GENTRIFICATION AND CRIME IN AUSTIN

1980-1990

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate College of
Southwest Texas State University
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements

For the Degree of

Master of Applied Geography

By

Jason Holoubek, B.A.

San Marcos, Texas
July 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

GENTRIFICATION AND CRIME IN AUSTIN

1980-1990

by

JASON BRATISLAV HOLOUBEK, B.A.
Southwest Texas State University
May 2000

SUPERVISING PROFESSOR: FREDERICK A. DAY

Previous studies examining the gentrification process, the rehabilitation of working class and derelict housing resulting in the transformation of an area into a middle-class neighborhood, have either ignored the crime rate of the area or have investigated fluctuations in the crime rate after the onset of gentrification. Utilizing census block group data for gentrification and census tract-level crime data, this research suggests that a high crime rate hinders gentrification. Several variables, including the age of the housing stock, distance to the central business district, median per capita income, and median housing values allow a determination of gentrification potential in 1980. Those block groups with the potential to gentrify are then examined in 1990 to ascertain if a high rate of criminal activity is closely correlated to reduced gentrifying activity. Results showed neighborhood crime rates to be negatively correlated with gentrification, although the relationship is relatively weak.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Gentrification can be generally defined as the "middle-class resettlement of older inner-city neighborhoods formerly occupied by working-class and underclass communities" (Caufield 1990, IV). Smith and Williams (1986, 1) proposed a broader definition to include an upgrade in housing stock, "a process which operates in the residential housing market, referring to the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighborhood." Since the 1970s, researchers have examined gentrification in terms of analyzing its stages, the role private developers and governments have and can play, the characteristics of gentrifiers, the economic and social impacts of gentrification, the degree of displacement that occurs, the characteristics of the displaced and the characteristics of neighborhoods likely to undergo gentrification.

Neglected in this research has been the relationship between high rates of crime in a neighborhood and the lack of any subsequent gentrifying activity. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to address the questions: 1) Can a high crime rate in an area deter gentrification? And, if so, 2) At what level do crime rates inhibit a neighborhood from undergoing gentrification? That is, can criminal activity act as a barrier to middle-income migration in areas otherwise seen as desirable? Conversely, I asked how gentrification as a dynamic process might affect crime rates: Does a

neighborhood experiencing gentrification undergo an increase or decrease in criminal activity?

My thesis research examined the relationship between gentrification and crime rates. The research involved classifying Austin neighborhoods in 1980 as having the potential to gentrify or not and then determining if by 1990 those same neighborhoods had actually undergone gentrification. Then I analyzed crime rates over the same time period in those neighborhoods and examined the relationship between crime and gentrification.

Justification

Discovering a strong relationship between rates of crime and gentrification would give proponents and opponents alike a predictive tool for recognizing the likelihood of a particular area undergoing gentrification. DeGiovanni (1983) states that gentrification, even if recognized in its early stages, is extremely hard to counteract once underway. A reliable method of evaluating the likelihood of an area being gentrified would allow policy makers to react to the situation before gentrification begins.

This research also addressed an omission in the literature about the relationship between crime and gentrification. As mentioned earlier, few researchers have studied crime as a potential inhibitor to the gentrification process. Social scientists know that fear of crime plays an important role in residential site selection for most home purchasers (Dean 1990; Sampson and Woolredge 1986; Speare 1974),

and a need exists to examine the role the fears of potential gentrifiers play.

Austin has witnessed reinvestment in central commercial and residential areas in recent years. New residential construction in and surrounding the downtown areas follows a trend seen in many American cities today (Dewan 1999; McGovern 1998; Ruthheiser 1996). In the last few years, developers have constructed three large upscale apartment complexes in central Austin, including the Gables at Town Lake and the Gables at Central Park, minutes west and north of downtown respectively. The Statehouse on Congress is located about a mile from downtown, south of Town Lake. Rent for two bedroom apartments in the complexes averages about $1,200 per month, $370 higher than the average rent for a two-bedroom apartment of similar size in Austin (Madison 2000; Poe 2000). More recently, developers have been converting older warehouses and office buildings downtown into upscale condominiums, including the Brown Building at Seventh and Colorado, the Brazos Lofts at Fifth and Brazos, and the Avenue Lofts at Fifth and Trinity.

While these developments represent only a small fraction of recent residential growth in Austin, they have taken place in a part of town with little undeveloped land left, where large scale apartment developers generally shy away from; they are indicative of a renewed interest in central Austin. As the perception builds that central Austin is a desirable place to live, those traditional residential, single-family detached housing neighborhoods close to downtown become an increasingly rare commodity.

Possible Uses of Results

Given this renaissance of central Austin, it is important to learn as much as

possible about gentrification and residential site selection in order to design a

predictive tool. Such a tool would estimate to what degree this trend will continue,

and which central localities would be favored over others.

For instance, East Austin contains some of the last, centrally located,

affordable housing stock. Many of the houses have historical merit and might be seen

as attractive by potential gentrifiers (see Appendix, pages 46-63). Using current crime

data, my research might indicate which neighborhoods are likely to experience

reinvestment next. These projections would be of interest not only to real estate

professionals, but perhaps more important, to the current residents of East Austin.

They are certainly not eager to be priced out of neighborhoods they have long called

home. The homes of East Austin are strongly identified with by the local Hispanic

and African-American communities, and they undoubtedly benefit from the centrality

of these neighborhoods as well.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

History

       As the nineteenth century drew to a close, American cities still exhibited the

dense, centralized spatial form of the industrial revolution. Commercial activity was

centered around the Central Business District (CBD), often with industrial activity

mixed in the same area, focused on major transportation corridors such as railway

lines or waterways. Working class neighborhoods, required to be within walking

distance of the major factories, had high population densities and unpleasant living

conditions. The wealthier classes attempted to remove themselves as much as

possible from the urban squalor found near the CBD's, and, with the construction of

public street car lines and commuter railroads, wealthy people were increasingly able

to find refuge from city life in the new garden suburbs (Jackson 1981).

       This initial decentralization began a trend that has continued unabated until the

present. What began as a trickle of wealthy, suburban refugees became a massive

exodus away from central cities following World War II. The emerging middle-class,

enriched by government programs encouraging home ownership and empowered by

the private automobile, demanded the same amenities of suburban living already

enjoyed by the wealthy. This mass migration, often termed "white flight," left behind

inner cities with declining tax bases no longer able to maintain the eroding

infrastructure of an aging business district. To compound the problem, many industrial and retail firms left the CBD's, finding it no longer beneficial to pay for the premium land values of the traditional downtown. Improved transportation allowed many firms to relocate to the suburbs where land was less expensive and larger factories or stores could be built. Once vibrant downtowns could attract only office towers, home of the rapidly growing professional and managerial classes (Jackson 1981).

As older neighborhoods closest to downtown continued to decline, the paradoxical situation arose of having extremely high land values in a small core area centered around the traditional CBD, often surrounded by some of the most blighted neighborhoods in the entire metropolitan area. While the office tower workers commuted ever-increasing distances to work, affordable housing was very centrally located, but seen by the middle-class as undesireable.

Amidst continuing urban decentralization and inner city decay, a small but perceptible anomaly began to form. Certain existing centralized neighborhoods began to witness an influx of capital and wealthier classes, along with dramatically escalating property values (Medoff and Sklar 1994). This movement caught the imagination of urban planners, policy makers, and the media (Beauregard 1985). They viewed neighborhood revitalization, or gentrification as it came to be known, as a possible panacea to a host of urban ills. Might this not be a way to attract the much sought after middle-class back to the city?

The excitement over gentrification was such that only after some time was much concern raised over the fate of neighborhood residents displaced by rising property values (Smith 1979). There were also doubts expressed by some over the extent of gentrification and whether or not it was extensive enough to counter significantly the hemorrhaging of capital from central cities (Beauregard 1985). Neighborhood revitalization and/or gentrification became a focus of research with one of the first goals being to define the phenomenon.

Scholars have studied gentrification extensively since the 1970s. The process has been examined in terms of analyzing stages in the process, the role private developers and governments can play, the characteristics of gentrifiers, the economic and social impacts of gentrification, the degree of displacement that occurs, the characteristics of the displaced, and the characteristics of neighborhoods likely to undergo gentrification. Most researchers have not examined the role crime might play as an inhibitor to the gentrification process.

Literature Review

Early academic research on gentrification appeared in the 1970s. Smith (1979) described the gentrification process in terms of the rent-gap, a phenomenon that occurs in central city neighborhoods when capital depreciation in the current land uses (tenant housing) falls low enough that the potential ground rent of the land is significantly higher and reinvestment can occur. Smith cited studies showing that very few of the new residents in a gentrifying neighborhood had moved in from the

suburbs; most came from other areas in the central city. Gentrification, Smith stated,

was a back-to-the-city movement of capital, not people. Others have criticized the

rent-gap theory as an oversimplification (Bourassa 1993). Bourassa questioned the

assumption that rent-gaps exist for inner city neighborhoods prior to redevelopment.

In this view, actual and potential ground rent are the same. This ground rent for a

parcel of land changes as reinvestment in an area alters the public's perception of its

potential use (Bourassa 1993). Finally, Bourassa criticizes the rent-gap theory for not

explaining the location of reinvestment or changes in land use.

Another focus of research on gentrification has been the classification of

gentrification into stages that would allow for a more detailed examination of all the

factors involved. Gale (1980) identified distinct and observable stages in the

gentrification process in addition to identifying characteristics of gentrifiers. Gale

analyzed several studies of gentrifying neighborhoods in an attempt to develop a

national picture of the movement. Gale and others, such as Clay (1979), provided

descriptive models of stages in the process of gentrification. The initial stages

describe risk-oblivious singles or childless couples renovating homes for their

personal use. Little displacement occurs and institutional response is almost non-

existent. Later stages identify a procession of in-movers from the risk-prone to the

risk-adverse, as renovation activity spreads and financial institutions become more

likely to loan money for home rehabilitation. Sales prices and rents increase

dramatically with many rental properties being converted to owner occupancy,

resulting in the widespread displacement of the indigenous population. Both Gale and

Clay suggested these changes, in the same general order, can be observed in all gentrifying neighborhoods. Kerstein (1990), in a review of numerous other gentrification studies, concluded that stage models, while useful, must be refined to reflect the chaotic nature of the phenomena.

Stages of gentrification models were, with few exceptions, generalizations of the process and rarely mentioned any quantitative values, such as the degree of housing value increases or the rate of owner occupancy. They may have aided understanding, but had limited predictive value, reducing the value of such models. Also, crime rates in each of the stages were not discussed. It can be noted, however, that the labels given in-movers to describe the perceived financial risk of moving to such a neighborhood (risk-oblivious, risk-prone, and risk-adverse) could also be used to describe the attitudes of gentrifiers in their perception of crime in a neighborhood.

Several others have conducted research that refutes the stage models of gentrification. DeGiovanni (1983) utilized local data sources in three neighborhoods (two gentrifying, one not) each for six cities. Although the determination of whether or not a neighborhood was being revitalized was rather subjective (phone interviews with local officials and field observations), the rest of the investigation relied on hard data collected from a stratified random sample of properties within the subject neighborhoods. Information collected on the percent increase in single-family sales prices, percent of properties rehabilitated, percent properties sold, the percent sales that were speculative, and the percentage of rental properties converted to owner-occupancy did not conform to the previous stage models. Changes in housing activity

were abrupt and discontinuous. Many changes occurred simultaneously, instead of in

an ordered sequence of events. In addition, the first indicator of gentrification varied

among neighborhoods, and the beginning of the gentrification process did not

guarantee the entire area would be gentrified.

In a detailed study of four neighborhoods in Philadelphia, Beauregard (1990)

concluded that, both quantitatively (using census data) and qualitatively, the process

of gentrification was so varied and chaotic in nature that stage models would be of

little use. Local factors, such as neighborhood cohesiveness and political activism,

can alter the process greatly. Beauregard discovered the neighborhoods gentrified at

different rates, to various degrees of completion, and with a governmental

involvement ranging from crucial to nonexistent.

Wagner (1995) studied four census tracts in central Baltimore, comparing

1980 and 1990 census data. He found such typical characteristics of gentrification,

such as new construction, steeply rising property values, and reduced numbers of

persons per household occurring at the same time as the neighborhoods were

experiencing increases in the numbers of minorities and the availability of subsidized

housing. His findings likewise indicate the traditional stage models of gentrification

may not properly explain the uniqueness of each locale.

Gentrification and Crime

As stated, the literature contains little about neighborhood crime and its

possible effects on the process of gentrification. McDonald (1986) studied the

inverse: how gentrification affects crime rates. His study of central city

neighborhoods in fourteen American cities that experienced rapidly rising property

values between 1970 and 1984 showed that while gentrification leads to a reduction in

personal crime rates, it has no significant impact on property crime. McDonald

concluded that crime might even serve as a feedback mechanism and prevent

neighborhood stability once gentrification has begun. In a similar study Spain and

Bradway (1984), examined gentrifiers as victims of crime. A survey of renovators in a

gentrifying neighborhood in New Orleans showed them to be more likely to have been

victims of crime than other metropolitan New Orleans residents, partially due to their

visibility in previously low-income areas. These renovators were victims of violent

crimes at a rate 25 percent higher than the metropolitan average and were victims of

property crimes at a rate 54 percent higher than the metropolitan average. Despite

these statistics, the survey results confirmed that the renovators were more satisfied on

average with their neighborhoods than suburban New Orleans residents.

Crime and fear of crime are factors in the residential site selection of urban

dwellers (Dean 1990; Sampson and Woolredge 1986; Speare 1974; Taylor 1991).

Neighborhoods and even entire areas of cities may be eliminated from a prospective

home buyer's search area if they are deemed undesirable. Sampson and Woolredge

found evidence that high crime rates encourage migration of central city residents to

the periphery. Perception of crime and actual crime rates may vary considerably, and

people's "mental map" of their home town may vary greatly from geographic truth. An

individuals cognitive level of his surroundings is linked to travel patterns (Golledge

and Rushton 1976). Geographic perception is also influenced by something known as the deviation-amplification process, where positive information on an area or region causes more travel there, resulting in a greater familiarity with the area and a further increase in visits to that locale (Pocock and Hudson 1978). A neighborhood with a reputation for high levels of crime may be more of a limiting factor than one with high rates of crime.

What is not clear is to what degree fears of crime play in the minds of gentrifiers. The pioneering spirit of early gentrifiers as described by Gale (1980) might make fear of crime much less of a factor than for the general population. Spain and Bradway's (1984) results showing gentrifiers to be happy with their neighborhoods despite problems with crime support this theory. Although fear of crime may play less of a role with gentrifiers, it seems reasonable to assume it still is a concern.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I chose to study Austin for this study on gentrification and crime. Conversations with Austin planners (Frie 1995; Hall 1995) have led me to believe that enough private investment has occurred in older Austin residential neighborhoods for a valid study. Gentrification has not been extensively studied in Texas, making a city in the state a suitable choice. Living in the town I studied allowed me to conduct field surveys of all the neighborhoods in my study area (see Appendix).

The first step in the investigation involved selecting the proper scale of analysis. I conducted a pilot study to investigate census data and how the information is geographically organized. I concluded that information at the block group level would be used for my analysis. Once the ideal scale was determined, I examined neighborhoods in central Austin as they existed in 1980 for several criteria to establish which had the potential to undergo gentrification. For those selected, I employed another set of criteria to determine if gentrification had occurred by 1990. I then analyzed the degree to which the neighborhoods underwent gentrification with crime data in those neighborhoods to assess how gentrification and crime interact.

I selected 1980 for the beginning of the study period. This year represents a point in time prior to most of gentrification in the Austin area. The earliest gentrifying activity occurred in the Clarksville neighborhood (see Appendix, pages 68-

69), subsequent to the paving of Clarksville's roads in the late 1970s (Luckens 1996).

Census Data and Scale

Census data are one of the most easily obtained and comprehensive data sets

available to students studying urban issues. The U.S. Census Bureau tabulates

detailed population and housing characteristics every decade. The census categorizes

cities of fifty thousand or more people, with an additional fifty thousand living in

unincorporated suburbs, as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA). Austin fits this

definition. These MSA's are further subdivided into incorporated places, census

tracts, block groups and blocks (U.S. Department of Commerce 1994).

Census tracts are small, homogeneous, relatively permanent areas with an

average population of 4,000, although this figure can vary considerably. Block groups

are subdivisions of census tracts, with an average population of 700, while blocks are

usually only one city block in size, with an average population of 85 (U.S. Department

of Commerce 1994).

The census collects data through mailout and direct interviews of heads of

households. Only a few questions are asked of all households. These complete-count

questions covered only the most basic categories of population data, with a slightly

greater degree of detail for housing information in 1990 (U.S. Department of

Commerce 1994).

Complete-count questions cover such basic topics as age, race, gender and

marital status, as well as general characteristics of housing units, including tenure and

value. Other important information is asked only of every seventh household in what are termed sample questions. Of interest in a study of gentrification are such sample count items as educational attainment, occupation, income, year the structure was built, and the number of units in the structure (U.S. Department of Commerce 1994). Many researchers (Day 1995; Gale 1984; DeGiovanni 1983) have expressed concern that census tracts may be too large to track adequately local neighborhood variations. Austin's relatively low population density compared to older cities of the Northeast (where most gentrification research has taken place) only exacerbates this problem. A smaller geographic unit might allow a researcher to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of a particular neighborhood. Therefore, I conducted a pilot study to determine the most suitable scale of analysis for studying gentrification in Austin.

Pilot Study

Gentrification is a localized phenomenon, challenging the researcher to define properly and delimit a neighborhood's boundaries. This pilot study answered questions pertaining to the suitability of using census data in determining whether or not a neighborhood has the characteristics suitable for undergoing gentrification. In addition, I analyzed the census geographical unit most ideally suited for measuring gentrification.

Census tracts, as described earlier, may be too large and heterogeneous to properly analyze a neighborhood in transition. Census block data, while covering a very small area, are only available with complete-count data, making them unsuitable.

In addition, many blocks have such low populations that much information is omitted

to protect the privacy of the residents. Block groups, being the smallest census unit

with sample count data, may be the most appropriate for studying gentrification.

I selected Census Tracts 3.02 (primarily Hyde Park) and 14 (primarily Travis

Heights) as being representative of gentrifying neighborhoods in Austin (see

Appendix, pages 42-43 and 64, respectively). I also chose Tract 3.02 because it has

many apartment complexes. The pilot study evaluated the block group data to

determine if apartment complexes were geographically clustered. Both census tracts

are within three miles of the CBD, as measured from the Texas Capitol.

The pilot study confirmed that analysis of population and housing attributes as

they relate to gentrification should be conducted at the block group level. Although

the census defines census tracts as relatively homogeneous, significant variation exists

between different block groups. Census Tract 3.02 shows a median family income of

$15,402 in 1979, which varies from a low of $7,308 in Block Group (BG) 7 to a high

of $19,000 in BG 1. Census Tract 14, with a mean housing value of $57,000, has BG's

with mean housing values ranging from $38,900 in BG 4 to $72,200 in BG 6.

Perhaps the most important finding in the pilot study was the effect of

apartment complex clustering. For most information gathered, the census does not

differentiate between housing units located in large apartment complexes and those

found in standard, single-family detached dwellings. The many apartment complexes

in central Austin, serving the needs of University of Texas students, are not germane

to the study of gentrification. Students often have little or no income and are most

often renters. Statistically, they resemble lower socioeconomic classes, while in reality, they are generally from middle and upper class backgrounds. These apartments were almost all built after 1950. The criterion of any block group in this study, having at least half of its housing units built before 1950, eliminated any block group with a majority of housing units in apartment complexes.

Although Tract 3.02 has nearly half of its housing units located in structures of five or more units, the three block groups that pass the housing age criterion have rates of "apartment complex housing units" of 10 percent or less. Similar results are found for the two block groups in Census Tract 14 that pass the housing unit age criterion. The requirements for a block group to be characterized as having the potential to gentrify would act as a filter, eliminating much of the bias apartment complexes introduce into the data.

Another advantage in utilizing block group data is that they allowed me to examine gentrification using a data set not so far used in the literature. I have not come across any study of gentrification using block group data to measure or track neighborhoods in transition. The greater degree of detail allowed me to establish a more accurate picture of gentrification, perhaps even justifying further study at the same scale.

TABLE 1

Census Tracts and Block Groups, 1980

Census Division	Median Family Income (1979)	Mean Housing Value	> 1/2 Of The Housing Units Built Before 1950	%Of Housing In Structures Of > 4 Units	Population	Criteria Met
Travis County	$21,200	$50,600	No	N/A	419,573	
Tract 3.02	$15,042	$54,500	No	49.9%	4755	
BG 1	$19,000	$37,200	Yes	10.0%	430	x
BG 2	$17,321	$81,400	No	43.5%	845	
BG 3	$16,667	$65,700	No	19.0%	564	
BG 4	$15,461	$44,400	No	53.2%	906	
BG 5	$12,500	$53,200	No	80.1%	1155	
BG 6	$11,061	$46,900	Yes	02.1%	281	x
BG 7	$07,308	$46,400	Yes	10.1%	246	x
BG 8	$14,904	$49,600	No	54.9%	428	
Tract 14	$19,171	$57,000	No	40.5%	5945	
BG 1	$20,375	Not Available	No	92.7%	488	
BG 2	$13,264	$59,300	No	53.7%	898	
BG 3	$21,458	$62,200	Yes	03.2%	548	
BG 4	$17,137	$38,900	Yes	09.3%	1207	x
BG 5	$17,292	$55,300	No	47.3%	1829	
BG 6	$27,125	$72,200	No	33.4%	979	

Note: Mean housing value out of owner occupied housing units, excluding houses on more than 10 acres and excluding condominiums

Neighborhoods with the Potential to Gentrify

The literature includes several characteristics gentrified neighborhoods have in common. Almost all researchers mention areas where the housing stock was in place before the Second World War with individual structures having historical merit (Beauregard 1990; DeGiovanni 1983; Gale 1979; Smith 1979). For simplicity and to slightly increase the number of available areas for study, I used all block groups

having a majority of the housing units built by 1950 in this study. The age of a house does not alone capture the numerous intricacies involved in making it desirable to potential renovators. However, age does act as an acceptable surrogate for entire neighborhoods where detailed, site-specific information would be hard to evaluate. The lack of mass-fabrication techniques prior to the post Second World War building boom allowed for greater individuality among houses in older neighborhoods (Jackson 1981). In addition, Austin's small size in 1950 (Travis County had a population of 160,980 in 1950 versus 576,407 in 1990) results in a limited supply of older housing, thereby increasing their desirability.

Another frequently mentioned characteristic of gentrified areas is a location near the central business district (CBD), although researchers rarely quantify this distance. Beauregard (1990) mentions walking distance, or a location near public transit, as good indicators. I selected a maximum distance from the CBD (measured from the state capitol) of three miles. I chose three miles because the resulting area contains all of the older neighborhoods in Austin. Only one-half of the block group in 1980 must lie within the three-mile radius for inclusion. Although Austin's CBD is no longer the employment and retail center of the city, its role as the cultural and entertainment heart of the city as well as the continued presence of city, county, and state offices makes centrality a desired commodity. Austin is following a trend, currently underway in many other cities in the South and West and already well established in the older cities of the North, of downtown cultural and economic rebirth and adjacent neighborhood reinvestment (Dewann 1999). The map on page 22

highlights older block groups (and the census tracts of which they are a part) selected

for the study (Figure 1).

Every definition of gentrification described the original inhabitants of the

neighborhood as economically disadvantaged, so I eliminated those census tracts with

per capita incomes above the county median for 1980. One of the driving forces

behind gentrification is the desire to find affordable housing, and an area with the

potential for upgrading should have housing values below the county median.

I used Travis County as the study area to prevent biasing the data due to

changes in Austin's incorporated area during the study period. It seemed reasonable to

analyze all of Travis County because this more accurately represents the full range of

housing choices available to the Austin family. In sum, I used the following four

criteria for determining which block groups in the Austin MSA had the potential to

gentrify in 1980:

1) within three miles of the Central Business District;

2) at least half of the housing units in the block group built prior to 1950;

3) per capita income below the per capita income of Travis County;

4) average housing value below the median housing value of Travis County.

Neighborhoods Undergoing Gentrification

Zeitz (1979) provides a good general list of the classic signs of private

neighborhood gentrification. The population decreases (usually at a rate faster than

that of the entire central city), while the percentage of Anglos increases. Income
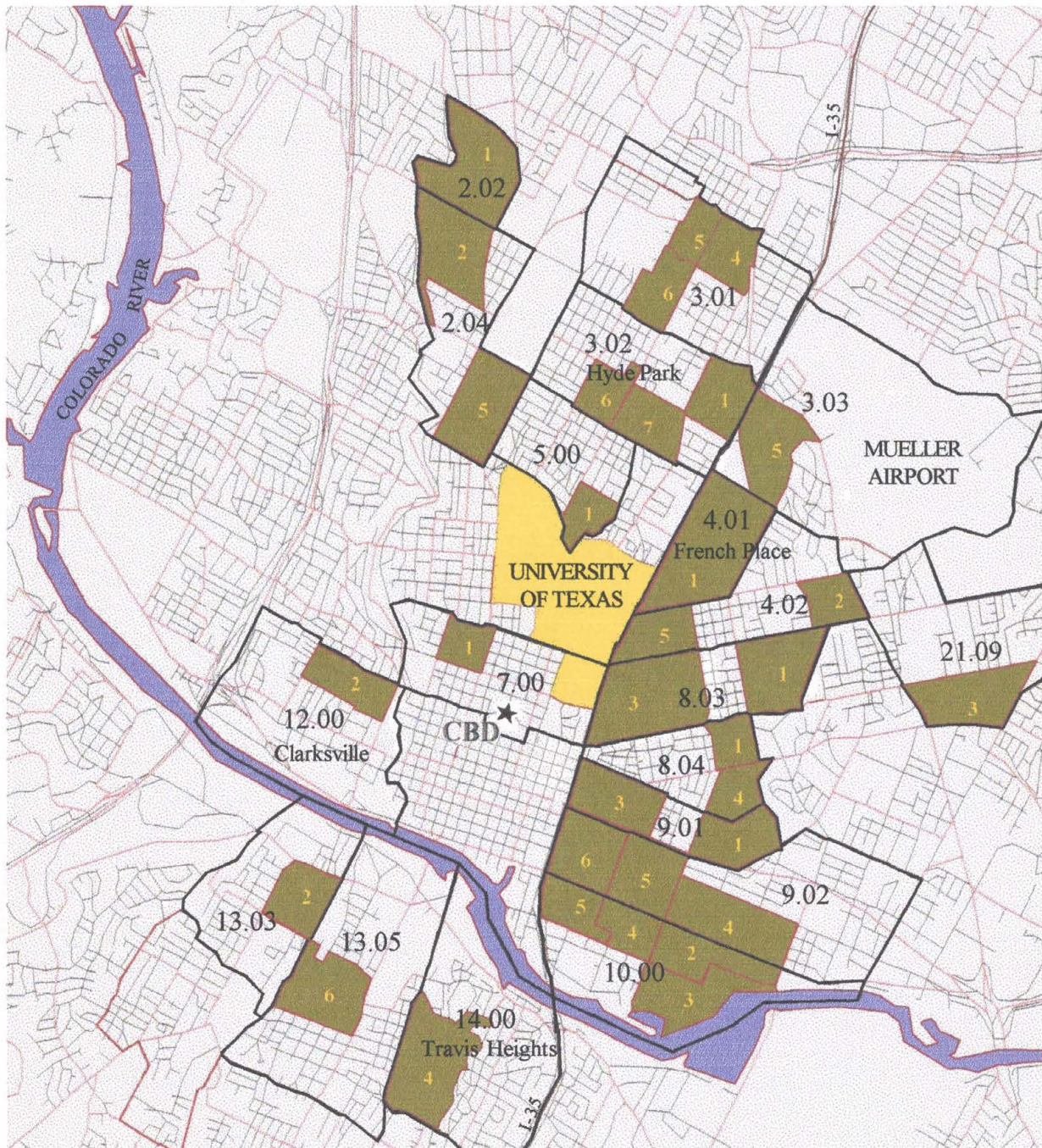
relative to the city increases, as does median educational attainment and property

values. The percentage of owner-occupied residences increases and the percentage of

renter-occupied residences decreases.

Several studies have questioned whether the proportion of Anglos will increase

during all stages of gentrification, making ethnicity a questionable indicator (Gale

1984; Wagner 1995). Wagner also reported population increases in some census

tracts that displayed signs of gentrification, even as the population of Baltimore

declined. The remaining four indicators of gentrification posited by Zeitz (1979) are

generally agreed to be good signs that gentrification has occurred or is occurring:

1)   income increases by a greater proportion than that of Travis County;

2)   educational attainment (the percentage of residents with a college degree

      of those 25 and older) increases relative to that of Travis County;

3)   property values of owner-occupied housing units increase relative to that

      of Travis County;

4)   the percentage of housing units that are owner-occupied increase relative

      to that of Travis County.

Having selected the variables, I focused on the the question: How is the degree

of gentrification measured? The first method I utilized grouped each block group into

one of four categories. I based these categories on the number of variables, out of the

four, in which a block group experienced gentrifying activity to a greater degree than

Travis County as a whole.

AUSTIN CENSUS TRACTS AND SELECTED OLDER BLOCK GROUPS 1990

CENSUS TRACTS

SELECTED OLDER BLOCK GROUPS

FIGURE 1.

If a block group displayed gentrifying activity with none or only one out of the four variables, I put it into a category titled "1." I combined these two gentrification levels because only two block groups showed no signs of gentrification. Block groups experiencing gentrification activity greater than that of Travis County with two, three or four of the variables I grouped into categories "2", "3", and "4", respectively.

For each of the foregoing categories, I calculated a ratio of the rate of change for a particular block group compared to that of Travis County. I ran a multiple regression analysis to evaluate the relationship between each of the four variables and crime. The reasoning behind this analysis was to gain a greater understanding of how gentrification and crime may be related. Measuring gentrification by the number of categories in which it outperforms Travis County does not properly evaluate how the individual variables are associated with crime. Any correlation between crime and lack of gentrification might be entirely dependent on just one of the four variables. This stage of analysis allowed me to produce a stronger statistical analysis, incorporating the degree to which a block group's selected variables showed signs of gentrifying activity, not just whether or not they "outperform" Travis County.

Crime Rates

I obtained crime rate data from the City of Austin Police Department. I used crime rates from the beginning of the study period (all major - Part I offenses - crimes occurring in the study period in 1981) to search for a correlation between higher than average crime rates and a lack of gentrifying activity in an otherwise suitable

neighborhood. I utilized crime data from 1981 as a surrogate for 1980 crimes because in 1980 the police department still organized the data into the 1970 census tract boundaries.

Part I offenses include murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, theft, auto theft and arson; all the major personal and property crimes (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation 1993). Prior to the 1990s these data were not further divided into individual categories in Austin (Austin Police Department 1990). They do, however, represent the types of criminal activity homeowners would be most concerned with.

I measured Part I offenses committed in 1981 against gentrification in several ways. As previously mentioned, I stastically analyzed the crime rate in a particular block group's census tract by the number of positive gentrification variables, that is, by the number of variables in which it "outperformed" Travis County. I also looked at each individual variable and its relationship with crime statistics in 1981. The next step involved analyzing the four gentrification variables, both together and individually, between 1980 and 1990, to see how crime data reacted to changes in these variables in the ten-year study period; that is, if gentrification occurs, does the crime rate in a block group increase or decrease?

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

I examined 204 block groups (all those within three miles of the CBD) in

forty-two census tracts using 1980 census data to make a determination of

gentrification potential. Of the initial 204 block groups, thirty-eight met all three of

the other predetermined criteria (half or more of the housing units in place before

1950, median income below that of Travis county, and median housing value below

that of Travis County).

Five of these block groups I eliminated from the final analysis. BG 1 in

Census Tract 12.00 had only fifty-six residents in 1980; too few from which to obtain

a reliable sample count data (U.S. Department of Commerce 1970). I eliminated BG

3 and BG 6 in Census Tract 16.02 because they were University of Texas property

with several student dormitories. BG 1 in Census Tract 11.00 had no housing units

that were owner-occupied, making analysis of housing values impossible. Finally, I

eliminated BG 1 in Census Tract 13.04 from the final analysis due to the presence of

significant numbers of public housing apartment buildings that cannot be gentrified.

The remaining thirty-three block groups in nineteen census tracts form the

geographic areas focused on and statistically analyzed (see Figure 1). These final

thirty-three block groups are located where one would expect to find neighborhoods

with the potential to gentrify: in older, economically disadvantaged areas. Eighteen of
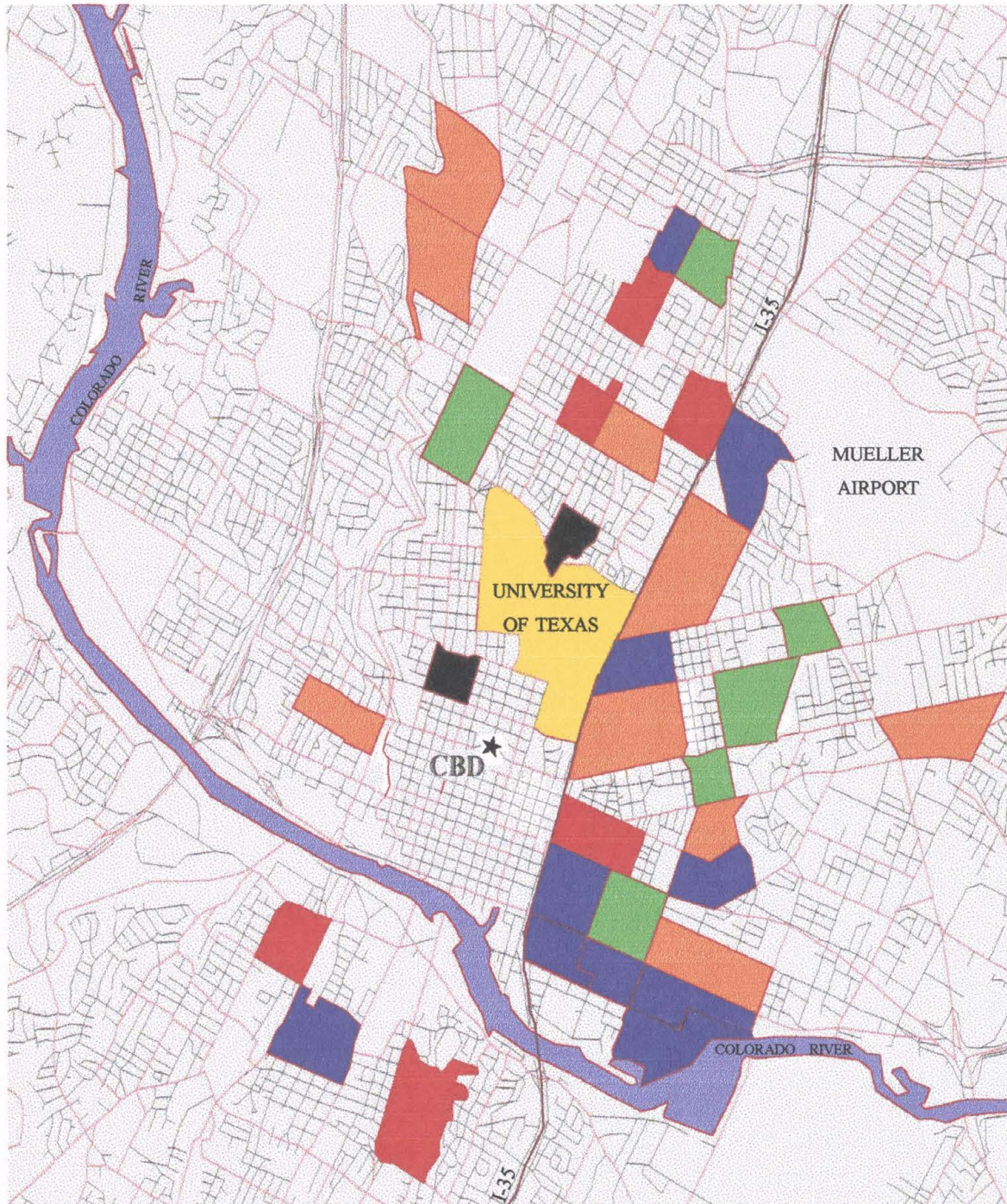
the block groups occur east of Interstate Highway 35, the traditional physical and perceptual boundary between minority neighborhoods and the rest of the city. Only three of the block groups are located south of the Colorado River where few older neighborhoods exist.

Location of Gentrifying Neighborhoods

I analyzed Type I crime rates for 1981 (in offenses per 1,000 people of the census tract in which a particular block group exists) with the block groups grouped into the signs of gentrification categories, 1,2,3 and 4. Increases in income, educational attainment, housing value, and owner occupancy rates greater than that exhibited by Travis County were counted as evidence of gentrification. Two block groups showed no signs of gentrification in any of the above four categories (category 1), six on only one out of the four possible (also category 1), nine gentrified in two out of the four (category 2), nine in three of the four (category 3), and six block groups provided evidence of gentrification in all four categories (category 4; see Figure 2).

The selected block groups studied are relatively evenly spread around central Austin. East of I-35 the block groups have a slight tendency to exhibit lower degrees of gentrification, averaging 2.17 of the four variables compared to 2.53 for the western block groups. Of the six block groups gentrified on all four levels, five were located west of I-35.

AUSTIN CENSUS BLOCK GROUPS
BY DEGREE OF GENTRIFICATION, 1990

GENTRIFICATION CRITERIA MET

● 0 ● 1 ● 2 ● 3 ● 4

FIGURE 2.

Is Crime an Inhibitor to Gentrification?

The bar graph on page twenty-nine shows the weak inverse relationship between a high rate of crime in 1981 and gentrification by 1990. For block groups in category 1, crime averaged 133.4 offenses per 1,000 in 1981. In category 2, crime averaged 110.5, and in category 3 crime averaged 119.3. Block groups in category 4 averaged 105.9, or 30% fewer crimes per 1,000 population than in category 1. At this level of analysis, it appears crime did act as an inhibitor to gentrification in Austin.

Once the weak inverse relationship between crime and gentrification was discovered, I analyzed the four gentrification variables individually with crime to learn how many of the four contributed to the correlation between crime and a lack of gentrification. A standard multiple regression showed that the entire relationship between crime and gentrification could be explained by the median housing value

CRIME IN 1981 BY LEVELS OF
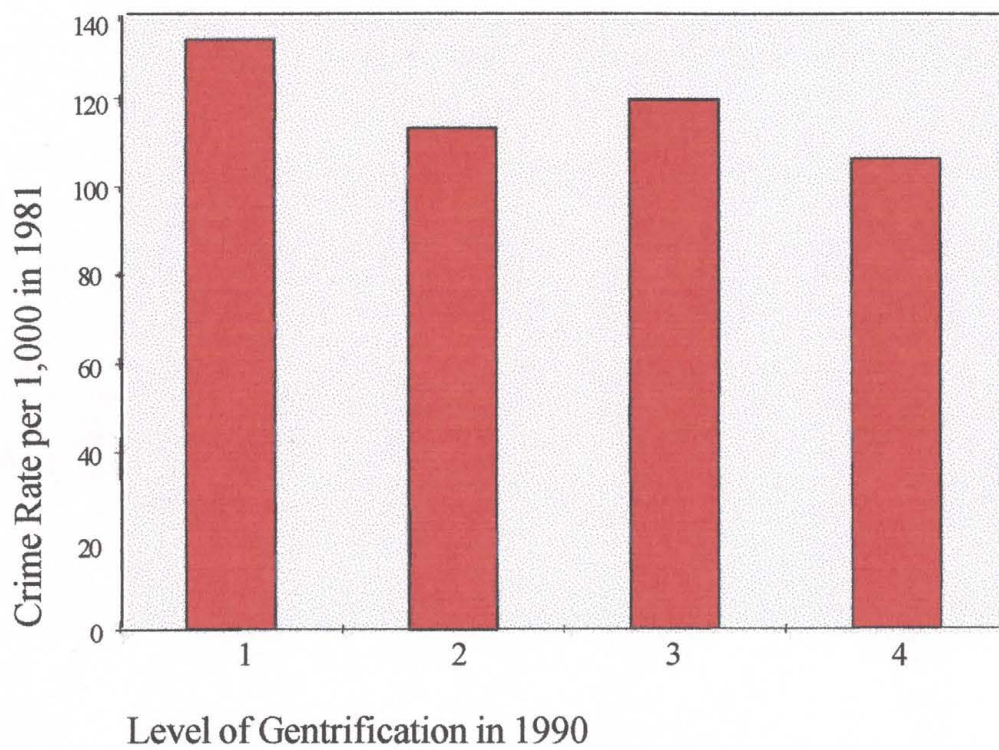# GENTRIFICATION IN 1990

FIGURE 3.

CRIME RATE IN 1981 AND CHANGE
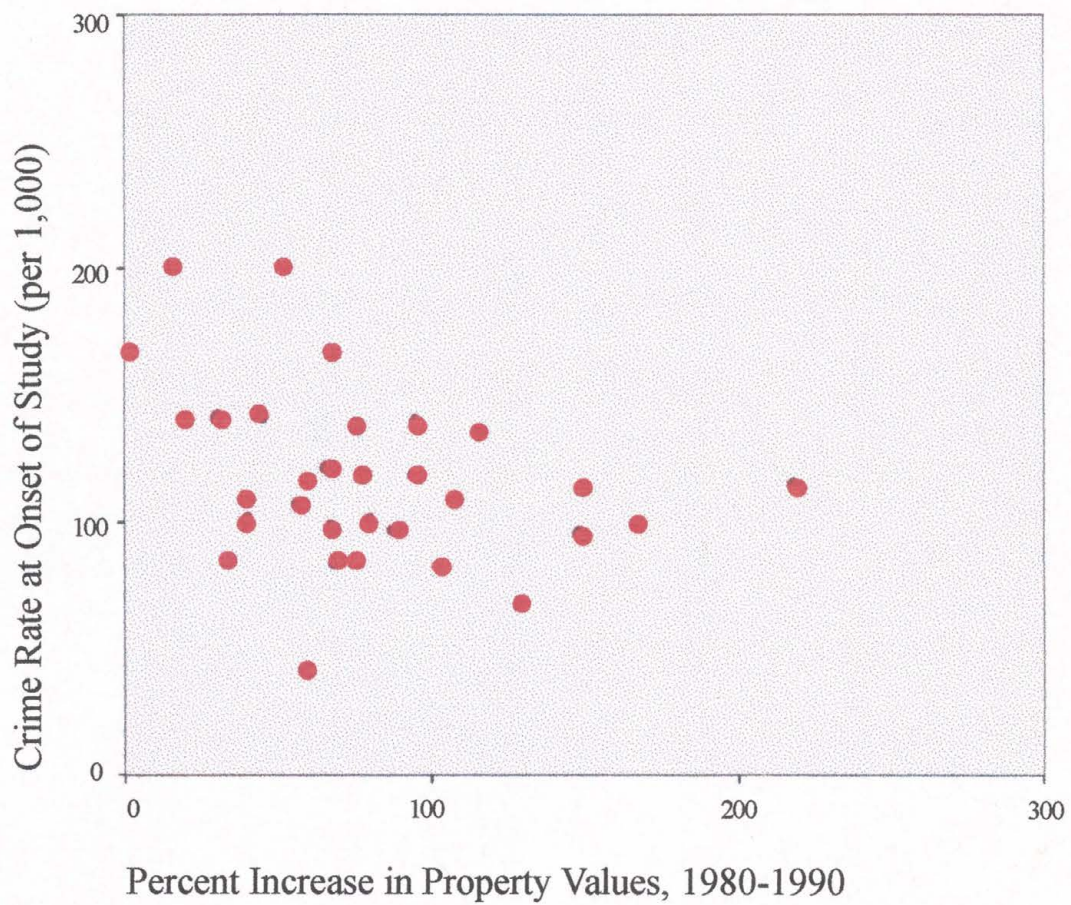# IN PROPERTY VALUES, 1980-1990

FIGURE 4.

Change in the Rate of Crime After Onset of Gentrification

The next research question asked: If gentrification in an area occurs, how does this alter the crime rate? No significance was found between gentrification as defined by the four variables and changes in crime rates. Block groups in category 1 saw the rate of crime for type one crimes increase an average of 34.5 percent in the study period. Block groups in category 2 only 14.8 percent, 27.7 percent in category 3 and 51.1 percent in category 4. The entire city of Austin saw an increase of 21.8 percent during the same period. Running a multiple regression also found no significance between strong signs of gentrification and changes in crime rates over time.

Looking at each gentrification variable individually, the only significant relationship exists between the increase in the median housing value variable and the change in the crime rate between 1981 and 1990 (Figure 5). The association is positive, that is, greater than average increases in property values were associated with greater than average increases in crime (see scatterplot on the adjacent page). The correlation coefficient is .334 (significant at the .05 level). This relationship suggests that wealthy newcomers in a neighborhood not only disrupt the social cohesiveness of an area but also bring in valuable possessions, which then become enticing targets for criminals (McDonald 1986).

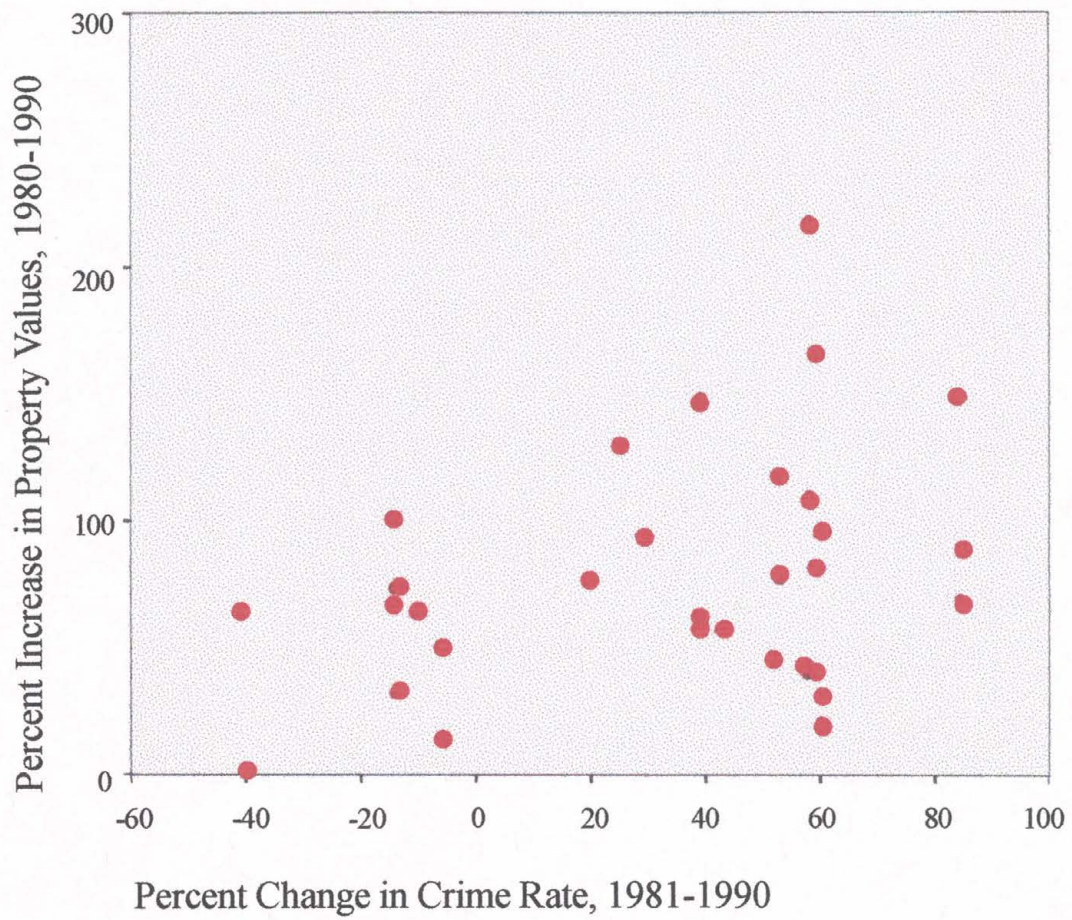# CHANGES IN PROPERTY VALUES AND

CRIME RATES, 1980-1990

FIGURE 5.

TABLE 2

Crime by Census Tracts 1981-1990

Census Division	Crime Rate in 1981	Crime Rate in 1990	Percent Change 1981-1990
Tract 2.02	40.6	56.6	39.4
Tract 2.04	135.9	207.9	60.0
Tract 3.01	96.7	178.5	84.6
Tract 3.02	99.9	159.2	59.3
Tract 3.03	140.4	213.3	51.9
Tract 4.01	120.1	107.4	- 10.6
Tract 4.02	166.2	98.3	- 40.9
Tract 5.00	121.2	159.4	31.5
Tract 7.00	145.6	199.4	37.0
Tract 8.03	108.3	171.2	58.1
Tract 8.04	199.6	187.9	- 05.9
Tract 9.01	114.4	159.2	39.2
Tract 9.02	139.5	223.3	60.1
Tract 10.00	82.6	70.9	- 14.2
Tract 12.00	115.0	181.8	58.1
Tract 13.03	105.8	151.0	43.5
Tract 13.05	117.6	141.0	19.9
Tract 14.00	118.5	152.8	34.3
Tract 21.09	68.5	85.4	24.7
CITY OF AUSTIN	90.3	110.0	21.8

Note: Crime rate is for Part I offenses (murder,rape,robbery,aggravated assault, burglary, theft, auto theft and arson) per thousand population.

Many neighborhoods in the study witnessed increases in crime for Part I offenses greater than that of the entire city. This trend came on top of elevated levels of crime in central Austin in 1981. Crime rates for 1981 were higher in all central Austin neighborhoods in the study except two, compared to the entire city of Austin. These high crime rates occurred at the same time as property values in central Austin increased more dramatically than in the rest of Austin.

Field Survey

It is interesting that only the median housing variable was significantly correlated with crime. I suspect the presence of large numbers of university students may have complicated the picture. For instance, all the block groups in my study are centrally located and therefore close to the University of Texas. Students, as discussed earlier, can skew data on population characteristics. Although attempts have been made to reduce this bias by eliminating block groups with heavy concentrations of apartments, many students live in rental houses. Often such rentals can easily be spotted in a field survey.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 2.04 is a good example (see Appendix, pages72-73). Although in an area of expensive real estate, many of the houses are in less than pristine condition, especially the gardens belonging to these houses. Cars are parked in every available inch of driveway space (sometimes even on the lawns). The large number of student renters may explain why the block group only showed characteristics of gentrification in one variable, the increase in the median housing value. The percentage of owner occupied housing units fell over 25 percent between 1980 and 1990. Families in the neighborhood caught between increasing property taxes and the discomforts of living in a student area may have opted to lease their houses and move elsewhere.

Another block group with many houses apparently rented to students is Block Group 2 in Census Tract 5 (see Appendix, page 71). This area lies directly north of campus and is home to many graduate students. Many of the building's owners have

converted the structures to duplexes and triplexes. The impression given is that of a neighborhood dominated by students.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 7 is another neighborhood with unusual characteristics (see Appendix, page 70). Most of the houses have been converted to offices and businesses to serve the expanding central business district. One observes signs proclaiming lawyer's offices everywhere. Few private houses remain.

All three of these block groups showed little signs of gentrification while land values grew dramatically between 1980 and 1990. One can assume that all three areas have factors other than crime influencing the results on gentrification. Although college students live throughout Austin, results from these three block groups should be approached with caution.

Conclusion

A high crime rate in a neighborhood can act as a deterrent to gentrification. This study in part confirms this hypothesis. It seems reasonable to assume that, all else being equal, a prospective home buyer would prefer a neighborhood with less criminal activity. The relationship between crime and gentrification is relatively weak, indicating other factors at play. Gentrifiers are often childless and attracted to the amenities of "big-city life" and may not be as concerned as other home buyers about crime in their neighborhood.

The effect of gentrifying activity on the crime rate of a neighborhood could not be determined. The multiple regression showed a positive association, that is,

gentrifying activity caused an increase in the crime rate. However, the association was weak and not statistically significant. Gentrification as a social phenomenon may be so varied in nature, with its effects on the social cohesiveness of an area so variable, that the crime rate responds in an unpredictable way.

The relationship between crime and gentrification was mostly defined through the relationship between crime and property values. There was no significant relationship between crime and the other three gentrification variables. This lack of a relationship may reflect the reality of capitalism. Regardless of other measurements, the dynamics of property value variations closely reflect the changes in demand for that piece of property. However, housing prices are based on many factors, some not necessarily linked to gentrification. A house and land may, for example, increase in price due to an increase in the demand for rental housing or due to an anticipated change in the zoning of that property. In other words, demand for a house may not reflect an increase in the number or wealth of families wanting to live there.

Additional studies should utilize the 2000 Census to continue to track these central Austin neighborhoods. Crime data after 1990 are available in a more disaggregate and site-specific format. It would be interesting to examine crime and gentrification in Austin in the last ten years, although the researcher would be examining gentrification after it had already started. Relevant research with a more powerful geographic analysis might merely involve analyzing crime and property values between 1990 and the year 2000.

Another area of interest is East Austin. Although parts of East Austin are beginning to show early signs of gentrification, with the exception of one neighborhood in the vicinity of the French Legation (see Appendix, page 55) the process is still in the very early stages. With East Austin's reputation as a high crime area, it would be interesting to see if the area sees an influx of capital in the coming years due to the fact that it contains some of the last inexpensive housing stock in central Austin.

Gentrification as a phenomenon has distinct socioeconomic, geographic, and temporal components. I have attempted to analyze all three with crime data to answer a question previously not discussed in academic literature on gentrification. Results indicate crime does negatively affect the process of gentrification. Further research in the area is definitely warranted.

APPENDIX

Block Group 6 in Census Tract 3.01 is bounded from the north by 49th Street, from the south by 45th Street, and from the east by Duval Road and from the west by Speedway Boulevard and Rowena. Only two small apartment complexes exist within its borders. The neighborhood is neat and well kept, with a mixture of Victorian and newer houses, although most date prior to 1940.

Figure 1. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 3.01. Picturesque houses, such as this one, command high prices in Hyde Park.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 3.01 is immediately west of Duval Street, between 49th and 53rd streets, and bounded on the west by Rowena and Ave F. Block Group 5 is similar in appearance to Block Group 4, although there are less commercial establishments and only one apartment complex is located there.

Figure 2. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 3.01. House to the left is of the bungalow style, very common for the area. The abandoned store to the right adds historic charm not found in a modern neighborhood.

Census Tract 3.02 is located immediately to the south of 3.01, between 38th and 45th streets, which is considered the heart of Hyde Park. Block Group 1 is sandwiched between I-35 on the east and Red River Street on the west. The block group begins immediately north of the Hancock Shopping Center on 41st Street, and continues until 45th. The block group has a relatively small population (270 in 1990) because a large part of its areal coverage is utilized by the shopping center. A majority of the homes are older, modest homes in good condition. I saw several freshly painted homes on my visit. No apartment complexes exist in the neighborhood.

Figure 3. Block Group 1 in Census Tract 3.02. The owner of this Cape Cod house has invested considerable money in the property.

Block Group 4 in Census Tract 3.01 is bounded on the north by 53rd Street, by Duval Street on the west, 49th Street on the South, and River Street and Airport Boulevard comprise its eastern boundary. Here the houses are relatively modest in nature, and not all are currently in good condition. Most were built in this century. A small commercial strip bisects the area and two run-down apartment complexes are located here; the area is not very homogeneous in nature.

Figure 4. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 3.01. This scene contains two attractive bungalows. This is one of the nicer streets in this block group.

Block Group 6 in Census Tract 3.02 begins at 38th Street and continues northward until 41st. The block group is bounded on the west by Speedway and on the east by Duval Street. Between Avenue H (located immediately to the west of Duval Road) and Duval, the Block group extends one block farther north, to 42nd Street. This neighborhood could be considered the heart of Hyde Park, with many Victorian homes. As opposed to other neighborhoods in this area, numerous older brick homes can be found. The area was one of the wealthier in Hyde Park; homes are larger, more elegant, and two story houses are more common here than elsewhere. The houses in this area are currently all in very good condition, many finely restored, and a feeling of wealth fills the streets. The famous Hyde Park Baptist Church is located here.

Figure 5. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 3.02. Two stately Victorian houses border a more modest bungalow on this street in Hyde Park.

Crossing Duval Street, moving east, one comes across Block Group 7 in Census Tract 3.02. It is bounded on the west by Duval, on the north by 41st Street, on the east by Red River Street, and by the south by 38th Street. The houses, smaller, attractive homes, many of the bungalow style of the twenties, are sandwiched on the western side of the area, the rest being taken up by a golf course. No apartments exist in this block group.

Figure 6. Block Group 7 in Census Tract 3.02. Small, quaint houses typical of the area can be seen in this photograph.

The next neighborhood I visited was Delwood, east of I-35, immediately to the south of Austin Mueller Airport. This neighborhood was begun in the twenties as Austin continued to grow farther outward (Penick 1928). Block group 5, in Census Tract 3.03, forms the heart of this neighborhood. The area is bounded on the west by the interstate, on the south by the Austin & NW rail line and 38 1/2 St, and by Cherrywood Road on the east. Airport Boulevard serves as the northern boundary. The homes are generally small in size, and many of the larger ones appear to have had additions built after the house was completed. The houses are well constructed, and the majority today are in good shape and well cared for. There are no apartment complexes here, and the area is exclusively residential in character.

Figure 7. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 3.03. Brick houses are more common in Delwood than in many of Austin's other older neighborhoods.

Immediately south of Delwood lies French Place. Slightly closer to central Austin, this neighborhood contains some houses constructed approximately at the turn of the century, especially in its southern portions. Like the Delwood study area, Block Group 1 in Census Tract 4.01 is bounded on the west by I-35 and the east by Cherrywood Road. The block Group's northern edge is 38 1/2 Street, its southern is Manor Road. Although most of the houses are well-kept for, the neighborhood does contain numerous rental houses, many apparently occupied by university students.

Figure 8. Block Group 1 in Census Tract 4.01. This small bungalow represents the modest character of the neighborhood.

Farther east lies Block Group 2 in Census Tract 4.02. Small in area, this neighborhood contains relatively few houses. The area lies between manor Road and Martin Luther King Boulevard. Alexander Avenue is the western boundary and Airport Boulevard is the eastern. The houses are nondescript, small bungalows. Some of them are in rather poor condition. There are no apartment complexes in this block group.

Figure 9. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 4.02. One of the nicer houses in this block group. Note the burglar bars on the doors and windows.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 4.02 is bounded on the north by Manor Road, on the east by Chicon Street, on the south by Martin Luther King Boulevard, and on the west by I-35. The University of Texas owns the western portion of this block group. It houses baseball fields as well as a physical plant. The modest homes in this area are generally in average to poor condition, with vacant lots interspersed throughout the area. Most of the houses are bungalows dating from the 1920s to the 1940s. Some commercial activity exists along Manor Road.

Figure 10. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 4.02. Although this neighborhood is obviously poorer than those north of Manor Road, the houses possess very similar architecture.

Directly to the south lies Block Group 3 of Census Tract 8.03. Census Tracts

8.01-8.04 comprise the heart of the original African-American section of East Austin.

Block Group 3 begins at I-35, and continues eastward until Chicon Street. The block

group's northern boundary is MLK Boulevard, and its southern, 12th Street. The area

shares many characteristics with its neighbor to the north, with the housing in generally

poor condition, and numerous vacant lots. Many of the homes predate this century.

The western fringe, closest to the freeway, has seen a fair amount of gentrification, as

evidenced by restored houses and an ethnically diverse population. This neighborhood

was originally known as Swedish Hill and is a remnant of a much larger area inhabited

by Germans and Swedes in the last century. They settled in what was then northeast

Austin, north of about Thirteenth Street, and east of Waller Creek. Those areas lying

west of I-35 are now entirely gone, save for Sholz Beer Garden, but economic

stagnation east of the interstate saved a small portion of old Germanic Austin (Hart

1974).

Figure 11. Block Group 3 in Census Tract 8.03. The growth of the Central Business District farther to the west destroyed many of Austin's oldest neighborhoods, making such old houses rare indeed.

Figure 12. Block Group 3 in Census Tract 8.03. This is a nice Victorian in Swedish Hill .

Block Group 1 in Census Tract 8.03 lies in the eastern portion of the census tract, therefore the houses tend to be somewhat newer. It extends southward from Martin Luther King Boulevard to Twelfth Street, and eastward from Chestnut Avenue to the US and NW railway line. The neighborhood is large and cohesive, mostly residential in character except for some commercial activity along MLK. A few, larger Victorians are scattered among smaller, newer houses. The houses range from average to poor condition, and many empty lots exist.

Figure 13. Block Group 1 in Census Tract 8.03. Victorians stand side to side with bungalows in this block group, just as in many other older Austin neighborhoods.

At sixteen city blocks in size, Block Group 1 in Census Tract 8.04 is one of the smaller ones in this study. The block group forms a square bounded on the north by Twelfth Street, on the east by Chestnut Avenue, on the south by Rosewood Avenue and on the west by Chicon Street. The area is completely residential in character, with mostly small houses, ranging in age from the turn of the century to more modern ranches. There are no apartment complexes here. The houses in the neighborhood are generally in poor shape, typical for this section of East Austin.

Figure 14. Block Group 1 in Census Tract 8.04. This basic Victorian house is slightly run-down, as are many in this area.

Block Group 4 in Census Tract 8.04 lies directly to the south. The block group is bounded on the north by Rosewood Avenue, on the east by Northwestern Avenue, on the south by Eleventh Street and on the west by Chicon Street. The western half of this neighborhood contains older houses, many are in relatively good condition. Small bungalows predominate. East of Prospect Avenue, the housing quality deteriorates rather markedly. The houses here are relatively new and appear to have been constructed as low-cost housing. There also exists public housing in this block group.

Figure 15. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 8.04. Modern additions to older homes are common in East Austin. This bungalow has vinyl siding, burglar bars, and Astroturf on the front steps.

Continuing southward from Eleventh Street is Block Group 1 in Census Tract 9.01. Census Tract 9.01 defines the southern extremities of traditional African American East Austin. The block group lies close to downtown and is an historic part of town, containing such notable features as the French Legation, the State Cemetery, and Huston-Tillotson College. Block Group 1 stretches from Eleventh to Seventh Streets, with Northwestern Avenue as the eastern boundary and Chicon Street as the western. Huston-Tillotson College is adjacent to this western boundary. The western areas of the neighborhood, closer to the college, consist of older and higher quality housing, a trend often seen in East Austin. This phenomenon may exist in part due to the fact that in its early days, East Austin was simply another part of town, while later it came to be perceived as the minority ghetto. Whatever the reason, just as in Block Group 4 of Census Tract 8.04, west of Prospect Street small bungalows are common, and many are in relatively good condition. East of Prospect, the houses are newer, but do not look like houses one would expect to see in a modern subdivision. They are very small, and look as if they have been constructed by the cheapest means available. Many of them are now in rather poor condition. No apartment complexes are in this neighborhood.

Figure 16. Block Group 1 in Census Tract 9.01. Small, modest houses line the streets near Huston-Tillotson College.

Block Group 3 in Census Tract 9.01 contains many houses that pre-date this century. As Austin grew eastward last century, those areas immediately adjacent to the town's eastern boundary of East Avenue (now I-35) were naturally settled first (Jones 1982). Most of the Victorian houses in East Austin are located within five city blocks of the freeway. Block Group 3 stretches from the I-35 to Comal Street, and is bounded on the north by Eleventh Street and on the south by Seventh Street. In the eastern section of the block group is the State Cemetery, while the historic French Legation, dating back to the days of the republic (Humphrey 1997), is located in the western section. I observed in this neighborhood more signs of gentrification than any other neighborhood in East Austin. Quite a few of the old Victorians had been completely redone, with freshly painted multi-colored facades, new cast-iron fencing and a luxury sport utility vehicle in the driveway to complete the picture. Some of these houses are even relatively large, which is rare for East Austin.

Figure 17. Block Group 3 in Census Tract 9.01. The historic French Legation may have served as a catalyst for gentrification in this neighborhood, which has more indications of wealthy newcomers than elsewhere in East Austin. The late-model Volvo completes the picture.

Block Group 6 in Census Tract 9.02 lies directly to the south. This block group's northern boundary at 7th Street also marks the traditional border between African-American East Austin to the north and Hispanic East Austin to the south. The block group continues eastward until Navasota Street and southward to 1st Street. Interstate 35 marks the western edge of the block group. The area has many characteristics of an older, ethnic neighborhood close to the central city. The housing stock is varied, but generally in poor condition. Many beautiful older homes exist, especially closer to the highway, but only a few streets are completely residential in character, while businesses such as gas stations and pawn shops invade the area. There is only one medium-sized apartment complex in this area.

Figure 18. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 9.02. A typical street scene for the neighborhood.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 9.02 lies directly to the east, and is similar in character to, Block Group 6. The block group continues eastward from Navasota Street with Seventh and First Streets again serving as the northern and southern boundaries, respectively, until it reaches the eastern boundary at Chicon Street. It, too, is dissected by commercial and industrial land uses along several of the main streets. Few streets are entirely residential in character. The block group contains a public housing project, though no private apartment complexes.

Figure19. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 9.02. The bungalow on the left is more typical of houses elsewhere in Austin, while the one on the right is less ornate (notice the columns on the porches) and is of a type generally found only in East Austin.

Directly to the east lies Block Group 4 in Census Tract 9.02. This neighborhood forms a rectangle with Chicon Street to the west Pleasant Valley to the east, Fifth Street on the north and First Street to the south. Once again, the small bungalow, so prevalent in Austin, is very common, with a scattering of older Victorians and newer ranch-style houses. The general trend in East Austin holds true here, with the western half of the block group having houses in better condition than the eastern half. The neighborhood generally had a stable, cohesive appearance. Public housing exists along Santa Rosa Street, and the southern areas have commercial activity along First and Second Streets.

Figure 20. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 9.02. The standard wooden bungalow (compare to house on left in figure 20) that is so common in Austin.

Census Tract 10.00 is located in East Austin between own Lake and 1st Street.

The area is a low-income Hispanic community. Block Group 5 begins at 1st Street,

and continues southward for four blocks until Holly Street. The western boundary is

IH-35, and Navasota and Comal Streets comprise the eastern borders. With the

exception of a commercial strip along 1st Street, the neighborhood is residential.

Most of the homes are older, with a mix of small Victorian houses that have seen

better days and houses that were very modest even when new. The original character

of some of the houses is masked by modern modifications such as the additions of

plaster or stone facades, giving the neighborhood a colorful, southwestern character.

There is a small apartment complex in the block group.

Figure 21. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 10.00. This nicely restored Victorian cottage is very close to downtown.

Block Group 4 in Census Tract 10.00 lies directly to the east, again with First Street as the northern boundary and Holly Street as the southern. The eastern boundary is Chicon Street. The area is basically identical to Block Group 5, with modest older houses of varying physical quality, but only houses and no apartments.

Figure 22. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 10.00. Victorian houses in East Austin become more common as one nears Interstate 35.

Block Group 2 in Census Tract 10.00 continues eastward into newer sections of East Austin. First Street remains the northern boundary. The southern boundary starts as Holly Street, then jogs north for two blocks along Mildred Street for two blocks and continues on Canterbury Street. Pleasant Valley Road serves as the eastern boundary. Again bungalows are very common, but farther to the east, the number of more modern houses increases. Again, almost paradoxically, the older houses generally appear in better condition than the newer ones, perhaps because they were constructed out of superior materials. Here pride of ownership is displayed on many houses through modifications such as new facades of stone, brick or stucco.

Figure 23. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 10.00. Houses built in the Victorian era are known for their large porches. Many houses in this neighborhood are not as nice as this one.

Block Group 3 in Census Tract 10.00 is directly to the south and abuts against Town Lake, which serves as the southern and eastern boundary. The western boundary is Chicon Street. In this neighborhood the housing quality is slightly poorer than elsewhere in this area, and there are few older houses. I suspect this area may have been part of the floodplain of the Colorado River prior to the construction of Longhorn Dam, and the creation of Town Lake.

Figure 24. Block Group 3 in Census Tract 10.00. This is a small farm cottage in East Austin.

Census Tract 21.09 is farther to the east than the other neighborhoods used in this study. Being farther east, most of the neighborhoods are newer, and not of any historical value. However, some pockets of older houses exist, undoubtedly rural residences absorbed by a growing Austin. Block Group 3 is one such neighborhood. It is both small in area and the number of houses it contains. The houses are not very old in appearance, perhaps dating to the 1940s. There are uniformly small, plain in appearance, and run-down.

Figure 25. Block Group 3 in Census Tract 21.09. This neighborhood is farther east than the others in this study, and does not appear likely to gentrify.

Travis Heights originated as a working-class neighborhood in the early part of this century (Humphrey 1997). This charming area is filled with mostly small, older homes, with a few historic large homes, and some eclectic modern ones as well. The most common architectural style is that of the bungalow house. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 14.00 lies in the heart of Travis Heights. The block group is bounded on the east by Blunn Creek, which lies in a greenbelt in the center of the neighborhood. The southern boundary is Live Oak Street, the western is Congress Avenue, and the northern boundary is comprised of Park Lane and Pecan Grove. The area is mostly residential, with the South Congress commercial strip, known for its blend of family-owned businesses, on the western edge.

Figure 26. Block Group 4 in Census Tract 14.00. Houses of varying sizes and ages stand together in Travis Heights; today a very expensive, gentrified neighborhood.

West of Congress Avenue lies the Bouldin Addition neighborhood. Here, too, the houses are almost all older, with most being very modest in nature. The area, even when first developed, was apparently poorer than Travis Heights. Some of the houses appear almost shack-like, and the area has witnessed slower reinvestment than to the east, but here too it is now occurring. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 13.05 lies between South First Street and Lamar Avenue. The block group stretches six blocks from Annie Street in the south to James Street in the north. Excepting commercial activity on Lamar, this is a residential neighborhood with single-family houses and no apartment complexes.

Figure 27. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 13.05. The Bouldin Addition neighborhood, adjacent Travis Heights on the other side of Congress Avenue, has much less expensive real estate. Here too, however, I saw a fair amount of renovated homes.

Figure 28. Block Group 6 in Census Tract 13.05. A nice Victorian farmhouse in Bouldin Addition.

Block Group 2 in Census Tract 13.03 lies nearby, immediately to the west of Lamar. Treadwell Street in the south, Kinney Avenue to the west, and Barton Springs Road to the north comprise the other boundaries. The houses are mostly small and nondescript, but all appear to be generally in good shape. There is one apartment complex and one relatively large condominium complex in the area.

Figure 29. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 13.03. An early ranch-style brick home sits adjacent to a newly constructed house in this photograph.

The only block group from the Clarksville neighborhood used in the analysis was Block Group 2 from Census Tract 12.00. Clarksville was founded by freed slaves in the 1880s. Post-Civil War Austin was a mecca for blacks in Texas. They enjoyed greater freedoms and liberties here than elsewhere in the state due to the presence of federal authorities. The burgeoning population founded several communities on the fringes of Austin, including Clarksville (Humphrey 1997). The block group runs from 9th to 12th Streets, and from Lamar Boulevard in the east to West Lynn in the west. The houses here are mostly quite old, with Victorian architecture being dominant. Interspersed between several fine Victorian mansions are much smaller houses, although they too are a pleasure to view. The block group is now part of a wealthy, trendy neighborhood, but a few run-down houses can still be found. Two apartment complexes and a condominium development are located here.

Figure 30. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 12.00. Housing in Clarksville varies greatly from street to street. West Ninth Street, seen here, has several grand houses from the last century.

Figure 31. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 12.00. West Tenth Street, one block farther north, has much smaller houses. This Victorian was just recently renovated.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 7.00 is a square sixteen city blocks in size, northwest of the State Capitol. From Guadalupe Street, the area runs west to West Avenue. The block Group is bounded on the south by 15th Street and on the north by Martin Luther King Boulevard. A mix of residential and commercial uses exists, many of the houses are used as offices. Most of the residential units are in the form of high rises and not houses.

Figure 32. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 7.00. This neighborhood, just northwest of the State Capitol Building, has many renovated historical homes, but most function as professional offices.

Block Group 2 in Census Tract 5.00 lies adjacent to the University of Texas

campus. Waller Creek forms its eastern and southern boundary. The block group is

bounded on the west by San Jacinto Boulevard and Duval Street, and on the north by

32nd Street. The are is a mix of smaller, older homes, and small apartment

complexes, and is dominated by university students.

Figure 33. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 5.00. Directly north of The University of Texas, this block group has many older homes, but also several apartment complexes for students.

Also close to the university is Block Group 5 in Census Tract 2.04. The streets

serving as the boundaries for this block group are as follows: Guadalupe on the east,

29th on the south, Lamar on the west, and 38th on the north. There are several

apartment complexes in the area, as well as many historic houses of various sizes. They

are large Victorians, as well as small bungalows and even some Spanish colonials and

houses of the Cape Cod style. Many of the houses are in very good condition and are

obviously quite valuable, although the area is very heterogeneous in character, with

many of the smaller houses apparently rented to students.

Figure 34. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 2.04. This neighborhood, relatively close the University, has streets that are very nice and today the houses are quite expensive.

Figure 35. Block Group 5 in Census Tract 2.04. A more typical street scene for the area. Many of the houses appear to be student-occupied.

Block Group 2 in Census Tract 2.04 is part of the Rosedale neighborhood. The area houses two apartment complexes some offices and a small hospital, but is primarily filled with single-family houses. Variations on the bungalow style house are the most common. Most houses are well kept for and relatively modest, while a few have had recent additions and other work and are obviously expensive. The block group is bounded on the east by Medical Parkway, by 40th Street to the south, by Shoal Creek to the west, and by 45th Street to the north. There are two small apartment complexes in this neighborhood.

Figure 36. Block Group 2 in Census Tract 2.04. Rosedale. This house and yard is definitely Austin-cool.

Immediately on the other side of 45th lies Block Group 1 of Census Tract 2.02.

It continues northward until Hancock Drive while Shoal Creek is again the western

Boundary. Medical Parkway merges with Burnet Road, the eastern boundary. The

southeastern section of this block group is essentially an extension of the Rosedale

neighborhood, while to the west and north the housing consists of newer, single-story

brick homes. In design they cannot be properly called ranch houses; they appear to pre-

date air conditioning with their large windows and gabled roofs. There are no

apartment complexes in this block group.

Reference List

Austin City Council. 1947. *District Map, City of Austin, Texas*. Austin, TX: Austin Chamber of Commerce.

Austin Police Department. 1980. *Austin Police Department - Annual Statistical Report, 1980*. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Justice.

_____. 1990. *Austin Police Department - Annual Statistical Report, 1990*. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Justice.

Beauregard, Robert A. 1985. Politics, ideology and theories of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 7 no.1: 51-62.

_____. 1990. Trajectories of neighborhood change: The case of gentrification. *Environment & Planning A: International Journal of Urban and Regional Resources* 22 no. 7: 855-74.

Bourassa, S. C. 1993. The rent gap debunked. *Urban Studies* 30 no.10: 1734-44.

Bridge, G. 1994. Gentrification, class, and residence: A reappraisal. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 12 no.1: 31-51.

Clark, W. A., and Cadawallader, M. 1973. Locational stress and residential mobility. *Environment and Behavior* 5 no.1: 29-41.

1998. In Dallas a different drummer. *Economist* 24 October: 69-70.

Day, Fred, professor of geography at Southwest Texas State University. 1995. Interview by author, 2 November, San Marcos. Hand-written recording.

Dean, Glenn D. 1990. Mobility and adjustments: Paths to the resolution of residential stress. *Demography* 27 no.1: 65-79.

DeGiovanni, Frank F. 1983. Patterns of change in housing market activity in revitalizing neighborhoods. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 49 no.9: 22-39.

Dewan, Shaila. 1999. Teaching an old neighborhood new tricks (rehabilitation of Houston's Fifth Ward area). *Architecture* 88 no.1: 47-49.

Frie, Ross, former comprehensive planner for the city of Austin. 1995. Interview by author, 1 November, San Marcos. Hand-written recording.

Gale, Dennis. 1979. Middle-class resettlement in older urban neighborhoods. *Journal of the American Planing Association* 45 no.5: 293-304.

_____. 1984. *Neighborhood revitalization and the postindustrial city*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Golledge, Reginald G., and Gerard Rushton, eds. 1976. *Spatial choice and spatial behavior*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Hall, Tony, neighborhood planner for the city of Austin. 1995. Interview by author, 2 November, Austin. Telephone interview.

Harrison, James, professor of geography at Southwest Texas State University. 1995. Interview by author, 6 November, San Marcos. Hand-written recording.

Hart, Katherine. 1974. *Waterloo scrapbook*. Austin, TX: The Friends of the Austin Public Library.

Humphrey, David C. 1997. *Austin: A history of the capitol city*. Austin, TX: Texas State Historical Association.

Jackson, Kenneth J. 1981. *Crabgrass frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jones, Joseph. 1982. *Life on Waller Creek*. Austin, TX: AAR/Tantalus, Inc.

Kemp, Jim. 1987. *Regional influences in architecture and interior design*. New York: Viking Penguin, Inc.

Kerstein, Robert. 1990. Stage models of gentrification: an examination. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 25 no.6: 620-639.

Luckens, Ben, comprehensive planner for the city of Austin. 1996. Interview by author, 1 April, Austin. Telephone interview.

McDonald, S. C. 1986. Does gentrification affect crime rates? In *Communities and crime. Crime and justice*, vol. 8, eds. A. J. Reiss, Jr. and M. Tonry, 163-201, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McGovern, Stephen J. 1998. *The politics of downtown development*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.

Madison, Barbara, manager at Statehouse on Congress. 2000. Interview by author, March 1, Austin. Telephone interview.

Marcuse, Peter. 1986. Abandonment, gentrification and displacement: The linkages in New York City. In *Gentrification of the city*, eds. Neil Smith and Peter Williams, 153-77, Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Miller Blue Print Company. 1936. *The City of Austin and suburbs, 1936 revised edition*. Austin, TX: Miller Blue Print Company.

_____. 1941. *Austin, Texas, street guide*. Austin, TX: Miller Blue Print Company.

Medoff, P., and H. Sklar. 1994. *Streets of hope: The fall and rise of an urban neighborhood*. Boston: South End Press.

Nelson, K. P. 1988. *Gentrification and distressed cities: An assessment of trends in intrametroplolitan migration*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Nyden, Philip W., and Wim Wiewel, eds. 1991. *Challenging uneven development: An urban agenda for the 1990's*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Palen, John., and B. London, eds. 1984. *Gentrification, displacement, and neighborhood revitalization*. Albany, NY: Albany State University of New York Press.

Penick, Dixon B. 1928. *The City of Austin and suburbs*. Austin, TX: Dixon B. Penick Engineering Company.

Pocock, Douglas, and Ray Hudson. 1978. *Images of the Urban Environment*. London: The Macmillan Press LTD.

Poe, Sheryl, reporter for the Austin-American Statesman. 2000. Interview by author, 1 March, Austin. Telephone interview.

Ruthheiser, Charles. 1996. *Imagineering Atlanta: The politics of place in the city of dreams*. New York: Verso.

Sampson, Robert J., and John D. Woolredge. 1986. Evidence that high crime rates encourage migration away from central cities. *Sociology and Social Research* 70 no.1: 310-14.

Smith, Neil. 1979. Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by

capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 no.7: 538-48.

_____, and P. Williams, eds. 1986. *Gentrification of the city*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Spain, Daphne, and Shirley Bradway Laska. 1984. Renovators two years later: New Orleans. In *Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization*, eds. J. John Palen and Bruce London, 103-27. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Speare, A. Jr. 1974. Residential satisfaction as an intervening variable in residential mobility. *Demography* 11 no. 2: 173-88.

Struyk, Raymond J. 1986. Exploring the effects of racial preferences on urban housing markets. *Journal of Urban Economics* 19 no. 2: 131-146.

Taylor, Ralph B. 1991. Urban communities and crime. In *Urban Life in Transition*, eds. M. Gottdiener and Chris Pickvanoe, 86-98. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Teaford, Jon C. 1990. *The rough road to renaissance: Urban revitalization in America, 1940-1985*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970. 1970 *Census user's guide*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

_____. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983. *1980 Census of population and housing - population housing characteristics for census tracts and block numbering areas - Austin, TX MSA*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

_____. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983. *1980 Census of population and housing - summary tape file 3A - Austin, TX MSA*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

_____. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1990. *1990 Census of population and housing - population housing characteristics for census tracts and block numbering areas - Austin, TX MSA*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

_____. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1994. *1994 Census Catalog and Guide*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation. 1993. *Uniform Crime Reports: Crime in the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wagner, George R. 1995. Gentrification, reinvestment, and displacement in
    Baltimore. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 17 no.1 : 81-96.

Walker, Lester. 1981. *American shelter : An illustrated encyclopedia of the American
    home.* Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press.

Zeitz, Eileen. 1979. *Private urban renewal.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.