being sold to private developers, often for the construction of upscale residential housing. This is yet another example of Houston's ongoing contradiction between its claims of minimal local government involvement and the scale of public intervention, in the form of public aid and direct government subsidies, to local developers.

In terms of the success of these local policies, over the last decade there has been considerable evidence, both visually and demographically, that Houston's urban revitalization and renewal program has been producing the desired outcome. This is most clearly evident with the increased production of upscale housing in Houston's downtown

and surrounding neighborhoods, and a new demand by Houston's upper-income residents for downtown living. Houston suburbs are now not the only part of the city experiencing large-scale, upper-income housing construction. Gentrification in Houston has also been successful in converting lower-income, central city neighborhoods into largely upper-income enclaves. In addition, local developers have been successful in utilizing questionable 'block-busting' techniques to cheaply acquire land for redevelopment. However, this has also resulted in the destruction of areas of the city that maintained ethnically mixed and historically significant neighborhoods. Buying up cheap inner-city homes and demolishing them destroyed the social cohesion of the neighborhoods and further lowered surrounding property values, making later rounds of land acquisition even easier.

The Data Analysis

U.S. Census data describing population, socioeconomic, ethnic, and housing characteristics were collected for the years 1980 and 2000. The change in these data from 1980 to 2000 was calculated for each census tract in Harris County. A principal components analysis and K-Means clustering process assisted in grouping together census tracts within Harris County experiencing similar characteristics of physical and social upgrading as Freedmen's Town and the area immediately west of downtown.

This process largely clustered together a large group of tracts west of the downtown. Further analysis determined specific areas within this grouping that have been experiencing different forms of physical and social upgrading since 1980. For instance the upscale independent municipalities surrounded by Houston experienced even greater

increases in income while also observing a physical upgrading of their urban built environment, with the teardown of upscale housing and their replacement with even larger and more expensive housing. While not considered deteriorated prior to experiencing redevelopment, these separate municipalities have experienced a very different process of physical and social upgrading when compared to Freedmen's Town and surrounding neighborhoods—as these independent municipalities were originally upscale neighborhoods that became even more exclusive.

The Heights area northwest of downtown also clustered together in this group. This area contains older, architecturally-unique housing with attractive characteristics. These housing characteristics, as well as its near-downtown location, encouraged gentrification in this area, as upper-income professionals refurbished the housing units, but in the process displaced many of the original residents. In addition, the Rice Military area, near the upscale and exclusive River Oaks neighborhood, has also very recently experienced forces of physical and social upgrading in combination with gentrification and private-sector 'block-busting'. Visual surveys of the area indicate the level and pace of upgrading with large upscale townhomes dwarfing in size the original small, deteriorated cottages. Many older units have been acquired and cleared, with land remaining vacant, exerting additional downward pressure on surrounding property values.

The historic African-American community of Freedmen's Town, a classic transition zone area adjacent to Houston's downtown, has experienced severe forces of physical and social upgrading in the form of private-sector 'block-busting' and locally-driven urban renewal. Over the past ten years, developers have been successful in quickly

acquiring large numbers of properties, which now form large tracts of privately held land. As noted in the thesis, land that was acquired with the use of public money has also been transferred to developers. These acquisitions have resulted in the construction of upscale townhomes and lofts with the resulting displacement of many original residents. The original residents of this area were largely lower-income and minority populations, and further disadvantaged by being renters. They have been unable to politically organize and stop the destruction and social upgrading of their historic community.

This research has introduced the potential complexity involved in physical and social upgrading, which can occur in different forms, and/or in different combinations, throughout a city at any one point in time. It appears that the most important influences in determining what physical upgrading type, or what combination of physical upgrading types, will take place in a community is determined by the nature of the housing stock and the local demographic factors. While it cannot be reasonably assumed that the multiple private and public interests involved in Houston's urban revitalization have conspired to enable such an effective large-scale redevelopment and displacement program, a unique synergy has developed with the various public infrastructure upgrading projects, financial public aid packages, large scale private sector 'block-busting', and the smaller-scale gentrification processes. Within this context, the original occupants of these downtown, and west of downtown neighborhoods, had little chance to resist the physical and social changes taking place in Houston's central city.

Freedmen's Town

The historic Freedmen's Town, a classic transition zone area, has been in conflict with the city over space for over eighty years. The first significant disputes began in the 1930s, as the city acquired land in the eastern part of the Fourth Ward (of which Freedmen's Town is a part of) for the westward expansion of Houston's downtown. In the early 1940s, the city acquired thirty-seven more acres, by eminent domain, for the construction of a public housing project reserved for whites. This area made up the oldest, and historically the most significant, part of Freedmen's Town. As the area continued to decline physically and economically through the 1970s and 1980s, the city and private developers continued to maintain a strong interest in Freedmen's Town because of its near-downtown location.

Property was soon being acquired by developers, with the use of private-sector 'block-busting' tactics, to further lower property values and to make later acquisitions of property easier. This particular physical upgrading process, large-scale 'block-busting', likely occurred here because of the large amount of deteriorated property in the area and the large number of renters that occupied these housing units—who were largely powerless to stop the changes taking place in their community. In addition to the quality of the housing stock, it was also likely that the high percentage of African-Americans in this neighborhood discouraged whites from attempting to gentrify this area.

The city was also actively involved in purchasing land, with public money, that was then sold to private developers at below-market prices. It is likely that the city was more actively involved in the acquisition of property in this area because of the increased political sensitive nature of tearing down the historic African-American 'mother-ward'.

The end result has been the construction of upscale townhomes and lofts that are likely not affordable to any of the original residents. The ongoing redevelopment process in the neighborhood is also slowly pricing out any of the remaining original residents.

The redevelopment of Freedmen's Town has also been taking place while the city has been actively promoting cultural and ethnic neighborhoods as an important dimension of its economic development strategy, and more generally, in the promotion of local tourism. Houston's African-American community is not part of the city's new celebration of ethnicity. In fact, one of the private-sector redevelopment plans for Freedmen's Town entails a 'historic walk' through the area with various historic markers, but without any of the original residents and minimal remnants of the original housing stock being there.

Historically, Freedmen's Town has experienced some of the most dramatic and significant changes in Houston. This has included the loss of this area's historically significant neighborhood, and most importantly, the displacement of its original residents. It is for this reason that Freedmen's Town was an area of focus for this thesis. On the one hand, the analysis and the documentation into the loss of this community, and the resulting residential displacement, is an important record to maintain in the history of Houston. On the other hand, the understanding of physical and social upgrading processes is critical, and particularly for lower-income and minority populations, in understanding that they likely have a minimal role to play in an urban revitalization process. Calls for urban revitalization and calls for a new appreciation of a city's downtown should generally be a signal for lower-income and minority populations occupying the central city that conflict over space, and more specifically, the land on which they live, is imminent.

Research Contribution and Future Directions

This thesis offers a number of contributions to the existing literature on urban revitalization and to urban policymakers interested in downtown revival. This analysis into Houston's urban renaissance illustrates the complexity in physical and social upgrading that was required in the 'revival' of Houston's central city. And the thesis shows the resulting social, historic, and cultural losses that result from the razing of culturally-rich communities and the displacement of their original residents. This analysis also illustrates the role of Houston's local government in tearing apart and redeveloping Freedmen's Town, in order to accommodate housing for an upper-income, white clientele.

This thesis is also important because of its contribution in the form of the dataset of the physical, socioeconomic, and demographic changes that have occurred within Harris County and the city of Houston since 1980. Of specific importance is the in-depth quantitative and qualitative analysis of the changes that have taken place in the African-American Freedmen's Town area. The loss of this historic community must be recorded for the unique characteristics and qualities it contained, and to preserve its important memory as a community and social network of Houston's African-American population. Within the dataset of changes that have occurred in Houston, the analysis also utilized a unique set of census variables to document the turnover in housing stock and residents, both important indicators of change in a neighborhood.

The real appreciation of Houston's new interest in pluralism and ethnicity also emerges once again in this study. At the same time that many city departments are celebrating pluralism and ethnicity in Houston, city officials are actively involved in

developing programs that are razing ethnic neighborhoods and displacing their minority populations. In the Houston context, consulting groups are being called into the city to provide advice on urban design characteristics and neighborhood qualities that can be effectively marketed in the newly built ethnic communities, while at the same time, 140-year old historically significant ethnic neighborhoods are being torn down and the traditional residents displaced (Vojnovic 2003b). More generally, this leads to a broader issue regarding the new interest in central cities across the U.S., and the potential impacts that this new interest in central city lifestyles might have on cultural and historic resources.

Another issue in Houston is with the business leaders (including developers) and local officials encouraging physical upgrading as a development process that is beneficial to the city as a whole, while ignoring the social implications of residential displacement. The displacement only shifts the 'problem', the city's minority and lower-income populations, to another part of the city. It does not in any way deal with the local urban pressures associated with substandard housing, poverty, poor educational infrastructure, the lack of employment opportunities, and/or the inadequate wages for these populations. This also leads to the question, 'do the city officials and local economic leaders even have an interest in solving local urban stresses?' Based upon the city's history, there is likely little interest in even attempting to resolve these basic urban issues. For instance, the city has a long history of under-providing services to low-income and minority neighborhoods, which according to local public officials is a result of Houston's 'laissez-faire' approach to urban management. At the same time, however, as this thesis has demonstrated, city officials heavily subsidize local developers. Corporate welfare is

considered far more acceptable than social welfare. In fact, recently the city has failed to capitalize on the opportunity to build affordable housing, a suggestion even proposed by some Houston developers.

In terms of future research, studies on urban revitalization in Houston and on the full economic and social effects of displacement are still necessary. This includes questions such as: ‘where exactly did the citizens relocate?’; ‘how successfully were they in finding affordable and safe housing?’, ‘how extensive were their financial burden resulting from displacement?’, and ‘how successfully were the displaced residents in connecting with neighbors in their new community when compared to the social networks they maintained in their former neighborhoods?’ This after-the-fact research, however, presents a challenge as researchers encounter difficulty in tracking down residents after an area has already experienced displacement, and especially when those displaced were renters.

In this analysis, it should also be recognized that as the research focuses on numbers of people being displaced, the emotional pain and psychological harm that occurs to the original residents is not quantifiable. As argued by Jay Harman (2003), perhaps researchers must find ways to empathize with the groups being studied and not simply count the numbers of those being mistreated. The next step in approaching displacement literature might seek to establish new research methods to capture the emotional and psychological side effects of the displaced populations of urban revitalization policies and programs, something that has been largely missing over the last five decades of studies on displacement.

Another issue of interest is to research whether there has been evidence in the U.S. of relocation assistance being incorporated into an urban revitalization initiative, and if so, how successful has this been? In the policy end of research on developing solutions to residential displacement resulting from local urban revitalization, a study might focus on the design of a preparation plan that could be considered a necessary part of any urban redevelopment program that might possibly produce residential displacement. In fact, such a preparation plan could be required by law as part of planning documents and legislation. It could be similar to the federal Uniform Relocation Act of 1970, which defends the legal right to decent affordable relocation housing and assistance for those affected by the acquisition of property for Federal or federally funded projects, but expanded to state and local initiatives (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 2005).

The other possible solution, and direction for further research, might be to explore the possibilities of incorporating marginalized groups into the central city redevelopment initiatives. Recent research has pointed to a number of successes with mixed-income housing projects (Wilson 1987, Quercia 1997, Kleit 2001, Crump 2003). In these cases, property values were maintained while lower-income housing units and residents were integrated into middle- to upper-income neighborhoods. In the Canadian context, this has also been successfully accomplished in the St. Lawrence housing project in the city of Toronto (Ryerson Polytechnical Institute 1989). In the building of the St. Lawrence, developers were offered density bonuses to provide attractive lower-income and affordable housing to be mixed-in with market rate housing. This mixed-income housing project has provided an adequate setting for the integration of social classes, and yet

provides an attractive neighborhood environment for Toronto residents in general. In addition, the project brings in tourism, as many want to see an example of a large-scale mixed-income housing project that functions with reasonable success.

Previous research has shown that renters are some of the residents most easily susceptible to displacement. This has also been supported by the Houston case study. Renters of property, especially homes, are at the mercy of their landlord who is continually searching for the highest returns on property. If a higher use exists, they will often quickly remove their tenants either through ending their lease or through questionable evictions. Renters are powerless to fight this process as they are forced to search for new rental housing. Renting is also a continual drain of resources for many of the lower-income renters that are living paycheck-to-paycheck, and it prevents renters from building long-term equity in a home. One of the keys to success for fighting forces of displacement is home-ownership. Home-owners have more power than renters in claiming their rights against redevelopment pressures. If they do choose to sell, they can at least attempt to get the highest price possible for their property. It is recognized, however, that redevelopment pressures are also exerted on home-owners, as evidenced by private-sector 'block-busting' and the expanded recent use of eminent domain. Nevertheless, home-ownership can provide a stronger starting point for residents to protect their rights than does renting and provide the stability that many of these lower-income citizens need to be successful and improve their situation.

Based upon some of these research implications and future research needs, several important policy recommendations can be introduced. As described above concerning the perpetual difficulties of renters and the economic and social benefits of homeownership,

further policies need to be developed to make the dream of home ownership a reality for all citizens. These policies must be focused towards lower-income residents who often simply do not understand the process of home financing and purchasing a home. Savings for a down payment must also be encouraged and simplified. As various forms of physical and social upgrading are encouraged by city officials or begin to develop by the private sector, the effects upon original, especially lower-income, residents must be anticipated. Policies should provide relocation assistance, if necessary, for citizens that might end up being displaced because of the forces of physical and social upgrading. This assistance should be in the form of financial as well as personal assistance from case workers in identifying adequate areas of relocation and to assist in the entire process of being displaced. Underlying this issue is the absolute necessity of proper, adequate, and competent representation of the effected citizens of these areas. This includes legal and political representation as necessary. And as beneficial as described above, mixed-income communities should be encouraged through financial and housing policies as well as issues and policies related to zoning.

This thesis has explored the complex and multi-faceted nature of urban revitalization and its impact on the social upgrading that can occur within a city. The research has shown that the physical upgrading processes can be of different types, or in combinations, depending on the built environment and demographic characteristics of the particular neighborhoods being upgraded. It has been also shown that even in the model 'laissez-faire' city, local public officials have been extensively involved in the physical and social upgrading process. In addition, while these upgrading processes are encouraged by city and business leaders as beneficial to the city and its residents, the

negative social implications likely follow a similar pattern in all cities encouraging central city revitalization. Despite the predominantly positive claims by local policy-makers, urban revitalization will generally be coupled with the displacement of often lower-income, minority populations, who will be pressured out of their traditional neighborhoods into other parts of the city. Thus, considerable effort and resources are devoted to simply shifting urban ‘problems’—the marginalized populations—to different parts of the city, instead of actually attempting to alleviate some of these urban stresses.

7 APPENDIX

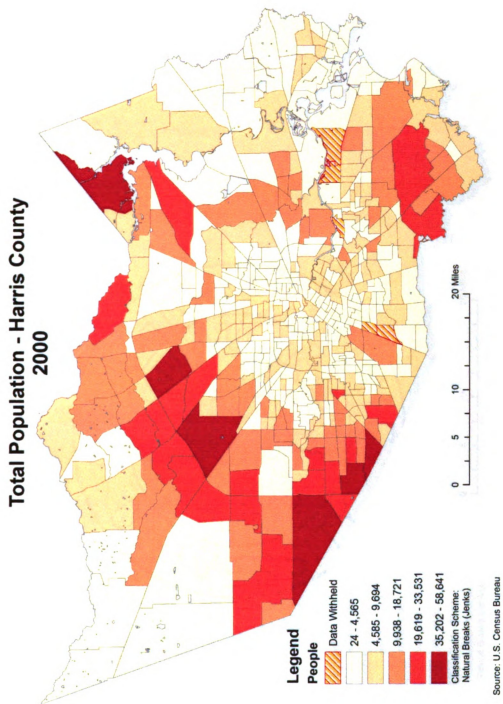


Figure 7.1— Map of the total population – Harris County, 2000

**Change in the Percentage of Census Tract that is Black - Harris County
1980-2000**

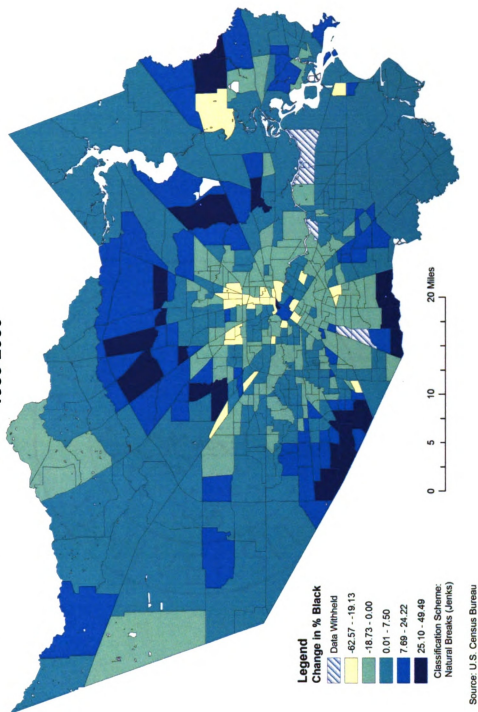


Figure 7.2 – Map of the change in the percentage of census tract that is Black – Harris County, 1980-2000

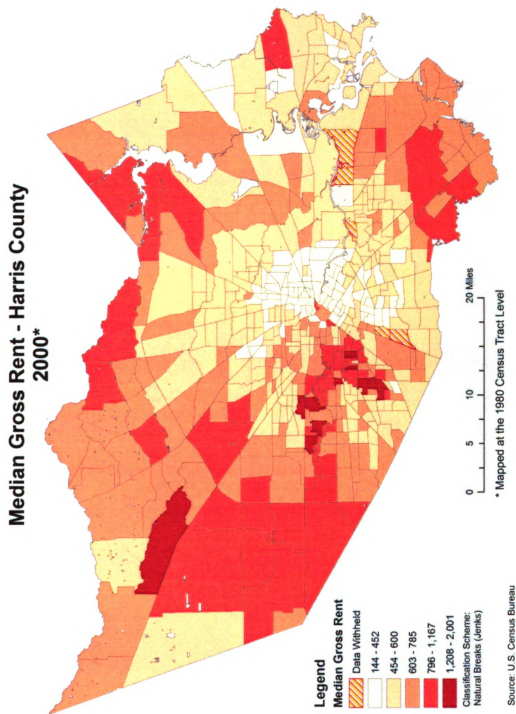


Figure 7.3 – Map of median gross rent – Harris County, 2000

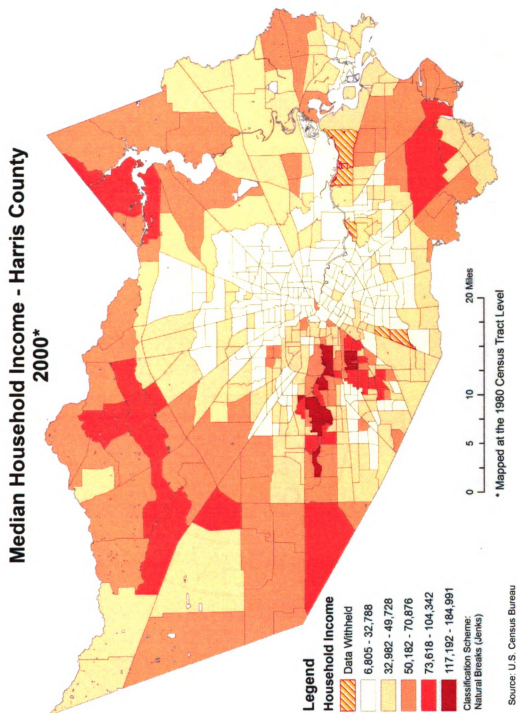


Figure 7.4 – Map of median household income – Harris County, 2000

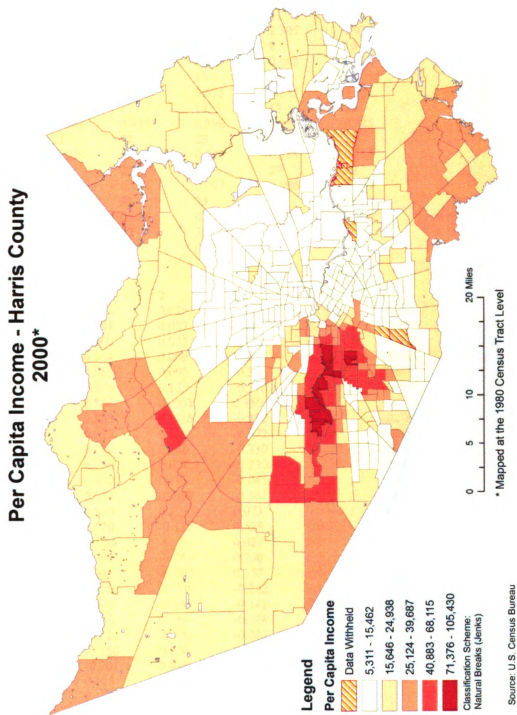


Figure 7.5 – Map of per capita income – Harris County, 2000

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Latent Roots (Eigenvalues)

1	2	3	4	5
10.906	6.142	3.132	2.305	1.974
6	7	8	9	10
1.765	1.543	1.303	0.988	0.912
11	12	13	14	15
0.831	0.760	0.695	0.555	0.541
16	17	18	19	20
0.468	0.435	0.396	0.355	0.325
21	22	23	24	25
0.270	0.242	0.228	0.188	0.165
26	27	28	29	30
0.133	0.113	0.097	0.086	0.049
31	32	33	34	35
0.043	0.024	0.012	0.009	0.005
36	37	38		
0.003	0.002	0.000		

Component loadings

	1	2	3	4	5
CP_HSLD3	0.932	0.036	0.110	0.088	-0.104
CP_FAM3	0.931	0.083	0.041	0.080	-0.122
CP_OCC3	0.900	0.025	0.166	0.123	-0.108
CP_HU3	0.884	0.009	0.254	0.139	-0.169
CPEMP3	0.883	0.098	-0.366	-0.133	0.047
CP_2503	0.876	0.135	-0.376	-0.175	0.059
CP_OW3	0.868	-0.003	0.150	0.110	-0.173
CP_PRO3	0.865	-0.016	-0.322	-0.142	-0.030
CP_HS3	0.827	0.038	-0.372	-0.133	0.028
CP_FHH3	0.794	0.166	-0.330	-0.226	0.051
CP_RENT3	0.760	0.071	-0.330	-0.206	0.091
CP_BL3	0.670	0.198	-0.041	0.231	-0.016
CP_CG3	0.652	-0.059	-0.361	-0.065	0.047
CP_HISP3	0.560	0.229	0.073	-0.044	0.272
CP_POP3	0.520	-0.117	0.528	0.056	0.612
CP_FAM3	0.190	0.000	0.027	0.274	-0.195
CP_HU3	0.296	0.000	0.250	0.031	0.021
CP_OCC3	0.246	0.000	0.157	0.077	0.037
CP_HU3	0.129	0.000	-0.242	0.244	-0.099
CP_OW3	0.049	0.000	-0.140	0.256	0.018
CP_PRO3	0.010	0.000	-0.028	0.031	-0.365
CP_HS3	-0.120	0.000	-0.027	-0.497	0.049
CPOVFAM3	-0.156	0.626	0.214	-0.044	-0.091
CHISP3	-0.201	0.619	-0.028	-0.021	-0.093
CP_MGR3	0.125	-0.599	-0.145	0.259	-0.041
CHHPI3	0.102	0.502	0.088	0.339	-0.050
CP_HU3	0.456	-0.023	0.716	-0.096	-0.198
CP_WHS	0.331	-0.167	0.508	-0.031	0.723
CPLUMB3	-0.045	0.178	0.259	-0.504	0.205
CBLACK3	0.230	0.393	0.146	0.50	0.098

Table 7.1 – Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 1

(Variable names/codes are the same as those listed in Table 4.2 on pg. 143 except that the '3' has been moved to the end of the variable name for the program 'Systat' to operate.)

CP80OM3	0.154	-0.06	0.465	-0.436	-0.558
CPLM_N3	0.078	0.317	0.124	-0.348	0.159
CP80RMI3	0.417	-0.117	0.294	-0.412	0.020
CP_PCI3	0.041	-0.431	-0.126	0.158	-0.046
CP_HHPI3	0.154	0.494	-0.048	0.265	0.127
CP_FAMP3	0.182	0.455	-0.042	0.200	0.061
CP_VAC3	0.423	-0.143	0.499	-0.094	-0.477
CMDAGE3	-0.243	-0.204	-0.404	-0.471	-0.058

	6	7
CP_HSLD3	-0.240	0.096
CP_FAM3	-0.243	0.099
CP_OCC3	-0.277	0.115
CP_HU3	-0.216	0.110
CPEMP3	0.091	-0.058
CP_2503	0.057	-0.076
CP_OWN3	-0.286	0.108
CP_PRO3	0.143	-0.070
CP_HS3	0.060	-0.057
CP_FHH3	0.056	-0.087
CP_RENT3	-0.119	-0.050
CP_BL3	0.015	0.153
CP_CG3	0.084	-0.020
CP_HISP3	0.159	-0.176
CP_POP3	-0.052	-0.131
CCGRAD3	0.039	0.187
CPRO3	0.089	0.008
CHSGRAD3	0.079	0.082
CP_MHHI3	0.167	0.151
CP_MVAL3	0.041	0.161
CFMHH3	0.173	0.014
CWH3	-0.215	-0.008
CPOVFAM3	-0.098	-0.046
CHISP3	-0.437	-0.021
CP_MGR3	0.096	0.040
CHHPI3	0.251	0.020
CP80HU3	0.169	-0.123
CP_WH3	0.031	-0.190
CPLUMB3	0.035	0.702
CBLACK3	0.513	0.021
CP80OM3	0.205	-0.144
CPLM_N3	0.166	0.771
CP80RMI3	0.363	-0.243
CP_PCI3	0.207	0.211
CP_HHPI3	0.326	0.138
CP_FAMP3	0.284	0.079
CP_VAC3	0.240	-0.040
CMDAGE3	0.422	-0.040

Table 7.2 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 2

(Variable names/codes are the same as those listed in Table 4.2 on pg. 143 except that the '3' has been moved to the end of the variable name for the program 'Systat' to operate.)

Variance Explained by Components

1	2	3	4	5
10.906	6.142	3.132	2.305	1.974
6	7			
1.765	1.543			

Percent of Total Variance Explained

1	2	3	4	5
28.701	16.163	8.242	6.066	5.195
6	7			
4.644	4.061			

Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions

Rotated Loading Matrix (VARIMAX, Gamma = 1.0000)

	1	2	3	4	5
CP_2503	0.978	-0.007	0.035	0.089	0.054
CPEMP3	0.964	0.053	0.047	0.118	0.052
CP_PRO3	0.920	0.152	0.145	0.082	0.028
CP_HS3	0.912	0.087	0.034	0.062	0.027
CP_FHH3	0.902	-0.070	0.063	0.065	0.055
CP_RENT3	0.855	-0.033	-0.036	-0.077	0.071
CP_FAM3	0.740	0.045	0.174	0.073	0.059
CP_CG3	0.732	0.181	-0.025	0.049	0.013
CP_HSLD3	0.703	0.080	0.210	0.059	0.114
CP_OCC3	0.639	0.084	0.209	0.053	0.124
CP_OWN3	0.618	0.097	0.232	0.018	0.063
CP_HU3	0.579	0.109	0.311	0.091	0.120
CP_BL3	0.537	0.062	0.029	0.348	0.033
CP_HISP3	0.500	-0.134	0.119	0.251	0.395
CP_FH3	-0.011		0.121	-0.165	-0.069
CP_FH3	0.084		-0.050	-0.096	-0.124
CP_FH3	-0.030		-0.124	-0.154	-0.010
CP_FH3	-0.107		-0.217	0.007	-0.219
CP_FH3	0.049		0.183	-0.217	0.219
CP_FH3	0.061		0.296	-0.256	0.287
CP_FH3	0.052		-0.042	-0.082	-0.019
CP_FH3	-0.164		0.074	0.216	-0.066
CP_PC13	0.001	0.550	-0.021	0.020	-0.087
CP80RM13	0.009	-0.083	0.587	-0.162	-0.120
CP_VAC13	0.127	0.166	0.599	0.074	-0.011
CP80RM13	0.084	-0.000	0.568	0.105	0.328
CP80RM13	0.333	0.033	0.593	-0.043	0.352
CBLACK3	0.058	0.018	0.074	0.845	0.157
CWH3	-0.035	0.316	0.076	-0.785	0.087
CP_HHP13	0.136	-0.162	-0.098	0.641	0.024
CHHP13	0.014	-0.215	0.036	0.624	-0.037
CP_FAMP3	0.170	-0.175	-0.031	0.553	0.000
CP_WH3	0.084	0.070	0.069	-0.016	0.963
CP_POP3	0.208	0.076	0.112	0.039	0.893
CMDAGE3	0.083	0.135	0.065	-0.184	-0.219
CPLM_N3	0.072	-0.135	0.012	0.167	-0.018

Table 7.3 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 3

(Variable names/codes are the same as those listed in Table 4.2 on pg. 143 except that the '3' has been moved to the end of the variable name for the program 'Systat' to operate.)

CPLUMB3	-0.065	0.163	0.068	-0.091	0.091
CFMHH3	0.065	-0.492	0.173	0.460	-0.379
	6	7			
CP_2503	0.050	-0.000			
CPEMP3	0.058	-0.003			
CP_PRO3	0.037	-0.026			
CP_HS3	0.054	-0.018			
CP_FHH3	0.014	0.019			
CP_RENT3	0.118	0.019			
CP_FAM3	0.613	0.038			
CP_CG3	0.008	-0.022			
CP_HSLD3	0.636	0.040			
CP_OCC3	0.689	0.044			
CP_OW3	0.680	0.024			
CP_HU3	0.696	0.039			
CP_BL3	0.385	0.066			
CP_HISP3	0.040	-0.017			
CCGRAD3	0.223	-0.070			
CP_MHHI3	-0.024	-0.091			
CP_MVAL3	0.052	-0.063			
CHISP3	0.224	-0.006			
CHSGRAD3	0.116	-0.004			
CPR3	0.128	-0.041			
CP_MGR3	0.031	-0.163			
CPÖVFAM3	0.106	0.058			
CP_PCI3	-0.056	0.060			
CP80OM3	-0.017	0.039			
CP_VAC3	0.236	0.008			
CP80HU3	0.312	0.029			
CP80RMI3	-0.208	0.041			
CBLACK3	0.053	-0.040			
CWH3	-0.189	0.094			
CP_HHPI3	-0.011	0.125			
CHHPI3	0.107	-0.028			
CP_FAMP3	-0.006	0.080			
CP_WH3	0.102	0.048			
CP_POP3	0.312	0.045			
CMDAGE3	-0.739	0.104			
CPLM_N3	-0.003	0.916			
CPLUMB3	-0.017	0.916			
CFMHH3	0.005	0.031			

Table 7.4 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 4

(Variable names/codes are the same as those listed in Table 4.2 on pg. 143 except that the '3' has been moved to the end of the variable name for the program 'Systat' to operate.)

"Variance" Explained by Rotated Components

1	2	3	4	5
8.664	5.059	2.942	3.240	2.638
6	7			
3.426	1.798			

Percent of Total Variance Explained

1	2	3	4	5
22.800	13.313	7.741	8.526	6.942
6	7			
9.017	4.733			

Scree Plot

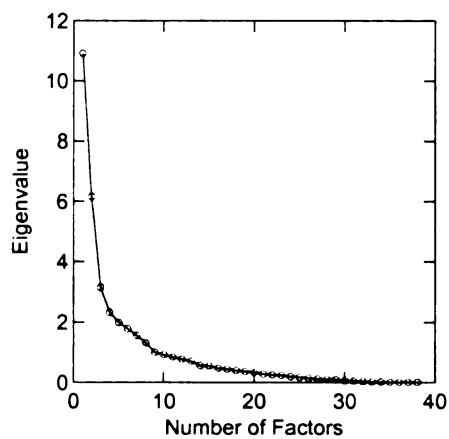


Table 7.5 - Principal Components Analysis, Varimax Rotation, 7 Dimensions, Pg. 5

Census Tract	Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	White Population (#) Change	% Change in White Population	Change in Census Tract that is white	Black Population (#) Change	% Change in Black Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is Black	Hispanic or Latino Population (#) Change	% Change in Hispanic Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is Hispanic
	3CPOP	3CP_POP	3CWH_N	3CP_WH	3CWH	3CBL_N	3CP_BL	3CBLACK	3CHISP_N	3CP_HISP	3CHISP
237.00	672	56.42%	358	31.16%	-15,583	158	2633.33%	8,299	167	355.32%	7.54
250.00	2587	216.85%	2432	205.41%	-3,584	16	800.00%	0.309	147	735.00%	2.74
260.00	2806	1484.66%	1766	954.59%	-32,742	507	12675.00%	14,945	625	0.00%	20.87
262.00	2315	194.50%	1975	228.32%	8,350	79	120.77%	-1,367	377	103.01%	-9.55
317.02	1039	267.10%	365	257.04%	-1,000	331	152.53%	-17,409	148	1843.75%	8.83
341.00	496	118.40%	-73	-23.21%	-48,746	404	720.88%	36,869	207	406.00%	16.03
342.00	24	2.70%	-429	-63.95%	-48,875	391	566.22%	42,490	65	33.11%	6.54
400.25	1177	102.35%	853	108.11%	1,954	161	236.76%	3,928	-46	-11.17%	-20.10
400.26	-5118	-74.45%	14	2.02%	30,223	-3718	-85.35%	-27,037	168	23.76%	39.54
401.01	464	19.97%	188	9.16%	-7,959	52	28.89%	0.576	214	128.92%	6.49
401.02	-530	-15.26%	-340	-13.04%	1,975	7	10.29%	0.591	-750	-46.35%	-17.10
402.01	45	0.77%	-172	-3.34%	-3,605	2	2.30%	0.023	586	79.51%	9.88
402.02	-144	-3.53%	-230	-6.83%	-2,822	-105	-37.77%	-2,421	-97	-9.14%	-1.51
404.02	105	2.86%	-227	-6.43%	-8,672	58	126.09%	1,500	109	69.43%	2.76
405.01	-912	-22.02%	-4615	-17.22%	5,317	-100	-71.94%	-2,149	-740	-71.15%	-15.82
406.00	521	9.18%	312	5.66%	-3,108	0	-0.44%	-0.089	135	52.73%	1.80
407.01	2617	55.41%	2271	54.19%	-0,698	-20	-9.48%	-1,865	193	44.57%	-0.64
407.02	990	30.72%	754	24.98%	-4,114	41	74.55%	0.572	115	47.52%	0.97
408.00	832	23.79%	580	16.80%	-5,574	10	200.00%	0.204	69	81.18%	1.13
410.00	777	13.64%	414	7.36%	-5,422	15	214.29%	0.217	144	79.66%	1.84
411.00	180	13.16%	95	7.16%	-5,132	16	0.00%	1.035	3	3.09%	-0.63
412.01	-811	-17.20%	-1021	-22.91%	-6,518	-17	-18.48%	-0.030	67	40.61%	2.44
412.02	492	10.59%	58	1.30%	-8,066	18	40.00%	0.257	160	74.42%	2.67
413.02	-47	-1.65%	-83	-3.18%	-1,428	-2	-4.17%	-0.043	-165	-56.70%	-5.72
417.01	374	6.69%	-99	-1.82%	-7,757	39	229.41%	0.635	75	26.50%	0.94
417.02	211	5.12%	-39	-1.00%	-5,511	18	360.00%	0.410	-53	-12.59%	-1.72

Table 7.6 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen's Town; Table 1 of 14.

Census Tract	Total Population Change	% Change in Total Population	White Population (#) Change	% Change in White Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is white	Black Population (#) Change	% Change in Black Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is Black	Hispanic or Latino Population (#) Change	% Change in Hispanic Population	Change in % of Census Tract that is Hispanic
418.01	-101	-4.18%	-238	-10.27%	-6.094	18	1800.00%	0.779	35	19.34%	1.84
418.02	208	7.36%	27	1.02%	-5.519	21	175.00%	0.663	-66	-19.13%	-3.01
419.02	-98	-4.26%	-71	-3.39%	0.826	44	400.00%	2.020	-93	-37.05%	-3.74
419.03	1533	220.89%	1265	197.65%	-6.678	73	260.71%	0.501	184	593.55%	5.19
420.01	966	29.81%	847	27.32%	-1.837	25	147.06%	0.474	106	65.03%	1.36
420.02	452	8.27%	183	3.61%	-3.990	40	37.97%	0.532	130	27.03%	1.52
440.02	159	3.77%	-1	-0.02%	-3.546	-6	-27.27%	-0.156	65	70.65%	1.41
440.04	-96	-2.56%	-306	-8.39%	-5.818	0	0.00%	0.006	56	77.78%	1.58
505.01	890	66.55%	728	68.90%	1.116	-9	-18.17%	-1.788	108	15.52%	-15.93
505.02	-1526	-36.17%	-550	-26.29%	7.674	-826	-75.71%	-16.019	-1112	-44.41%	-7.66
506.01	-1221	-34.04%	-1118	-36.07%	-5.002	-23	-36.06%	-0.055	-657	-39.99%	-4.13
506.02	-1769	-29.77%	-1120	-24.22%	6.148	2	2.86%	0.547	-1191	-48.98%	-11.19
507.01	-766	-18.23%	-479	-14.68%	3.376	21	110.53%	0.712	5	0.31%	8.69
511.00	-1320	-19.39%	-1705	-33.82%	-13.254	-3	-2.48%	0.323	415	13.64%	18.29
512.00	-1466	-19.33%	-1334	-23.02%	-3.495	93	150.40%	1.721	-368	-13.49%	2.61
513.00	9	0.26%	70	3.11%	1.880	-292	-79.04%	-8.579	342	26.10%	9.92
513.01	-225	-4.58%	-81	-2.14%	1.976	-347	-63.67%	-8.869	-689	-41.04%	-13.06
515.02	-617	-22.15%	-597	-26.70%	4.688	55	119.57%	3.007	-360	-30.45%	-4.77
524.00	-624	-33.00%	39	70.30%	4.569	-631	-35.88%	-3.988	-19	-24.10%	0.56
545.01	13716	431.19%	12273	396.03%	-6.447	393	3572.73%	2.045	1050	739.44%	2.59
MEDIAN	170	4.45%	7	0.50%	-3.797	17	57.27%	0.367	72	26.30%	1.47

Table 7.7 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 2 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Median age (years)	Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	Change in Total Population 25 years and over	% Change in Population 25 years and over	Change in Total High School Graduates	% Change in HS Graduate	Change in the % of CT that are High School Graduates	Change in Total College Graduate	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates
	3CMDAGE	3CHSLD	3CP_HSLD	3C_250	3CP_250	3CHS_N	3CP_HS	3CHSGRAD	3CCG_N	3CP_CG	3CCGRAD
237.00	6.1	249	66.76%	584	93.14%	594	160.11%	20.52	295	2950.00%	23.59
250.00	4.6	877	213.36%	1681	245.04%	1556	501.94%	33.64	180	580.65%	4.40
260.00	0.4	891	1485.00%	1694	1677.23%	1488	4960.00%	54.87	193	1378.57%	-2.33
262.00	10.7	833.5	216.49%	1578	264.32%	1586	617.12%	41.69	432.5	0.00%	19.89
317.02	-4.1	578	437.88%	802.5	405.30%	814	689.83%	33.56	611	1797.06%	47.30
341.00	2.9	117.33	65.18%	271.19	100.07%	232.2	161.25%	16.25	102.3	0.00%	18.87
342.00	0.9	10.33	3.60%	52.19	10.65%	124.2	49.29%	17.96	65.3	176.49%	11.32
400.25	-4.8	759	165.72%	1076	140.47%	1213	265.59%	31.15	984	540.66%	39.54
400.26	3.9	-1625	-70.53%	-2393	-69.18%	-468	-48.05%	19.31	-13	-9.85%	7.35
401.01	2.4	243	17.78%	583	31.62%	403	25.93%	-3.64	484	53.66%	8.19
401.02	3.2	124	8.18%	25	1.18%	548	17.60%	24.95	467	88.28%	21.55
402.01	4.4	-74	-2.12%	214	4.84%	632	44.23%	9.89	851	46.55%	16.46
402.02	5.8	4	0.18%	398	13.74%	666	32.73%	12.03	356	31.17%	6.20
404.02	3.9	56	2.82%	296	11.12%	447	18.22%	5.89	638	39.97%	15.57
405.01	7.9	-138	-6.01%	-241	-8.29%	321	14.17%	19.08	696	71.09%	29.15
406.00	6.0	245	9.58%	718	17.34%	866.25	22.77%	4.25	994.25	37.82%	11.08
407.01	0.7	1949	73.02%	2476	70.70%	2651	85.10%	7.50	2700	165.54%	25.88
407.02	4.6	665	33.18%	1075	45.98%	1322	67.17%	12.22	1264	121.07%	22.97
409.00	2.5	20	1.32%	240	9.27%	524	23.09%	11.09	997	73.91%	30.81
410.00	4.0	-25	-1.00%	289	6.89%	772	21.39%	11.68	1204	52.90%	23.37
411.00	-1.5	-85	-12.08%	-84	-7.93%	107	13.08%	17.63	278	70.74%	31.71
412.01	7.3	-77	-5.43%	4	0.18%	129	6.42%	5.73	386	27.87%	17.53
412.02	1.0	167	7.57%	438	13.15%	607	19.86%	5.44	1027	52.64%	20.45
413.02	-1.4	-250	-18.29%	-298	-13.00%	-93	-4.54%	8.67	452	44.93%	29.21
417.01	4.8	-108	-4.83%	-123	-3.12%	355	10.51%	12.05	1445	103.21%	38.96
417.02	6.4	-7	-0.43%	125	4.58%	508	23.05%	14.26	1052	127.36%	35.52

Table 7.8 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 3 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Median age (years)	Change in Total Households	% Change in Households	Change in Total Population 25 years and over	% Change in Population 25 years and over	Change in Total High School Graduates	% Change in HS Graduate	Change in the % of CT that are High School Graduates	Change in Total College Graduate	% Change in Total College Graduates	Change in the % of CT that are College Graduates
418.01	7.2	-67	-6.57%	-72	-4.20%	119	8.41%	10.87	454	80.07%	29.10
418.02	9.6	170	15.04%	401	21.55%	611	40.65%	12.69	738	130.85%	27.25
419.02	4.0	-26	-2.34%	37	2.15%	148	9.61%	6.55	395	46.75%	21.46
419.03	2.1	1102	238.01%	1370	306.43%	1388	333.65%	6.26	1141	443.97%	19.45
420.01	2.1	477	33.52%	930	38.04%	1088	48.16%	6.78	939	66.50%	11.91
420.02	5.6	155	4.62%	415	9.67%	618.75	15.68%	5.04	1132.75	53.36%	19.70
440.02	3.2	112	8.24%	-790	-21.56%	284	11.35%	28.65	438	24.99%	28.39
440.04	3.2	27	2.25%	-32	-1.33%	0	0.00%	1.30	298	18.55%	13.50
505.01	8.3	574.2	113.48%	924.98	122.35%	1012.47	308.68%	36.36	552.06	471.85%	24.33
505.02	4.5	-9	-0.76%	-363	-15.97%	499	70.28%	32.06	441	390.27%	24.03
506.01	7.5	-307.8	-21.33%	-360.84	-17.23%	301.54	29.25%	27.65	314.32	111.86%	20.93
506.02	7.3	-523.6	-20.34%	-566.4	-14.81%	692.8	34.57%	30.38	698.6	88.77%	25.02
507.01	4.2	-139	-8.32%	-186	-7.04%	426	32.30%	21.14	497	150.15%	21.19
511.00	3.7	-510.6	-20.16%	-579.6	-14.43%	668.4	46.61%	25.46	436.4	174.56%	13.74
512.00	6.5	-466.75	-13.96%	-308.5	-6.49%	846.25	35.63%	22.49	941.75	129.01%	22.24
513.00	7.1	416.35	39.73%	462.1	24.58%	816.35	104.26%	26.64	601.85	473.90%	24.36
515.01	8.2	502	24.72%	861	28.80%	1667	99.23%	30.73	1559	275.93%	36.26
515.02	3.4	-184	-13.38%	-110	-6.20%	146	13.53%	12.78	238	44.65%	16.26
524.00	7.2	-163.73	-24.62%	-288.25	-25.33%	250.44	68.43%	40.38	108.36	200.67%	14.36
545.01	4.8	4485	497.23%	8816	523.20%	8532	600.42%	10.45	4534	1023.48%	21.10
MEDIAN	4.3	41,5000	3.21%	255,5950	9.47%	600,5000	33.65%	15.25	524,5300	88.52%	21.34

Table 7.9 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 4 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Total Families	% Change in the Number of Total Families	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families below poverty level	Change in % of Families below the poverty level	Change in Female-Headed Households	Change in % of HH that are Female-Headed	% Change in Female-Headed Households	Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total Housing Units	Change in Owner-Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units
	3CFAM_N	3CFAM	3CFAMP	3CFAM_F	3CPOVFA	3CFMH_N	3CFMH	3CF_FH	3CHSUNIT	3CP_HU	3COWNER	3CP_OW
237.00	167	46.27%	1	9.09%	-0.84	20	0.53	80.00%	264	65.35%	246	73.65%
250.00	671	180.38%	37	462.50%	2.16	71	0.87	253.57%	878	165.04%	786	223.30%
260.00	753	1255.00%	32	0.00%	3.94	76	0.18	1520.00%	908	1396.92%	834	1489.29%
262.00	662.5	199.55%	29.5	113.46%	-2.25	79.5	3.15	418.42%	932.5	249.33%	774.5	295.61%
317.02	191	178.50%	11.5	164.29%	-0.33	46	-4.62	255.56%	633	349.72%	121.5	120.30%
341.00	93.11	73.31%	-6.82	-31.00%	-10.43	42.52	13.20	850.40%	162.41	101.51%	125.57	109.19%
342.00	3.11	1.43%	-14.82	-49.40%	-6.93	25.52	8.32	116.00%	-28.59	-8.15%	7.57	3.25%
400.25	79	43.89%	-19	-73.08%	-11.74	2	-3.78	6.90%	685	83.84%	185	225.61%
400.26	-1059	-74.84%	-664	-87.37%	-26.74	-545	-12.96	-84.10%	-1661	-64.96%	-71	-88.27%
401.01	-32	-7.49%	-14	-38.89%	-2.86	-7	-0.96	-14.58%	579	35.30%	46	16.61%
401.02	-150	-26.09%	-64	-57.14%	-8.18	-44	-3.28	-36.67%	157	9.17%	28	8.24%
402.01	-65	-5.95%	25	34.72%	2.85	-41	-1.08	-21.69%	-29	-0.77%	279	23.54%
402.02	-64	-9.77%	-33	-37.50%	-4.13	-48	-2.19	-35.82%	-36	-1.44%	233	46.32%
404.02	5	0.68%	-6	-100.00%	-0.81	-16	-0.91	-16.84%	-52	-2.30%	142	17.53%
405.01	-222	-29.25%	-7	-15.91%	1.09	-62	-2.48	-43.97%	-438	-15.62%	219	44.42%
406.00	218.25	14.55%	10	55.56%	0.43	-46.75	-2.21	-29.78%	345.25	12.92%	247	14.42%
407.01	353	33.97%	14	35.00%	0.03	18	-2.27	10.71%	1714	50.16%	395	47.53%
407.02	176	26.55%	-27	-56.25%	-4.74	-23	-2.57	-16.79%	852	37.04%	281	60.96%
409.00	224	21.83%	-19	-65.52%	-2.03	-20	-1.41	-16.95%	-19	-1.17%	54	3.97%
410.00	203	12.08%	-2	-10.53%	-0.23	-83	-3.26	-37.22%	-204	-7.32%	136	6.38%
411.00	6	1.65%	6	100.00%	1.60	-17	-1.75	-33.33%	-84	-11.49%	-1	-0.27%
412.01	28	3.72%	-7	-35.00%	-0.99	-35	-2.18	-33.02%	-89	-5.84%	74	8.54%
412.02	133	10.96%	-16	-38.10%	-1.53	14	0.18	10.77%	239	10.47%	43	3.30%
413.02	-90	-10.29%	4	36.36%	0.65	-28	-0.97	-29.79%	-164	-12.28%	48	5.12%
417.01	-159	-8.59%	-43	-74.14%	-2.38	-53	-2.05	-27.46%	-66	-2.88%	51	2.71%
417.02	39	3.30%	32	640.00%	2.61	7	0.47	4.43%	9	0.52%	98	7.97%

Table 7.10 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 5 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Total Families	% Change in the Number of Total Families	Change in Families Below Poverty Level	% Change in Families Below poverty level	Change in % of Families below the poverty level	Change in Female-Headed Households	Change in % of HH that are Female-Headed	% Change in Female-Headed Households	Change in Total housing units	% Change in Total Housing Units	Change in Owner-Occupied housing units	% Change in Owner-Occupied Housing Units
418.01	-51	-7.25%	-34	-100.00%	-4.84	-36	-3.04	-33.64%	-28	-2.72%	35	4.71%
418.02	12	1.52%	-6	-16.22%	-0.82	19	0.39	20.43%	59	4.54%	219	29.28%
419.02	-9	-1.50%	-14	-100.00%	-2.33	58	5.34	580.00%	-50	-4.15%	74	10.56%
419.03	221	190.52%	0	0.00%	0.00	34	0.50	309.09%	1061	173.37%	-29	-26.61%
420.01	219	22.28%	-21	-100.00%	-2.14	13	-0.36	22.03%	636	41.87%	437	41.23%
420.02	113.75	10.11%	17	34.69%	0.97	-14.25	-0.57	-11.59%	251.75	6.72%	-41	-3.61%
440.02	46	3.65%	-8	-50.00%	-0.66	-31	-2.61	-34.83%	146	10.60%	117	8.88%
440.04	-36	-3.20%	2	7.41%	0.26	6	0.41	13.64%	55	4.54%	46	3.97%
505.01	216.71	78.52%	30.78	102.60%	1.47	34.73	-1.93	70.88%	645.3	119.94%	332.23	160.50%
505.02	-393	-46.07%	-111	-57.22%	-4.70	-107	-8.98	-49.77%	47	3.37%	-71	-22.54%
506.01	-278.38	-34.33%	6.16	8.00%	6.12	-60.94	-2.47	-39.57%	-480.6	-27.81%	-0.34	-0.07%
506.02	-529.4	-36.88%	-90.2	-54.01%	-3.16	-83.2	-1.76	-35.86%	-678.6	-23.26%	-71.4	-5.77%
507.01	-364	-33.43%	-36	-27.27%	1.12	-17	-0.26	-10.83%	-153	-8.58%	5	0.53%
511.00	-555	-31.70%	-52.6	-29.39%	0.35	-33.8	0.93	-12.95%	-496	-18.08%	-206.2	-15.73%
512.00	-424.75	-24.44%	-45.75	-24.60%	-0.02	-34	0.15	-12.41%	-512	-13.89%	-51.25	-3.63%
513.00	39.75	5.70%	-26.65	-25.38%	-4.43	19.8	-1.82	16.92%	388	31.49%	213.45	41.37%
515.01	-95	-7.84%	-56	-45.53%	-4.15	-49	-3.83	-25.26%	727	31.16%	608	67.93%
515.02	-134	-27.97%	6	17.14%	4.58	-12	-0.20	-16.67%	-81	-5.51%	23	10.80%
524.00	-150.31	-31.45%	-78.93	-57.20%	-10.84	-6.84	4.68	-5.56%	-203.32	-26.65%	-108.05	-24.39%
545.01	4069	485.50%	82	512.50%	0.09	252	2.09	900.00%	4572	420.61%	4414	533.09%
MEDIAN	9,0000	1.59%	-7,0000	-26.33%	-0.82	-15,1250	-1.03	-12.68%	51,0000	3.95%	86,0000	9.73%

Table 7.11 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 6 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in % of Occupied Housing Units that are Owner-Occupied	Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	% Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	Change in % of Occupied Housing Units that are Renter-Occupied	Change in Occupied Housing Units	% Change in Occupied Housing Units	Change in Vacant Housing Units	% Change in Vacant Housing Units	Change in Median gross rent (\$)	% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	Change in Median Value of Owner-occupied Housing (\$)	(Adjusted)
	3CRENTE1	3CP_RENT	3CP_OCC	3COCCUP	3CVAC	3CP_VAC	3CMGRN	3CP_MGR	3CMVALUE			
237.00	4.18	1	2.44%	-4.18	247	65.87%	25	119.05%	-343.34	-42.53%	58822.94	
250.00	2.84	116	34.18%	2.84	902	233.68%	33	37.08%	220.65	42.57%	18992.66	
260.00	3.26	55	916.67%	-3.26	889	1433.87%	19	633.33%	269.59	36.17%	-58514.68	
282.00	11.05	90	97.83%	-11.05	864.5	244.21%	68	340.00%	-39.33	-6.60%	35977.06	
317.02	-32.59	430.5	755.26%	32.59	552	349.37%	81	352.17%	57.93	8.42%	26644.95	
341.00	4.75	20.76	57.67%	-4.75	146.33	96.91%	17.08	213.50%	13.18	2.49%	10293.58	
342.00	6.23	-22.24	-28.15%	-6.23	-14.67	-4.70%	-11.92	-32.22%	65.94	13.82%	6623.85	
400.25	5.95	519	120.42%	-5.95	704	137.23%	-19	-6.25%	392.36	75.36%	42889.91	
400.26	0.20	-1481	-69.63%	-0.20	-1552	-69.57%	-107	-33.02%	68.65	25.59%	-31003.67	
401.01	0.36	158	13.99%	-0.36	204	14.51%	392	180.65%	40.46	5.78%	45187.16	
401.02	-0.40	123	10.70%	0.40	151	10.14%	6	2.67%	143.61	25.04%	63515.60	
402.01	8.59	-321	-14.13%	-8.59	-42	-1.21%	13	3.96%	17.67	2.96%	77148.62	
402.02	10.20	-198	-11.88%	-10.20	35	1.61%	-71	-21.71%	42.55	7.22%	33642.20	
404.02	5.77	-83	-7.08%	-5.77	59	2.98%	-111	-40.36%	1.56	0.25%	93775.23	
405.01	11.92	-402	-21.73%	-11.92	-183	-7.81%	-254	-55.22%	266.90	46.73%	83881.65	
406.00	2.75	6	0.72%	-2.75	253	9.93%	93.25	76.43%	142.13	19.25%	270051.40	
407.01	4.69	1563	85.46%	4.69	1958	73.61%	-244	-32.23%	225.23	31.08%	-6662.39	
407.02	4.63	395	25.83%	-4.63	676	33.92%	176	57.33%	361.56	57.53%	49634.96	
409.00	4.33	-68	-36.76%	-4.33	-14	-0.91%	-5	-6.67%	85.80	9.62%	214811.93	
410.00	6.42	-163	-43.70%	-6.42	-27	-1.08%	-177	-62.99%	870.61	100.95%	129656.88	
411.00	7.53	-89	-26.65%	-7.53	-90	-12.71%	6	26.09%	34.06	6.51%	238471.56	
412.01	9.74	-168	-29.53%	-9.74	-94	-6.55%	7	8.14%	108.43	15.76%	-123894.95	
412.02	-3.49	209	19.28%	3.49	209	9.66%	31	26.27%	186.97	29.54%	28001.83	
413.02	16.66	-241	-64.61%	-16.66	-193	-14.73%	30	120.00%	513.12	101.23%	42714.68	
417.01	6.45	-153	-44.09%	-6.45	-102	-4.58%	37	59.68%	309.06	31.41%	146089.91	
417.02	6.84	-117	-27.34%	-6.84	-19	-1.15%	29	48.33%	85.22	9.11%	67283.49	

Table 7.12 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 7 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in % of Occupied Housing Units that are Owner-Occupied	Change in Renter-Occupied housing units	% Change in Renter-Occupied Housing Units	Change in % of Occupied Housing Units that are Renter-Occupied	Change in Occupied housing units	% Change in Occupied Housing Units	Change in Vacant housing units	% Change in Vacant Housing Units	Change in Median gross rent (\$)	% Change in Median Gross Rent (Adjusted)	Change in Median Value of Owner-occupied Housing (\$)
418.01	6.05	-65	-27.08%	-6.05	-30	-3.05%	1	2.08%	64.60	6.24%	42173.39
418.02	8.94	-62	-15.70%	-8.94	157	13.74%	-97	-62.18%	304.30	38.68%	47534.86
419.02	6.75	-73	-18.91%	-6.75	1	0.09%	-51	-42.15%	-56.48	-7.82%	21994.50
419.03	-17.69	1116	302.44%	17.69	1087	227.41%	-26	-19.40%	150.83	19.87%	32221.10
420.01	4.72	32	8.63%	-4.72	469	32.77%	167	189.77%	137.89	17.63%	133184.40
420.02	-2.71	201	9.07%	2.71	160	4.77%	99.75	26.04%	147.10	21.67%	196918.07
440.02	0.14	1	2.86%	-0.14	118	8.72%	28	116.67%	61.21	5.34%	108584.40
440.04	0.40	-4	-15.38%	-0.40	42	3.55%	13	46.43%	854.21	74.49%	108184.40
505.01	8.68	245.97	83.38%	-8.68	578.2	115.18%	67.1	186.39%	4.04	0.73%	72837.61
505.02	-5.02	24	2.65%	5.02	-47	-3.85%	96	55.49%	254.75	56.96%	17120.18
506.01	10.77	-372.46	-36.80%	-10.77	-372.8	-24.72%	-99.8	-47.06%	-64.51	-11.39%	53870.64
506.02	8.47	-435.2	-32.97%	-8.47	-506.6	-19.81%	-168	-47.19%	54.25	9.81%	50749.54
507.01	4.73	-124	-17.34%	-4.73	-119	-7.21%	-33	-24.81%	-38.98	-6.74%	31016.51
511.00	2.44	-283.4	-23.60%	-2.44	-489.6	-19.49%	-4.4	-1.91%	30.61	5.34%	17453.21
512.00	5.17	-423.5	-21.83%	-5.17	-474.75	-14.17%	-30.25	-9.22%	-10.35	-2.00%	54366.81
513.00	2.17	167.9	29.61%	-2.17	381.35	35.21%	6.65	4.46%	17.01	3.16%	50245.87
515.01	16.14	-147	-12.49%	-16.14	461	22.25%	273	107.48%	79.38	13.26%	121103.67
515.02	4.13	-190	-16.59%	-4.13	-167	-12.30%	86	76.79%	-10.42	-1.48%	44207.34
524.00	0.90	-62.68	-27.37%	-0.90	-170.73	-25.41%	-32.59	-35.81%	1.33	0.33%	19181.65
545.01	6.12	65	81.25%	-6.12	4479	493.28%	93	51.96%	525.11	63.77%	-32522.94
MEDIAN	4.74	-42.1200	-12.18%	-4.74	50.5000	3.26%	10.0000	17.09%	74.01	11.54%	46361.01

Table 7.13 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 8 of 14.

Census Tract	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	Change in Median Household Income (\$)(Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	Change in Per capita Income (\$)(Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	Change in # of Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	Change in % of Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	Change in Housing Units Lacking complete plumbing facilities	% of Total Housing Units lacking complete plumbing facilities
	3CP MVAL	3CMHHINC	3CP MHHI	3CPCPINC	3CP PCI	3CHHPI N	3CHHPI	3CP HHPI	3CPH N	3CPHMB
237.00	60.35%	7844.04	14.90%	3785.28	21.42%	15	1.34	150.00%	9	1.05
250.00	27.60%	10801.09	26.25%	5318.68	35.14%	-13	-3.66	-81.25%	12	-1.49
260.00	-42.52%	-10188.76	-13.91%	-4192.49	-16.48%	0	0.00	0.00%	-1	-1.54
262.00	46.41%	18405.76	43.07%	10410.66	78.23%	-32	-8.84	-91.43%	10	0.00
317.02	40.34%	-2341.29	-4.73%	10855.71	54.96%	13.5	1.90	0.00%	-6	-3.31
341.00	14.16%	11569.84	32.28%	-2183.95	-11.84%	2.31	0.78	0.00%	-0.72	-2.11
342.00	8.67%	8072.14	20.52%	95.86	0.59%	-12.69	-4.45	-84.60%	2.28	0.78
400.25	27.30%	28557.88	109.87%	14897.43	67.46%	0	0.00	0.00%	-43	-5.26
400.26	-36.73%	13795.87	125.94%	7568.88	126.29%	-811	-29.38	-93.54%	-56	-1.68
401.01	31.08%	11887.61	27.41%	17656.37	50.36%	-30	-2.19	-100.00%	-6	-0.51
401.02	44.96%	12001.51	37.58%	16900.39	89.48%	-54	-3.59	-91.53%	-13	-0.90
402.01	49.25%	13702.30	40.86%	15135.50	58.54%	-16	-0.43	-27.59%	-9	-0.23
402.02	21.79%	10470.88	31.03%	11544.39	50.44%	-67	-3.04	-80.54%	-52	-2.08
404.02	27.20%	17661.89	42.53%	30626.30	82.66%	-12	-0.60	-100.00%	-17	-0.75
405.01	48.76%	10589.38	29.96%	15327.22	52.52%	-22	-0.91	-56.41%	-23	-0.82
406.00	58.87%	58705.36	62.21%	25932.63	32.62%	11	0.32	55.00%	2	0.02
407.01	-3.17%	15866.04	36.00%	17446.19	49.40%	-8	-0.55	-33.33%	-8	-0.42
407.02	28.66%	15869.27	44.85%	16937.51	59.57%	-16	-0.98	-51.61%	-1	-0.15
409.00	107.04%	82658.74	135.71%	42872.39	141.09%	-10	-0.67	-52.63%	9	0.56
410.00	53.63%	61305.63	92.27%	37867.53	110.53%	-19	-0.76	-79.17%	-32	-1.15
411.00	116.82%	43260.12	113.82%	29504.94	107.23%	-23	-3.27	-100.00%	-1	-0.10
412.01	-37.10%	41453.67	70.02%	15057.29	49.61%	2	0.17	50.00%	-2	-0.13
412.02	9.90%	35038.18	64.26%	17132.15	46.76%	-15	-0.70	-68.18%	-9	-0.39
413.02	22.80%	44734.34	76.87%	11152.37	27.67%	-15	-1.10	-100.00%	-2	-0.15
417.01	92.99%	44701.77	75.10%	23425.99	88.53%	-46	-2.04	-86.79%	-4	-0.17
417.02	51.83%	28513.36	53.78%	17638.03	75.48%	-11	-0.66	-39.29%	-2	-0.12

Table 7.14 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 9 of 14.

Census Tract	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing (Adjusted)	Change in Median Household Income (\$) (Adjusted)	% Change in Median Household Income (Adjusted)	Change in Per capita income (\$) (Adjusted)	% Change in Per Capita Income (Adjusted)	Change in # of Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	Change in % of Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	% Change in Households Receiving Public Assistance Income	Change in Housing Units Lacking complete plumbing facilities	% of Total Housing Units lacking complete plumbing facilities
418.01	30.80%	25122.97	44.36%	15738.28	58.46%	-23	-2.25	-100.00%	-3	-0.29
418.02	32.08%	28299.75	47.60%	26381.83	104.44%	-46	-4.07	-100.00%	-6	-0.46
419.02	8.74%	38067.70	65.39%	29733.80	71.40%	-28	-2.52	-100.00%	-3	-0.25
419.03	28.10%	12415.62	27.81%	17544.09	53.75%	8	0.51	0.00%	-5	-0.82
420.01	29.03%	20699.29	18.61%	36743.72	54.20%	-16	-1.27	-66.67%	5	0.13
420.02	42.93%	89658.20	182.93%	29763.77	46.60%	-25	-0.77	-60.98%	7	0.14
440.02	23.67%	25243.54	17.28%	13456.32	17.85%	-24	-1.77	-100.00%	-2	-0.15
440.04	23.58%	33936.84	23.68%	22979.87	36.21%	0	0.00	0.00%	0	0.00
505.01	85.83%	16277.42	50.80%	15143.21	95.26%	-5.01	-2.46	-26.37%	8.84	0.54
505.02	28.17%	10490.64	41.17%	10375.26	108.17%	-134	-11.32	-87.01%	-42	-3.02
506.01	53.75%	8595.26	28.33%	13465.98	91.78%	-70.82	-4.62	-82.35%	0.48	0.44
506.02	45.91%	23693.53	69.66%	15150.72	80.63%	-78.4	-2.79	-75.38%	-59.6	-1.98
507.01	32.59%	11018.78	31.65%	8773.16	56.01%	-75	-4.43	-87.21%	-15	-0.80
511.00	22.92%	5218.69	15.85%	4331.39	30.64%	-16.6	-0.31	-32.55%	-15.8	-0.36
512.00	58.82%	11325.73	40.64%	9304.97	59.52%	-113.25	-3.22	-77.04%	-20.5	-0.42
513.00	71.83%	8338.72	27.49%	10192.03	88.54%	-55.15	-5.80	-73.53%	4.3	0.01
515.01	104.76%	18790.71	45.55%	37617.39	181.93%	-83	-4.20	-87.37%	0	-0.33
515.02	54.45%	7756.52	20.43%	8369.39	39.13%	-23	-1.62	-82.14%	4	0.35
524.00	40.80%	4699.92	24.23%	5052.29	54.63%	-77.02	-9.86	-68.77%	2.79	1.36
545.01	-18.32%	8404.37	10.96%	6545.33	26.55%	1	-1.46	6.25%	4	-0.23
MEDIAN	31.58%	15927.65	40.75%	15139.35	55.49%	-17 8000	-1.54	-74.46%	-2.0000	-0.27

Table 7.15 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 10 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over	% Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over	Change in # of Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
	3CEMP	3CEMP	3CPRO_N	3CP_PRO	3CPRO
237.00	303	54.11%	367	198.38%	30.93
250.00	1385	296.57%	951	613.55%	26.53
260.00	1428	1830.77%	895	2983.33%	22.96
262.00	1203	253.26%	818	423.83%	19.62
317.02	628	306.34%	633	555.26%	34.07
341.00	131.62	48.93%	86.75	84.22%	9.07
342.00	11.62	2.99%	17.75	10.32%	3.15
400.25	1157	222.93%	1173	499.15%	38.73
400.26	-873	-53.23%	-18	-5.71%	19.51
401.01	206	12.96%	308	22.55%	7.30
401.02	54	2.82%	660	67.83%	32.11
402.01	-17	-0.41%	186	6.33%	4.80
402.02	-91	-3.17%	330	18.39%	13.89
404.02	68	2.89%	298	15.56%	10.02
405.01	-416	-16.19%	375	23.98%	29.18
406.00	454.75	16.26%	546.25	22.57%	4.70
407.01	2178	69.61%	2273	89.98%	9.70
407.02	595	28.31%	736	41.77%	8.80
409.00	375	22.37%	509	34.86%	8.89
410.00	570	20.27%	622	24.49%	3.17
411.00	-65	-8.90%	-17	-2.81%	5.54
412.01	-81	-3.93%	65	3.76%	6.71
412.02	601	24.10%	698	32.91%	6.04
413.02	-176	-10.87%	68	5.26%	14.45
417.01	-54	-1.81%	340	14.71%	13.03
417.02	-93	-3.82%	409	24.24%	20.20

Table 7.16 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 11 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over	% Change in Employed civilian population 16 years and over	Change in # of Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	% Change in Persons whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'	Change in the % of census tract whose Occupation is considered 'Professional'
418.01	-154	-10.62%	16	1.45%	10.26
418.02	-119	-7.13%	182	15.29%	17.23
419.02	-129	-9.31%	114	10.95%	16.80
419.03	1294	215.67%	1189	220.19%	1.29
420.01	372	22.36%	505	35.36%	9.12
420.02	452.25	12.87%	621.75	20.79%	5.97
440.02	-147	-8.13%	-123	-7.53%	0.59
440.04	-311	-19.00%	-255	-17.42%	1.74
505.01	657.55	98.00%	664.64	202.63%	25.83
505.02	-318	-18.38%	419	97.22%	35.29
506.01	-376.5	-21.56%	168.48	21.77%	24.49
506.02	-511.8	-16.58%	382.6	22.47%	25.82
507.01	19	1.01%	297	30.87%	15.11
511.00	-196.8	-6.52%	326.8	26.66%	14.41
512.00	-688.25	-18.20%	407.25	22.59%	23.77
513.00	311.05	21.81%	477.95	73.87%	19.39
515.01	507	20.11%	1126	84.41%	28.33
515.02	-105	-6.18%	143	14.62%	12.75
524.00	-307.41	-39.56%	5.67	2.52%	20.16
545.01	6969	460.00%	5912	584.19%	14.81
MEDIAN	36.5000	2.85%	378.8000	24.11%	14.43

Table 7.17 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 12 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	Change in 1980 Renter-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Renter-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
		3CP80HU		3CP80OMI		3CP80RMI
237.00	-215	-52.57%	-227	-69.21%	-45	-83.33%
250.00	8	1.66%	-135	-40.42%	-35	-63.64%
260.00	-3	-4.23%	-36	-67.92%	-15	-100.00%
262.00	237.5	62.17%	-76	-27.54%	-86.5	-98.30%
317.02	-22	-14.86%	-63.5	-72.16%	-30	-100.00%
341.00	-26.45	-15.56%	-99.75	-70.74%	-21	-100.00%
342.00	-202.45	-58.51%	-188.75	-82.07%	-77	-100.00%
400.25	-444	-54.61%	-84	-100.00%	-438	-100.00%
400.26	-2139	-83.69%	-96	-94.12%	-2105	-99.29%
401.01	-750	-43.94%	-301	-92.90%	-1081	-94.41%
401.02	-531	-32.36%	-214	-73.04%	-1121	-98.94%
402.01	-1176	-31.07%	-1055	-89.03%	-2242	-98.68%
402.02	-805	-32.24%	-413	-82.11%	-1659	-99.52%
404.02	-637	-28.21%	-639	-78.89%	-1173	-100.00%
405.01	-1344	-47.93%	-405	-82.15%	-1796	-97.08%
406.00	-530.5	-19.85%	-1234.25	-72.05%	-819	-97.97%
407.01	-1110	-32.48%	-632	-76.05%	-1809	-98.91%
407.02	-1142	-49.65%	-352	-75.86%	-1481	-96.86%
409.00	-797	-49.17%	-1109	-81.48%	-173	-93.51%
410.00	-1142	-40.99%	-1741	-81.66%	-373	-100.00%
411.00	-300	-41.04%	-305	-81.55%	-289	-86.53%
412.01	-413	-27.10%	-620	-71.51%	-553	-97.19%
412.02	-475	-20.81%	-974	-74.75%	-841	-97.68%
413.02	-483	-36.54%	-649	-71.48%	-387	-100.00%
417.01	-976	-42.58%	-1420	-75.45%	-333	-95.97%
417.02	-505	-29.38%	-882	-71.71%	-428	-100.00%

Table 7.18 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 13 of 14.

Census Tract	Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	% Change in 1980 Housing Stock That Remained in 2000	Change in 1980 Owner-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Owner-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	Change in 1980 Renter-Occupied Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before	% Change in Renter-Occup. Housing Units: Householder Moved in 1979 or before
418.01	-434	-41.53%	-593	-75.93%	-216	-100.00%
418.02	-572	-44.79%	-525	-73.94%	-385	-91.89%
419.02	-298	-24.63%	-503	-71.65%	-386	-98.47%
419.03	-114	-18.75%	-105	-100.00%	-368	-100.00%
420.01	-481	-31.67%	-823	-77.64%	-371	-100.00%
420.02	-1141.5	-30.58%	-921.75	-81.14%	-2194	-98.96%
440.02	-270	-19.61%	-843	-63.62%	-28	-100.00%
440.04	-375	-30.94%	-774	-66.84%	-26	-100.00%
505.01	418.97	79.35%	-85.82	-41.26%	-282.43	-97.73%
505.02	-767	-54.59%	-221	-70.38%	-894	-98.13%
506.01	-732.06	-42.36%	-373.24	-75.25%	-1006.06	-99.41%
506.02	-1121	-38.43%	-993.8	-80.34%	-1305.6	-98.91%
507.01	-343	-19.23%	-704	-75.29%	-687	-96.08%
511.00	-848	-30.90%	-993.4	-75.77%	-1168.2	-97.27%
512.00	-1188.75	-32.29%	-1096.75	-77.73%	-1910	-98.45%
513.00	72.75	5.91%	-331.85	-64.31%	-548.8	-96.79%
515.01	-879	-37.37%	-586	-67.59%	-1188	-96.59%
515.02	-412	-28.49%	-168	-69.71%	-1052	-96.34%
524.00	-291.19	-39.40%	-276.22	-59.66%	-202.16	-92.73%
545.01	-311	-28.61%	-550	-66.43%	-72	-90.00%
MEDIAN	-482.0000	-31.95%	-514.0000	-75.00%	-433.0000	-98.46%

Table 7.19 – Data of individual census tracts experiencing characteristics of redevelopment similar to Freedmen’s Town; Table 14 of 14.

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