INNER CITY DIFFERENTIATION: A STAGE STRUCTURE AND CHANGE ANALYSIS OF COLUMBUS SYMBOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

by

Alton Thompson, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * * * *

The Ohio State University

1981

Reading Committee:

Kent P. Schwirian

Katherine Meyer

Wen L. Li

Approved by

Adviser
Department of Sociology

DEDICATION

To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln,
All that I am, and all that I
ever hope to be, I owe to my
mother, - Lillian T. Thompson.

This manuscript is also dedicated
to my mother-in-law, Essie M. Smith,
whose last words were: "I sure
hope you receive your degree."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All life I have had lots of friends. In this regard, this manuscript would not have been completed without the assistance and support of several people. To those that I do not specifically mention, I gratefully acknowledge their help.

My largest intellectual indebtedness belongs to Dr. Kent P. Schwirian, my adviser. I am sincerely grateful to him for guiding me through the trials and tribulations of a graduate education, his constructive criticisms and attentive advice, and for providing an exemplar of what a scholar and instructor can be.

Secondly, the other members of my general examination and dissertation committees, Dr. Katherine Meyer and Dr. Wen L. Li, have been pillars of support and have provided valuable assistance at various stages of my graduate career. The professionalism of Dr. Meyer almost makes Weber's Ideal Type a 'real type,' and few can doubt the analytical ability of Dr. Li.

During the writing of this work, I have also profited greatly from the comments, opinions and support of fellow graduate students, both past and present, of the Department of Sociology, namely, Dr. William A. Schwab, Dr. Suzanne Vaughan, Edna H. Berry, Norman Rose, Judith A. Cook, Dale W. Wimberly, David Pilgrim and Ron Stewart.

I was also fortunate to have a fine corps of typists who offered their assistance free of charge: Jessie B. Smith, Margaret Ruffin and Nadaya Richardson.

I also thank my wife, Glenoria, and my 'bundle-of-joy,' Melanie, for pleasantly prolonging my tenure at OSU.

Finally, thank God for the baseball strike.

VITA

May 2, 1954	Born--Blounts Creek, North Carolina
1976	B.A., North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina
1977	M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1978	Research Associate, Department of Research and Evaluation, Columbus Area Community Mental Health Center, Columbus, Ohio
1978-1981	Teaching Associate, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University

PRESENTATION

"A Decade of Change . . . Onward and Upward," presented at North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina, April, 1979.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Human Ecology and Urban Sociology	Dr. Kent P. Schwirian
Methodology and Statistics	Dr. Katherine Meyer
Demogrpahy	Dr. Wen L. Li

TABLES OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents (cont'd)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

THE NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE CYCLE MODEL: REVISITED

Introduction:

Urban ecologists are increasingly focusing their research on the topic of neighborhood structure and change. Three trends mark this current line of analysis. The first is a concern with micro social phenomena in that the neighborhood constitutes a persistent force operating within the urban setting that greatly affects the behavior of its residents. Secondly, because of significant shifts in the socio-economic character of the city population, the changing internal structure of the city, and urbanism as a way of life, the neighborhood is becoming more important as a unit for study. The final concern involves the popularity or increased recognition of the phenomenon referred to as 'gentrification.' Briefly, 'gentrification' is concurrently a physical, social and cultural process whereby an affluent middle class refurbishes deteriorated central city housing up to the standards required for occupancy. As will be indicated later, this trend marks a reversal of the usual "invasion-succession" sequence of neighborhood transition.

As a consequence of the preceding trends, several studies have emerged during the past decade which focus on the neighborhood and for the most part, have centered on neighborhood transition or its evolution through a well-defined sequence of stages. Hoover and Vernon, in Anatomy of a Metropolis, were the first to explicitly formalize change

in terms of an evolutionary perspective; hence, the basis of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model. Examinations of the Model (Duncan, et al (1962), Guest, (1973, 1974), Haggerty, (1971), Hunter, (1974), Birch, (1976), and Schwab, (1976) have provided tentative support for the neighborhood life cycle concept. In particular, these studies have shown that as various neighborhoods age, they change in a manner consistent with the Hoover and Vernon propositions. Nevertheless, all of the studies, save two, employed census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods which leads one to question the validity of the results since the boundaries of the former seldom corresponds to the latter. This problem of parallelism prompted Hunter (1974) and Schwab (1976) to use "community areas", as opposed to census tracts, to examine the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model in Chicago and Cleveland, respectively. However, since most of the U. S. cities do not have longitudinal data on these "planning" or "community areas", at least at the neighborhood level, the question becomes: what would constitute a reasonable alternative?

The city block, despite the paucity of its data, would be a better unit of observation concerning neighborhood studies because of its appropriate size and internal homogeneity. (Olds, 1949:485-86; Myers, 1954:364-66; Cleaver, 1963:15). In fact, Olds explicitly states that one of the comparative advantages of block data over census tract data is the "appraisal of neighborhood characteristics . . . " (1949:500). Thus, rather than adhering to the conventional practice of making an arbitrary definition of neighborhoods on the basis of census tracts, the researcher will aggregate city blocks in order to obtain a better

understanding of the diachronic nature and process of this viable entity as a form of social organization.

Another gap in the acquisition of knowledge concerning neighborhood structure and change is a study which focuses on a medium or moderately-sized city. For example, most of the studies to date have centered on metropolitan regions which had attained a threshold population of 500,000 by the 1920's: Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York and so forth. In addition, the industrialized cities of the North have been the undertaking of past studies because of their early period of development.

This being so, a study involving a mid-western city that is only now approaching the 500,000 population plateau would serve as a meaningful testing ground for a further test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model; it would also serve as a pattern for other cities of comparable size and in other regions of the country. Thus, Columbus, Ohio will be the selected site for such a study because it fits the above criteria and because Columbus is still characterized by a rural fringe area which is probably typical of several midsized American cities. Further, Columbus has the following desirable characteristics: (1) unlike the other cities composing the nation's industrial crescent, Columbus is still growing; (2) Columbus has a diverse job market (20 percent manufacturing, 23 percent trade, 20 percent government, 20 percent service and 17 percent insurance, construction, transportation and mining) and (3) "Columbus cannot be too far from the national norm, for this is a key test marketing city." (Stuart, 1980: 18; Gapp, 1980:1 and 10). A further indication of the typicality of

Columbus is presented in Table 1 - Appendix C.

Therefore, Columbus appears to be an urban unit typical of the nation's cities.

In light of the foregoing, the purpose of this study is threefold: (1) to provide a general test of the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model; (2) to determine the causative factors affecting the operation of the life cycle; and (3) to determine if the neighborhoods are undergoing 'gentrification.'

The Neighborhood as a Unit for Study: Its Origin, Background, Spread and Acceptance

The neighborhood as a unit for study emerged from two lines of discent: (1) the concept of a "neighborhood unit," and (2) the concept of "natural areas." As will be apparent in the subsequent discussion, these lines of descent were not completely separate or distinct but simply a matter of emphasis. Nonetheless, the former was a product of physical or city planners, while the latter was largely a result of efforts of the Chicago School Sociologists. For reasons sufficient unto themselves, the idea of a "neighborhood unit" will be presented initially followed by a synoptic discussion of the manner in which the chief components of the concept "natural area" have been incorporated into the popular term neighborhood.

The neighborhood, as a social and planning concept, was first explicitly proposed by Clarence A. Perry in 1929. The 'neighborhood unit plan,' in brief, was an attempt on a part of Perry to create a residential neighborhood to meet the needs of family life in a unit

related to a larger whole (the city) but possessing six fundamental principles:

1. Size: A residential unit development should provide housing for that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, its actual area depending upon population density.

2. Boundaries: The unit should be bounded on all sides by arterial streets, sufficiently wide to facilitate its by-passing by all through traffic.

3. Open Space: A system of small parks and recreation spaces, planned to meet the needs of the particular neighborhoods, should be provided.

4. Institution Sites: Sites for the school and other institutions having service spheres coinciding with the limits of the unit should be suitable grouped about a central point, or common place.

5. Local Shops: One or more shopping districts, adequate for the population to be served, should be laid out in the circumference of the unit, preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to similar districts of adjoining neighborhoods.

6. Internal Street System: The unit should be provided with a special street system, each highway being proportioned to its probable traffic load, and the street net as a whole being designed to facilitate circulation within the unit and to discourage its use by through traffic. (Perry, 1929:34-35)

As indicated in Perry's explication of these principles, first and foremost in the neighborhood unit was the elementary school. He considered this institution the strongest socializing agent in America, and together with its central location and recommended size, it would adequately define the physical extent of the neighborhood. Thus, Perry wanted to change the basic unit of planning from the city block to a more complex and meaningful unit of the neighborhood, a modification that he contended would serve the city as a whole more

efficiently as well as being a distinct entity in its own right. Also of importance to Perry's school-focused neighborhood was the presence of a community center. Such an institution, with a specially constructed building and with ample facilities for both children and adults along with the church "would be an integral part of a neighborhood."[1] (Perry, 1929:34, 40, 45-49)

Specifically, the neighborhood unit was to do the following:

1. introduce a principle of physical order into the chaotic, fragmented urban aggregate

2. reintroduce local, face-to-face types of contacts into the anonymous urban society, thereby helping to regain some sense of community

3. encourage the formation of local loyalities and attachments and thereby offset the impact of extensive social and residential mobility

4. stimulate feelings of identity, security, stability, and rootedness in a world threatening such feelings on all sides; and

5. provide a local training ground for the development of larger loyalties to city and nation. (Keller, 1968:126)

Thus, it appears that the neighborhood unit emerged in order to restore some sense of community, vis-a-vis direct, face-to-face interaction which had been disturbed or destroyed by the centralization, specialization or departmentalization of urban life. Additionally, it was also to constitute an integral segment of a larger, more complex totality, the city.

Finally, advocates of the neighborhood unit acknowledge an indebtedness to the social sciences (Park, Burgess, McKenzie and especially to Charles H. Cooley) for the theoretical basis of the plan for

neighborhood units. (Perry, 1929:126-27) In a series of books on social organization and social processes, Cooley recognized the important role played by the intimate, face-to-face community on the whole order of planning. For example, in 1924, Cooley wrote:

> The most important spheres of this intimate association and cooperation - though by no means the only ones - are the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood . . . These are practically universal, belonging to all times and all stages of development; and are accordingly a chief basis of what is universal in human nature and human ideals . . . Of the neighborhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men formed permanent settlements upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people. (Cooley, 1924:24-25)

Thus, it has been established that even though city planners tended to stress the physical features of a neighborhood, their theoretical orientation was grounded in the social sciences in general and in human ecology in particular. This particularity was, of course, encompassed by the concept of "natural areas" which stressed the importance of the symbolic, socio-cultural and homogeneous aspects of neighborhoods, unlike urban planners, the human ecologists (and sociologists) accorded little attention to the importance of the physical characteristics.

Given the preceding, the neighborhood as a unit for study originated from the concept of "natural area" which was emphasized by the ecologists at the University of Chicago. Urban neighborhoods were referred to as "natural areas" because the order that they displayed was not the result of design, but rather a manifestation of tendencies inherent in the urban situation. (Park, 1952:196) In addition,

drawing, in part, from the work - The Urban Mosaic - by Duncan Timms, Schwab stated: "Natural areas" were viewed by the Chicago School as emerging through the operation of basic ecological or biotic forces, whereby, the primordial bonds of marriage, kinship, ethnicity and voluntary association were linked to the spatial distance and functionally independent areas." (Schwab, 1976:14)

A source of confusion concerning the concept of "natural area" has been its inconsistent usage by a large number of scholars including the early Chicago ecologists. For example, while Zorbaugh appeared to view it as primarily a physical phenomenon, Wirth and McKenzie defined "natural areas" in terms of characteristics of its population, stressing such features as race, language, income and occupation. To add greater complexity to this concept, Burgess recognized three aspects of "natural areas:" (1) an ecological dimension, in which he included both physical and economic characteristics; (2) a cultural dimension, which reflected the values of the population concerned, and (3) a political dimension. (Timms, 1971:7) Among these dimensions, Park only acknowledged the first one as necessary to the existence of "natural areas." To Park, "natural areas" were communities or ecological collectivities, while neighborhoods were societies. (Timms, 1971:7, Park, 1952:196)

In unravelling the aforementioned inconsistencies, Schwab nicely outlined the important components of the concept "natural areas:"

1. a "natural area" is the result of the operation of ecological, political, and cultural forces
2. they are unplanned

3. they may be bounded spatially through the measurement for attributes such as income, occupation, ethnicity, and housing characteristics of an area. (Schwab, 1976:15)

Nonetheless, as a result of the above mentioned varied interpretations of the unique characteristics attributed to "natural areas" as indicative of homogeneous neighborhoods, several criticisms were directed at the concept. Among the numerous criticisms, Milla Allihan in Social Ecology attacked this concept most severely. This critique challenged the biotic and symbiotic aspects of "natural areas", their internal homogeneity and finally, she criticized Park's view of the "natural areas" as unplanned units. (Hatt, 1946:427)

In addition, Hatt concluded that the "natural areas" as designated in Seattle were "fictituously homogeneous . . . " (Hatt, 1946: 426) In a similar study, Form et al (1954:439-40) also documented the lack of homogeneity within small areal units as well as a lack of congruence between reasonable alternative criteria of community areas. Thus, it appears that the concept of "natural area" as envisioned by Park and the other human ecologists did not seem to hold true.

Consequently, the concept of "natural area" was rejected by the mid 1940's. Schwab (1976:16) noted that the general lack of empirical support for culturally homogeneous, clearly delineated areas resulted in a shift from an interest in physical characteristics of urban subareas to their social or interactional character. Although the term "natural area" was severely qualified and seldom used, two authors suggested that many of the key components of this concept have been integrated into the popular term neighborhood and is still employed

in much current urban theory and research.

In light of the above, it is not surprising that no other current is probably used so loosely or with such changing content as the term neighborhood, and very few concepts are most difficult to define. (McKenzie, 1923:157, Hatt, 1946:426; Isaacs, 1948:38, Keller, 1968:98; Lee, 1968:241; Timms, 1971:5; and Hunter, 1980:270) In fact, McKenzie stated that "The concept neighborhood has come down to us from a distant past and therefore has connotations which scarcely fit the facts when applied to a patch of life in a modern large city . . ." (McKenzie, 1923:346)

Keller purported that the existing confusion concerning neighborhoods was a consequence of at least three factors:

1. Conceptual ambiguity, particularly the failure to distinguish between three essential, yet separate, elements - that of the neighborhood as a special role and relationship, that of neighboring as a more broadly defined set of activities involving neighbors may occur.

2. Contradictory research evidence based on ambiguous assumptions and instruments.

3. The problem of rapid social change upsetting the traditional balance between neighbors, neighboring, and neighborhoods and leaving in its wake a residue of disconnected fragments of such neighborhoods. (Keller, 1968:10-11)

Therefore, a plethora of different definitions of the concept neighborhood was to be expected, and in fact, did occur. However, similar to the efforts of Schwab, Ruth Glass noted that territory and inhabitants were the common elements in most of the definitions proposed by urban researchers; consequently, she defined the neighborhood "As a distinct territorial group, distinct by virtue of the

specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of the inhabitants." Additionally, Glass contended that these two boundaries generally reinforced each other: the physical unity encouraged symbolic unity and symbolic boundaries come to be attached to physical ones. (Keller, 1968:89)

Thus, for the purpose of this investigation, it appears that the symbolic boundaries of the neighborhood or "symbolic communities" would provide a relevant or meaningful unit of study. Glass (1948), Hunter (1974), Schwab (1976), and Suttles (1972) all alluded to the importance of "symbolic communities" and the latter author very eloquently discussed four different levels of social organization which described or classified these types of neighborhoods.

Suttles, in The Social Construction of Communities, proposed a heirarchy of community differentiation, namely, the face-block, the defended neighborhood, the community of limited liability and the expanding community of limited liability. The face-block, he maintained, was "The most elemental grouping of residents" because it constituted a network of acquaintances, who vis-a-vis face-to-face relations, recognize or know each other by virtue of living on the same block. What characterized this association was not so much the similar background of its residents but the use of the same facilities on a regular basis and the continual contact enroute to these and other neighborhood amenities. Thus, Suttles concluded that this "loose network does not constitute a neighborhood nor is it likely to have any residential identity." (Suttles, 1972:57)

A higher level of community differentiation was the defended neighborhood. Suttles contended that this neighborhood type was "most commonly the smallest area which possessed a corporate identity known to both its members and outsiders" and its inhabitants were generally sealed off and/or protected through the efforts of delinquent gangs, by restrictive convenants, by sharp boundaries or by a forbidding reputation. Thus, it was not a primordial solidarity that rendered the defended neighborhood its unity and sense of identity but a mutual fear of invasion from adjacent residential areas. (Suttles, 1972:58)

A third type of urban neighborhood was the 'community of limited liability' which possessed an "official identity" essential to its functioning. Hence, unlike the preceding neighborhood types, the 'community of limited liability' had an official identity which required its name and boundaries to be honored by governmental acknowledgements. In addition this community type was also characterized by an "external economy," in that it had external adversaries and advocates who were anxious to claim a constituency or market in order to keep it in tact. (Suttles, 1972:58)

Suttles referred to the final type of neighborhood, the 'expanding community of limited liability,' as "an almost hypothetical entity." This level of social organization alluded to a larger urban community such as the East Side or South Side. (Suttles, 1972:61) In Columbus, this is manifested by a community designated as the "Near North Side" which emcompasses seven smaller 'neighborhoods' and a community center known as the "Near Northside Action Center."

The first two community types were too small to have official identities while the latter was too large to be considered meaningful units constituting the urban neighborhood as it exists in the cognitive models of residents. This being the case, the third neighborhood type - 'community of limited liability' - will serve as the unit of analysis in this investigation and will be operationalized using Schwab's criteria:

> 1. a neighborhood is a clearly defined territorial unit composed of numerous face blocks and several defended neighborhoods
>
> 2. with an official identity recognized by individuals and organizations in both the private and public sectors, and
>
> 3. its name and boundaries are known to its residents and members of the larger metropolis as well. (1976:20)

Now that the conceptualization and operationalization of the neighborhood has been clearly defined, two questions emerge:

> 1. How does one delineate the neighborhoods in Columbus?
>
> 2. Do these neighborhoods adhere to the criteria outlined above?

Fortunately, the first question does not pose too difficult a task because of the neighborhood definitional study conducted by the Columbus Department of Development and because of the activity of the local community organizations.

In terms of the former, an extensive eight element physiographic analysis of the entire metropolitan area was utilized by the Department of Development to delineate the neighborhoods of Columbus. The elements were: topography, streams and water bodies, vegetation,

highways and freeways, major streets, undeveloped land and land use. These criteria or characteristics were hypothesized to bound the conceptual or symbolic neighborhoods of the resident population. In addition, samples of individuals were interviewed to gain more indepth information concerning the area depicted by the residents as constituting their neighborhood. (Sims, 1973:14-17)

Neighborhood organizations are often considered to be the formal structural embodiments of local community solidarity, and as a result, they are taken by some urban analysts as the operational definition of a viable neighborhood. (Hunter, 1974:193) In Columbus, this widespread ability of organizations (and of course, residents) to identify community symbols, names and boundaries, is one method of reflecting and referring to reality, but, like symbols, generally, they may serve to define and create reality. However one, especially Hunter, is quick to note that a name and a set of boundaries do not guarantee that all other aspects of community are present, but "these symbols do represent one reality of community which may have implications for the social, cultural, psychological, and even ecological components of the concept." (1974:67)

As will be discussed in Chapter IV, the neighborhood organizations in Columbus are very active in municipal affairs, and have empirically defined the boundaries encompassing the residential areas understudy. These boundaries, as perceived by the civic organizations, are not of course a holistic way to define neighborhoods, but they are an independent reality that should not be ignored or discounted. A further indication of the significance of these boundaries is that they are

recognized by both local residents and the city and often serve as units for the distribution of community development block grant funds. More importantly, most of these neighborhoods have newsletters that circulate among the residents to keep them abreast of events that could affect the character of their neighborhood.

Regarding the second question, the neighborhoods delineated by the Department of Development and the community organizations appear to meet the above-stated criteria. First, an analysis of the boundaries of these neighborhoods indicate that many are naturally occurring ones - - stream and water bodies, railroads, highways and freeways, major streets, etc. Glass (1948), Keller (1968), Hunter (1974), Schwab (1976), and Suttles (1972) all suggest that natural boundaries often lead to symbolically important boundaries. To be specific, Glass notes that " . . . symbolic boundaries come to be attached to physical ones." (Keller, 1968:89) Secondly, the interview data indicate "rather strongly that the neighborhood is a spatial conception to which social and activity and personal meanings are attached." (Sims, 1973:106)

Thus, it appears that the neighborhood included in this research adhere to the operationalization of the 'community of limited liability.'

The Neighborhood Life Cycle Model

The dynamics of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model was anticipated in the works of the "classical" and "neo-classical" ecologists; however, an explicit declaration of the model failed to emerge.

(McKenzie, 1923:157; Park, 1925:68, 74-75; Burgess, 1925:50-53; Hawley, 1950:321, 400-01) The primary concern of these human ecologists, save McKenzie, was with the macro-characteristics and processes of urban growth at the city or metropolitan level while ignoring such micro-social occurrences as the mechanisms of neighborhood change. A formal explication of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model was not proposed until two economists, Hoover and Vernon, published their treatise on the forces operating within the New York Metropolitan Region which was causing a change in its internal structure. In general, their model provided a testable conceptual framework for studying the dynamics of neighborhood change and/or transition.

Of chief concern to Hoover and Vernon is the location of jobs as an important determinant of where people decide to live. Stated differently, "choice of housing" is an essential determinant of the locational patterns of people. The authors are quick to state that "Both in the choice of housing from the existing supply and in the gradual evolution of that supply, we shall see evidences of a basic 'balancing process' in operation. On the other hand, the incentive to live near jobs and other urban attractions tends to concentrate population and build up densities. Opposing this is a complex of resistences to concentration and high densities based largely, though not wholly, upon the desire for spacious living." (Hoover and Vernon, 1962:122) Thus, the authors argue that the countervailing forces of 'easy access' versus 'spacious living' are two opposing determinants of location patterns.

Based on these determinants of residential choice, Hoover and Vernon postulates five stages of the Neighborhood Life Cycle.

Stage I: 'Residential Development' Stage -- This stage is characterized by rapid population growth and the development of single family dwelling units; thus, density is at a low level. Since the "Core" (central business district) has already endured this stage, this stage of growth usually occurs at the periphery where there are large parcels of undeveloped land.

Stage II: 'Transition' Stage -- This stage is characterized by the construction of a significant number of apartments in lieu of single family dwelling units; therefore, an increase in density. The population still continues to grow; however, the movement is upward instead of outward. Nearly all of the development in this stage was prior to the period of mass automobile commuting, before the 1930's.

Stage III: 'Downgrading' Stage -- This stage is characterized by the adaptation of old housing (both multi and single family dwelling units) to greater density use than they were orginally designed for. In this stage, new construction is at a minimal; however, there is evidence of some population and density growth through conversion and crowding of existing structures. Additionally, the authors note that the spread of districts occupied by more or less segregated ethnic and minority groups is associated with the 'downgrading' stage. In the spread of such districts, conversions of structures to accomodate more families plays a significant part, but not always a decisive one. Last, Hoover and Vernon note the sequence to the 'downgrading' stage from the 'transition' stage was not always a clear-cut, and the

former stage does not necessarily follow the latter stage.

Stage IV: 'Thinning-out' Stage -- This stage is characterized by little or no residential construction and by a decline in population. Density and dwelling occupancy are gradually reduced and most of the shrinkage comes about through a decline in household size in these neighborhoods. However, this shrinkage may also reflect merging of dwelling units, vacancy, abandonment, and demolition.

Finally, the family types are recently arrived inmigrants with low incomes and a limited housing choice. The limitations are imposed not only because of their income levels but also because of restrictions and prejudices against them, by an inadequate knowledge of the housing market and by uncertain employment alternatives. At the same time, these inmigrants tend to be predominantly young married couples or marriageable individuals in their twenties.

Stage V: 'Renewal' Stage -- This stage is characterized by the replacement of obsolete areas of housing by new multi-family housing. Quality and the effective use of space are improved, but the overall density of the area affected may not change. This stage is primarily dependent on public funds: "on the use of condemnation powers to assemble the site, on the use of public grants to bring down the site costs to levels at which medium-income rentals could be charged, and in some cases, on the use of continuing operating subsidies to bring the rentals within reach of low-income families." (Hoover and Vernon, 1962:185-198)

Upon closer examination of the model, it appears that age of settlement, density and the housing cycle are the chief criteria of the

postulated stages of neighborhood evolution. Once settlement occurs, an evolutionary process is set in motion including most, but not all, areas within a city or metropolitan region.

Hoover and Vernon readily note that this sequence of stages describes what has happened in only general terms and that there is plenty of variation when one focuses on specific areas. For example, some fortunate areas have been able to stabilize their character short of the 'downgrading' stage or even short to the apartment 'transition' stage. (Hoover and Vernon, 1962:198) In addition, Walter Firey (1974:114) has shown in his study of central Boston that neighborhoods may remain in the same stage of development almost indefinitely. Thus, a major difficulty with the Hoover and Vernon approach is the lack of delineation of the time span of the individual stages in the model.

Finally, a well-formulated typology summarizing the characteristics of the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model has been provided by Edgar Butler (1976:137):

			PERCENT			
STAGE	DATE OF SETTLEMENT	AGE OF HOUSING	MULTIPLE-FAMILY HU's	RENTER-OCCUPIED HU's	CONVERTED HU's	HOUSEHOLD SIZE
1-Building Up	10	new	very low	very low	none	very large
2-Transition	10-19	young	low	low	none	large
3-Downgrading	20-29	middle aged	medium	medium	medium	medium
4-Thinning Out	30-39	old	high	high	high	small
5-Renewal	40-49	new	very high	very high	none	?

Mechanisms of Urban Growth

Now that the postulated stages of the life cycle model has been explicated, the question becomes: what mechanisms are involved in the movement from one stage to the next?

As alluded to earlier, the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model has its roots in the 'human ecologist' school at the University of Chicago in the 1920's. Thus, one might expect that a theory of neighborhood transition would be embodied in their major works; this was precisely the case. Perhaps the best statement of their theory was echoed by Park and Burgess who argued that cities expand in a series of concentric rings. For example, the "invasion-succession" sequence that was postulated by these ecologists implied a series of neighborhood transitions. Park contended:

> The term "succession" is used . . . to describe and designate that orderly sequence of changes through which a biotic community passes in the course of its development from a primary and relatively unstable to a relatively permanent or climax stages . . . in the course of this development, the community moves through a series of more or less clearly defined stages . . . (Park: 1952:152)

In an earlier work, Park and Burgess also argue that "the human community tends to develop in cyclic fashion . . . invasions produce successional stages of different qualitative significance . . ." (Park, 1925:68, 75) Thus, the dynamic aspect of the city - its growth, expansion, decline, etc. - is often translated into sequential stages of change at the neighborhood level.

Using Chicago as the principal source of evidence, Burgess suggested that a modern city typically consisted of a series of concentric

zones. These zones radiated out from the downtown center, the Loop, and each successive zone contained a different type of land use. The first zone was the central business district, containing retail stores, banks, hotels, theaters, business and professional offices, city and government buildings, and the like. The second zone, the zone of transition, was caused by the steady encroachment of business and industry into what were once residential neighborhoods. The three outer zones (zones of working people's homes, residential zone and commuters' zone) contained more middle class homeowners. (Park, 1925:50-53) Generally speaking, there was an inverse relationship between social status and distance from the city center; that is, the status of the residents increased the farther away from the center they live.

This model was, of course, merely an ideal type that have attempted to identify and account for patterns in the way individuals, residences, businesses, etc. were distributed within the physical space of a modern city. Thus, the changes in the diachronic character of the city or neighborhood corresponded to stages in the life cycle.

The sector model or axial formulation of urban change was developed in the landmark work, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities, by Homer Hoyt in 1939 as an alternative model for the growth of cities. Hoyt had access to detailed housing data for 142 American cities and consequently, the crucial elements of his model were low and high rent residential neighborhoods. In essence, the model emphasized transportation technology and stated that high rent residential neighborhoods were instrumental in shaping the land use structure of the city and that there was a natural

succession of change in the location of these neighborhoods. Hoyt argued that growth patterns in urban areas were best viewed as sectors; that is, homogeneous wedges emanating from the center of the city. In other words, growth occurred at the outer edge of the sector and as new housing is constructed (in this outer edge), it is occupied by the households of the highest income within that sector. (Hoyt, 1939:76-78)

Again, Hoyt's theory was simply an ideal, descriptive typology that attempted to provide a better model, at least in some cities, than the concentric zonal theory.

Finally, the ecological approach attempted to explain the appearance and growth of cities in terms of influences from both the social and natural environment. The dynamic character of Burgess' and Hoyt's models of spatial patterning emphasized the centrifugal nature of urban growth which provided a theoretical basis for neighborhood transition or the move from one stage of development to the next. However, many factors, such as environmental obstacles or determined resistence by residents of one zone or sector to invaders from the next, may influence the rate and nature of the neighborhood life cycle.

Tests of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model

To date, seven tests have been conducted to test the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model advanced by Hoover and Vernon.[2] (Duncan, Sabagh, and Arsdol, 1962; Guest, 1973; Guest, 1974; Haggerty, 1971; Birch, 1971; Hunter, 1974; Schwab, 1976)

The first test of Hoover and Vernon's model was conducted by

Beverly Duncan, George Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr. in an article entitled "Patterns of City Growth". Obtaining data for the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area, these authors pointed out and addressed two major weaknesses of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model: (1) an area in intensive urban land use has a more limited growth potential than one with large parcels of undeveloped land, and (2) the present patterning of intraurban population changes can be understood only in terms of the past development of the city. With this in mind, Duncan et al concluded that, as a consequence of their initial high density levels and age, only cohorts of census tracts in the older residential areas (two dwelling units per acre by 1950) manifested a life cycle pattern. Secondly, they argued that this occurrence had led to a situation where the younger cohorts of census tracts demonstrated a lower level of density but did not exhibit a life cycle pattern. In other words, the development of an efficient transportation network allowed an individual to reside in the lower density residential accommodations in relatively undeveloped areas at the periphery of the city and yet maintain access to the urban amenities; such a situation would mask a neighborhood's life cycle.

Thus, Duncan et al placed neighborhood transition into the context of urban expansion and population redistribution and indicated that density and age were important determinants of the life cycle concept. (Schwirian, 1974:63-64)

Another test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model was conducted by Avery M. Guest. He essentially replicated the study by Duncan et al; however, the following changes were made: (1) the span of the

investigation was increased from twenty-six years to sixty years; and (2) the selection of an older, industrialized Northern city - Cleveland, Ohio instead of 'atypical' Los Angeles.

Guest found that census tracts which had developed since the mass diffusion of automobile transportation had built up at low population densities and were moving slowly through the 'so-called' stages of the neighborhood life cycle. In contrast, older areas of the pre-auto era had been characterized by much higher population densities and a faster rate of change. (Guest, 1973:60)

Thus, it should be apparent that this finding is consistent with the finding of Duncan et al. In addition, Guest contends that the above changes in population densities may be a function of changes in the number of dwelling units. In other words, the growth of the city has been relatively synonymous with the amount of new housing units constructed in the undeveloped, low density fringe areas, a development that contributes to a slower rate of change than that which occurred in the highly dense inner city neighborhoods.

Finally, in addressing the implications of his analysis, Guest purported that American neighborhoods would continue through the life cycle, but at lower densities and probably at slower speeds. (1973:68)

In a second test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model, Guest focused on the changes in the social status level of neighborhoods in thirteen metropolitan areas, an examination that he contended would subject the evolutionary hypothesis to a more direct test than it had been done by Hoover and Vernon and other studies concerning the life cycle of neighborhoods. (Guest, 1974:228) Hoover and Vernon had

suggested that neighborhoods follow a series of stages generally marked by progressive decreases in social status, with the possible exception of the early period of development when there was a transition from relatively low density, rural uses, to highest but still light density urban uses. Briefly, Guest concluded that the evolutionary or life cycle pattern of neighborhood social status was possibly real but generally unimportant. There were some evidence of neighborhood evolution, as older neighborhoods were generally declining in status and newer neighborhoods were gaining in status, but the results hardly suggested a major and important trend in metropolitan areas. (1974: 242)

By incorporating time as an important variable in Burgess' concentric zone hypothesis, Haggerty provided a test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model. Haggerty criticized existing studies for their tendency to be cross-sectional or static rather longitudinal or dynamic in character. He re-examined the socio-economic structure of eight American cities in different regions of the country "to assess the influence of time on the emergence of a pattern of socio-economic status distribution within those cities." (Haggerty, 1971:1084) Applying a Markov Chain to changing socio-economic characteristics of tracts from 1940 to 1960, he found support for a general evolutionary process or a neighborhood life cycle in terms of a direct relationship between socio-economic status and distance from the center of the city. More specifically, zones closer to the central business district exhibited a trend toward lower socio-economic status (educational status) than adjacent zones farther from the city center. (Haggerty, 1971:

1084) Also of importance was the fact that the above relationship held even within cities which had (at the same time) exhibited an inverse cross-sectional relationship. Thus, time played an important role in ascertaining the relationship between socio-economic status and distance from the city center.

In his work, "Community Change: A Stochastic Analysis of Chicago's Local Communities," Albert Hunter provided an additional test of the life cycle model. He explicitly stated "the purpose of this paper is to look at patterns of decentralization and stages of community change and to test a number of assumptions and implicit dynamic propositions with data from the city of Chicago for the years 1930 to 1960." (1974: 923)

As a result, he was able to empirically, rather than arbitrarily, derive stages of neighborhood change which may be summarized as follows:

> Stage I - Communities changing from low economic and high family status to high economic and high family status.
>
> Stage II - Communities changing from high economic and high family status to high economic and low family status.
>
> Stage III - Communities changing from high economic and low family status to low economic and low family status.
>
> Stage IV - Communities changing from low economic and low family status to low economic and high family status. (Hunter, 1974:939)

Although Hunter only identified four stages of neighborhood change, they are consistent with those of Hoover and Vernon. Hunter also indicates that these stages of change are distributed in a concentric zonal pattern that are not simply spatial indicators of processes

occurring over time, but are sequentially ordered. (1974:923)

Addressing the problem inherent in the above-mentioned analyses, Schwab performed an analysis of Cleveland's thirty two social planning areas from 1930 to 1970. The problems at issue were: (1) use of census tracts as units of analysis (Duncan et al, Guest, Haggerty); (2) absence of critical examination of the life cycle's utility for describing, explaining and predicting change in a single inner-city area (all of the preceding studies); (3) since census data on social status were only available for the thirty year period from 1940 to 1970, there was no way to determine if the older cohorts, now displaying stable social statuses, had not experienced transition prior to 1940 (Guest); (4) percent while collar and percent high school graduates as measures of social status no longer explanatory power they once had prior to 1950 (Guest); and (5) effects of race partialled out of multiple regression (Guest). (Schwab, 1976:11-13)

In conducting his test, Schwab concluded:

> The present test of the neighborhood life cycle provides general support for the Hoover and Vernon Model. Turning to the more general test of the model, employing thirty-three Social Planning Areas from the Cleveland Metropolitan Area, it was shown that neighborhoods in the residential or "initial development," "transition", "downgrading", "thinning-out", and "renewal" stages manifest characteristics similar to those postulated by Hoover and Vernon. There were, however, eight Social Planning Areas which have not experienced the transition phenomena and have been classified as "stable". In general, these areas were single-family and owner-occupied, buffered from the nuisances of industry and the CBD strongly ethnic in character, and often displayed a "sense of community." (Schwab, 1976:160)

Birch, in another test of Hoover and Vernon's Model, proposed a stage theory of growth at the neighborhood level in attempting to answer the question: "Can we meaningfully match this physical evolution to social changes?" (1971:83) Although Birch delineated six stages that were strikingly similar to the stages denoted by Hoover and Vernon, the author concluded that a full stage theory could not be verified because one still does not know what pattern looked like for individual neighborhoods over time, and the specific mechanisms for neighborhood transition had not been identified and quantified. (Birch, 1971:83)

Nonetheless, in examining New Haven, Connecticut, Birch reported two findings that were consistent with the postulates of Hoover and Vernon: (1) Older neighborhoods were concentrated in the central city, middle-aged neighborhoods were ringing the central city and the younger neighborhoods in the periphery of the region. (Birch, 1971:81); (2) Concerning the movement of individual family units through stages, he found that the better educated, wealthier families were residing in younger neighborhoods; poorer, less educated families were living in older neighborhoods; and the families with more children, controlling for wealth, lived in the younger neighborhoods. (Birch, 1971:87)

Thus, in general, the above tests of the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model tend to lend support to its generalizations. Nonetheless, as alluded to earlier, a test of the Model has not been performed on a medium-sized city with a characteristic rural fringe. Since this pattern is probably typical of a number of the nation's cities, an effort should be set forth to further test the utility or

generalizability of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model.

Gentrification: An Exordium

Among the numerous issues and questions relating to the study of neighborhoods, few have generated as much recent discussion and research as those pertaining to 'gentrification' or neighborhood revitalization. As with the observation and response to any novel and unanticipated trend in human behavior, an effort is currently underway to shed greater theoretical and empirical light on this phenomenon by positing reasons for its emergence, exploring its consequences for the future of cities, investigating areas where different perspectives overlap or diverge and finally by examining the body of present research and its shortcomings. In short, 'gentrification' is an attractive thesis because it appeals to our hopes for the re-emergence of they city as a residentially important niche in urban space. For the past two decades, many of America's cities have been in a continuing state of decline; thus, the survival or revival of inner city neighborhoods is in the city's best interest.

"Gentrification," as suggested in the literature, is simultaneously a physical, social and cultural process that commonly involves the physical renovation of housing, many if which were previously in the privately rented sector, up to standards required by the new owner-occupying middle class residents who bring with them a distinctive lifestyle and set of tastes.[3] (Hunter, 1980:471) Definitionally, a 'gentry' is a "person of gentle birth; the condition or rank of a gentleman; upper or ruling class; aristocracy" to the inner city from

an area outside the urban setting. (London, 1980:78) Although this conceptualization is appropriate for describing British stratification patterns, London contends that 'gentrification; is not an appropriate term for summarizing the process of high status socio-economic groups in the U. S. His reasons are threefold:

> 1. 'Gentrification' in American neighborhoods suggests a movement from neighborhood to neighborhood within the inner city rather than a return-to-the-city movement.
>
> 2. 'Gentrification' may involve social mobility without spatial mobility which implies that "sentiment and symbolism" may be relevant ecological variables for the understanding of the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods.[4]
>
> 3. Those individuals who are participating in the 'gentrification' phenomenon may be affluent but they are certainly not a "hereditary mobility" or "aristocrats." (London, 1980: 78-79)

The merits of London's argument are undoubtedly evident in describing the process of a middle class recolonization of America's inner city areas; however, whatever the nomenclature, urban reinvasion - urban pioneering - or urban homesteading, the author will label the process 'gentrification' because it is more frequently employed by urban analysts.

In general, these analysts tend to support the notion that central city neighborhoods are presently undergoing 'gentrification'; however, the extent of this revitalization is not yet fully documented. (Berry, 1979:18; Cicin-Sain, 1980:54; Clay, 1980:18; Goodman, 1980:14; Hudson, 1980:397; Lipton, 1980:42; London, 1980:78; Long, 1980:18; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:52; Spain, 1980:27) Specifically, Lipton notes that

this trend appears to be occurring in the urban core of thirteen of the twenty largest U.S. cities, a phenomenon that is encouraging revitalization trends in our urban centers throughout the country. Also suggested in the above cited works, including the study by Lipton, is the idea that 'gentrification' should not be equated with a "back-to-the-city" movement, a distinction that prompts Goodman to state: "Back-to-the-city is the demographic misnomer of the decade. Back-to-the selected neighborhoods would be a much more accurate label." (1980:14-15)

Goodman's usage of the term 'selected' in characterizing the type of neighborhood undergoing 'gentrification' is well chosen because most of the studies indicated that not all central city neighborhoods are gentrifying. The available data suggest eight commonalities that describe the neighborhood revitalization phenomenon. The general outline of the data yielded is as follows:

1. Neighborhoods experiencing 'gentrification' are typically located very near (within two miles) or within the central business district. (Berry, 1979:21; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:68; Cicin-Sain, 1980:53; Clay, 1980:21; Fusch, 1980:156; Lipton, 1980:48)

2. Gentrifying neighborhoods are those which have received historic designation or those which are physically near such designated areas. Neighborhoods of this type are likely to have a distinctive architectural style that is consistent throughout and is viewed as an attractive feature. (Berry, 1979:8-19; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:55; Cicin-Sain, 1980:53; Clay, 1980:22; Collins, 1980: 86; Fusch, 1980:156; Laska and Spain, 1980:130; Long, 1980:18; Tournier, 1980:175; Weiler, 1980: 221)

3. The housing stock in neighborhoods undergoing 'gentrification' is old yet structurally sound.

(Cicin-Sain, 1980:53; Clay, 1980:22; Gale, 1980:96; Long, 1980:18)

4. In most cases, gentrifying neighborhoods are old communities, often settled before 1900. (Berry, 1980:25-26; Clay, 1980:21; Fusch, 1980:156; Gale, 1980:96; Tournier, 1980:174)

5. Gentrifying neighborhoods appear to be located near physical beauty or, other focal points of interest, such as park or university. (Berry, 1979:19; Cicin-Sain, 1980:53; Fusch, 1980:160)

6. Gentrifying neighborhoods tend to be limited to very small areas and rarely exceed several blocks in size. (Black, 1980:9; Clay, 1980:20)

7. The residents of gentrifying neighborhoods are typically young, white, middle class professionals who have few children. (Cicin-Sain, 1980:54; Clay, 1980:20; Long, 1980:18; Spain, 1980:382)

8. "Gentrification" tends to occur in large cities over 100,000 in the Northeast and South. (Cicin-Sain, 1980:53; Chernoff, 1980:204; Laska and Spain, 1980:116; Tournier, 1980:173; Weiler, 1980:220)

Although the above stated commonalities are indicated in the literature, it should be apparent that 'gentrification'; is a function of a large number of factors. Foremost among these factors are transportation and energy costs, the activity of the housing market, and an increasing number of single person households and couples who espouse voluntary childlessness. The latter is pioneering new life-style trends that are more adaptable to central city habitation than to suburban residence. (Cicin-Sain, 1980:50) Nonetheless, as stated earlier, it should be remembered that the principal source of neighborhood 'gentrification' is a reluctance to leave the city and not a heralded return to the city.

Anticipation of a Revival Hypothesis

Based on the foregoing, the earlier predictions that older inner city neighborhood would become the private living quarters of ethnic and racial minorities, the elderly and the poor are no longer tenable. The reversal of this occurrence, 'gentrification', can be traced to the works of the classical ecologists at the University of Chicago in the form of the "invasion-succession" sequence.

To be specific, housing has historically filtered down to lower income households as it was vacated voluntarily by higher income households moving on to better residential accommodations. Stated differently, it was the "invasion" of lower status individuals into a residential neighborhood followed by the "succession" of its former higher status residents to other residential neighborhoods of similar high status and generally farther away from the central business district. Presently, however, older housing which had previously "filtered down" to lower income households has begun to "filter up" to higher income households. Because this trend is such a marked reversal of the usual pattern of neighborhood change in the past, urban ecologists are re-evaluating existing theories in order to explain the unprecented emergence of affluent middle class enclaves from deteriorated inner city areas. Further, unlike the urban change which took place in the late 1960's and early 1970's under the rubric of urban renewal (Schwab, 1976:1), public sector involvement in initiating and sustaining the renovation trend has been minimal.

A very common interpretation of the "invasion-succession" hypothesis - and one that is critical in the present context - is that

typically there is a replacement of higher status groups by lower status groups in particular and the deterioration of the neighborhood in general. This conception of the hypothesis leads Hudson to explicitly state that while directionality is assumed, it does not necessarily imply the above-mentioned sequence; "invasion-succession" is a complex transition process which contains a set of subprocesses acting within it.

Writing in a same vein, McKenzie clearly detects this in his early work on the neighborhood. He notes:

> Invasions produce successional stages of different qualitative significance, that is, the economic character of the district may rise or fall as a result of certain types of invasion. This qualitative aspect is reflected in the fluctuations of the land or rental values. (1925:75)

Thus, McKenzie recognizes that the displacement of a higher socio-economic group by a lower socio-economic group is historically a more common occurrence, but there are frequently cases in which the former drives out the latter.

In addition to the foresight demonstrated by the ecologists at the University of Chicago, the exemplary study, An Anatomy of a Metropolis, by Hoover and Vernon also entertained the theme of a revival of older neighborhoods (Stage V - The 'Renewal' Stage). Guest (1974)/Schwab (1976) and Birch (1971) also found a similar phenomenon occurring in the neighborhoods of Cleveland and New Haven, respectively. Briefly, they reported that with the use of public grants and other types of financial assistance, inner city, deteriorated areas were undergoing a massive rebuilding effort which chiefly included the replacement of

single family dwelling units with multi-family dwelling units.

In short, the present efforts of urban analysts to lean toward a revival hypothesis is not a new research interest. In many respects, the phenomenon of 'gentrification' is incorporated within the more general ecological processes of "invasion-succession" as set forth by the Chicago School of Thought. Further, an extension of the School's foreknowledge can be found in the conceptual framework of Hoover and Vernon as well as many other urban ecologists.

One final observation of importance to the usefulness of the study at hand was the unnecessary limitations imposed on the concept of "invasion-succession" by Hoover and Vernon. This was brought to the attention of the scholarly community by Hudson (1980:397) who contended that the "invasion-succession" sequence was being employed too narrowly in the study of urban change and that current alterations in land use patterns open up the possibility of broadening its application. Specifically Hudson noted that Hoover and Vernon posited a 'thinning-out' stage prior to a 'redevelopment' stage, a transition that does not occur given the present ecological analysis of certain inner city neighborhoods experiencing the replacement of low status inhabitants by upper status inhabitants. (1980:400)

In light of the preceding, it should be apparent that the process of 'gentrification' is more than a function of the Hoover and Vernon variables. Social status variables such as income, occupation, and education are its primary indicators. (Lipton, 1980:47) Thus, while 'gentrification' is anticipated by these two economists, the process, as suggested in the literature, adds a new dimension to their model.

That is, an incoming, affluent middle class is chiefly responsible for the revitalization of certain inner city neighborhoods while the resident population, through federal grants and other types of public assistance, is responsible for the emergence of the 'renewal' trends in other areas of the city.[5] Basically, the conceptual difference between 'gentrification' and the 'renewal' stage is one of degree rather than kind; the former is primarily funded by the private sector, while the latter is primarily funded by the public sector. Thus, two questions that will, in part guide this analysis are: (1) Does the life cycle pattern differ appreciably between the neighborhoods undergoing 'gentrification' and those neighborhoods not undergoing 'gentrification?' and if so, (2) On what dimensions do they differ?

Finally, the use of 1980 data in the study should provide a clearer picture of the pattern of neighborhood change since it affords the first opportunity since 1970 to compare inner city neighborhoods on a detail and systematic basis.

Summary

The intent of this study will be to advance the understanding and/or generalizability of the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model and to determine if the neighborhoods are undergoing 'gentrification' by assembling block data, a technique that will, in most cases, be more representative of neighborhoods than the use of census tracts.

Four focal questions will structure the inquiry:

1. Is the transition process of the Columbus neighborhoods consistent with the Hoover and Vernon propositions?

2. What are the causative factors affecting the operation of a neighborhood life cycle?

3. If 'gentrification' is occurring in certain neighborhoods, in what ways are their life cycle patterns different from other neighborhoods?

4. What implications do different life cycle patterns have for the survival of cities?

It has been shown that although the neighborhood may be a small socio-spatial unit, it looms large as a focus for many issues confronting urban society. The transition of a neighborhood from one stage to the next is just one of many possible occurrences that can have profound implications for urban dwellers. For example, the residents of a neighborhood encountering the 'downgrading' stage can expect any number of situations to develop. To name a few:

1. the 'downgrading' stage could be protracted and severe which means that the housing stock would continue to deteriorate, the property value would fall precipitiously, and the neighborhood would lose its desirability as well as its wealthier residents;

2. as a result of (1), the neighborhood may attract crime, prostitution and other vices;

3. the construction of city facilities would be less likely to be located in or near the neighborhood experiencing 'downgrading;'

4. the city may take the housing structures vis-a-vis "eminent domain" and use the land for other purposes (i.e. apartment complexes, shopping centers, etc.;

5. the neighborhood may qualify for federal renewal funds, thus reversing the downward trend; and

6. the residents may become too weak politically to hold on to the deteriorated housing, thus allowing entry of an affluent middle class who renovates the housing and replaces them ('gentrification').

Just as many implications, and perhaps more, could be noted for each of the remaining stages.

Also of importance in the foregoing discussion was the variation in the form in which neighborhoods pass from one stage to another, and the determination that not all neighborhoods change in a manner predicted by the life cycle model. In addition, the rate at which the neighborhoods proceeded through the various stages varied considerably. Schwirian (1977:168) accurately summarized this as follows: "The concept of the life cycle does not represent an ironclad law for describing how all neighborhoods change and specifying the stages through which they will pass. Rather, it provides us with a refracting prism to help us reasonable sort out the seemingly diverse and chaotic patterns of neighborhood change."

In general, the seven tests of the neighborhood transition process lend support to the conceptual framework of the life cycle model. The present test of the model departs from the tradition of the past in that its focal point is on a city, Columbus, that is more typical of the nation's cities. Further, the 'community of limited liability' (an aggregation of homogeneous city blocks) will serve as the unit of analysis in this research because it appears to be the most accurate reflection of the current form of the neighborhood.

Finally, in addition to identifying the causative factors of

neighborhood change, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H_1: The progression of neighborhoods through the first three stages of the life cycle varies directly with the measures of density before a leveling off occurs in Stage IV, the "Thinning-out' Stage.

H_2: A neighborhood undergoing the 'downgrading' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience an increase in the number of minority population and a major decline in those varibles associated with socio-economic status and housing quality.

H_3: A neighborhood undergoing the 'thinning-out' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience an increase in the number of vacant units and regular declines in population, housing units, and housing densities.

H_4: A neighborhood undergoing the 'renewal' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience significant increases in the overall quality of housing structures, environmental conditions and property values.

H_5: As a neighborhood progresses through its life cycle, measures of density will declines exponentially over time as the area ages and moves from stage to stage.

CHAPTER II

DATA AND METHODS

Introduction:

The purpose of this study is to examine the dimensions of neighborhood change in order to determine if the transition process is consistent with the Hoover and Vernon propositions. Such an analysis requires the use of longitudinal data at the neighborhood level, a practice that has not been typical of past studies. Nonetheless, the homogeneous character of the neighborhood (i.e. population, housing, density, land use, topography) is emphasized in theory, but is seldom analyzed in the spatial units employed.

As stated in Chapter I, census tracts are generally the most accepted statistical areal units for American cities; yet, they are usually not coterminous with neighborhood boundaries. In many cases, the tracts encompass too large an area and since they are created for administrative rather than research purposes, these units do not represent symbolic areas and tend to lack internal homogeneity. Therefore, census tract data may not be representative of neighborhood occurrences, a methodological problem that permits wide divergencies to be masked in one's data because of the heterogeneous nature of the population (and other characteristics) composing the spatial unit.

Thus, to provide a more accurate test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model while concurrently extending its use and generalizability, city

blocks are used as units of analysis. In short, city blocks are aggregated in accordance with the neighborhood boundaries incorporated into the cognitive maps of the resident population.

Data:

The statistical data for this research are taken from the "Census of Housing - Block Statistics" gathered by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. As one might expect, the variables used in this analysis are consistent with census definitions and are primarily concerned with housing characteristics.[1]

Block statistics were initially collected in 1940 which precluded an earlier statistical documentation of the life cycle process occurring in the neighborhoods under study. To supplement these data, information was obtained from the Columbus Department of Development, from The Columbus Dispatch, and from a few works outlining the history of Columbus.

For most urban analysts, two major problems in testing longitudinal models (i.e. the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model) are comparability of the units of analysis over time and the changing definitions of variables over time. (Schwirian, 1974:19) A researcher should therefore be cognizant of these problematic areas because an apparent change in a phenomenon may only be an artifact of the data.

In terms of the former, the considerable change in the boundaries of city blocks over the span of the study did not present a problem because the streets which bounded the neighborhoods remained intact. The reason why the boundary change is not problematic is illustrated by Figures 1 and 2 on page 42.

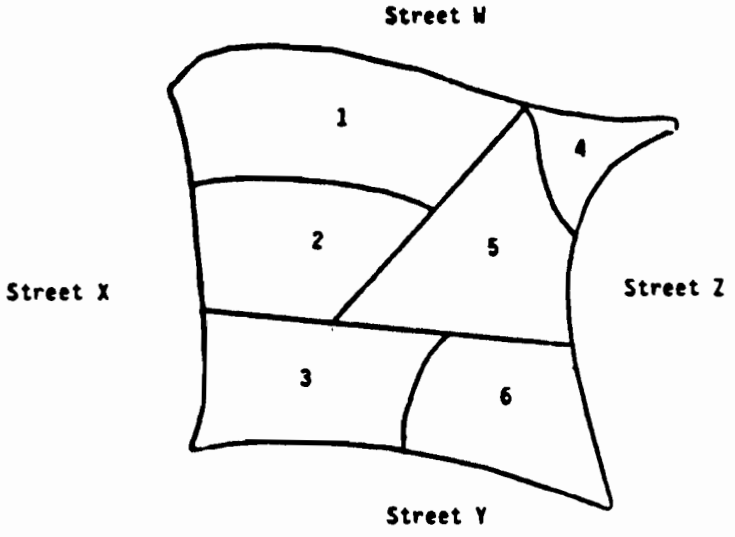


Figure 1. Hypothetical City Block Designations for a Neighborhood at Time 1

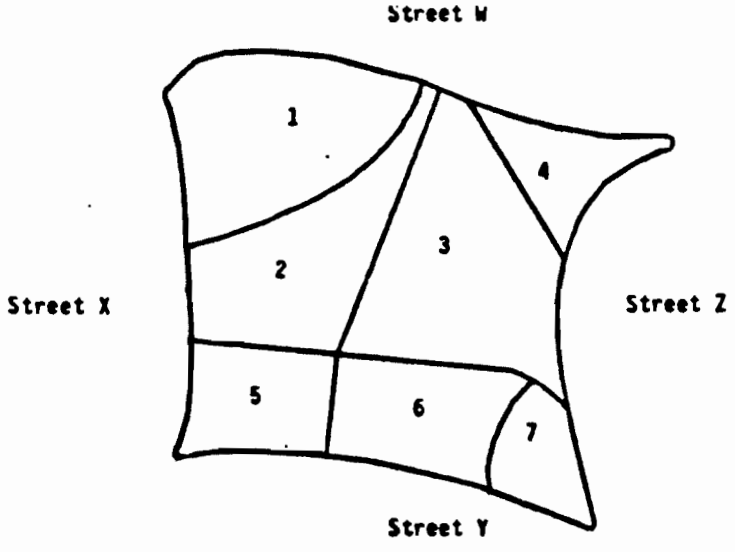


Figure 2. Hypothetical City Block Designations for a Neighborhood at Time 2

In scanning these figures, one can readily see that the change in the block system between Time 1 and Time 2 will not affect the data for the neighborhood as a whole. For example, as assessment of the change occurring within the neighborhood would be made by simply comparing the aggregated six blocks with the aggregated seven blocks on the variables of interest.

On the other hand, the second problem, changes in the definitions of variables over time, did adversely affect a very important variable in testing the life cycle model, a density measure. In 1940 and 1950, a dense unit was defined as "1.51 persons per room," while in 1960 and 1970, a dense unit was defined as "1.01 persons per room." Thus, a significant or noticeable increase in the density level between 1950 and 1960 may only be a change in definition and not a 'true' increase in density.

To obtain a density measure that would be comparable across time, the researcher computed the number of 'housing units per acre.' Since the number of housing units was provided by block statistics, the problem at hand was to determine the number of acres in each of the twenty neighborhoods.

Utilizing a polar planimeter, the researcher was able to estimate the acreage of the neighborhoods within $\pm$ 5 percentage points.[2] Therefore, the number of 'housing units per acre' in a particular neighborhood was calculated by simply dividing the total number of occupied housing units by the total number of acres. On the whole, this measure of density was rather conservative because gross acreage was used as its denominator instead of a net residential acreage. Consequently, a

high percentage of nonresidential land usage in a neighborhood made this measure less sensitive to the 'true' level of density.

In addition to the block statistics, informant research was used in this analysis to document the life cycle process, and more importantly, to obtain insights concerning the causative factors affecting neighborhood change. Informant research, as a method of data collection, is steadily gaining acceptability as a technique of obtaining reliable and quantifiable data. It refers to "the reliance on a small number of knowledgeable participants, who observe and articulate social relationships for the researcher." (Seidler, 1974:816)

Given the preceding, the strategy in this study was to select the presidents (or chairpersons) of the neighborhood organizations informants.[3] Not only were these community leaders 'knowledgeable' and 'articulate' with respect to neighborhood occurrences, they were also actively involved in local affairs and were well-versed in the municipal activities that could affect their respective enclaves. Further, the informants were quire candid about neighborhood problems and/or disadvantages, and a substantial consensus emerged concerning the causative factors of neighborhood change.

Notwithstanding, two of the chief concerns in using informants in the context of survey research are representativeness and standarization. To avoid these problems, Seidler (1974:819) contends that one of the best solutions is to select persons occupying identical positions in each structural unit of analysis (neighborhood); the underlying assumption is that the informants, whether one per unit of analysis, or several, will have similar access to information and similar

perspectives or biases. Thus, as indicated above, the selection of community leaders adhered to this criterion, and indication that representativeness and standardization were not problematic in this analysis.

Therefore, because of the consensus of information provided by the informants, because of their method of selection, and since the nature of the questions were not sensitive to the degree of expecting a distortion of occurrences, the absence of a large number of informants are not perceived as invalidating the conclusions drawn in Chapter IV.

The informants were asked to take part in a standardized interview (Appendix A). Through a good mixture of fixed alternative and open-ended questions, the interview schedule sought to elicit responses regarding the determinants of neighborhood change as well as a current assessment of the neighborhood's activities related to the transition process.

The community leaders were initially asked about the characteristics, goals, and activities of the neighborhood organizations (Questions 4 thru 14) in an attempt to determine if the local residents, through civic organizations or a network of organizations, were directly responsible for community change. Further, the informant were also questioned about the relative advantages and disadvantages of their neighborhoods (Questions 15 and 16), about the rehabilitation of housing structures (Questions 20, 21 and 22), and about other factors related to revitalization (Questions 25 thru 29). These items were included on the schedule to examine the plausibility of certain factors such as the

characteristics intrinsic to a particular neighborhood that would attract or deter potential residents, the type and amount of rehabilitation being done, the source of funding (public sector or private sector), difficulty of obtaining such funding, the type of resident responsible for the rehabilitation activity (incoming residents or long-term residents), the propinquity effect, the activity of real estate agents, and general neighborhood improvements.

Finally, four questions were asked to determine the effect of the intangible qualities of ethnicity, and a 'sense of community' (Questions 30 thru 33).[4]

In summary, the data employed in this research came from three principal sources: block statistics, neighborhood informants, and the publications of the Columbus Department of Development.

Methods:

Descriptive statistics are used to determine if the propositions of the life cycle model hold true for the Columbus neighborhoods. Specifically, the dimensions or variables of the Hoover and Vernon Model that are available from block statistics include: the timing of initial development; population (whites/nonwhites); housing units (percent owner-occupied, percent renter-occupied, percent of units vacant); housing densities (persons per room and housing units per acre); a measure of housing quality (plumbing); and the average value of single-family housing structures (a proxy for social status).[5] Further, since the life cycle is more than a function of these variables, relevant data are abstracted from the 'Areas Histories,' and from

a study on property values to help document the transition process.

Finally, simple linear regression is used to test H_5. Regression is an appropriate tool for performing such a test because it is designed to determine the amount of variation in the dependent variable (density) that is a function of the variation in the independent variable (distance). However, the explanatory power of this technique is contingent upon meeting certain statistical assumptions.[6] Fortunately, the data comply with these assumptions, and therefore, it can be assumed that regression provides an accurate estimate of the effect of the parameters, the significance of the parameters and the total variance explained in the model.[7]

In summary, by utilizing descriptive statistics, area histories, and linear regression, a test of the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model will be provided in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

A GENERAL TEST OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE CYCLE MODEL

Introduction:

As stated earlier, twenty inner city neighborhoods will be used to test the life cycle model posited by Hoover and Vernon. Five of the seven previous test of the model have employed census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods; however, this analysis will aggregate city blocks to the neighborhood level in order to provide a more adequate test of the model.[1] Emphasis will be placed on the changes occurring in each neighborhood in terms of its population, housing and socio-economic characteristics and density levels. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to determine if the neighborhoods of Columbus change in a manner consistent with the Hoover and Vernon propositions.

For ease of presentation, separate analysis for each of the twenty neighborhoods have been provided. Each analysis is divided into three sections, an Area Description, Area History and Life Cycle. The Area Description contains information pertaining to the neighborhood boundaries, the number of city blocks comprising the study area, proximity to the CBD (central business district), age and quality of housing, predominant housing type (frame or brick), socio-economic composition and land use patterns. The Area History focuses primarily on the date of settlement or initial development, type of settlers, the influx of racial/minority groups and the specific historical events that affected the development and transition of the neighborhoods under study. Both

of these sections are used to help document the life cycle process.

The Life Cycle section of this analysis involves an examination of the longitudinal data derived from the aggregated blocks and attempts to identify the stages of the life cycle. The tables identified by Roman numerals are presented at the end of the appropriate analysis while the tables identified by Arabic numerals are included in Appendix D. These tables, particularly the ones presented in the chapter, summarize the population, housing and density data from 1940 to 1970. Data obtained from neighborhood informants are used to complement the block data and serve to provide a more current assessment of the neighborhood's stage in the life cycle.

Finally, a discussion of the neighborhoods aggregated by their stage in the life cycle will be presented followed by a consideration of the source of change.

'THE BOTTOM'

Area Description:

Also known as the Village of Franklinton, 'The Bottom' is the oldest residential neighborhood in central Ohio. Located immediately west and contiguous to the central business district (CBD), 'The Bottom' is composed of nearly 270 city blocks and is bounded on three sides by a loop of the Scioto River. However, for purposes diachronic comparison, the following boundaries were used to define the neighborhood:

North: McKinley Street and the Scioto River
West: Central Avenue
South: Mound Street
East: Scioto River and adjacent Washington Boulevard

The neighborhood obtained its nonmenclature, 'The Bottom,' because the area comprises a low flood plane that extends west in triangular shape for about three miles to the Hilltop.[2] The eastern section of the neighborhood, or the apex of the triangle, is less than a quarter mile in width, while the western base is about two miles wide. (McKenzie, 1923:487) The arterials running through the area are heavily travelled, especially West Broad Street, Town Street, Rich Street, and Sullivant Avenue which is chiefly due to the presence of traffic generators located either in or outside of the neighborhood, particularly the immediate presence of the downtown rush-hour traffic. Because of the age and width of many of 'The Bottoms' streets, much of the traffic flow is impeded and on-street parking is difficult. This, is combination with a large number of trucks and automobiles competing for lane space, causes a severe congestion problem. Interstate 70 has alleviated some

of the neighborhood's congestion problem as well as making other areas of Columbus more accessible to the residents. It is further hoped that the future construction of Interstate 670 will assist in resolving the above concerns, congestion and accessibility. (CIP-6, 1976:6.10)

The character of residential development in 'The Bottom' is reflected in the predominance of single and two family dwelling units; the former constitutes approximately 18 percent of the total number of units. A further expression of the neighborhood's residential character is the fact that more than sixty-six percent of all housing units are renter-occupied which contrast with the city's average of about 48 percent rental units. Also, the neighborhood exhibits a low rate of housing vacancies (less than 4 percent of the total housing units); however, the existing units display a substandard rate of deterioration in that approximately twelve percent of the total housing stock is in need of major repairs. (CIP-6:1976:1.2-1.13)

Freeway construction also has had a significant impact on the quality and quantity of the housing units in 'The Bottom' Over the last twenty-five years, expressway expansion, namely Interstate 71, has accounted for the removal of about 200 units. More importantly, the units which were removed has been replaced with predominantly low income and elderly housing. (CIP-16:1976:5.10) Thus, the preceding occurrence had a significant impact on the neighborhood's socio-economic status, age composition, tax base and participation in local organizations.

As one might expect, the population of 'The Bottom' has been declining. The average yearly decline of the neighborhood between

1970 and 1974 was approximately two percent while the city as a whole claimed a yearly population increase of roughly the same magnitude. Minority groups, mostly Blacks, constitute about fourteen percent of the total population. In terms of its socio-economic composition, 'The Bottoms' is above the city's average in both the percentage of low income families and moderate income families: thirty-six percent of the families are of low income and sixty-one percent are of moderate income. In addition, approximately forty-two percent of the labor force is employed as craftsmen and operatives, twenty-one percent are sales and clerical workers, and twelve percent are professionals and managers.

Finally, 'The Bottoms', though predominantly residential, exhibits a wide variety of land use patterns: residential, manufacturing, commercial, industrial and institutional.

This diverse land use activity presents a problem because commercial and manufacturing activities are often intermixed with residential structures. Consequently, noise, congestion, pollution, littered streets, etc., have resulted from such an inadequate combination of land uses. (CIP-6:1976:3.10)

Improvement in the neighborhood's transportation network, as alluded to earlier, has alleviated some of these problems. Funds made available through the Community Development Act have also assisted in resolving these problems in addition to upgrading the overall quality of the neighborhood.[3]

Area History:

Franklinton, one of the first villages in the Northwest Territory and the oldest community in central Ohio, was founded at the confluence of the Scioto and Olentangy Rivers by Lucas Sullivant, a surveyor for the Continental Army. (CIP-16:1976:1.10) The initial settlement of nine streets was so swampy and undesirable for habitation that Sullivant gave lots to settlers to induce them to live in the neighborhood. Hence, 'Gift Street' received the name it still retains. (McKenzie, 1926:487-488)

Franklinton was a community of a few hundred people when the War of 1812 was declared. Due to its central location and access to rivers, the neighborhood was selected as a rendezvous point and supply depot, thus, the village assumed a military appearance, housing as many as 3000 troops at one time. Also of historical importance is the contention that William H. Harrison established his headquarters in the neighborhood at a residence on the corner of Gift and Broad Streets. This house, now referred to as the 'Harrison House' still stands and was recently purchased for restoration by the Ohio Historical Society. (CIP-16, 1976:1.10)

Upon termination of the war, Franklinton began to decline as the new state capital across the Scioto asserted its dominance. The coup de grace occurred in 1824, when Columbus was selected to replace Franklinton as the county seat. Condon eloquently captures the significance of this event: "The older town, stripped of its honors, became dependent upon Columbus and receded into the shadows, lapsing into the role of a pleasant old neighborhood with an interesting past."

(Condon, 1977:17)

Franklinton became a relatively quiet residential neighborhood until the last half of the nineteen century; four railroads came into the area and brought with them commercial and industrial growth. The neighborhood promptly became an industrial center specializing in railroad cars and, later buggies. This industrial development as well as the railroad service attracted a large number of immigrants from southeast Ohio and West Virginia. The majority of these migrants settled in the eastern section of the neighborhood near the industrial activity. Strong ties between Franklinton and Appalachia have continued from that period to the present.

Although the neighborhood continued to prosper as an industrial center, its growth was inhibited by periodic flooding of the "bottoms", the low land on which most of the industrial development has occurred. The 1913 flood had the most severe effects: (1) the entire eastern section of the neighborhood was engulfed by six to ten feet of water; (2) over 4000 homes were flooded with an estimated damage of 5.6 million dollars; (3) many industries endured irreparrable damage and left the neighborhood; and (4) a large number of the prosperous longtime residents moved to the Hilltop. As a result, property values dropped as much as 50 percent and the number of poor white and black families settling in the neighborhood increased significantly. (CIP-16, 1976:1.10)

The construction of the interstate system also had a significant impact on the neighborhood's socio-economic composition. More specifically, the construction of Interstate 71 in the 1960's removed

several blocks of buildings along Sandusky Street, lowered property values and caused most of the remaining stable families to relocate in other areas of the city. Again, this outmigration was followed by an influx of poor families, particularly Appalachian families.

Finally, the widening of the Scioto have made flooding less of a problem; consequently, commercial and industrial activity have become a stable part of 'The Bottom'. Although there is a noticeable migration of Appalachian families to the neighborhood, most of the population are permanent residents of the area. (CIP-16, 1976:1.10)

The Life Cycle

The neighborhood transition model is difficult to document in "The Bottoms" due to the general age of the area and simultaneous occurrence of characteristics associated with different stages of the model.

Although some development occurred during the early 1800's in the neighborhood, the "residential development" stage occurred primarily between 1890 and the turn of the century. This is borne out by block statistics which indicate that more than a thousand housing structures were built between 1900 and 1919. The following twenty year period was also characterized by rapid development and if the "transition" stage did emerge, it occurred during the latter part of this period. Lack of adequate data precluded a disentanglement of these two stages.

Following a decade of stability and little residential construction, 'The Bottoms' entered the "downgrading" stage which persisted

until the early 1960's. Due to the area's large existing percentage of rental units, little change is expressed in Table I; however, Table 4 (Appendix D) yields strong support for the occurrence of this stage as manifested by the large percentage of deteriorated and dilapidated housing units, 59.8 and 11.5, respectively. Correlative with this "downgrading" period was an increase in the number of Applachians in the area, an increase in density, and a characterization of the area as being undesirable for residential usage due to its flooding susceptibility, contiguousness to the CBD, industrial usage and intermixture of different land use types.

By 1970, 'The Bottoms' was experiencing the "thinning-out" period of its life cycle as indicated by a twenty percent decline in population, a ten percent decline in the number of dwelling units, an above average number of vacancies and declining levels of densities. To complicate matters, it appears that this stage is occurring simultaneously with the "downgrading" and "renewal" stages of the transition process. This contention is based on the following six neighborhood characteristics and/or future events: (1) The individuals of lower socio-economic means that are being displaced from other inner-city neighborhoods are moving to 'The Bottoms' because of inexpensive housing; (2) some former residents (average age 30) are returning to neighborhood; (3) the 1980 final population count of the area indicates a ten percent increase in the number of Blacks while the area as a whole remained relatively stable; (4) sections of the neighborhood have been designated as "target areas" which allows the residents to obtain federal housing rehabilitation assistance; (5) the future construction of

I-670 may alleviate some of the neighborhood's congestion problem and (6) the 1992 proposed World's Fair would initiate the quickest neighborhood redevelopment in the history of Columbus.

In summary, 'The Bottoms' presently exhibits characteristics associated with the latter three stages of the life cycle model with the "downgrading" stage appearing most salient.

TABLE I

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

'The Bottoms'

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	17579	14081
Percent Non-white	2.0	1.9	5.6	7.5
Percent Black	--	--	--	7.0
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	5319	5785	5425	4903
Percent owner-occupied	31.4	41.9	38.6	33.6
Percent renter-occupied	66.0	56.9	55.1	60.9
Percent vacant	2.6	1.2	6.3	5.5
Average value of units	--	5723	9473	9762
*Adjusted value	--	(6829)	(9188)	(7215)
Average rental value of units	20.92	31.50	60.25	69.38
*Adjusted value	(42.87)	(37.59)	(58.44)	(51.28)
Housing units per acre	5.4	5.9	5.5	5.0
Percent overcrowded	4.9	4.1	13.0	9.8
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.4	3.0
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	28.0	24.2	2.1	3.0
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	20.2	13.4	24.7	29.1
Percent of units built 1899 or before	24.0	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	60.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	14.3	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	1.3	--	--	--

Source: Refer to footnote 4.

HILLTOP

Area Description:

Hilltop is a predominantly moderate income neighborhood that development primarily as a residential alternative to the swampy and undesirable " . . . bottoms." The present boundaries of the neighborhood in the cognitive models of its residents are wider than what the city considered its "turf" when the 1940 census was taken; thus, for purposes of comparability, the boundaries as they existed in 1940 will bound the neighborhood in this analysis.[5] Consisting of approximately 270 city blocks, Hilltop is the largest neighborhood included in this investigation. It lies about two and one-fourth miles west of the CBD and is bounded on the north by West Broad Street, on the west by Demorest Road, on the south by Mound Street, and on the east by Central Avenue/Interstate 70. As the name implies, Hilltop is a promontory above the "flats" ("The Bottoms") which separates it from the heart of the city. (McKenzie, 1926:360) At the turn of the century, the Hilltop area developed into a prestigous neighborhood as many prosperous families moved into the community following the devastating 1913 flooding of the Scioto River. (CIP-15, 1976:1.10)

Of all the cues used by the Hilltop residents to specify and describe their neighborhood, "type of housing" was mentioned most often. Specifically, age, size, price and a general assessment of the quality of houses were categories given by many people to express their conception of the neighborhood. (Sims, 1976:77) The residential character of Hilltop is manifested by a large number of single-family and

owner-occupied dwelling units; approximately sixty-three percent of the total housing stock is owner-occupied which strongly contrasts with its eastern contiguous neighbor, "The Bottoms." The latter contains only about thirty-four percent of owner-occupied units which is probably a function of the neighborhood's past history of periodic flooding that resulted in an exodus of homeowners. However, similar to 'The Bottoms', Hilltop exhibits a low rate of housing vacancies (less than 4 percent of the housing units) and the existing housing units are characterized by a substantial rate of deterioration (approximately 14 percent). (CIP-15, 1976:1.12)

Although Hilltop experienced an earlier period of population loss, the neighborhood has been relatively stable in comparison to "The Bottoms" and the city claimed a yearly change of the area between 1960 and 1970 was approximately three percent while "The Bottoms" and the city claimed a yearly decrease and increase of roughly two percent, respectively. This stabilization effort was due, in part, to the large systematic Code Enforcement Project in the neighborhood. This project, which began eleven years ago as part of the Urban Renewal Program, is basically complete and has provided a concentrated and systematic opportunity for the citizens of Hilltop to improve their community. (CIP-15, 1976:1.10)

A further indication of the neighborhood's stabilization lies in its socio-economic composition. Hilltop is composed chiefly of middle class or moderate income families. In addition, its labor force is primarily distributed between the occupations of sales and clerical and craftsmen and operatives (about 66 percent). (CIP-15, 1976:1.11 -

1.12)

Finally, four basic land use pattern exist within the neighborhood; residential, commercial, industrial and institutional. Unlike 'The Bottoms,' a salient characteristic of Hilltop is that these classifications are remarkably free from the incursion of mixed uses. Residential uses account for a large percentage of the total land area. Industrial uses dominate the western portion of the neighborhood, commercial development is concentrated in shopping centers along Broad Street and institutional land use occupy the eastern section of the neighborhood. (CIP-15, 1976:3.10)

Area History:

The primarily development of Hilltop occurred between 1900 and 1930 as a consequence of two factors: (1) the construction of the city's first major public facility, and (2) the flooding of the contiguous lowlands.

Much of the initial development revolved around the establishment of the Columbus State Hospital on West Broad Street. Once known as the Ohio Institution For Feeble Minded Youth, the state school was built in 1868 upon a 187 acre tract of land. The building was totally destroyed by fire in 1881; however, it was rebuilt and is almost an exact replica of the original structure.

Another section of the neighborhood of historical interest was the establishment of a large military camp between West Broad Street and Sullivant Avenue in 1861. Camp Chase, named in honor of former Ohio Governor Salmon P. Chase, was the scene of active recruiting and

training for service, yet its primary function was to serve as a prison for Confederate Soldiers captured in battle. Due to severe overcrowding, life became unbearable in the camp; as a result, over 5000 soldiers died, and most were buried in the camp cemetery. Upon termination of the war, Camp Chase was quickly abandoned, buildings were dismantled and the land was returned to the local population for farm use. Today the Confederate Memorial and Cemetery on Sullivant Avenue are all that remain of the wartime activities. (CIP-15, 1976:1.10; Condon, 1977:27-28)

In the early 1900's Hilltop began to grow at a quick rate and eventually developed into one of the city's more prestigious residential neighborhoods. As noted earlier, many of the wealthier families moved to the Hilltop area in order to escape the flood-susceptive low lands and the higher elevation produced a sense of safety, unity, and neighborhood cohesiveness. The neighborhood continued to grow in the 1920's which prompted McKenzie to state: "The Hilltop is more than a neighborhood, it is a city with a city . . . It is an area complete in itself, having its own schools, churches, stores, shops, parks, firehall, social clubs, local newspaper, and improvement association . . ." (McKenzie, 1926:360)

Since that time, however, Hilltop, like other residential neighborhoods in close proximity to the CBD, has experienced a downward trend. Further, the subsequent movement of commercial establishments from the central city has contributed to the neighborhood's inability to maintain its prosperous residents. The development of the Westland and Great Western Shopping Centers have greatly affected the Hilltop

area. In particular, the westward movement of shopping and other related facilities from the CBD has allowed the residents to live farther out and still maintain access to these facilities at the same transportation costs. The construction of the Outerbelt (Interstate 270) has also added to the attraction of the outlying areas of commercial and industrial development. Thus, this trend of suburbanization has affected both the value of Hilltop property and the general characteristics of the neighborhood. (CIP-15, 1976:1.10)

The Life Cycle:

The data presented in Table II suggests that Hilltop has progressed through the early stages of the neighborhood life cycle model. The "residential development" stage occurred primarily between 1900 and 1920 while the "transition" stage occurred between 1920 and 1930. As noted above much of this intitial development was largely the result of the neighborhood's location, above the flood-plane.

Following a period of slow growth during the Depression Years, Hilltop experienced another cycle of growth between 1940 and 1970 as evidenced by an increase in the number of dwelling units. In addition, the substantial increase in the percentage of owner-occupied housing units and the corresponding low density levels suggested that a predominance of single family structures were built during the first twenty years of this period. During the latter ten years of this growth period, a concurrent increase in the number of dwelling units, percent renter-occupied and density levels indicated that some of the existing structures may have been sub-divided for greater density usage. This

is usually a signal for the beginning of the "downgrading" stage which other data suggest did occur; however, this stage was not a protracted and severe one. (CIP-15, 1976:1.10) A final indication of the occurrence of this stage was the thirty-three percent decline in the neighborhood's property values between 1960 and 1978.[6]

In summary, Hilltop have passed through three stages of the neighborhood life cycle model and appears to have by-passed "thinning-out" period and have progressed directly into the "renewal" stage.

TABLE II

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Hilltop

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	28833	27937
Percent Non-white	4.7	6.0	10.5	15.0
Percent Black	--	--	--	17.8
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	6589	8349	9265	9796
Percent owner-occupied	56.8	71.0	67.8	60.4
Percent renter-occupied	40.8	27.7	28.8	36.1
Percent vacant	2.4	1.3	6.1	3.5
Average value of units	--	9165	13064	14883
*Adjusted value	--	(10936)	(12671)	(11000)
Average rental value of units	36.51	46.27	74.24	84.03
*Adjusted value	--	(55.21)	(72.00)	(62.12)
Housing units per acre	3.5	4.5	5.0	5.3
Percent overcrowded	10.2	4.7	5.2	5.6
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.2	3.0
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	10.2	4.7	0.77	0.81
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	13.6	18.9	20.4	35.6
Percent of units built 1899 or before	3.5	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	29.2	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	54.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	12.7	--	--	--

CLINTONVILLE

Area Description:

Being one of the older, stable and viable residential neighborhoods in Columbus, Clintonville is located approximately five miles north of the CBD. The neighborhood, composed of nearly 107 city blocks, is bounded on the north by Henderson and Cooke Roads, on the west by the Olentangy River, on the south by North Broadway and on the east by Indianola Avenue. There is strong agreement among residents in the identification of these boundaries; age, cost, and size of housing were cited most frequently as distinquishing the neighborhood from surrounding areas. (Sims, 1976:79- 80)

A salient characteristic of Clintonville is its "close-knit" quality. There is a noticeable degree of neighborliness in the area as echoed by one local resident: "We watch each others' houses when others are away, we set up carpools, we babysit for each other and I'd say nearly everyone on this street has a key to someone's else house . . ." Also mentioned were the frequent number of neighborhood picnics and block parties. (Osbourne, 1980:69-70)

Clintonville is characterized by chiefly by a predominance of single family owner-occupied dwelling units. Approximately sixty-seven percent of the total housing stock is owner-occupied which strongly contrasts with the rest of Columbus which is nearly equally divided between renters and homeowners. A final indication of the neighborhood's residential character is that less than one percent of its housing units are of substandard quality. (CIP-10, 1976:1.12 and 5.11)

The population of Clintonville has been relativley stable as compared to the rest of the city. The average yearly change of the neighborhood between 1960 and 1970 was approximately four-tenths of one percent while the city as a whole claimed a yearly population increase of about two percent. (CIP-10, 1976:1.12) The population as been growing older in that some of the residents who moved to the neighborhood in the 1920's and 1930's still live there today. Others have passed their homes on to their children, who themselves are growing older. Few Blacks reside in the area (less than one percent); however, there are a reasonable number of foreign-born residents. (Osbourne, 1980:66 and 70)

The neighborhood's low proportion of low and high income families suggests that it is composed primarily of middle-class or upper-middle class residents. Approximately forty percent of the total labor force are employed in professional, technical, executive and management occupations and over thirty percent are either in sales and clerical employment. (CIP-10, 1976:1.2)

Finally, the land use pattern of Clintonville is primarily devoted to single family residential usage. High density apartments as well as commercial establishments are strictly limited to the property adjacent to and just off of High Street and Indianola Avenue. (CIP-10, 1976: 2.10 and 3.10)

Area History:

Clintonville is one of the older residential communities of the city with forty-five percent of the dwelling units built prior to 1930.

Thomas Bull, one of the earliest settlers of the neighborhood, came from Vermont in 1912 and purchased 600 acres of land comprising most of present-day Clintonville.

In addition to being an original settler of Clintonville, Bull was also a religious leader in that he organized a church in 1819 which convened at various places until a permanent meeting place was erected in 1838. The church was called Clinton Chapel and at the time, it was the only church between Columbus and Worthington. (CIP-10, 1976:1.10) Further, Taylor explicitly states that the community of Clintonville emerged "as a way station between the old town of Worthington and the newly enfranchised city of Columbus." (Taylor, 1909:427)

The railroad age, which began in the 1850's provided a strong impetus to industrial growth in Columbus and surrounding areas, particularly along North High Street. The Civil War and the post was economic expansion continued to spur growth to the north of Columbus. Additionally, the establishment of Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College (presently, The Ohio State University) on the 230 acre Neil Farm in 1874 gave added importance to High Street and its surrounding area. Thus, as one might expect, the City of Columbus decided to annex Clintonville; the annexation began in 1909 and occurred in a series of stages. A major annexation took place in 1910 that included the area between Arcadia Avenue (south of Clintonville) and Oakland Park. By 1923, the area between Oakland Park and Winthrop and Arden Roads were annexed by the city. The remaining area of Clintonville was annexed in 1927 including Miller's Farm, which became Whetstone Park in 1944.

Finally, the Park of Roses and the recreation center was added in

the 1950's. (CIP-10, 1976:1.10)

Thus, the neighborhood of Clintonville began to exist as an entity in the 1820's and this building up process last for more than a century. The present boundaries of this northern residential neighborhood were established in 1927, and in terms of area, there has been virtually no change. Finally, Schwirian contends that Clintonville's location is especially important to its continued desirability: "It's not close to noxious activities, as are some of the homes closer to central Columbus, but is farily close to the downtown center of activity. And it is on a main thoroughfare, High Street, so there's easy access to most of the rest of the city." (Osbourne, 1980:69)

The Life Cycle:

There is no indication that a neighborhood life cycle pattern has occurred in Clintonville. It appears that Clintonville progressed through the "residential development" stage primarily from about 1920 to 1940 and began a protracted period of stability. A perusal of the data in Table III suggest no major charges in housing densities, average value of housing units, percentage of single-family, owner-occupied dwelling units and percentage of minorities. In general, the neighborhood has undergone two phases of growth and development, but hitherto has exhibited no indication of evolving through a life cycle. Finally, similar to its contiguous neighbor, Beechwold, Clintonville has remained above the city average on the selected characteristics.

TABLE III

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for Clintonville

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	11841	11598
Percent Non-white	0.17	0.10	0.32	0.16
Percent Black	--	--	--	0.86
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	2413	3096	3875	3984
Percent owner-occupied	74.9	89.2	83.7	82.7
Percent renter-occupied	20.8	9.9	13.9	16.5
Percent vacant	4.3	0.90	2.4	0.80
Average value of units	--	14627	20491	23858
*Adjusted value	--	(17455)	(19875)	(17633)
Average rental value of units	64.14	64.63	94.29	114.14
*Adjusted value	(131.43)	(77.12)	(91.45)	(84.36)
Housing units per acre	1.8	2.3	2.9	3.0
Percent overcrowded	0.04	0.13	2.1	2.2
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.0	2.9
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	3.7	1.1	0.21	0.33
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	4.0	2.9	5.2	2.8
Percent of units built 1899 or before	0.46	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	8.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	59.0	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	31.8	--	--	--

BEECHWOLD

Area Description:

The neighborhood of Beechwold is located approximately six and one-half miles north of the CBD. It consists of about eighty-one city blocks and is bounded on the north by Morse Road, on the west by Olentangy River, on the south by Henderson and Cooke Roads and on the east by Indianola Avenue. These borders, save the Olentangy River, serve as main thoroughfares for the city, thus, entering and existing this residential enclave presents no major difficulties. Similar to Clintonville, Beechwold's accessibility is also greatly facilitated by its principal traffic artery, North High Street.

The residential character of Beechwold is reflected by its large number of single family and owner-occupied housing units. The neighborhood's level of substandard housing is less than one percent which is substantially below the city's average of 6.8 percent (CIP-10, 1976:5.11) Beechwold does not have the cachet of some of the other neighborhoods in the city; however, there are a number of attractive, expensive homes in the oldest part of the community. Similar to home one might find in central Bexley or Old Arlington, some of these have four or five bedrooms, libraries, gum or oak woodwork throughout, fireplaces in several rooms, and butlers' pantries and many are located in large wooded lots. In addition, trees, shrubery and the "green space" are key elements that attract and retain the resident population. For example, one Beechwold resident purports "I live less than two blocks from High Street but I go home and I feel as if I am in a forest." (Osbourne, 1980:69-71) In

fact, the streets are generally tree-lined, with trees occasionally adjoining above the streets.

Compared to the rest of the city, the population of Beechwold has been relatively stable. The average annual change of the neighborhood between 1960 and 1970 was less than one percent while the city as a whole gained population at a yearly average of two percent. (CIP-10, 1976:1.12) In addition, Beechwold is composed primarily of upper-middle class residents as suggested by the neighborhood's socio-economic composition. Specifically, approximately thirty-five percent of the total labor force are employed as professionals and managers while an additional thirty-six percent are employed in the sales and clerical occupations.

Finally, as indicated above, Beechwold is primarily residential; commerical and industrial land uses in the area are relatively small and are concentrated on the High Street-Indianola Avenue portion of the neighborhood. (CIP-10, 1976:3.12)

Area History:

For several years in the early 1900's, the area now known as Beechwold served as a zoo for the City of Columbus and housed monkeys, bears and other animals until it encountered financial difficulties and was sold to a developer. Known as Zooland, the original stone zoo entrance gates remain along North High Street at Riverview Park Drive, Royal Forest Boulevard and Jeffrey Place. The zoo's monkey house also withstood the test of time and serves as a barn on the property of William Milligan at 150 West Beechwold Boulevard.

Milligan's home, the second oldest in the neighborhood, was built around 1906 as a summer home for Joseph A. Jeffrey, whose wife named the estate "Beechwalde," meaning the "beech forest." Eight years later, Jeffrey sold his property to Charles H. Johnson, a Columbus land developer, who altered the name of the neighborhood to its current spelling. (Foster, 1981d:8)

The remainder of Beechwold's history is shared with the neighborhood of Clintonville to its immediate south. Although not as old or as large as Clintonville, Beechwold began to emerge as a residential enclave in the 1920's with the commercial and industrial expansion of Columbus, principally along North High Street. This expansion, as noted earlier, was stimulated by the railroad era, the Civil War, the associated post war economic activities and the establishment of The Ohio State University. Again, similar to the annexation of Clintonville, the City of Columbus decided to annex the territory containing Beechwold; however, unlike Clintonville, this annexation did not occur in stages. More specifically, Beechwold was incorporated into Columbus in a major expansion which occurred in 1927 that included the Indian Spring Golf Course, (CIP-10, 1976:1.10)

Thus, Beechwold as a neighborhood was initially formed in the late 1920's and developed at a faster pace than Clintonville due to the timing of economic expansion in Columbus. Finally, being contiguous to Clintonville in addition to being studied situated along North High Street also greatly aided the development of Beechwold.

The Life Cycle:

Beechwold has remained relatively stable over the last fifty years manifesting few distinquishing characteristics generally associated with the latter stages of the life cycle. An examination of the data presented in Table IV strongly supports this categorization as suggested by the low degree of variability in the area's population, percent of owner-renter occupied housing units, percent of vacant units, average value of units and density components. A further reflection of Beechwold's stability is its negligible decline in property values (less than one percent) over the last twenty-five years.

In summary, it is apparent that Beechwold passed through the "residential development" stage from about 1930 to 1950 and stabilized prior to the "transition" stage. The neighborhood developed as a single-family residential area and has maintained a stable/high socio-economic character. (See Tables 1 and 2) Thus, Beechwold has not progressed through the life cycle stages posited by Hoover and Vernon.

TABLE IV

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for Beechwold

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	7428	7502
Percent Non-white	0.32	0.05	0.12	0.03
Percent Black	--	--	--	1.3
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	633	1931	2588	2942
Percent owner-occupied	80.1	87.9	85.4	85.4
Percent renter-occupied	14.4	10.5	12.6	13.7
Percent vacant	5.0	1.6	2.0	0.6
Average value of units	--	14135	21981	25654
*Adjusted value	--	(16868)	(21320)	(18961)
Average rental value of units	60.23	75.07	103.10	114.92
*Adjusted value	(123.42)	(89.58)	(100.00)	(84.94)
Housing units per acre	0.74	2.3	3.1	3.5
Percent overcrowded	0.33	0.21	1.9	1.6
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	2.9	2.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	3.2	0.32	0.08	0.58
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	2.9	1.3	3.5	1.1
Percent of units built 1899 or before	0.82	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	4.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	28.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	66.4	--	--	--

UNITY

Area Description:

Unity is a residential neighborhood that is located within the Near North Side of Columbus. The neighborhood, composed of approximately fifteen city blocks, is bounded on the north by East Eleventh Avenue, on the west by North Fourth Street, on the south by East Fifth Avenue and on the east by the Penn-Central railroad tracks. The northern, western and southern bourders of Unity are major thoroughfares for the City of Columbus; therefore entering and exiting the neighborhood presents no major problems. Specifically, East Eleventh and Fifth Avenues provide easy access to Interstate 71 while North Fourth and Summit Streets provide convenient access to and from the CBD. Also, these major arterials serve to adequately define Unity without creating significant adverse impacts on neighborhood quality.

Unity is characterized chiefly by two-unit housing structures of frame construction; the former constitutes forty-five percent of the total dwelling units while the latter representes about seventy percent of the total type of construction. Further, approximately eighty percent of the housing stock is renter-occupied which strongly contrasts with the near equal distribution of renters and home owners for the city as a whole. (Unity Neighborhood Plan, 1978:3)

As to be expected with a large percentage of absentee landlords, Unity has a host of physical and economic problems which must be addressed before long term improvements can be achieved and sustained. Foremost among these problems is housing. In an intensive structure

by structure survey of Unity by the University District Organization in 1977, forty percent of the structures were found to need minor repairs, twenty-six percent of the dwelling units were characterized as being substandard.

Additionally, the Unity Neighborhood Organization succinctly described the housing problem as follows:

1. A large share of the housing stock is deteriorated, creating unsafe or uncomfortable conditions for the occupants and reducing the quality of the neighborhood.

2. Incomes of people residing in the neighborhood and the rents they are able to pay are not high enough to encourage continued investment in the housing stock.

3. The housing stock is old and primarily of frame construction. (Unity Neighborhood Plan, 1978:7)

Thus, it appears that the housing problems in Unity are primarily caused by the low socio-economic status of the resident population, and the neligence of the absentee landlords.

In light of the foregoing, Unity was considered as a Neighborhood Strategy Area, thereby making it eligible for block grants and other housing assistance activities under the Community Development Act of 1974. This has enabled lower income families to rehabilitate their homes and has provided owners with sufficient income to maintain their property at a proper level.

Finally, the land use pattern is predominantly residential with a commercial strip along its southern border (Fifth Avenue) and an industrial strip along its eastern border. This industrial usage, primarily Columbus Coated Fabrics, produces a significant amount of noise and congestion in the area, thus creating environmental problems

in addition to the aforementioned housing problems.

Area History:

Being contiguous to Ohio State University, Unity began to develop in the 1890's when University enrollment started to accelerate. The University attracted residents who were willing to construct large and expensive homes in the area which included a section of the neighborhood now known as Unity. The majority of the housing units were constructed during the thirty year period following the turn of the century. Specifically, Unity began to grow at a quick rate as about thirty-five percent of the housing units were built between 1900 and 1919 and an additional fifty-five percent were built between 1920 and 1929. During the following period 1930 - 1940, very little construction occurred in the neighborhood (less than one percent) which was probably a result of the Great Depression.

The ensuing time period, Post-World War II, demonstrated the tremendous influence of The Ohio State University (OSU) on the neighborhood housing stock. Many of the large single-family homes, alluded to earlier, were converted to apartments and rooming homes in order to help accommodate over 28,000 registered students in 1948. Additionally, multi-family zonings prompted construction of apartment units adjacent to the once single-family and two-unit residences. (CIP-13, 1976:1.10) Thus, the neighborhood quickly made a transition, from being chiefly owner-occupied to being chiefly renter-occupied.

Also during this period, working class families began to locate in the neighborhood, particularly south of Eleventh Avenue and east of

North Fourth Street. Similar to the occurrences that will be noted in Victorian Village and Italian Village, the quality of the neighborhood began to decline and eventually deterioration became its salient characteristic. Such a dismal state of affairs prompted the local residents to form a community organization for purposes of arresting the neighborhood's deteriorated conditions. With the assistance of the Department of Development, Unity was designated a "strategy area" which entitled it to funds made available through the Community Development Act. Finally, this funding was targeted for the following problem areas: housing rehabilitation assistance, alley-street and sidewalk repairs, playground development and landscaping. (Unity Neighborhood Plan, 1978:12)

The Life Cycle:

An inspection of the data in Table V suggests that Unity has progressed through the five stages posited by Hoover and Vernon. The "residential development" stage occurred between 1900 and 1920 as a large number of two-story frame units were built. The "transition" stage occurred during the 1920's as reflected by the number of apartments constructed to meet the residential exigencies of local residents and OSU students.

Similar to other neighborhoods within the Near North Side, Unity experienced the "downgrading" stage between 1930 and the early 1960's. Characteristics of the neighborhood associated with this stage included: (1) an increase in the number of housing units due to the conversion of single-family dwelling structures to apartments and rooming houses;

(2) an increase in the level of density; (3) a large percentage of deteriorated and dilapidated housing units; and (4) the immigration of low income Blacks and Appalachians into the area.

The "thinning-out" stage occurred between the 1960's and the early 1970's. This period of Unity's life cycle was suggested by a twenty-three percent decline in population, a ten percent decline in the number of dwelling units and a decrease in the density measures. As predicted, the "thinning-out" stage eventually prompted a stage of "renewal"; however, the impetus for the occurrence of this stage was the planned demolition of a large portion of the neighborhood's housing structures under the rubric of urban renewal.

In summary, Unity has progressed through the five stages of the life cycle model and appears to have entered another form of the "downgrading" stage. This is probably a consequence of the scarity of public funds, the major source of housing rehabilitation assistance, and the void left by the lack of private investment. Finally, the property values in the neighborhood have declined continually (since 1956) at an average yearly rate of 6.2 percent which provides further support for typologizing Unity as such.

TABLE V

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Unity

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	2239	;736
Percent Non-white	15.2	16.7	61.4	87.2
Percent Black	--	--	--	92.4
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	629	691	683	616
Percent owner-occupied	10.0	23.1	24.5	17.2
Percent renter-occupied	87.3	75.4	67.5	71.8
Percent vacant	2.7	1.5	8.0	1.1
Average value of units	--	6234	9200	10933
*Adjusted value	--	(7439)	(8923)	(8081)
Average rental value of units	25.02	30.87	62.27	67.18
*Adjusted value	(51.27)	(36.84)	(60.40)	(49.65)
Housing units per acre	7.7	8.4	8.3	7.5
Percent overcrowded	2.8	2.4	15.2	12.1
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.6	3.2
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	6.9	9.1	1.1	1.3
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	37.5	68.8	93.3	100
Percent of units built 1899 or before	8.5	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	36.2	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	54.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.50	--	--	--

NECKO

Area Description:

Necko is a small residential neighborhood at the extreme northwest section of the Near North Side that is approximately two and one-fourth miles from the CBD. The neighborhood organization is also referred to as Necko and each component or initial of its nonmenclature is based on one of the principal streets comprising the area. (Neil-Eight-Cannon-King-Organization) Necko is only composed of eight city blocks and is bounded on the north by Ninth Avenue, on the west by Perry Street, on the south by King Avenue and the east by Neil Avenue. The eastern and southern borders of Necko are major throughfares for Columbus; thus, entering and existing this small enclave presents no major difficulties. Neil Avenue, a residential collector street, provides convenient access to the CBD, the facilities at Battelle Memorial Institute, the Academy for Social Problems and OSU while King Avenue facilitates east-west movement within and throughout the Near North Side across the Olentangy River and to the interstate highways surrounding Columbus. (Neighborhood Strategy Area, 1978)

One-unit housing structures of brick construction primarily portrays the housing stock of Necko. Probably due to its size, the neighborhood does not contain a diversity of dwelling units as say, a Victorian Village; thus, there is unformity of structure. Primarily because of its close proximity to OSU, more than eighty percent of the housing units are renter-occupied which strongly contrasts with the renter-occupied distribution of the city as a whole, fifty-one percent

and forty-nine percent, respectively. The large percentage of rental units notwithstanding, Necko's housing stock is not as substandard nor as deteriorated as the housing of Unity. Less than fifteen percent of the neighborhood's dwelling structures are considered substandard as compared to twenty-six percent of Unity's structures; however, Necko's substandard level is still higher than the city as a whole at seven percent. (CIP-13, 1978:5.11)

Presently, public and private efforts are underway to improve the housing and environmental conditions of the neighborhood. The neighborhood association, Necko, is also assisting in the community improvement efforts; however, the chief reason for its formation was to prevent an expansion of OSU south of its northern border, Ninth Avenue. The residents were successful in stopping the encroachment of OSU into this neighborhood which would have destroyed most of its residential area.

Finally, the land use is exclusively medium-high density residential with no commercial or industrial strips within the neighborhood. (University Area Plan-38, 1974:6)

Area History:

See "Area History" of Dennison Place.

The Life Cycle:

There is general support for the neighborhood life cycle in Necko. The "residential development" and "transition" stages occurred between the turn of the century and 1920. Following a brief period of stability, the neighborhood's niche in ecological space as manifested by the

subdivision of existing structures to meet the residential needs of OSU students. Correlative with this proceeding was an increase in density levels, a large percentage of renters and deterioration of housing units. (See Tables VI and 4)

The "thinning-out" stage began in the mid-1960's. Support for this point can be seen in the population and housing figures presented in Table VI. There was a thirty-two percent decline in population in Table VI. There was a thirty-two percent decline in population, a thirty percent decline in the number of dwelling units, a high vacancy rate and a decline in the levels of density. The high percentage of renters in 1970 (88.1 percent) is gradually declining as more home-owners (former students) are moving into the area. Nonetheless, the neighborhood's percentage of owner-occupants still estimated to be significantly lower than the city average.

Finally, Necko is presently experiencing an "early renewal" stage of the life cycle. Some rehabilitation of housing structures is occurring in the area (privately funded) and the neighborhood's proximity to Dennison Place in encouraging both residents and former residents to upgrade their property.

TABLE VI

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Necko

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	1187	803
Percent Non-white	0.43	3.9	1.6	1.5
Percent Black	--	--	--	2.3
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	251	315	534	369
Percent owner-occupied	38.2	31.7	20.2	4.9
Percent renter-occupied	55.0	66.7	73.6	88.1
Percent vacant	6.8	1.6	6.2	7.0
Average value of units	--	12697	17375	--
*Adjusted value	--	(15152)	(16853)	--
Average rental value of units	44.37	50.61	63.38	94.60
*Adjusted value	(90.92)	(60.39)	(61.48)	(69.92)
Housing units per acre	7.6	9.6	16.2	11.2
Percent overcrowded	0.43	1.6	4.6	5.5
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	2.37	2.34
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	1.7	2.9	1.0	3.5
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	1.0	11.1	62.5	50.0
Percent of units built 1899 or before	2.5	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	88.5	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	7.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	1.2	--	--	--

DENNISON PLACE

Area Description:

Formerly referred to as "Fifth-To-King," Dennison Place is located approximately one to three-fourths miles north of the CBD and is also contained within the Near North Side. The neighborhood, composed of twenty city blocks, is bounded on the north by King Avenue, on the west by Perry Street, on the south by West Fifth Avenue and on the east by North High Street. All of the borders, save one, are major traffic arteries for the City of Columbus. To be specific, King Avenue and Fifth Avenue facilitate the east-west movement at the northern and southern sections of the neighborhood while High Street allows for the north-south traffic flow and provides easy access to the CBD as well as OSU.

Dennison Place is characterized primarily by two-story housing units of brick construction. The majority of the housing units (58 percent) were constructed before 1899 while an additional forty percent were built within the twenty year period following the turn of the century. (Block Statistics, 1940) Thus, the housing stock is old, yet structurally sound, but the lack of regular maintenance has contributed to "a-need-of-repair" condition.

As a result of the neighborhood's deteriorated condition, and the low-to-moderate income level of its residents, Dennison Place qualified as a target area for community development funds. The neighborhood was awarded approximately $275,000 over a three year period to rehabilitate housing units, to improve alleys, to replace curbs, to

plant trees and for general neighborhood design. (Neighborhood Strategy Area, 1978) In addition, a neighborhood association, Fifth-To-King, was formed in 1973 to assist in the administration of federal funding for neighborhood improvements, to obtain the resident's input and to make decisions concerning private rehabilitation in order to aid the maintenance and preservation of adequate, safe, descent and attractive housing in the community.

Finally, the land use pattern of Dennison Place is predominantly residential and about eighty percent of these residents are rental units. There are also commercial strips along High Street and Fifth Avenue for the convenience of the residents.

Area History:

Dennison Place and NECKO share many characteristics as well as much of its history with the other neighborhoods comprising the Near North Side. Dennison Place experienced its most rapid growth prior to 1899 while NECKO experienced its most rapid growth between 1900 and 1919; additionally, about ninety-five percent of the housing stock of both neighborhoods were built before 1920. The areas were predominantly white and working-class with no more than three percent of its population non-white. Although the areas were developed at an early date, they were not recognized until the mid-1970's.

Similar to the other neighborhoods to the immediate north of the CBD, the socio-economic status of Dennison Place and NECKO began to decline as the city's transportation network permitted the residents to reside in residential surburbs farther away from the city center. Associated with this event was the influx of lower income individuals;

consequently, there was little incentive for property-owners or absentee landlords to maintain their residential holdings. Fortunately, the Community Development Act of 1974 rekindled interest in the maintenance of preservation of the neighborhood by providing the landlords and homeowners with federal funds for rehabilitation and other types of improvements. This also prompted private efforts in neighborhood revitalization and local neighborhood commitments have included the formation of community organizations, Fifth-To-King and NECKO.[7] Thus, the overall quality of the two neighborhoods is being greatly improved which could attract middle-class residents back to the area which should further accelerate the renewal process.

In summary, the housing stock of Dennison Place and NECKO is old, has deteriorated, and is presently being upgraded to standards worthy of recogniton.

The Life Cycle:

An inspection of the data presented in Tables 1, 3, and VII suggest general support for the life cycle model in Dennison Place and that the area is ripe for renewal. That is, the perecent of owner-occupants has been declining since at least 1940, the vacancy rate and density levels have fluctuated noticeably and there was a large percentage of housing units that lacked adequate plumbing. Consequent with this was the neighborhood's falling property values which declined at an average annual rate of 3.4 percent between 1956 and 1973.

Dennison Place experienced the "residential development" stage prior to 1899 while the ensuing stage of "transition" probably lasted

until the 1920's. Again, lack of adequate data precluded a more precise delineation of these two stages.

As expressed by a forty percent increase in the number of dwelling units, the "downgrading" stage appears to have begun in the 1930's and lasted for a period of thirty years. This increase was due primarily to the conversion of older units to greater density usage. Additional support for the occurrence of this stage was the continual increase in the percentage of rental units, the large percentage of deteriorated/dilapidated housing units, and the influx of rural Appalachians into the area.

Declining density levels coupled with an increase in the number of vacancies suggested the beginning of the "thinning-out" stage which later induced the "renewal" stage. Presently, Dennison Place is in an "intermediate-renewal" stage as reflected by an increase in the number of owner-occupants (an increase from ten percent in 1970 to forty-five percent in 1980), the number of housing units being rehabilitated, and finally, a reversal of the above mentioned declining property values. (Garvey, 1981:8; McWane, 1981)

TABLE VII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Dennison Place

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	2955	2580
Percent Non-white	0.44	0.69	0.40	2.2
Percent Black	--	--	--	2.6
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	975	1179	1368	1253
Percent owner-occupied	26.9	23.7	15.7	9.9
Percent renter-occupied	67.1	75.1	75.1	81.8
Percent vacant	6.0	1.2	9.2	8.3
Average value of units	--	9134	11950	11900
*Adjusted value	--	(10900)	(11590)	(8795)
Average rental value of units	36.00	46.02	65.65	88.30
*Adjusted value	(73.77)	(54.92)	(63.68)	(65.26)
Housing units per acre	10.5	12.7	14.7	13.5
Percent overcrowded	1.9	4.8	7.3	4.0
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	2.4	2.2
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	24.3	24.2	15.1	7.6
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	22.2	15.4	20.0	65.0
Percent of units built 1899 or before	58.3	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	40.0	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	1.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.6	--	--	--

HARRISON WEST

Area Description:

Harrison West is a predominantly low-to-moderate income residential neighborhood that is located approximately one and one-half miles north of the CBD. This enclave consists of about twenty-one city blocks and is bounded on the north by West Fifth Avenue, on the west by the Olentangy River, on the south by First Avenue and on the east by Harrison Avenue. The neighborhood is well-defined which indicates a strong agreement on its boundaries in the cognitive models of its residents. To be specific, its northern border forms a major traffic artery, its western border is a naturally occurring one, its southern distinquishes it from the rehabilitated "Flytown" area, and its eastern border is contiguous to Victorian Village.

The neighborhood is characterized by a mixture of older single-family frame and brick structures interspersed with multi-family apartment buildings and an occasional brick row house. Similar to Unity, approximately eighty percent of the dwelling units are renter occupied and approximately twenty-five percent of the total dwelling units are of substandard quality.[8] Many of the housing structures are in deteriorated condition due to the age of the buildings, ownership by landlords (including Battelle Memorial Institute) who have not maintained the properties adequately, and/or the financial inability of the residents to make improvements. There are also a considerable number of vacant lots in Harrison West because of the demolition of residences which allowed to deteriorate or were neglected to the point of severe

dilapildation. (Rybak, 1978:3-4)

In order to arrest neighborhood deterioration and/or aid in the maintenance of preservation of quality housing in the community, the residents formed the Harrison West Community Association (also known as the Harrison West Society) in 1974. Among other goals, the residents wanted to convert the vacant Michigan Avenue School for usage as a multi-purpose social and health center and wanted the neighborhood designated as a "Strategy Area" in order to qualify for federal community redevelopment funds. (Rybak, 1978:3-4) The first goal was not accomplished, but the second goal was a success. The residents of Harrison West was awarded a two million dollar innovative grant to help rehabilitate and/or purchase housing structures in the area.

However, the success of this project is over-shadowed by one of the neighborhood's principal landlords, Battelle Memorial Institute, who plans to demolish some of the deteriorated residences in order to expand their offices and other facilities. The problem is that some of the neighborhood's long-time residents have already been displaced, others are likely to be displaced, and the end of this displacement process is not foreseeable. Quite naturally, the Harrison West residents were vehemently protesting this effort in the form of marches, community meetings, attendance of city council meetings. The preamble to the organizational constitution aptly describes the hardships faced by the residents as well as other low-and-moderate income families in the inner-city of Columbus. "To be born in a neighborhood without human concern, in adequate schools, to go hungry . . . to be looked upon with reproach, to suffer the torments of broken homes, to wake up

to neglect." Another indication of the plight and fortitude of Harrison West residents as well as the changing character of the neighborhood itself is adquately expressed by one local resident: "Working class families were at the core of Harrison West's identity and they have been replaced by the gentry who have no sense of neighborhood identity at all . . . It's identity has all but been erased. But it's not too late to build some sense of identity among the survivors." (Foster, 1981:6)

Finally, the land use pattern is primarily residential with a commercial strip stretching along its northern border, East Fifth Avenue, and commercial spots at street corners within the residential areas. Some industries and manufacturing areas are also to the west and northwest of the neighborhood. (The Columbus Tenant Union Brochure, 1981).

Area History:

Development of Harrison West was stimulated in the latter part of the nineteen century when a group of industries developed north of Goodale Street along the Olentangy River up to Third Avenue. The neighborhod emerged as a working class community around these industrial areas because employees had no alternative but to walk to work.[9] Thus, most of the existing housing units were constructed to accommodate the middle class families who were employed by these industries and also those who were employed by the railroads in the city. (CIP-13, Rybak, 1978:4; 1978:1.10)

The earlier development of Victorian Village also aided the

development of Harrison West. The two neighborhoods share Harrison Avenue as a border; therefore, any western expansion by the residents of the former would have resulted in an extension of Victorian Village or in the emergence of a different and distinct neighborhood. Of course, this contiguousness resulted in the latter occurrence as some of the menial workers from Victorian Village was one of the first exclusive suburbs in Columbus; thus, the settlement of Harrison West also included the workers of these wealthy "suburbanities" who elected to settle in an area close to their employment. Nonetheless, the primary reason for Harrison West's formation, as stated earlier, was its proximity to the industrial and manufacturing activities along its southern and western borders. However, with the advent of the automobile in the 1920's, housing demand in the area began to decline because of the increased mobility. In other words, the low cost per mile of travel allowed the workers to live farther away from the noise, congestion, etc., of their place of employment. As more roads were completed, residential location was no longer restricted to the surrounding areas and the existing trolley lines. (CIP-13, 1978:1.10)

As a consequence of the preceding, and the outmigration of certain resident types and the migration of many families of lesser means following World War II, the housing stock of Harrison West were converted to accommodate greater density needs and soon, deterioration became a noticeable feature of the neighborhood. (CIP-13, 1978:1.10)

The neighborhood continued to decline; however, in 1962, the Goodale Guild facility, presently located at 321 West Second Avenue, was officially dedicated and eventually became the nucleus around which

neighborhood revitalization occurred. The Guild was initially organized in 1898 on West Goodale Street for the purpose of "undertaking" social, or university settlement work . . . and contained such facilities as a library, a cooking school, a clubroom for boys, a game room for men and a large gymnasium used for sports, activities, public entertainment, concerts, and lectures. (Hooper, 1920:242-243) The original building was torn down in 1959 - 1960 as a result of urban renewal and freeway construction and rebuilt at the eastern edge of Harrison West. The Guild continued to serve the entire Near North Side and presently serves as a meeting place for many Harrison West community activities. (Rybak, 1978:4)

The Harrison West Residents Association was formed in 1974 to curb neighborhood deterioration through funds made available by the Community Development Act. The residents also obtained a two million dollar innovative grant to assist in the rehabilitation process. Finally, as discussed in the "Area Description", the residents are currently in litigation with Battelle Memorial Institute concerning its expansion that has displaced some of the neighborhood's residents and could displace more residents in the future.

In summary, Harrison West is a viable neighborhood that is presently being upgraded by both public and private monies and its strong neighborhood organization is willing to take social as well as legal action in order to preserve the neighborhood.

The Life Cycle:

An inspection of Table VIII reveals that the first two stages of

Harrison West's life cycle occurred before 1920. Undoubtedly, the "residential development" stage occurred prior to the turn of the century as reflected by the fact that fifty-two percent of the structures that were existing in 1940 were constructed in 1899 or before. Lack of adequate data precludes a disentanglement of this stage from the "transition" stage.

The "downgrading" stage appears to have begun in the 1930's as the dimensions of the life cycle changed in a pattern usually associated with this stage. That is, middle-class residents began to move out and minorities (rural Appalachians) of lower socio-economic means began to move in, increase in density levels, a ten percent increase in the number of Blacks, more than a hundred percent decline in property values and a fourteen percent increase in the number of dwelling units without a concomitant increase in the number of structures. The latter suggests that a large number of conversions occurred as large numbers of neighborhood's structures were converted to more intensive residential usage. Further support for the occurrence of this stage can be found in Table 1, 3 and 4 which indicate that Harrison West was significantly higher than the city in terms of the percentage of rental units, the quality indexes and the percentage of deteriorated housing units, respectively.

The "thinning-out" period, although tenuous, occurred between the 1960's and mid-1970's. This is borne out by block statistics which indicates a decline in the number of dwelling units, declining population, an increase in vacancies and declining density levels.

Harrison West is presently in an "early-renewal" stage of

development as manifested by an increase of property values which began in 1977, the number of housing structures being rehabilitated and an increase in the number of owner-occupants.

TABLE VIII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Harrison West

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	4089	3224
Percent Non-white	1.0	2.1	9.6	12.2
Percent Black	--	--	--	11.8
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	1090	1219	1244	976
Percent owner-occupied	26.5	39.4	28.0	17.9
Percent renter-occupied	70.5	60.1	63.7	73.8
Percent vacant	3.0	0.5	8.3	8.3
Average value of units	--	6229	8285	9167
*Adjusted value	--	(7433)	(8036)	(6775)
Average rental value of units	23.31	33.43	61.10	67.10
*Adjusted value	(47.77	(39.89)	(59.26)	(49.59)
Housing units per acre	9.4	10.5	10.7	8.4
Percent overcrowded	2.9	3.3	19.9	16.6
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.6	3.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	30.3	19.6	6.0	1.3
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	22.7	28.6	76.2	81.0
Percent of units built 1899 or before	52.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	44.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	3.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.4	--	--	--

VICTORIAN VILLAGE

Area Description:

Victorian Village is an old, historic residential neighborhood in Columbus that also forms part of a large community known as the Near North Side. The neighborhood consists of approximately fifty-three city blocks and its southern boundary (Goodale Avenue) lies within a half mile of the CBD while its northern boundary (West Fifth Avenue) lies within a half mile from Ohio State University. Access to these two major employment centers is greatly increased by regular bus service along North High Street (the eastern boundary) and Neil/Harrison Avenues (southwestern and western boundary of the neighborhood, respectively).

Unlike Clintonville and Beechwold, Victorian Village possesses quite a wide range of housing, adjacent blocks exhibiting considerable contrasts, particularly in terms of the size of the structure. Very large single-family, three-story homes predominate along several of the streets; yet, the majority of structures are two story "doubles" of brick frame construction. Despite the diversity of dwelling units, architecturally, some unity is given to the neighborhood by the predominance of certain characteristics of the vernacular style of construction. To be specific, "steep roof pitch, slate roofs, tall narrow windows and the widespread presence of ornamentation in brick, wood, and stone imparts a Victorian ambience, from which the local neighborhood organization has taken its name." (Harris, 1976:34.37)

The population of Victorian Village has been declining since 1960

while Columbus as a whole has claimed a population increase. The average yearly decline in population of the Village between 1950 and 1970 was approximately twenty-six percent while the city as a whole claimed a annual population increase of about two percent. Further, it is projected that Victorian Village will continue to lose population at an annual rate of four percent. (Berry, 1979:112)

Socio-economic indicators show that the average educational level of the residents (9.9 years) is about two years lower than the city as a whole, the average income level of $5997 is significantly lower than the city's average of $9731 and the percentage of white collar workers (31.2 percent) is also lower than the average for the city (48.3 percent). (Berry, 1979:121-123) Thus, Victorian Village is generally lower than the city on the above three indicators of social class which is probably a function of its declining population base. Notwithstanding, a report by the Department of Development indicates that since Victorian Village was awarded a community development block grant, the neighborhood has the potential to attract "middle and upper income families back to the area. . . " (Neighborhood Strategy Area, 1978)

Finally, the diversity of Victorian Village in particular, and the Near North Side in general, is indicated by the variety of land use activities which co-exists there. Being physically close to the CBD, the area is characterized by the intensive commercial development along North High Street, manufacturing activities in the southwest section of the neighborhood, and a wide range of dwelling types and styles throughout the remainder of the area. As alluded to earlier, the predominant land use in Victorian Village is residential. Most of the housing

stock is considered structurally sound, but lack of regular maintenance has contributed to the present conditions in which many of the units are in need of repair. (Neighborhood Strategy Area, 1978)

Area History:

Development of Victorian Village was stimulated early in the 1850's when Dr. Lincoln Goodale, an early settler of Franklinton, deeded forty acres of land for Goodale Park to the city. The amenity the park provided and the ease with which residents could walk from the area to the CBD led to rapid development of the area. With the introduction of horsedrawn street car service along North High Street in 1853, many wealthy Columbus families began to locate their homes around the park and adjacent areas. The Near North Side became one of the first exclusive suburbs in the city, especially Victorian Village. (CIP-13, 1976:1.12)

In 1872, a hospital, later known as "White Cross," was constructed across from Goodale Park on Park Street. Physicians and other professionals began to build homes in the neighborhood and surrounding areas. (Harris, 1976:34) The Village grew rapidly from this period to the beginning of the Twentieth Century, however, following this initial development of housing for the social elite, much of the subsequent additions to the housing stock were intended for the middle and lower classes.

The majority of structures were constructed between 1889 and 1910 and in the latter part of this interval, several apartment buildings were built which presently accommodate the residential needs of OSU

students. A small number of row houses were also constructed during this period for lower income households. (Harris, 1976:34) Thus, historically, a variety of structures in the Village reflected its diverse social class composition.

Doctors Hospital was also contructed during the above time period. Originally built as a mansion, this picturesque old structure has served as a hospital for 89 years. The land, signed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in 1802, was part of a land grant to Joseph R. Stau which extended from First Avenue to Fifth Avenue. (Arter, 1966:79) Today, 'Doctors North Hospital' is not only an integral part of the neighborhood but has become the largest osteopathic medical facility in Ohio as well as one of the most widely respected osteopathic medical centers in America.[10]

By 1920, Victorian Village almost completely ceveloped, Goodale Park providing the only open space, and from that date on, it appears as though the neighborhood entered into a long period of decline. With the advent of the automobile, continued expansion of Columbus, and the development of upper-middle income suburbs (notably Upper Arlington) in the 1920's, the ability of the Village to retain middle and upper income families declined. Residents' incomes declined with the influx of increasing numbers of rural Appalachians while levels of owner-occupancy declined, conversions occurred and the density of housing occupancy increased. (Harris, 1976:38)

In attempting to alleviate the above-mentioned declining processes, the Victorian Village Society was formed by a group of neighborhood residents in 1973. Finally, Harris and Berry contend that in the

subsequent two or three years, the processes of decline have been arrested and the Village appears to be experiencing "gentrification." The middle class are beginning to move into the neighborhood, the buildings are showing external signs of substantial property investment while attendance at community meetings has, on the average, more than doubled. (Harris, 1976:39; Berry, 1979:61-63)

The Life Cycle:

Victorian Village has advanced through all the stages of the life cycle posited by Hoover and Vernon and presently is in an "intermediate renewal" stage. An examination of Table IX reveals that the Village experienced the early stages of the life cycle before 1940; however, it can be documented that the 'residential development" and "transition" stages occurred before 1899. Information presented in the "Area History" suggests that an incipient stage of development characterized the neighborhood from about 1850 to the 1880's while the "transition" stage occurred from the 1890's to the 1920's. During the latter part of this period, the advent of the auto had a deleterious effect on the Village because it permitted the development of upper-middle income residential suburbs. Victorian Village lost its ability to retain these residents and the inmigration of an increasing number of rural Appalachians into the area signaled the beginning of a long period of decline, the "downgrading" stage.

The "thinning-out" stage appears to have taken place between 1960 and 1970 as manifested by a decrease in the number of dwelling units, an increase in the number of dwelling units, an increase in the number

of vacancies, declining population and declining housing densities. Subsequently, the "renewal" stage emerged and was characterized by an increase in the number of single-family dwelling units due to the conversion of multi-family residences, an increase in the number of owner-occupants, the rehabilitation/restoration of deteriorated structures, the construction of homes and condominiums and an increase in the adjusted average value of the housing structures. A final indication of Village's renewal trend can be found by examining its property values overtime. To be specific, from 1956 to 1974, the property values of Victorian Village declined at an average yearly rate of 2.3 percent; however, since 1975, the area's property values have been increasing at an average yearly rate of 6.6 percent.

TABLE IX

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for Victorian Village

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	9423	7013
Percent Non-white	0.49	0.22	2.7	4.02
Percent Black	--	--	--	5.6
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	3207	3640	3636	3047
Percent owner-occupied	17.2	19.8	17.1	11.4
Percent renter-occupied	78.0	78.4	82.9	77.5
Percent vacant	4.8	1.8	0.0	11.1
Average value of units	--	7617	10667	11255
*Adjusted value	--	(9090)	(10346)	(8319)
Average rental value of units	47.17	38.41	63.70	74.38
*Adjusted value	(96.66)	(45.51)	(61.79)	(54.97)
Housing units per acre	10.6	11.9	11.9	10.0
Percent overcrowded	5.8	4.3	15.7	10.3
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	2.9	2.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	32.1	32.7	1.3	9.8
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	9.3	11.7	36.7	39.6
Percent of units built 1899 or before	52.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	41.0	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	6.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.3	--	--	--

ITALIAN VILLAGE

Area Description:

Centrally located within the city of Columbus, Italian Village also forms part of the Near North Side and shares its western border (North High Street) with Victorian Village. The neighborhood consists of about forty-five city blocks with its southern boundary (Goodale Avenue) being contiguous to the CBD while its northern boundary (East Fifth Avenue lies eithin a half-mile of The Ohio State University. Its eastern border (Penn-Central railroad) is an artifact that serves to complete the demarcation of the neighborhood in terms of the cognitive models of its residents. Again, similar to Victorian Village, regular bus service, particularly along High Street, greatly increases the neighborhood's accessibility; in addition, Summit and North Fourth Street form a functional pair of one-way streets to provide access through the area in a north-south direction.

Unlike Clintonville and Beechwold, the residents of Italian Village noted the "change from seeing people on the street, and passing their houses, to an area where they were strangers; as the primary means of defining their neighborhood, which suggests that Italian Village is a fairly close knit area. Other areas used to select boundaries included:

> . . . the level of maintenance changed for the better in one direction and for the worse in another . . . changes to commercial land use and building types along High Street . . . changes in the style and size of houses and . . . changes in the life style and age of the people . . . (Sims, 1976:85)

Given the industrial and commercial establishment situated along

its eastern and western border, respectively, the dominant land use activity in Italian Village is residential. Unlike the variety of dwelling units that characterizes Victorian Village, Italian Village consists primarily of single and double family homes. A large percentage of these housing units, eighty percent, are rental units which was a consequence of the conversion of otherwise unusuable large dwelling structures. However, recent trends in home improvements indicate a movement towards the deconversion of these structures. (Ricketts, 1974: 7, Neighborhood Strategy Area, 1978)

Finally, the housing in Italian Village reflects a moderate-to-low income neighborhood. The median rent, mean income level and mean educational level are below the average for the city as a whole. Presently, rehabilitation efforts are underway to attract middle and upper class residents back to the Village in addition to upgrading its overall quality.[11] (Ricketts, 1974:16) These rehabilitation efforts should also assist in stabilizing the neighborhood's declining property values and thereby, encouraging further deconversion to single-family/owner occupancy.

Area History:

Italian Village is an older, historic residential neighborhood with seventy-seven percent of the dwelling units built prior to 1929. (Italian Village Manual, n.d.:3) The Village emerged as a historic reminder of the early Irish-Italian settlement in Columbus, and later as a solely Italian settlement. The original paving of Italian Village was entirely native brick, a material used for centuries because of its

durability. Thus, with its narrow brick streets and artistically brick, romanesque, gothic and Florentine single and double family homes of the Italina Palazzo style, the neighborhood is reminiscent of the towns and cities from which immigrants came in the late 1800's and early 1900's, the Village still retains same charm of an old world city.

The wave of Italian immigrants coincided with a major expansion in Columbus. Specifically, the area now known as Italian Village was incorporated in the initial wave of northward expansion along High Street. Again, similar to the area, northside neighborhoods, post-bellum economic activities facilitated the development of Italian Village. (Ricketts, 1974:7)

Italian Village grew rapidly from 1870 to the 1920's with the construction of single, two-story and double two-story housing units to accommodate the residential exigencies of an emergent middle class. The mark of these homes were square structures situated on small lots with a very low pitched hip roof. Further, all the units had a limestone base set in a mortar, with stone sills and lintels in brick walls while intricate carvings abounded in may of the lintels creating a sense of original design and craftsmanship. During the latter part of this period, row type apartments began to appear. Most of these structures possessed the character of earlier homes and complemented the neighborhood well; however, some characteristics of creative art were deleted from their designs and the flat roof system was introduced. (Italian Village Manual, n.d:3)

Following this period, the migration of low income families into the neighborhood seriously affected the community's physical and social environment. Symptoms of slum formation, overcrowding and deterioration became prominent In light of the preceding, the community development block grant program is the major source of current efforts to upgrade the neighborhood and possibly attract middle class residents back to the Village.

Finally, stabilizing influences in the neighborhood has been an integral part of the rehabilitation process. These influences include: St. John; The Baptist; Italian National Church; Sacred Heart Church and School Complex; Third Avenue Methodist Church Senior Citizens High Rise; Taylor Terrace and the recent activities of the Second Avenue Section of the Near North Side Neighborhood Council now known as the Italian Village Society. (Ricketts, 1974:7)

The Life Cycle:

A perusal of the data in Table X suggests that Italian Village has completed four stages posited by the neighborhood life cycle model. The "residential development" stage began before 1899 which is consistent with the information presented in the "Area History"; 1870 would be a more precise date. This incipient period of development lasted until the 1920's and during the latter part of this period, apartment began to appear which indicated the "transition" stage. (Italian Village Manual, n.d:3)

The immigration of low income families into the Village adversely affected its physical and social environment which marked the beginning

of a twenty-five to thirty-year period of decline. Statistical support for the occurrence of this stage "downgrading" can be found in Tables 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix D.

The "downgrading" stage was followed by a protracted period of "thinning-out" as expressed by a twenty percent decline in both population and the number of dwelling units, an increase in the percentage of vacancies and a declining level of density.

About five years ago, Italian Village began to show signs of renewal as expressed by the number of multi-family housing units that were being converted to single-family units and a reversal of the area's declining property values. Since 1975, the property values of the Village have increased at an average annual rate of 13.6 percent. Finally, it is estimated that twenty percent of the homes in the neighborhood have been restored. (Kehres, 1981b:8)

TABLE X

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Italian Village

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	5773	4544
Percent Non-white	11.3	11.1	17.5	17.5
Percent Black	--	--	--	18.6
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	2046	2422	2143	1941
Percent owner-occupied	15.9	22.4	20.2	17.2
Percent renter-occupied	81.2	76.0	69.7	74.1
Percent vacant	2.9	1.6	10.1	8.7
Average value of units	--	4919	7444	9035
*Adjusted value	--	(5870)	(7220)	(6678)
Average rental value of units	18.92	29.91	57.05	62.80
*Adjusted value	(38.77)	(35.69)	(55.34)	(46.42)
Housing units per acre	8.3	9.8	8.6	7.8
Percent overcrowded	8.8	6.3	17.4	12.3
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.0	2.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	43.4	37.8	12.4	9.2
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	64.3	57.7	70.0	59.1
Percent of units built 1899 or before	35.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	62.9	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	1.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.2	--	--	--

NORTH END

Area Description:

Located at the "north end" of South Linden, North End is an old, low-to-moderate residential neighborhood that is approximately two and one-half miles northeast of the CBD. The neighborhood, composed of about ninety-five city blocks, is bounded on the north by Hudson Street, on the west by Interstatt 7], on the south by Eleventh Avenue, and on the east by Cleveland Avenue. All four neighborhoods are main thoroughfares for the city and serve to adequately define the North End without impairing neighborhood quality. In this connection, the residents indicated that the "relative maintenance of areas" is by far the most distinquishing feature of the neighborhood. A further indication of the adequacy of the neighborhood boundaries is suggested by one local resident: Take Hamilton, when you go across Hudson, it's cleaner, you find no litter, people take care of their property . . . " (Sims, 1976:81) Also cited in the identification of their neighborhood were differences in people, type, style and sizes of houses, changes in street lights, the presence of trees and an increase in noise as one moved out of the area. (Sims, 1976:81)

A number of multi-family structures are found in sections of the North End; however, the neighborhood is characterized chiefly by single-family dwelling units. Of these housing units, approximately sixty percent are owner-occupied. The general quality of these units were revealed in a study conducted by the Columbus Department of Development. Specifically, most of the area's housing were identified as being within

the "0 percent - 15 percent" range of substandard deterioration; however, the northeastern section of the neighborhood fell within the "15 percent to 30 percent" range. (CIP-14, 1976:3.10 and 5.10) Thus, current efforts are underway to upgrade the quality of the area's housing stock and again, the Community Development Act has assisted in this process.

North End's land use pattern is predominantly low density residential with medium density and institutional pockets scattered throughout. Many properties along Cleveland Avenue and Hudson Street are oriented toward commercial development, yet noncommercial uses such as two-story housing units, apartments, churches and social centers also exist which have created visual breaks in this commercial strip. The intermixture of land use has produced an unsettling effect for both businesses and residences, particularly along Cleveland Avenue. Marginal use of properties, vacant stores, and poorly maintained structures are evident along the street.

Finally, the decline of properties over the past years from viable commercial and residential development has been attributed to a combination of factors. Foremost among these factors are structural absolescence, mixture of land uses engendered by excessive commercial zoning and development, small lot depths, lack of adequate off-street parking and changing consumer preferences. (CIP-14, 1976:3.10)

Area History:

Upon receiving land grants for military service, Revoluntary War Soldiers and their families settled in forests of what is now known as

Linden, inclusive of the North End. As the area grew, residents felt a need to establish it as a separate community; thus, in 1893, Linden Heights Subdivision was formed by H. Neil, Thomas A. Simmons and Franklin D. Simmons. Linden proceeded to grow from a community of twenty to a community of four or five hundred people. During this period, the neighborhood was governed by the township of Clinton and Miffinville. In 1901, Linden residents decided to establish Linden as a village (Linden Heights Village) and for the ensuing eighteen years, the community was known as one of the most prestigious suburban areas north of Columbus. An ethos of the area was its proprietorship of one of Ohio's few paved highways, Harbour Road, as its main street, now known as Cleveland Avenue.

As Columbus grew farther north along Cleveland Avenue, Linden grew south, nearing Columbus and in 1924, the area, including the North End was annexed to the City of Columbus.

Following this period, an improved transportation network permitted a movement of the neighborhood's more prosperous residents farther away from the central city. The inmigration of low-income families into the North End coincided with this event; consequently, the neighborhood's physical and social ambience was adversely affected. (CIP-14, 1976:1.10) Deterioration became a salient neighborhood characteristic and as a result, more than a million dollars have been awarded to the North End for housing rehabilitation assistance, neighborhood facilities, clearance and relocation, drainage improvements, paint-up/fix-up and other related improvements. (Newsletter, June-1976) Finally,

this has encouraged some local residents to use private funds in an attempt to revitalize the neighborhood.

The Life Cycle:

The North End is presently undergoing the final stages of the neighborhood life cycle model as public funds have stabilized the neighborhood's property values. Prior to 1975, there had been a fifty percent decline in the area's property values over an eighteen year time interval.

A delineation of the early distinctive periods of the North End's life cycle reveals that the "residential development" stage occurred between 1920 and 1930 while the "transition" stage occurred during the latter part of the period and the 1930's.

Following the Depression, this South Linden neighborhood began another period of growth that lasted to the mid-1960's. During this particular cycle, there was an increase in population, housing units, percentage of owner-occupants and stable property values.

It appears that this stage of development was followed by the simutaneous occurence of the "downgrading" and "thinning-out" stages. Characteristics associated with the former include a major demographic shift in the area from a predominantly white to black neighborhood, an increase in the level of density (see Table XI) and the designation of most of the neighborhood as a "target area" for rehabilitation assistance while the characteristics associated with the latter include a decline in the number of dwelling units and an increase in the percentage of vacant units.

Finally, the North End is is an early renewal stage of development as manifested, in part, by the number of homes (300) participating in the free paint program, the amount of capital improvements (new sidewalks, curbs, tree-planting, etc.) and more than $650,000 in low interest loans for home rehabilitation or improvement. (Foster, 1981e:8) However, unless more private rehabilitation is encouraged, the neighborhood may show signs of re-entering the "downgrading" stage.

TABLE XI

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

North End

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	10857	11198
Percent Non-white	0.39	0.19	1.8	64.1
Percent Black	--	--	--	85.3
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	1319	2620	3516	3381
Percent owner-occupied	47.5	72.9	67.0	57.8
Percent renter-occupied	50.1	25.8	30.0	38.0
Percent vacant	2.4	1.3	3.3	4.2
Average value of units	--	8582	12105	13693
*Adjusted value	--	(10241)	(11741)	(10121)
Average rental value of units	30.25	43.23	74.24	82.69
*Adjusted value	(61.99)	(51.59)	(72.00)	(61.12)
Housing units per acre	2.2	4.3	5.8	5.6
Percent overcrowded	1.2	0.58	8.0	12.1
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.2	3.5
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	6.9	2.9	0.38	1.0
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	5.2	2.2	10.2	100
Percent of units built 1899 or before	1.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	5.9	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	77.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	15.2	--	--	--

OLDE TOWNE EAST

Area Description:

Located on the Near East Side of Columbus, Olde Towne East is an old residential neighborhood that forms the southwestern corridor of the Model Cities Area.[12] The neighborhood consists of approximately eighty-five city blocks and is bounded on the north by East Long Street, on the west by Parsons Avenue, on the south by East Main Street, and on the East by Wilson Avenue. Its western border, within a mile of the CBD, serves as the only thoroughfare for the city that facilitates north-south traffic movement in the area. Thus, a major deficiency in the neighborhood's street system is its inadequate north-south traffic circulation. The fact that these streets are narrow, discontinuous, and permit on street parking and loading contribute greatly to the neighborhood's congestion problem. East - West traffic movement, however, is characterized by an efficient, fast moving street system. Main Street, Bryden Road, Oak Street, and Broad Street are major arterials which provide a continuous path throughout the neighborhood and also assist in alleviating some of the congestion created by the north-south traffic flow. (Area Plan-37, 1974:18)

Olde Towne East is characterized by a predominance of old multi-story, single-family dwelling units with a concentration of one unit, single family housing structures in the southeast section of the neighborhood. Further indications of the neighborhood's residential character are that approximately seventy-five percent of all housing units are renter-occupied, which strongly contrasts with the city's average

of about forty-nine percent rental units, and a large portion of the housing stock is described as being substandard and deteriorated. (Saunders, 1971:11)

Closely tied in with housing is the socio-economic composition of the neighborhood. The median family income is about $5000 which is substantially lower than the city's average of $973]. Moreover, approximately thirty-two percent of the families have yearly incomes below the poverty level ($4000) which is again significantly worse than the percentage for the city. (9.8 percent). Final expressions of the neighborhood's low socio-economic position are reflected in its labor force participation. Specifically, more than twenty-five percent of the total labor force are employed as professionals and managers; the averages for the city were twelve and twenty-four percent, respectively.

About ten years ago, the residents began to reverse the downgrading stage, as alluded to above, by rehabilitating housing units and by performing other neighborhood improvements. The sources of funding for the revitalization of Olde Towne East were the local residents, the Community Development Act and the Model Cities Program. This combination of financial support permitted lower class individuals, predominantly Black, to escape displacement while simultaneously attracting an emergent middle class. A profile of these new urban dwellers is offered by Warren Tyler, a board member of Olde Towne East Development Association:

> Young, college-educated couples with small families; both members of the household work, and have an interest in being close enough to

> their place of work to be able to use their discretionary time for things other than commuting . . . they're more concerned about their surroundings and the impact of those on them and other. (Bingle, 1978:21)

Tyler also contends that the residents, particularly the middle class, are the economics of the housing market. (Bingle, 1978:21) This is exemplified by Olde Towne East's very active neighborhood association and the amount of private effort put forth toward neighborhood improvements, sweeping the streets in front of homes, gathering trash in the alleys, etc.

Finally, the land use pattern is primarily multi-family residential with a concentration of single family dwelling units in the southeast section of the neighborhood. Small pockets of commercial and industrial uses are scattered throughout the area. Similar to "The Bottoms," the intermixture of these land use types has created a plethora of neighborhood problems such as noise, congestion, filth, etc. The residents are attempting to remedy this situation by collective community action and involvement.

Area History:

See "Area History" of Franklin Park.

The Life Cycle:

A perusal of the data in Tables 1, 3, 4 and XII suggest that Olde Towne East has progressed through four stages of the neighborhood life cycle model. The "residential development" stage appeared to have been a protracted process beginning in the 1870's and terminating in the

early 1920's. This is borne out by block statistics which indicate that about ninety percent of the existing structures were built during this time period. If the "transition" stage did occur, it occurred during the latter part of the incipient stage and was followed by a period of stability.

The "downgrading" stage began during the 1930's and lasted for about thirty-five years. This is expressed in Table XII by an increase in the number of dwelling units which was due primarily to the conversion of existing structures to accommodate more inhabitants, a large percentage of rental units, a large percentage of units lacking adequate plumbing facilities and a decline in population with a concurrent increase in the number of minorities (Blacks).

Olde Towne East experienced the "thinning-out" stage during the late 1960's and early 1970's followed by a period of renewal. Additional support for the latter stage can be found by an increase in the neighborhood's property values which began an upward swing in 1977, an increase in the number of owner-occupants, an increase in the number of white, middle-class professionals and an increase in the average (adjusted) value of housing units. (Hamilton, 1981; Bingle, 1978:21; Kehres, 1981c:10)

TABLE XII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Olde Towne East

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	12401	9344
Percent Non-white	4.5	7.3	41.0	74.9
Percent Black	--	--	--	75.4
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	3055	4092	4412	4152
Percent owner-occupied	24.6	24.7	18.1	13.9
Percent renter-occupied	69.4	73.2	74.9	72.5
Percent vacant	6.0	2.1	7.0	13.6
Average value of units	--	7995	11271	11240
*Adjusted value	--	(9541)	(10932)	(8308)
Average rental value of units	37.16	46.08	66.90	74.61
*Adjusted value	(76.15)	(54.99)	(64.89)	(55.14)
Housing units per acre	7.8	10.5	11.3	10.7
Percent overcrowded	2.1	4.6	19.6	10.5
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.1	2.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	20.5	24.0	14.3	13.0
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	40.0	43.4	90.2	97.7
Percent of units built 1899 or before	33.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	56.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	9.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.8	--	--	--

FRANKLIN PARK

Area Description:

As one of the city's historic residential neighborhoods, Franklin Park also forms part of the "Model Cities Area" and shares its western border with Olde Towne East. The neighborhood consists of about fifty city blocks, is approximatley two miles west of the CBD, and is bounded as follows:

North: East Broad Street
South: East Main Street
West: Wilson Avenue
East: Alum Creek

Similar to the transportation network of Olde Town East, Franklin Park also experiences inadequate north-south traffic circulation; Nelson Road, parallel to the neighborhood's eastern border, is the only primarily arterial that facilitates movement in this direction. The east-west flow, on the other hand, is fairly efficient with Main Street, Bryden Road and Broad Street providing the principal routes of entering and existing the neighborhood. These arterials also aid in alleviating some of the congestion created by the neighborhood's inadequate north-south traffic flow and its proximity to the CBD. (Area Plan-37, 1974: 18)

The western sector of Franklin Park consists primarily of multi-family dwelling units while its eastern sector is overwhelmingly characterized by single family dwelling units. The majority of these housing structures are old yet structurally sound. The neighborhood has managed to resist the deteriorated influences of the surrounding areas (i.e. Mount Vernon and Olde Towne East) and has retained a strong

residential character as well as attractive and desirable living conditions. (Saunders, 1971:13; CIP-19, 1976:1.12)

The population of Franklin Park is about eighty percent Black. Clearance of deteriorated housing and removal of structures for interstate highway construction are primary determinants of neighborhood's declining population base. The area experienced a ten percent decline in population between 1960 and 1970 followed by a twenty percent decline between 1970 and 1980.

Nevertheless, rehabilitation efforts are currently underway to upgrade the neighborhood. "It's an investment," notes one resident, and the investment is typically more than the purchase price of the structure. The residents of Franklin Park are determined to improve their residential holdings, and many of them are accomplishing the refurbishment under tremendous financial strain; that is, they are assuming bank loans at high interest rates. The nature and magnitude of this revitalization effort is accurately captured in a statement by Henderson Robinson, a board member of the Franklin Park Improvement Association:

> Change has been going on in this neighborhood for years, and it will continue . . . there are healthy signs, now people are moving in reclaiming the vacant and boarded up houses. The city, which ignored the area for some time, is beginning to respond to the neighborhood organizations and to put services on the same basis as in other neighborhood. (Bingle, 1978: 20)

Finally, the land use pattern is predominantly residential. Some industrial usage is concentrated on the neighborhood's eastern edge and

and commercial strips extend along Broad and Main Streets. Franklin Park has a large acreage of open space, including a park at its northeast corner. Not only does the park contain playground and recreation facilities, it also contains a conservatory that serves a community focal point. (CIP-19, 1976:13.10)

OLDE TOWNE EAST AND FRANKLIN PARK

Area History:

Olde Towne East and Franklin Park were first extensively developed during the three decades following the Civil War, a period of rapid growth for Columbus as a whole. The neighborhoods quickly assumed a strong middle-to-upper class residential character as development radiated from both sides of the major east-west arterials, namely Main Street, Long Street, Broad Street, and Bryden Road. Several sections along the latter two arterials emerged as exclusive residential enclaves for many of Columbus "first families," and the Franklin Park area became a favorite recreational spot for early Columbusites. (CIP-19, 1976:1.10)

By 1950, the housing stock which has served the middle class of the previous generations was old and had begun to show signs of deterioration. Encouraged by higher incomes, the mobility afforded by the automobile, and the prohibitive cost of building new central city housing the middle class began to leave these two neighborhoods in favor of the newer suburban enclaves at the city's fringe. The space vacated by these long-time residents was occupied by persons lower on the socioeconomic ladder.

In many respects, Olde Towne East and Franklin Park manifest

characteristics generally associated with a "zone of transition." That is, property values of these two neighborhoods began to decline rapidly and eventually became deteriorated and dilapidated. Further, as in other "transition zones," the invasion-succession sequence was evident as the area became increasingly occupied with members of minority groups, mostly Black.

Construction of the interstate highways during the 60's have a grave impact on the area. For example, the housing supply was reduced, the neighborhoods were isolated and/or separated from the surrounding areas and many of the remaining stable families were forced to relocate. As many middle class families continued to migrate to other neighborhoods in Columbus, the white population declined dramatically and by 1970, eighty percent of the area's residents were Black. (CIP-19, 1976: 1.10)

In recent years, several physical and social redevelopment programs have been targeted in these two neighborhoods. Olde Towne East Development Association and Franklin Park Association have been instrumental in the revitalization process. Through joint efforts, the neighborhood associations, in conjunction with the Ohio Historical Society and city planners, were successful in obtaining historical distinction for the neighborhoods. The application to the National Register of Historic Places was approved in 1978; included in the historic district is the entire Franklin Park area and part of Olde Towne East. Bingle provides a succinct yet vivid description of the district:

> Although a number of individual structures there are historic, the rationale for the district designation emanates from the historic character of the neighborhood as a whole . . . The structures are residential, with architectural features typical of turn-of-the-century styles; three story brick, stone or frame buildings with dormers, slate roofs, box-gutters, wide front porches, beveled glass windows and entrances, and a uniform raised setback along treelined streets. (1978:21)

Finally, both private monies and funds provided by the Model Cities Program and Community Development Act have added in the revitalization of these two central city neighborhoods.

The Life Cycle:

As one might expect, the life cycle pattern of Franklin Park is very similar to the life cycle pattern of Olde Towne East. The trends that were revealed in Table XIV are also expressed in Table XVII.

Franklin Park has also progressed through four stages of the neighborhood life cycle and is presently in an early stage of renewal; however, there are four noticeable differences between this neighborhood and Olde Towne East. First, Franklin Park developed at a later date than Olde Towne East; thus, the housing structures are not as old and consequently, the "downgrading" stage was not as severe. Secondly, the "thinning-out" stage of the life cycle, as reflected by the decline in the number of dwelling units between 1960 and 1970, was of a lower magnitude in Franklin Park (1.5 percent) than in Olde Towne East (5.9 percent).

Thirdly, the socio-economic status of Franklin Park's residents are generally higher than the residents of Olde Towne East; thus, there

is less reliance on public monies for rehabilitation. Finally, Franklin Park is located farther away from the CBD and has a lower level of density.

In summary, Franklin Park and Olde Towne East were both topologized in this analysis as being in an "early renewal" stage; however, since the housing stock of the former was not allowed to deteriorate as much as the housing of the latter, the rehabilitation process of these two adjacent neighborhoods are on different scales.

TABLE XIII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Franklin Park

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	8238	7315
Percent Non-white	0.82	0.46	27.7	83.5
Percent Black	--	--	--	83.8
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	2154	2641	2844	2801
Percent owner-occupied	32.5	35.0	26.5	22.3
Percent renter-occupied	63.2	63.3	63.7	64.0
Percent vacant	4.3	1.7	9.8	13.7
Average value of units	--	9350	13214	14711
*Adjusted value	--	(11158)	(12817)	(10873)
Average rental value of units	40.52	46.17	75.08	77.86
*Adjusted value	(83.03)	(55.10)	(72.82)	(57.55)
Housing units per acre	5.3	6.5	7.0	6.9
Percent overcrowded	1.1	1.9	10.2	8.5
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.2	3.0
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	13.4	7.8	6.0	2.6
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	22.6	10.7	88.1	100
Percent of units built 1899 or before	7.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	72.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	13.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	6.6	--	--	--

MOUNT VERNON PLAZA

Area Description:

The area now known as Mount Vernon Plaza consists of twenty five acres of land, chiefly of residential and commercial use, that is considered to be the key to redevelopment of the entire Model Cities area. The neighborhood is composed of five city blocks, is approximately two miles northeast of the CBD, and is bounded on the north by Atcheson Street, on the west by Monroe Avenue, on the south by Mount Vernon Avenue, and on the east by Twentheith Avenue. Mount Vernon Plaza comprises a "master block" in that no street crosses the entire area; therefore the neighborhood is as free as possible or used by residents because no traffic can penetrate its center. (Saunders, 1971:25) The neighborhood is, however, easily accessible by auto as well as by bus, particularly along its major traffic artery, Mount Vernon Avenue.

Substandard and deteriorated single family housing reflected the neighborhood's indigent residential character. As part of the Model Cities area, the Mount Vernon Urban Renewal Project has approximately 250 deteriorated dwelling units from the neighborhood that were structurally and environmentally, among the worst in the city. The project also provide for the construction of nearly 1500 housing units; about 200 of these units are in a series of townhouses whereas the remaining units are arranged in two groups of three-tower, highrise apartment structures situated on terraced parking areas. (Saunders, 1971:25) A final indication of the plaza's residential character is that about fifty-six percent of the 1970 housing units were rental.

Correlative to the neighborhood's housing conditions is its socio-economic composition. Approximately sixty percent of the families, predominantly Black, fall below the poverty level which strongly contrasts with the percentage for the city as a whole (about 10 percent). The area's median income and percentage of service workers are also reflective of its level of poverty. Specifically, the former falls about $6000 below the city average while the latter constitutes the main component of the labor force (35 percent). Thus, it appears that the housing problems of the Mount Vernon area is a function of the low socio-economic status of the resident population. In other words, the residents are not financially able to refurbish an aging housing stock.

Although some of the low income residents were displaced, the chief aim of the renewal program was to create a mixture of various income-level families. To accomplish this, a diversity of types and sizes of housing units are being constructed at various price ranges to accommodate the residential needs of such a social class mixture. Thus, with the undertaking and completion of the proposed housing units, there will be created a visual excitement testifying to the vigor and progressive spirit of the residents, and providing most importantly, a strong incentive to both owners and renters to rehabilitate and maintain their properties. (Saunders, 1971:26)

As alluded to earlier, the land use of primarily residential. Commercial establishments are located along Mount Vernon Avenue and the plaza's shopping center hopes to attract about 30 to 35 rental tenants.[13] Finally, the areas not used for buildings and parking will be landscaped and will include playgrounds, sitting areas, activity centers

and other facilities. (Saunders, 1971:11 and 25; Sherry, 1978:16)

Area History:

See "Area History" of Eastgate.

The Life Cycle:

The Mount Vernon Plaza area largely conforms to the neighborhood life cycle model proposed by Hoover and Vernon. Although it is difficult to precisely document the timing of each stage due to the paucity of data and the general age of the area, it appears from the "Area History" that the "residential development" and "transition" stages occurred between 1890 and the mid-1920's.

Similar to the neighborhoods within the Near South Side, the "downgrading" stage appears to coincide with the Great Depression. Evidence to support this point was the exodus of middle-class families and the number of deteriorated and dilapidated housing units. (See Table 4). This dismal period in Mount Vernon's life cycle lasted until about the mid-1960's and was succeeded by a "thinning-out" period. Support for the occurrence of this stage can be seen in the population and housing figures which indicate a fifty-one percent decline in population a thirty percent decline in the number of dwelling units, an increase in the percentage of vacancies and declining levels of densities.

Finally, the neighborhood is presently in an "intermediate" stage of renewal which is primarily a consequence of a large amount of public dollars made available by the Model Cities Program. Along with other municipal monies, the program has removed approximately 250 deteriorated housing units and has constructed nearly 1500 new units. This is also

consistent with the characteristics of the "renewal" stage posited by Hoover and Vernon, a large percentage of multi-family and renter-occupied housing units.

TABLE XIV

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Mount Vernon Plaza

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	1033	502
Percent Non-white	93.9	97.2	98.6	99.6
Percent Black	--	--	--	99.7
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	296	297	322	225
Percent owner-occupied	15.2	34.6	31.6	27.1
Percent renter-occupied	84.8	65.1	58.1	55.6
Percent vacant	0.0	0.30	10.3	17.3
Average value of units	--	6025	6300	9266
*Adjusted value	--	(7190)	(6111)	(6849)
Average rental value of units	16.85	25.77	62.80	56.21
*Adjusted value	(34.53)	(30.75)	(60.91)	(41.54)
Housing units per acre	11.8	11.9	12.9	9.0
Percent overcrowded	5.7	10.5	19.4	9.1
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.2	2.7
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	47.9	47.9	4.8	4.8
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	100	100	100	100
Percent of units built 1899 or before	45.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	50.3	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	4.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.0	--	--	--

EASTGATE

Area Description:

Located approximately two and one-half miles northeast of the CBD, Eastgate is a relatively young residential enclave that consists of about twenty city blocks. The neighborhood is bounded on the north by Maryland Avenue, on the west by Woodland Avenue, on the south by St. Menlo Place, Long Street and on the east by Nelson Road. The northern and eastern borders contribute to the neighborhood's low level of noise and congestion in that they permit through-traffic to completely bypass the area. In contrast to the tight "grid-pattern" street design of the older neighborhoods comprising the Model Cities Area, Eastgate has a modern well-designed network of minor streets which further disencourage through-traffic while permitting access to individual properties. (CIP-19, 1976:6-10)

A number of single-family housing units are scattered throughout Eastgate and the neighborhood is characterized by a good mixture of owners and renters. Unlike its western neighbor, Mount Vernon a large proportion of Eastgate's housing stock has been constructed since the mid-1950's; consequently, the units are predominantly new and structurally sound. Given the fact that only a small section of the neighborhood has units requiring minor repairs, Eastgate has not experienced the blightening and deteriorating influences of the surrounding area. The neighborhood has retained a strong residential character as well as an attractive ambience. (Saunders, 1971:11 and 13; (CIP-19, 1976:1.12)

The population of Eastgate is about eighty-five percent Black and

has been relatively stable compared to the rest of the Model Cities Area. The average yearly population increase of the neighborhood between 1960 and 1970 was approximately four percent while the Model Cities Area as a whole experienced more than a twenty-one percent loss of population. The socio-economic status of Eastgate's population is more characteristic of the city than the Model Cities Area. Eastgate is primarily a middle class, highly developed, residential neighborhood. Specifically, only about eleven percent of the families earn less than $4000 (the poverty level) and the neighborhood's median income is only about $300 lower than the city average. In addition, twenty-nine percent of the total labor force are employed in the sales and clerical occupations, about thirty-three percent are professionals and managers, and seventeen percent are service workers.

Finally, the land use activity is predominantly residential. The large residential lots of some residents permit more private property to be devoted to open space than other areas within the Model Cities Area/Near East Side. (CIP-19, 1976:3.10)

MOUNT VERNON PLAZA AND EASTGATE

Area History:

Mount Vernon is also within the Model Cities Area; thus, the neighborhood shares much of its history with Olde Town East and Franklin Park, though not as old and historic. The area now referred to as Mount Vernon Plaza began to emerge in the 1960's with the outward commercial and residential expansion from the major east-west arterials, principally along East Long Street. This development, as noted earlier, was stimulated by post-bellum expansion activities.

Mount Vernon supported a large Black population. In fact, it was virtually a "city" of Black residents within a larger city complete with Black stores, theaters, hotels, churches, and fraternal organizations. During the years of prosperity following World War I, this neighborhood became the center of the thriving Black Capitalism movement, and was referred to as "Bronzeville" by local residents. (CIP-19, 1976:1.10)

Notwithstanding, the housing stock began to deteriorate by the 1950's. The advent of the automobile permitted the middle class to leave the area for the newer suburban communities; Eastgate was one of these surburban enclaves. Eastgate developed at the extreme northeast section of the Near East Side and is one of the younger residential neighborhoods in Columbus. Since most of the housing structures were built about two decades ago, substandard and deteriorated conditions are not evident and very little public fundings has been used to improve the quality of the neighborhood. (CIP-19, 1976:1.10)

In summary, these two neighborhoods, although both are located with the Near East Side, emerged for different reasons. Mount Vernon emerged as a result of post-Civil War economic expansion while Eastgate emerged to accommodate the residential needs of a middle class fleeing an aging housing stock and the influx of lower income individuals.

The Life Cycle:

An examination of the data in Table XV suggests that changes have occurred in Eastgate; however, the latter stages of the neighborhood life cycle model have not materialized. In scanning this table, it becomes readily apparent that the major change occurring in the neighborhood involved its demographic make-up. More specifically, the percentage of housing units occupied by non-whites increased from 4.7 in 1950 to 96.4 in 1960, or from a predominantly white neighborhood to a predominantly black neighborhood. This "transition" stage was facilitated by the construction of a large number of apartments in the area which quickly altered the distribution of owner-renter occupancy. Also congruent with this stage of "transition" was the neighborhood's increasing population and housing densities.

In summary, Eastgate passed through the "residential development" stage from 1920 to 1930 and, to a smaller extent, from the 1930's to the 1940's. The "transition" stage occurred from 1950 to 1970 followed by a period of stability. Thus, contrary to the life cycle model proposed by Hoover and Vernon, the invasion of minorities into the neighborhood has not initiated the latter stages of the model.

TABLE XV

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Eastgate

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	2545	2645
Percent Non-white	6.6	4.7	96.4	94.2
Percent Black	--	--	--	95.0
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	199	320	711	953
Percent owner-occupied	55.8	76.6	47.7	40.0
Percent renter-occupied	36.2	22.2	49.8	55.8
Percent vacant	8.0	1.2	3.1	4.2
Average value of units	--	12363	16618	20451
*Adjusted value	--	(14753)	(16118)	(15115)
Average rental value of units	50.16	38.60**	75.40	83.14
*Adjusted value	(102.79)	(46.06)	(73.13)	(61.45)
Housing units per acre	1.0	1.6	3.6	4.8
Percent overcrowded	0.55	0.32	2.9	4.5
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.7	2.9
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	3.8	2.5	0.0	0.32
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	11.1	4.5	80.0	95.2
Percent of units built 1899 or before	2.2	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	17.5	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	62.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	17.5	--	--	--

**Only five city blocks were reported

DRIVING PARK

Area Description:

Once characterized as a strong Jewish Community, Driving Park is a predominantly Black, thriving and viable residential enclave located approximately two miles southeast of the CBD. The neighborhood, composed of about seventy city blocks, is bounded on the north by Interstate 70, on the west by Studer Avenue, on the south by Whitter Avenue and on the east by Nelson Road. These boundaries adequately define Driving Park without creating significant adverse impacts on neighborhood quality while concurrently permitting easy access to the area by auto or bus.

The character of residential development in Driving Park is reflected in the predominance of one and two unit single family housing structures. Approximately forty-three percent of these housing units were built between 1920 and 1929 which constituted the neighborhood's period of intense development. A further expression of Driving Park's residential character is that more than fifty-five percent of all housing units are owner-occupied which is above the average for the city. Also, the neighborhood exhibits a low rate of housing vacancies (less than four percent) and the existing structures display a low degree of substandard deterioration.

A salient characteristic of Driving Park lies in the present racial composition. In 1960, statistics indicated that the number of neighborhood blocks occupied by Blacks was roughly twenty-two percent, however, in 1970 this percentage rose to ninety-seven percent of the total

number of neighborhood residents in 1970 and today, its estimated that this figure has increased by fifteen percentage point. (See Table XVI).

The Driving Park Commission, the voice of the residents purports that this racial transition was not a conscious activity to integrate the area but simply an opportunity to move into a better neighborhood. The Commission further contends that block busting, in the traditional usage of the term, was not occurring in Driving Park but that the age of long-term residents was a more important factor in the outmigration of whites than the in movement of Blacks. Thus, a component of the resident's life cycle, the "empty nest," was the chief determinant of "white flight" as suggested by the following statement: "people were anxious to sell because homes were too large to maintain." (Foster, 1981a:7)

Finally, the land use pattern of Driving Park is predominantly low density residential with a major commercial strip (Livingston Avenue) transversing its center. (CIP-22, 1977:9)

Area History:

Similar to other neighborhoods on Columbus' Near South Side, Driving Park was initially settled by members of the working class, probably of European origin, who came seeking employment in the nearly factories and industries. However, the neighborhood was not developed as early as other southside communities (German Village, Reeb-Hosack and Livingston Park) as manifested by the fact that less than two percent of its housing structures were built prior to 1900. (See Table

XVI)

In early 1900's, Driving Park was one of the chief recreational attractions in Columbus. One local resident, Warren Pate, a retired labor representative for the Ohio AFL-CIO, remembers his trips to Driving Park every Sunday to partake of the amusement rides and watch a variety of races. The Park featured buggy and auto races in addition to the "new-fangled flying machines" that demonstrated dives, flips, and turns. (Foster, 1981 a:6) The races attracted quite a few Columbusites including World War I hero, Eddie Rickenbacker, who raced the Driving Park course many times during his successful career as a race driver before going on to fame as an aviator. (Condon, 1977:87)

Homes began to replace the summer cottages and race tracks in the 1920's, and in a few years, the recreational park was just a memory. (Foster, 1981 a:6) As alluded to earlier, block statistics reveal that about 43 percent of the housing structures were built during this time period. The residents of the neighborhood were mostly Jewish until Blacks began purchasing homes in the late 1950's; Blacks now constitute about 90 percent of the population.

Finally, the community is bifurcated by Livingston Avenue into two distinct areas. Its southern portion is composed largely of homeowners while its northern portion has more renters as well as more substandard and vacant housing. (Foster, 1981 a:6) However, the neighborhood's very active commission is working diligently to alleviate this problem and is very instrumental in facilitating the recent renewal activities in the area.

The Life Cycle:

The neighborhood life cycle model is difficult to document in Driving Park because the stage-specific characteristics do not appear to support Hoover and Vernon's hypotheses.

Based on a block by block examination of the type of residential construction in the area, it's apparent that the "residential development" stage occurred between 1900 and 1920 while "transition" stage occurred primarily between 1920 and 1930. The tenuous nature of the difference between these stages is also equally apparent as reflected by an overlap of construction types.

Compared to the other inner-city neighborhoods, Driving Park experienced a significantly higher amount of residential construction during the Depression years. The Area continued to grow during the 1940's in the form of a predominance of single family dwelling structures.

In scanning Table XVI, it's obvious that a major racial transition occurred in Driving Park between 1960 and 1970. Although this type of demographic shift is usually associated with the "downgrading" stage, there is little evidence to support the emergence of this stage. The fact that the socio-economic status of an outgoing Jewis population probably masked the visible effects characteristic of the "downgrading" stage. However, evidence of downgrading is discernible upon an examination of the neighborhood property values. Since 1950, the property values of Driving Park have declined by forty-eight percent but have remained relatively stable over the past five years. A final indication of the occurrence of a "downgrading" trend, in retrospect, is the

number of housing structures that are presently being rehabilitated.

In summary, it appears that Driving Park has progressed through the stages of the neighborhood life cycle model. The "thinning-out" stage may be occurring concurrently with the "renewal" stage; however, the latter is more salient as manifested by the rehabilitating of housing units, the general improvements in the area, the "gentrification" around its borders and the efforts of the Driving Park Commission.

TABLE XVI

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Driving Park

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	7432	7788
Percent Non-white	1.7	1.9	7.1	69.4
Percent Black	--	--	--	74.7
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	1674	2193	2561	2543
Percent owner-occupied	49.3	62.9	57.8	52.0
Percent renter-occupied	47.6	36.6	38.0	43.4
Percent vacant	3.1	0.5	4.2	4.6
Average value of units	--	9485	12700	14235
*Adjusted value	--	(11319)	(12318)	(10521)
Average rental value of units	40.70	43.57	75.78	81.46
*Adjusted value	(83.40)	(51.99)	(73.50)	(60.21)
Housing units per acre	5.2	5.3	6.2	6.1
Percent overcrowded	0.24	0.27	5.2	8.4
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.0	3.2
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	5.1	1.3	0.37	0.91
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	1.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built 1899 or before	1.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	32.8	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	43.3	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	22.3	--	--	--

GERMAN VILLAGE

Area Description:

Restored in the tradition of its original settlers, German Village is a thriving, historic neighborhood immediately adjacent to the southern boundary of the CBD. It is therefore possible for some residents to walk to their place of employment. For those residents in the central and southern areas of the village, regular bus service along High Street provides easy access to this major employment center.

The neighborhood consists of 233 acres of land, or approximately 100 city blocks, and is bounded on the north by Livingston Avenue, on the west by South High Street, on the south by Thurman Avenue, and on the east by Grant Avenue/Jaeger Street. The predominant theme advanced by the residents for determining these boundaries centered around architecture: "There's a difference in the architecture. It changes from red brick in this neighborhood to frame buildings on the south and east. To the north and west the buildings are larger, commercial structures are not the same size of architecture." The amount of remodeling, the level of maintenance, changes in the width and surface of the streets, and changes in racial and ethnic composition were also noted by the residents in their identification of the above-given neighborhood boundaries. (Sims, 1976:89)

Most of the housing structures in the Village are quite small, particularly in the northern and western parts of the area where one-and-a-half and two story, four-room units are common. Many of these buildings were of brick construction, with steeply pitched slate roofs,

and dated back to the mid-nineteenth century.

Further, these housing units were usually accented with carved limestone steps and lintels, window boxes overflowing with geraniums and graceful wrought-iron fences. (Campen, 1978:7; Harris, 1976:25)

Surprisingly, there is virtually no Greek Revival architecture, Italianate villa or Gothic Styles in the Village. This is of interest because the development of German Village coincided with the time period in which these classic revival styles were sweeping the country. What is characteristic of German Village, however, are:

> " . . . the solid, unpretentious, vernacular dwellings - often cottages - of frugal tradesmen and factory workers adhering to old-world precedent and strongly favoring brick and stone as building materials. The Village as a whole, as well as these modest, individual houses derive their present-day charm from the inherent good proportion and scale, uniformly exhibited; from the residual, built-in intimacy of the neighborhood enhanced by its grid of wooded thoroughfares and diminutive alleys; from the well-cared-for gardens where grape-arbors and vegetables formerly flourished; and finally, from the vestigial, urban amenities including particularly, the patterned brick sidewalks, stone fenceposts and metal fencing - preserved and emulated to this day." (Campen, 1978:30)

Thus, one does not find the classic revival type architecture in the Village but one does find a residential enclave-harking back to Germanic tradition-which through its forms, and its scale achieves a neighborliness which is so often missing in the urban environment.

For reasons to be discussed in the "Area History", the population of German Village has been declining for the last thirty years. The Village experienced a twenty-eight percent decline in population between 1960 and 1970 while the city as a whole claimed a population

increase of nearly two percent. The area's German population has also been declining, however, the area still maintains a larger German population than the city as a whole.

By refurbishing the deteriorated housing and upgrading the overall quality of the neighborhood, the residents have taken steps to reverse this trend or at least slow down the process. The Village has begun to attract professional people, young married couples, singles and also retirees. Comparatively few of the residents who have participated in the renaissance are families with children for, among other reasons, the neighborhood's small, brick homes seldom provide the space needed for such a life style. However, the Village does have great appeal for young working couples not ready to undertake a family of procreation. (Campen, 1978:18)

The occupations of these new urban dwellers are many and varied. Among these occupations are doctors, librarians, architects, antique dealers, editors, restorations and art dealers. Further, the Village's socio-economic composition indicates that it is very near the city average on the relevant dimensions, namely education, occupation and income. (Campen, 1978:18; Berry, 1979:102-104)

The land use pattern of German Village is chiefly residential with shops intermixed among the housing units. This pattern is the result of the Village emerging as a walking community where local merchants and artisans were also neighbors; thrift was a way of life. (Campen, 1978:7)

Finally, German Village has a twenty-three acre recreational facility, Schiller Park.

Area History:

In 1814, the area now known as German Village was originally platted as South Columbus. The first German to come to Columbus appears to have been Christian Heyl, a baker, in 1812. However, it was not until the 1840's and 1950's, a time of political upheavel in their homeland, that a large number of German's came to America, including Columbus. Early arrivals in the 1830's (Brucks, Reinhards, Jaegars, Ambo's and Heinmillers) proposed which encouraged many immigrants to follow.

The Germans tended to settle south of Livingston Avenue and east of High Street and began to build a neighborhood that reflected the old country as much as possible. Their small brick houses clustered on narrow lots close to the streets, with compact, well-planned gardens and grape arbors in the backyards. The German community soon became Columbus' most distinctive neighborhood, known for hard work, thrift and dependability. (Arter, 1979:74; Campen, 1978:7 and 20)

By 1960, German Village was one of Columbus' finer slums, with much of its area being in an advanced state of decay. For over four decades, beginning with the dispersal of the original German element following World War I and The Prohibition Amendment which closed the breweries (1919), German Village had been in a swift decline. The advent of the auto, the loss of employment in the immediate area, and changing patterns of urban development which made it desirable to reside further away from the urban core resulted in the exodus of many village residents to the fringe areas. Thus, the deteriorating housing stock of the neighborhood was left for occupancy by the "lowest and

most disadvantaged elements of society" who had neither the means, nor the will to properly maintain it. Given these conditions, property values deteriorated precipitiously and the northern half became a veritable slum. (Campen, 1978:9-10)

In order to reverse this dismal decline, a few individuals with a dream formed the German Village Society in 1960, and began to restore both houses and a spirit of community pride. Frank Fetch, a former Superintendent of Columbus Parks, was instrumental in this completely privately financed neighborhood restoration. In less than a decade, more than 300 village houses had been largely or wholly restored. From a neighborhood of neglect and decay, German Village has become one of the most desired residential areas in the city and in 1974, it was placed in The National Register of Historic Places.

This refurbishment has given the Village national recognition and it attracts visitors by the thousands. Year-round tours, as many as 100 in a week, are conducted by the Society and annual affairs like the "Haus and Garten tour" attracts nearly 5000. (Arter, 1969:74)

The Life Cycle:

A perusal of the data in Table XVII suggests a neighborhood undergoing the final stages of its cycle. It's apparent that the Village experienced the "residential development" stage prior to 1899 which is consistent with the literature cited in the "Area History." To be specific, this development began in the early 1820's and continued to about 1870.

Since the progressive of German Village through the life cycle

stages antedated block statistics, statistical documentation of the earlier stages will be drawn from the work of Berry (1979). Employing a plethora of data sources, Berry argued that the "residential development" and "transition" stages occurred roughly between the mid-1830's and the early 1960's. (Berry, 1979:139) Thus, in light of the preceding, Table XVII should reflect the end of the "downgrading" stage, the "thinning-out" stage and the "renewal" stage.

Concerning the former, the data do support a "downgrading" trend as reflected by a ten percent increase in the number of housing units due to the subdivision of existing structures and increasing levels of denstiy. Further support for this point can be found in Table 1 in the form of the Village's large percentage of deteriorated housing units in 1960; sixty-one percent of the units were of substandard quality.

It appears that the latter two stages, "thinning-out" and "renewal", have been occurring simultaneously which is, in part, due to the fact that renewal has occurred in the private sector and not the public sector. This period of the Village's life cycle is evident by a decline in the number of dwelling units, an increase in the number of vacancies, declining densities, an increase in the adjusted value of the housing stock and a reversal of declining property values. A salient trend of the latter is that the property values of the area were in a continual state of decline until the mid-1960's; however, from 1966 and 1980, the property values have increased at an average annual rate of 4.4 percent.

In summary, German Village is at the "advanced-renewal" stage of its life cycle.

TABLE XVII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for German Village

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	6356	4593
Percent Non-white	0.10	0.18	0.19	0.10
Percent Black	--	--	--	0.12
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	2038	2206	2247	2162
Percent owner-occupied	31.5	36.7	35.2	31.0
Percent renter-occupied	65.4	61.7	60.2	62.6
Percent vacant	3.1	1.6	4.6	6.4
Average value of units	--	5736	8254	14549
*Adjusted value	--	(6845)	(8006)	(10753)
Average rental value of units	21.20	30.65	57.47	86.81
*Adjusted value	(43.44)	(36.58)	(55.74)	(64.16)
Housing units per acre	8.8	9.5	9.6	9.3
Percent overcrowded	4.8	4.9	14.3	4.6
Average number of persons per unit	3.4**	3.1**	2.8	2.1
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	32.3	24.4	3.4	5.1
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	2.4	4.7	4.4	2.8
Percent of units built 1899 or before	74.4	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	21.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	3.3	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	0.6	--	--	--

**Obtained from (Berry, 1979:97).

LIVINGSTON PARK

Area Description:

An article entitled "Livingston Park Becomes A Real Neighborhood" appeared in a March 1980 issue of The Southern Light. Similar to the formation of Hungarian Village, the residents of this area organized for purposes of "promoting the rehabilitation, development and upkeep of properties and buildings." They defined the boundaries of Livingston Park as follows:

North:	Mooberry Street
West:	Parsons Avenue
South:	Columbus Street
East:	Gilbert Avenue

These boundaries, according to residents, accent the good points of the neighborhood such as convenience to downtown, near original condition homes, a nationally known Children's Hospital, and a lot of "fine, honest, concerned" people who have lived in the area of 20 to 30 years.

There is a close association between the neighborhood and Children's Hospital. The Hospital Planning Coordinator has assured the neighborhood organization that it will always have a meeting place at Timken Hall and has offered assistance with typing, printing, mailing, publicity and promotions. Further, a newsletter is mailed to each resident and the Hospital's parking lot is used for flea markets to aid in home improvements. (Lutsch, 1980:1 and 4); Livingston Park Neighborhood; 1980:1) This greatly contributes to the neighhorliness of the area while simultaneously providing an opportunity for the residents to become more acquainted, especially neighbors, to attack a major neighborhood problem, security.

The residential development of Livingston Park is manifested by its predominance of one and two unit single family housing structures. The oldest houses are small and primarily of frame construction. Owing to the fact that about eighty-five percent of the neighborhood's housing stock were constructed prior to 1920, the rehabilitation of deteriorated structures is a major concern of residents in Livingston Park. "Unkept houses, undesirable buildings, absentee landlords . . ." as well as "trash and rats" constitute important issues around which the neighborhood association is focusing its attention and action. (Area Plan-33, 1974:8; Block Statistics, 1940)

Thus, current efforts are underway to repair and restore the neighborhood housing stock in conjunction with other improvements. Residents are determined to extricate the negative "east of Parsons" image and recognize the neighborhood's potential in terms of its development; a recent sign erected by City Recreation and Parks designating the park area, "Livingston Park", is only a beginning.

Finally, the land use activity in Livingston Park is predominantly low density with a major commercial strip transversing its center, Livingston Avenue. As alluded to earlier, institutional and recreational land uses also exist in the area. (Area Plan-33, 1974:8)

Area History:

About 150 years ago, the 138 acre tract now referred to as Livingston Park Neighborhood constituted a fringe area at the southeast edge of Columbus. There was virtually no housing in the area at this time and the present location of the neighborhood park served as a cemetery

for the city. In 1847, the tract from Livingston Avenue to Columbus Street and Parsons Avenue was plotted; however, an 1872 city map indicated only a few housing structures in the neighborhood as it exists today. The map also revealed that the latter two traffic arteries were referred to as "McClellan Street" and "Groveport Pike," respectively. (Livingston Park Notice, 1981:1)

The chief development of Livingston Park occurred between 1900 and 1919. Block statistics disclose that only about six percent of the housing structures were built before 1899 while a whopping seventy-five percent were built between the turn of the century and 1920. (See Table XVIII) Most of these structures were single family one and two unit structures that reflected the residential needs of a working class community. Many of the housing units are very similar to the original units, some even with the same hedges and same residents.

Block data also reveal that Blacks began moving into the neighborhood during the 1960's and in 1970, they constituted about forty-two percent of the total population. Presently, both Blacks and whites, in the neighborhood are working jointly to upgrade some of the substandard housing and improve its overall quality. Since Livingston Park does not qualify for federal aid or CDA funds, the revitalization of the neighborhood is privately funded and this is not occurring as fast as in other neighborhoods which qualify for federal improvement assistance.

In summary, Livingston Park is a viable southside neighborhood that is presently being upgraded and its active civic organization is a key to its future development.

The Life Cycle:

Livingston Park provide general support for the Hoover and Vernon model of neighborhood change. Table XVIII suggests that the "residential development" and "transition" stages were completed within a twenty year period; seventy-five percent of the neighborhood housing stock was built between the turn of the century and 1920.

It appears that the "downgrading" stage of Livingston Park was not as severe as the "east of Parsons" image conveys, unless of course, most of the deterioration occurred between 1960 and 1970. Table XVIII indicates only a small increase in the number of dwelling units between 1940 and 1960 and Table 4 shows that the percentage of deteriorated units in the neighborhood is below the city average. Regardless of the severity, it's apparent that the "downgrading" stage did occur as manifested by the presence of characteristics usually associated with this stage. That is, there was an increase in the percentage of minorities (Blacks), an increase in the level of density and little residential construction. Additional support for the existence of this stage can be found in the "Area Description."

The "thinning-out" stage presently characterizes the Livingston Park area. Note that between 1960 and 1970, the neighborhood experienced a thirty-seven percent decline in the number of dwelling units. The increased number of vacancies and declining densities are also usually associated with this stage of the life cycle.

In summary, Livingston Park is experiencing the final steps of its life cycle. Its transition from this stage of the "renewal" stage is highly probable based upon the rehabilitation of a few housing

structures, the influence of its southside neighbor, German Village, and the recent formation of the Livingston Park Neighborhood Organization whose expressed purpose is to promote the "rehabilitation, development and upkeep of properties and buildings."

TABLE XVIII

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Livingston Park

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	3935	2521
Percent Non-white	10.6	9.8	14.5	34.9
Percent Black	--	--	--	42.0
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	1090	1179	1156	730
Percent owner-occupied	35.0	46.3	40.5	38.6
Percent renter-occupied	61.2	52.2	53.9	52.7
Percent vacant	3.8	1.5	5.6	8.7
Average value of units	--	6202	9655	10950
*Adjusted value	--	(7401)	(9365)	(8093)
Average rental value of units	25.41	32.54	65.56	75.57
*Adjusted value	(52.07)	(38.83)	(63.59)	(55.85)
Housing units per acre	7.9	8.5	8.3	5.3
Percent overcrowded	2.2	2.9	12.7	11.8
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.6	3.6
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	24.6	14.3	0.97	0.94
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	32.2	25.8	65.4	84.6
Percent of units built 1899 or before	6.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	75.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	17.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	1.1	--	--	--

HUNGARIAN VILLAGE

Area Description:

Hungerian Village is a small residential enclave that is located approximately two miles south of the CBD. The Village consists of about twenty-five city blocks and is bounded on the north by Markison Street, on the west by South Fourth Street, on the south by Woodrow Avenue and on the east by Ann Street. The boundaries are incorporated into the cognitive models of the residents and were officially defined at the first public meeting of the Hungarian Village Society. (Lutsch, 1979:1)

Unlike its northern neighbor - German Village, Hungarian Village is not identified by its distinctive architecture nor a predominance of small brick housing structures. The housing stock of the Village consists chiefly of small doubles and duplexes of frame construction. These units were originally built to accommodate the residential needs of workers from the factories, steel mills and slaughterhouses near the area. Grapevines, garlic, dill, sage, and chicory can still be found in the backyards of the residences which is a reminder of a former way of life when the backyards were once used to grow the family vegetables.

Notwithstanding, housing is a major concern for the residents in that the above-mentioned boundaries encompass a concentrated area in need or repairs and upgrading of property. In fact, the primary reason for the formation of the Hungarian Village Society was to "control further deterioration" which suggests that efforts are underway to

revitalize the area. Recently, the Village designated as a historic district and a few Hungarian families have returned to fixup and restore the structurally sound housing stock. A final indication of the residential character of Village is its near equal distribution of owner and renter housing units, fifty and forty-eight percent, respectively. (Lutsch, 1979:1)

Finally, the land use pattern in Hungarian Village is primarily residential with scattered neighborhood-oriented commercial development located at the intersection of secondary streets. Also, the Village has a park-Barack-for the recreational enjoyment of local residents. (CIP-22, 1977:1.10 and 13.12)

Area History:

The area now known as Hungarian Village was initially settled at the turn of the century by European immigrants who came seeking employment in the steel mills south of Reeb-Hosack: (CIP-22, 1977:1.10) Another wave of immigrants came to the Village just before World War I and became very active in the community, particularly the church. The Protestant Hungarians formed the Hungarian United Church of Christ at Washington and Woodrow Avenues while the Catholic Hungarians joined a congregation known as St. Ladislas on Reeb Avenue.

Following World War II, many of the younger members of Hungarian families moved to other areas of Columbus as well as to other U.S. cities. The resultant immigration of Appalachian whites and other low income residents into the Village had a deleterious effect on the housing stock. These incoming residents had neither the means or the

inclination to maintain and/or refurbish an aging housing stock.

With the move to condemn the area immediately south of the Village and the reality of the Reeb-Hosack Planning Committee, the citizens of the Hungarian Village Neighborhood decided to form a civic organization for purposes of protecting the residential area. There was a need in the Village to preserve the housing stock, to reverse deterioration, and to take advantage of available resources to rehabilitate the area. In addition to rehabilitating the housing structures, other improvements in the Village have included new street lights, surfaced alleys, resurfaced streets and tree planting. The Hungarian Village Society facilitated the implementation of these capital improvements.

Finally, dreams of Hungarian bakeries; selling kiflis and kolach, sausage shops, sidewalk cafes, and coffee/pantry shops are very much alive in the Village. Residents are also planning to construct arches and divided entrances to the Village, Hungarian-style facades, and a hall of Hungarian cultured activities. (Lutsch, 1979:1)

The Life Cycle:

A block by block examination of the construction of housing units in Hungarian Village suggests that the "residential development" and "transition" stages generally occurred together with Table XIX reveals the occurrence of both stages between 1900 and 1930.

It's unclear whether the above-two stages were followed by a period of relative stability or a reduced version of the "downgrading" stage. Nonetheless, the Village entered the latter stage at least by 1960 and endured until a "thinning" occurred in the late 1960's. The data for

1950 fail to indicate this trend due to the apparent removal of rental units occuring in the blocks comprising Census Tracts 60 and 61. However, characteristics usually associated with this life cycle stage - "downgrading" began to appear in 1960. That is, there was a decrease in the number of owner-occupied units, a slight increase in density and an immigration of Appalachian whites and other low income residents into the area. Further, the formation of the Hungarina Village Society "to control further deterioration" also suggest the past existence of a "downgrading" period.

Closely connected with the "downgrading" stage was the emergence of a "thinning-out" stage, as reflected by a ten percent decline in the number of housing units. Also, an increase in the percentage of vacancies and a decline in the level of density occurred which provide additional support for the presence of this stage.

In summary, Hungarian Village is in the final stages of the life cycle. Its' transition to the renewal stage is likely; however, it may not be that quickly due to the area's dependence on CDA funds.

TABLE XIX

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Hungarian Village

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	2688	2435
Percent Non-white	0.79	0.90	0.72	0.78
Percent Black	--	--	--	1.1
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	891	782	844	814
Percent owner-occupied	44.3	61.5	57.6	50.6
Percent renter-occupied	54.7	37.9	40.8	46.2
Percent vacant	1.0	0.64	1.7	3.2
Average value of units	--	6657	9558	11042
*Adjusted value	--	(7944)	(9300)	(8161)
Average rental value of units	25.86	34.55	66.54	75.62
*Adjusted value	(52.99)	(41.23)	(64.54)	(55.89)
Housing units per acre	9.4	8.2	8.9	8.6
Percent overcrowded	3.4	3.9	9.8	7.9
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.2	3.1
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	22.2	14.3	1.1	1.5
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	12.5	16.7	17.4	16.7
Percent of units built 1899 or before	2.2	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	53.9	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	41.1	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	2.8	--	--	--

REEB-HOSACK

Area Description:

Reeb-Hosack is a low-to-moderate income residential neighborhood that is located approximately two and one-half miles south of CBD. The area consists of about thirty-five city blocks and is bounded on the west by South High Street, on the south by Pennsylvania-Central railroad and on the east by Parsons Avenue. The northern border is less defined, but is generally thought of a lying between Innis Avenue and Woodrow Avenue; the latter boundary is used in this analysis. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:3)

Housing in the neighborhood was built in typical midwest American tradition of wooden frame on single lots (3' x 130'). The style of housing was somewhat the combination of the earlier Queen Anne style with that of the turn of the century colonial revival. The fact that most of these housing units were constructed between 1890 and 1920 creates a major environmental concern for area residents. In 1973, a neighborhood survey revealed that twenty-nine percent of the housing units had major deficiencies or were dilapidated, forty-two percent had minor deficiencies, and twelve percent of the units were overcrowded. Factors contributing to deteriorated housing included: inappropriate zoning, poverty, inadequate landlord - tenant relationship, neglect on the part of some owners and government. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:10)

In spite of these factors, there has been investment in the neighborhood. For example, during the period 1969-1974, about $80,000 were

invested in social and institutional structures, $325,000 were invested in residential structures, and $400,000 were invested in commercial and industrial structures. This investment was solely the action of the private sector since the neighborhood's application for Neighborhood Development Programs Funds was not accepted. Further, the subsequent moratorium on federal housing subsides made it impossible to reconsider the application. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:5 and 21)

A final reflection of Reeb-Hosack's residential character is its high cost of housing for renters. Fifty-six percent of the neighborhood's housing stock consists of rental units and eighty-five percent of all renters pay more than one-forth of their incomes for rent. This ratio (3.1) of income to rent is too high and since the burden of rental payments falls on the lowest income families, the supply of decent housing, at costs residents can afford, must be increased. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:20-21)

The population of Reeb-Hosack declined twenty-two percent between 1960 and 1970. This loss of population can probably be attributed to the expansion of commercial-industrial use, abandonment and demolition of housing units and the failure to replace absolete housing structures. The age differential characterizing the migrants may have adverse effects on the neighborhood by altering its population structure. Specifically, there has been a serious decline in population aged 20-54 and a relative increase in the elderly population and children aged 10-19. Thus, the dependency ratio of Reeb-Hosack is increasing while the neighborhood is undergoing rehabilitation. Unless the refurbishment to date attract the "active" population back to the area, the

neighborhood may quickly, in terms of a life cycle, return to the downgrading stage.

The racial composition of the neighborhood has remained relatively stable over the past 20 years with Blacks constituting about seventy-one percent of the population in 1970. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:10)

Finally, land use pattern of Reeb-Hosack is residential with mixed commercial (small stores) and institutional uses. Commercial strips stretch along the eastern and western borders (Parsons Avenue and High Street, respectively) of the neighborhood while industrial use is concentrated in the southern section. Reeb-Hosack also has a park, S.E. Lions Park, for the recreational enjoyment of its residents.

Area History:

Formerly known as "Steelton," Reeb-Hosack was settled primarily during the latter part of the 1800's by European immigrants who came seeking employment in the steel mills south of the railroad. Among the original settlers of the area were G.S. Innis, Adam Reeb, Charles Hosack and William Merion. To honor these pioneers, their names were used as nomenclatures for streets in the neighborhood.

In 1899, a group of Methodist women started South Side Settlement on Barthman Avenue to provide "Americanization" services to the immigrants of the area. Activities such as cooking, sewing, citizenship classes, and child care were attended by people of several nationalities whose influence can still be seen today. Descendants of some of these families continue to reside in the neighborhood.

As stated earlier, housing in the Reeb-Hosack area (1890-1920)

was built in the characteristic American midwestern tradition of wooden frame on single lots. The style of housing was a mixture of Queen Anne style and the "turn of the century" colonial revival. Many of the housing elements (doors, window, brackets, etc.) that are on the structures appear in 1900 reprints of Sears Roebuck and Montogomery Wards catalogues. Most of these housing units were built for speculation by developers for the new housing market for that time. Specifically, they were generally built a few at a time and each unit was usually a double that provided a long and narrow living residence, with gardens in the back.

During and after World War I, the area continued to be an attraction for employment in the steel mills as Blacks moved into the neighborhood. The Appalachian whites began to migrate into the area following World War II and today the neighborhood is a heterogeneous mixture of Appalachian whites, southern Blacks and European ethnics. (Reeb-Hosack Plan, 1974:3)

The Life Cycle:

Within the last two decades, Reeb-Hosack appears to have entered the "thinning-out" stage of the neighborhood life cycle and has remained in this stage for an uncharacteristic extended period of time.

The "residential development" stage occurred between 1900 and 1920 as reflected by the large porportion of housing units built during this time period. The "transition" stage, if it emerged, occurred during the latter part of this period and to a small extent in the 1920's.

Although the percentage of owner occupants increased between 1940

and 1960, other indicators suggest that Reeb-Hosack entered the "downgrading" stage in the 1940's. For example, there was little residential construction, a high percentage of overcrowded and deteriorated/dilapidated housing units (Tables 3 and 4) and the influx of southern Blacks and Appalachian whites into the area.

Following the "downgrading" stage, Reeb-Hosack began its "thinning-out" period as manifested by a decrease in the number of housing units, an increase in the percentage of vacancies, and a decline in population and density. Since the mid-1970's it appears that this stage has been occurring simultaneously with the "renewal" stage. This is reflected by the continual decline in the neighborhood property values between 1956 and 1972 which was followed by a leveling off period between 1972 and 1978; presently, the property values are in another period of decline. Specifically, the average yearly rate of property value decline between 1956 and 1972 was 5.1 percent while the average yearly rate of decline in property values over the past three years has been 3.8 percent.

Finally, while private rehabilitation (both residential and commercial) has occurred, the "thinning-out" stage appears more characteristic of Reeb-Hosack than the "renewal stage."

TABLE XX

Population, Housing and Density Characteristics for

Reeb-Hosack

Population Characteristics	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total Population	--	--	4254	3312
Percent Non-white	13.6	14.9	20.9	16.9
Percent Black	--	--	--	17.2
Housing and Density Characteristics				
Total Dwelling Units	1218	1386	1236	1113
Percent owner-occupied	25.2	37.7	37.2	34.7
Percent renter-occupied	72.2	61.2	58.7	57.5
Percent vacant	2.6	1.1	4.1	7.8
Average value of units	--	5161	7822	9467
*Adjusted value	--	(6159)	(7587)	(6997)
Average rental value of units	18.23	27.78	58.39	67.40
*Adjusted value	(37.36)	(33.15)	(56.63)	(49.82)
Housing units per acre	8.1	9.2	8.2	7.4
Percent overcrowded	10.4	10.7	19.6	13.8
Average number of persons per unit	--	--	3.6	3.2
Percent of units that lack adequate plumbing	10.4	12.2	4.9	9.8
Percent of neighborhood blocks occupied by non-white	50.0	61.4	60.5	81.2
Percent of units built 1899 or before	9.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1900 - 1919	75.7	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1920 - 1929	13.6	--	--	--
Percent of units built between 1930 - 1939	1.0	--	--	--

Discussion and Summary:

The foregoing analysis was an attempt to test Hoover and Vernon's model of neighborhood change. General support was found for the model even though it was clear that all of the neighborhoods did not manifest a life cycle pattern and/or exhibit characteristics associated with the sequential progression posited by these two economists. However, even a superficial familiarity with urban area differentiation makes one realize that not all neighborhoods pass through all of the life cycle stages. Hoover and Vernon were also aware of this possibility, as indicated by the following remark: ". . . some fortunate areas have been able to stabilize their character short of the 'downgrading' stage, or even short of the apartment-transition, in many instances by strongly supported zoning." (1962:198) Three neighborhoods in this investigation were characterized as being in a 'stable' stage.

Because of the early date of settlement of the neighborhood in this study, all had surpassed the early stages of the life cycle and were presently experiencing the latter stages. This being the case, the researcher trifurcated the 'renewal' stage into 'early-renewal', 'intermediate-renewal' and 'advanced-renewal' to provide a more exact indication of the neighborhood's degree of progress in the fifth and final hypothesized stage of Hoover and Vernon's model.

In addition to block statistics, information obtained from the neighborhood informants, as well as from the various divisions of the Columbus Department of Development, permitted such a division of the 'renewal' stage. Tarvis, writing in a similar vein concerning the 'gentrification' of historic neighborhoods, also trichotomized the

'renewal' stage; however, he preferred to use the categories 'pre-rehabilitation', 'early rehabilitation' and 'advanced rehabilitation' (O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:55). Since Travis' 'pre-rehabilitation' stage was basically a combination of Hoover and Vernon's 'downgrading' and 'thinning-out' stages, the researcher's division of the 'renewal' stage provided a more precise examination of the latter stages of the life-cycle model.

Upon partitioning the 'renewal' stage into three phases, eight neighborhoods were classified as being in an 'early-renewal' stage, three were considered to be in an 'intermediate'renewal' stage, and one was placed in an 'advanced-renewal' stage. Of the remaining neighborhoods studied, excluding the stable areas mentioned above, two were protrayed as being in the 'downgrading' stage of the life-cycle model while three were identified as displaying characteristics associated with the 'thinning-out' stage.

The following discussion will provide a brief synopsis of the findings from the individual neighborhoods aggregated by their stage in the life cycle. Similarities and differences will be accented, followed by a consideration of the source of neighborhood change in Chapter IV.

Stable Stage

Three Columbus neighborhoods are presently experiencing a period of stability and consequently have not passed through the neighborhood transition process. The two northern-most neighborhoods, Beechwold and Clintonville, stabilized short of the 'transition' stage while Eastgate stabilized short of the 'downgrading' stage. These areas were

farthest away from the urban core and were consistently above the city average in both the quality and average value of housing.

In addition, the strong "resistance to change" disposition in the three neighborhoods reduced the likelihood of a transition toward the latter stages of the life cycle. In fact, the neighborhood organizations associated with these enclaves were formed for the expressed purpose of "protecting the residential area." In other words, the local residents wanted to achieve the following goals: (1) to prevent the neighborhood's housing stock from deteriorating; (2) to prevent zoning changes which would adversely affect the residential character of the area; (3) to prevent an intermixture of land uses; (4) to prevent the construction of highways or the extension of existing traffic arteries which would prevent greater penetration into the residential area; and (5) to prevent the occurrence of proceedings (nearby settlement homes, expressways, etc.) which could directly or indirectly affect neighborhood quality.

Clintonville and Beechwold are predominantly white, middle to upper-middle class areas of low density, single-family, owner-occupied dwelling units, whereas Eastgate is a predominantly Black area of similar socio-economic status with a good mixture of homeowners and renters. Despite a demographic shift in the latter area between 1950 and 1960, other characteristics associated with life-cycle model have remained relatively stable.

In summary, the above-mentioned areas have successfully checked the transition process and it appears that a number of factors are responsible. First, with the exceptions noted above, the neighborhoods consist

of a large number of resident property owners who are more likely to upkeep their property and have the power to "defend their turf" against deleterious activities. A 'sense of community' (Firey, 1947:96-102; Keller, 1968:108-109; Suttles, 1972:11-13; Schwab, 1976:153) also appears to be a stabilizing force in these residential pockets. Although the neighborhood organizations of these areas are not as "active" as in other areas of the city, the informants indicated that there was an "excellent" amount of neighborliness in each area. Finally, proximity to the CBD, the transportation network and enforced zoning have also been important determinants of neighborhood stability.

The 'Downgrading' Stage

Two neighborhoods were identified as being in the 'downgrading' stage of the life cycle. In general, the neighborhoods represent different aspects of the 'downgrading' process; however, both areas are characterized by a large percentage of residents occupying the lower socio-economic stratum, a large number of renters, poor quality housing, intermixture of land uses, and low property values.

The 'downgrading' stage occured in Unity during the 1930 to 1960 era, subsided, and appears to be reoccurring. Support for this point can be seen in the neighborhood's oscillating property values as reflected by a period of decline, a stabilization period, and another period of decline. It should be recalled that Unity was fortunate to escape urban renewal and consequently began to enter the 'early-renewal' stage. The void left by private investment was the major factor contributing to the reoccurrence of the characteristics associated with

'downgrading,' namely, housing quality.

'The Bottoms' is also confronted with plethora of problems. The neighborhood, one of the poorest areas in the city, is contiguous to the CBD and is presently a "zone of transition" for the City of Columbus, providing low cost and substandard shelter for the residents displaced from other neighborhoods and for the newest arrivals of lower socio-econimic status to the city. Although signs of 'thinning-out' and 'renewal' periods have been evident for the area, the characteristics accompanying the 'downgrading' stage overshadow these trends. Partial support for this contention is expressed in a statement made by the Chairman of the Franklinton Area Commission: We're trying to stabilize the area. You have to stabilize before you can revitalize." (Kehres, 1981a:9) Also, as stated earleir, if the World's Fair comes to the area, it would drastically change its residential character and probably thrust the neighborhood into the 'renewal' stage.

Finally, both residential areas have experienced the "invasion-succession" sequence postulated by Park and Burgess. Unity experienced a major influx of Blacks between 1950 and 1960 while "The Bottoms" experienced a major influx of White Appalachians. These incoming residents, either by racial or economic discrimination, were highly segregated and forced to inhabit declining neighborhoods as a consequence of a tight housing market.

The Thinning-Out' Stage

Three southside neighborhoods are presently in the 'thinning-out' stage of the life cycle. Reeb-Hosack, Livingston Park, and Hungarian

Village exhibit characteristics associated with this stage in that there was a decline in the number of dwelling units and density levels and an increase in the number of vacant units. Similar to other inner-city neighborhoods, these areas are also losing population primarily through the effects of declining housing structures. Although some signs of improvement are occurring in the form of the emergence of civic organizations and rehabilitation of some housing structures, too little of this activity (or a continual increase in this type of activity) has been occurring to warrant their inclusion in the 'early-renewal' stage. Reeb-Hosack has experienced some renewal activity, but its future improvements are uncertain;[14] Livingston Park has definitely made strides toward the 'renewal' stage, while the activity in Hungarian Village has slowed in recent years. It has been estimated that these areas are about twenty years behind the revitalization of their southern neighbor, German Village.

In summary, it should be noted that there is a tenuous dividing line between the 'thinning-out' and 'renewal' stage. These three southside neighborhoods developed after German Village, primarily between 1900 and 1930, and are presently experiencing the latter stages of the life cycle model. Refurbishment of the housing stock and the strength of local attachments to the enclaves will be integral to their continual improvement.

'Early-Renewal'

Eight neighborhoods are presently in an 'early-renewal' stage of the life cycle. With the possible exceptions of Driving Park and

Hilltop, these neighborhoods have passed through the 'thinning-out' stage as discussed under the appropriate 'Life Cycle' analysis. This stage was followed by a period of renewal as civic organizations and/or commissions of the neighborhood began working to improve the quality of the area, particularly an aging housing stock. All of the neighborhoods categorized in this stage, for the most part, began a period of revitalization four or five years ago and have not progressed as far as the neighborhoods to be discussed in the 'intermediate' stage of renewal.

Three of the neighborhoods, Necko, Harrison West, and Italian Village are within the Near North Side and have admittedly benefitted from the revitalization of Victorian Village and Dennison Place. However, propinquity also has its disadvantages. For example, Italian Village is ofter referred to as "Victorian Village's poor sister" and realtors have been accused of selling houses in Harrison West as if it were Victorian Village at a higher purchase price. Yet, in spite of the preceding, contiguity has helped these areas in the rehabilitation process, and all three should advance through this stage.

The two eastern neighborhoods, Olde Towne East and Franklin Park, have recently achieved historic distinction which is suggestive of the involvement and pride that local residents have in these enclaves. Further, both neighborhoods are undergoing 'gentrification' as young, middle residents are moving into the area and rehabilitating some of the existing housing stock. More importantly, private lending institutions are strongly encouraging this revitalization by making low interest

loans avialable to the residents.

As discussed earlier, the presence of a 'thinning-out' stage in the life cycle patterns of Driving Park and Hilltop is difficult to discern. Both areas experienced mild 'downgrading' stages primarily because the decline in housing quality was due more to the general age of the housing stock than a benign neglect by the residents.[15] This is congruent with the data provided by the informants who contend that 'incumbent upgrading' is occurring as opposed to 'gentrification.'[16] That is, local and long-time residents are chiefly responsible for rehabilitating the housing structures in the neighborhoods instead of an incoming middle class population. (Enaharo, 1981; Burke, 1981; Foster, 1981c:6)

Finally, the North End is also in an 'early renewal' stage; however, if private investment does not increase in the next several years, the neighborhood may re-enter the 'downgrading' stage.

Intermediate Renewal

Victorian Village, Dennison Place and Mount Vernon Plaza are in an 'intermediate' stage of renewal. In the past, these areas were analogous to Burgess' transition zone in that they provided low cost but substandard housing for incoming migrants. The first two experienced an influx of White Appalachians as the resident middle class population moved to the suburban areas. As mentioned earlier, the movement coincided with the advent of the auto which made fringe areas more accessible. The Mount Vernon Plaza area experienced a similar phenomenon; however, lower class Blacks were replacing middle class Blacks as the latter also began to move to the fringe, including the "Black Bexley,"

Eastgate.

All three areas passed through the 'thinning-out' period and entered the 'renewal' stage in the 1970's in the same order as they are presented.

In 1973, the Victorian Village Society was formed with the expressed purpose "to return the area of its original grandeur." Unlike German Village, public funds were used in the restoration and preservation before private investment began to occur. Influenced, in part, by its southern neighbor, the residents of Dennison Place also began to rehabilitate the deteriorated housing structures and improve the overall quality of the neighborhood. Again, public funds aided in the development process and induced absentee landlords to return to the area. Rehabilitated renaissance structures abound in both neighborhoods, 'gentrification' is occurring and, presently the average value of the housing has increased from approximately forty percent below the city average to approximately seventy percent above the city average.[17]

The nature of revitalization of the twenty-five acre Mount Vernon Plaza area is almost completely different from its counterparts because of an almost total dependence on public funds in progressing to this phase of the 'renewal' stage. Private investment has not occurred at the levels present in Victorian Village and Dennison Place. The future development of the area revolves around the activity of the Plaza (shopping center). Indications are that the Plaza will be able to induce future investment (private) in the area as manifested by the redevelopment of an area to its southeast.

Finally, congruent with the predictions posited by Hoover and

Vernon, multi-family housing structures are visible throughout these three areas.

'Advanced Renewal'

The final stage to be discussed before focusing on the source of neighborhood change is 'advanced renewal.' Due to the timing, nature and magnitude of the renewal process, German Village is the only neighborhood categorized in this transition stage. It is estimated that the restoration of the housing stock in the Village is about eighty percent complete and approximately ten years ahead of the second-ranking neighborhood, Victorian Village, in the rehabilitation process.

An examination of Table 4 reveals that German Village had a higher percentage of deteriorated housing structures in 1960 than any other neighborhood included in this analysis. The threat of urban renewal to demolish the housing in the northern third of the Village initiated a local collective effort to save the area. Soon, a few homes were restored which subsequently prompted a mushroom effect to occur in the area. As alluded to earlier, German Village was the first neighborhood to begin the restoration and preservation process and to experience 'gentrification'. This activity was completely financed by the private sector as the Village progressed from one of Columbus' finer slum areas to one of its finer residential neighborhoods.

Finally, the 'advanced renewal' stage, as were the other life cycle stages, generally appear to be consistent with the propositions postulated by Hoover and Vernon; however, casual determinants of stage progression appear to be missing from their model. In other words, what

factors affect the neighborhood in its transition from one stage to the next? This simple but important issue is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DETEMINANTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

Introduction

Auguste Comte contended:

> The true general spirit of social dynamics then consists in conceiving of each of these social states as the necessary result of the preceding, and the indispensable mover of the following, according to the axiom of Leibniz, 'the present is big with the future.' In this view, the object of science is to discover the laws which govern this continuity. (Nisbet, 1969:159).

Inherent in Comte's statement is a need to understand the dynamic forces operating within the neighborhoods which facilitate progression through a life cycle. Both the descriptive typologies of human ecology and the static aggregate analysis of neighborhood change lack insights as to the causal mechanism underlying this process.

To address this concern, information obtained from community leaders or informants was utilized to document the source(s) of change occurring in their respective neighborhoods. As stated in Chapter II, the informants were knowledgeable and articulate with respect to local occurrences and provided key insights which contributed to an understanding of the determinants of neighborhood change. Together with the information presented in the 'Area Description' and 'Area History' ten factors were identified as affecting the operation of a life cycle in the residential enclaves of Columbus.

Finally, the works of several urban analysts (Firey, 1947; Greer, 1962; Keller, 1968; Suttles, 1972; Schwab, 1976; Schwirian, 1977; Berry, 1979; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979; Black, 1981; Clay, 1981) will be used to supplement and support the findings presented in the following discussion. The presentation will be concerned primarily with the recent impetuses for urban change; however, some discussion of prior events will be included to the extent that they explain later developments.

Discussion:

URBAN RENEWAL

One of the most important factors contributing to the transition of Columbus' inner city neighborhoods was the threat of urban renewal to demolish the deteriorated structures, mostly housing units, near the urban core. The funds for this development strategy were made available by the Federal Housing Act of 1954 to achieve the following goals:

(1) prevention and spread of blight;

(2) rehabilitation and conservation of renewable areas; and

(3) clearance and redevelopment of "nonrenewable" area. (LaGory and Pipkin, 1981:316).

Few can doubt the desirability and/or attractiveness of these goals. However, at a grassroot level, this attractiveness was greatly reduced by the displacement of long-time neighborhood residents whose homes were bulldozed in an effort to consummate Goals #3. The complete destruction of Flytown, a former residential enclave southwest of Victorian Village, was a case in point. Further indications of the

disastrous effect of the urban renewal program included the separation of certain neighborhoods from the nucleus of the city (i.e., Mount Vernon) and the bifurcation of other neighborhoods via the expressway system (i.e., Olde Towne East and Italian Village).

As a response to the preceding and other similar occurrences, the local residents began to organize in order to protect the residential areas from further "redevelopment" under the rubic of the urban renewal. In fact, four of the neighborhood organizations (Unity Neighborhood Organization and German, Victorian and Italian Village Societies) were formed with the intended purpose of preventing urban renewal. All four areas succeeded in their attempts to check this federal renewal effort (some more than others) and as pointed out earlier, some other areas were not as fortunate.

The social impact of renewal, particularly the destruction of the intimate and long-standing social networks, has been discussed by several urban scholars (for example, see LaGory and Pipkin, 1981). Thus, even in the simplest terms of supply, demand and prices, urban renewal in the traditional sense seems to have offered a frivolous solution to the housing woes of low income residents. Consequently, criticisms began to flourish which resulted in the termination of the program in the early '70's.

The problems generated by the form of urban renewal in the '60's required that changes be made in the type of public sector involvement in the '70's. An interest to revitalize the inner-city areas persisted; however, the 'modus operandi' of facilitating this revitalization was still in question. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974

(see Note 3 - Chapter III) emerged as an alternative to the urban renewal policies of the past and achieved a marked degree success. This legislation enabled the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to provide the nation's cities with low interest loans and community block grants to improve the housing and environmental conditions of local communities. The City of Columbus received its share of the available funds, and as a result, twelve of the twenty neighborhoods in this analysis benefitted from the Act.

Thus, public monies assisted in the progression of the neighborhoods toward the latter stages of the life cycle while concurrently including private investment to continue the renewal activity.

RESIDENT TYPES

The return of young middle class professionals (usually white) to inner-city neighborhoods has undoubtedly been an impetus for the onset of renewal activities. Many scholars have documented this national trend (see Laska and Spain, 1981) while Berry, Fusch and Harris have noted a similar phenomenon in Columbus.

The return of the 'gentry' to inner-city Columbus has, to some extent, occurred at the expense of lower income residents. That is, young professionals have taken advantage of federal housing rehabilitation assistance that was originally intended to aid this sector of the urban population. Thus, a politically sophisticated cadre has initiated renewal trends in these areas, but unfortunately, some local residents have been displaced in the process.

As private lending institutions began to earmark funds solely for

rehabilitation of inner-city housing, the renewal activity introduced by the 'gentry' was adopted by the long-time residents. Clay (1981:19) referred to process as 'incumbent upgrading' which, unlike 'gentrification', is characterized by a significant improvement in neighborhood quality without a turnover in the socio-economic make-up of the local population.

Of the twenty neighborhoods studied, six were experiencing 'gentrification' while ten were experiencing 'incumbent upgrading'.[1] Both processes or rather 'states of neighborhood consciousness' provided the necessary impetus for the revitalization of these inner city enclaves. Finally, the simultaneous occurrence of the preceding ('gentrification' and 'incumbent upgrading') in conjunction with the availability of public and private funds have resulted in the recent renewal trends in the city.

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTER

The character of a neighborhood is also important in determining its potential for change. Given the complexity of operationalizing this intangible quality, historic propriety will be used as a proxy for neighborhood character. The designation of a neighborhood as a historic district is viewed as an attraction mechanism which is , in part, supported by the vast amount of rehabilitation activity in these enclaves that abound in the literature (See Chapter I). In general, these areas usually cherish their past association with eventful periods in the city's history and are characterized by a distinctive architectural style.

Five of the neighborhoods under investigation have been accorded historic distinction within the last five years (Italian Village, Hungarian Village, Franklin Park, Driving Park, and Olde Towne East). This recent activity has increased the total number of such districts in the city to seven; German Village and Victorian Village achieved this honor in 1970 and 1973, respectively. However, paramount to this analysis was the fact that six of the seven informants specifically noted the importance of historic distinction as being partly responsible for the rehabilitation activities in these areas. A quest for a former mode of residential accommodation and/or the preservation of a memorable part of America's past seemed to have been the key factor(s) in this revitalization process.

Congruent with the finding reported by O'Loughlin and Munski concerning the rehabilitation of Lower Marigny and Algiers Point in New Orleans, there appears to be a relationship between the historic status of a neighborhood and the processes of 'gentrification' and 'incumbent upgrading'. Specifically, historic neighborhoods are more likely to experience 'gentrification,' while non-historic neighborhoods are more likely to experience 'incumbent upgrading'. When the researcher tested this hypothesis on Columbus data, a chi square test of statistical independence ($x^2 = 5.84$, $p \leq 0.05$) yield support for the relationship. That is, middle class residents are more likely to be rehabilitating historic districts while long-term residents are more likely to be rehabilitating the other neighborhoods. Finally, the contention that historic neighborhoods encourage change, because of their propensity to attract residents, is also consistent with the above finding.

THE HOUSING MARKET

The life cycle operation of any neighborhood is largely dependent on the activity of the housing market. For example, Greer contends "freedom of dwelling location is set within the limits of the housing industry ... within the range of available housing, one chooses his neighborhood by his household needs and his share of the society's rewards." (1962:80).

One of the factors contributing to the 'gentrification' process discussed earlier was the increasing costs of constructing new housing in suburban areas. In addition to escalating transportation costs, these factors have contributed to the attractiveness of inner-city dwelling occupancy, particularly in the neighborhoods undergoing revitalization.

The desire to purchase Victorian-type homes (or turn-of-the-century) near the urban core is certainly a deviation from past tradition which attests to the changing housing preferences by a number of middle class families. In Columbus, some of these homes are raffled for one dollar; however, the new owner has to upgrade the structure to quality standards. Whether the rehabilitation is accomplished through 'sweat equity' or 'economic equity', time, money, and a genuine interest in home restoration are involved in this process. Thus, the housing market at the present time is conducive to change in the form of renewal. A tight inner-city housing market would have precluded the availability of these structures and consequently, other enclaves within the metropolis would have to accommodate the increased need for housing generated by the maturation of the baby-boom cohort. Schwirian, writing in a

similar vein, contends that "pressures for neighborhood change are, to some extent, affected by the relative rates of growth of new housing to the population gain; (1977:168) however, for the neighborhoods in this analysis, availability of rehabilitated housing to population gain is more appropriate.

The foregoing appears to be consistent with the realtors' perceptions of inner city housing in Columbus. In general, a number of houses are available to be rehabilitated, but some areas are just beginning renewal process and consequently, lack the desirability of other areas. Therefore, the housing market is not tight in terms of the housing structures to be rehabilitated; however, it is tight with regard to providing shelter for the low income and displaced resident. As alluded to earlier, one of the negative aspects of the 'gentrification' process was the displacement of long-term residents, an occurrence that results in more individuals competing for a limited number of housing units.

Presently, 'The Bottoms' serves as a haven for displaced residents and is predominantly a low income residential neighborhood. Section 8 furnishes one solution to the housing problems of the poor; however, the program has not prevented low income individuals from concentrating in certain inner-city neighborhoods.[2] Although the intent of the program is well-founded, the informants offer few plaudits in its support because of two principal factors: (1) poor city management, and (2) the construction company that obtains most of the contracts 'bastardizes' the structures and is insensitive to the character of the surrounding area.

A final note on the activity of the housing market concerned the

extent to which realtors guided a certain type of clientele into an area. Most of the informants (N=13) indicated that the local realtors have not specifically directed people to reside in certain neighborhoods. Yet, it was pointed out that if a potential home-buyer or renter gives a price range, some neighborhoods receive more residents than others. Thus, the housing market has generally been conducive to neighborhood change while the activity of the realtors has been minimal in this regard.

URBAN CORE

Integral to the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods are the activity and strength of the urban core. It is believed that cities with strong business districts in terms of investment, entertainment and employment are more likely to stimulate and support the redevelopment of surrounding areas than cities with weak business districts (O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:69; Clay, 1981:21-22).

Columbus undoubtedly has a strong and growing urban core. Radiating from Capitol Square, the one-block center of redevelopment activities, is the focus of the city's businesses, governmental activities, and cultural attractions. The economic vigor of this central block alone has been maintained by more than six million dollars in general improvements within the last ten years. For example, decorative lighting fixtures, the conversion of Lynn-Pearl streets into a pedestrian mall, street improvements, wastereceptable, traffic information graphics, flag and banner poles, etc. have greatly contributed to the attractiveness of the downtown area (Capitol Square Study, 1979:3-6).

In addition to the business and municipal improvements, there has been a conscientious effort to make this section of the urban core available for public usage.

Further, there has been a substantial amount of investment in the urban center as a whole over the last ten years. Approximately $585 million were spent in the redevelopment of this area between 1971 and 1978 (See Figure 3). Despite national construction declines, splendid new buildings were built including Borden's National Headquarters, the Federal Office Building, Motorists Mutual, the 41-story State Office Tower, the BancOhio Plaza and Galleria complex, the Franklin County Hall of Justice, the Nationwide Plaza and the Municipal Courthouse.[3] Accompanying this development has been the addition of public parks and facilities, namely Bicentennial Park, Riverfront Amphitheather and bikeway, Franklin Commons and the Ohio Center (Downtown Columbus, 1978). Thus, without question, the preceding manifests the strength of the urban core which is definitely an asset for the renewal activities of surrounding areas. In addition, at least $392 million have been identified for investment in the urban center during the next twenty years, an economic activity suggestive of its continued strength and vitality (See Figure 3).

Two principal factors suggest why a strong urban center serves as an impetus revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods: (1) the fact that the downtown area is attracting more people will contribute to the recognition and awareness of the nearby residential enclaves while concurrently increasing the likelihood that more people will locate to these areas; (2) the land occupied by dilapidated neighborhood close to

a strong urban core becomes too valuable to remain as such (Birch, 1971:81; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979:68).

Another dimension of the urban core that is perceived as affecting neighborhood change concerns proximity. In the past, residing near the urban center had been considered quite undesirable because of the noxious and congested activities associated with inner city living. However, for reasons noted earlier, close proximity to the urban center is presently viewed as an advantage which serves to attract new residents to the area. Data obtained from the informants tend to support this changing residential preference as ten (of the informants) were quick to note "closeness to downtown" as an advantage while no one reported it as a disadvantage.

Finally, private investment appears to be the key to Columbus growth, to the continued strength of the urban center and ultimately to the change (revitalization) of inner city areas. In support of the foregoing, private sector investment constitutes the major portion of the completed (59%) and proposed (45%) refurbishment of the urban center (See Figures 3 and 4).

ACCESS/TRANSPORTATION

Access is anotner factor that affects the operation of the life cycle. The residents' degree of access to employment opportunities and leisure time pursuits are largely determined by the mode of transportation and the neighborhood's niche in ecological space.

According to Hoover and Vernon; "easy access" and "spacious living" are countervailing forces in determining locational patterns

(1962:122). With respect to Columbus, the latter force was most apparent during the late 1920's when the low cost per mile of travel afforded by the auto permitted suburban development to occur and signaled the beginning of the 'downgrading' period for many of the neighborhoods under study. This type of activity within the Columbus SMSA clearly indicated that "spacious living" was a more important factor than "easy access" in determining the locational patterns of residents during this period. However, because of exorbitant transportation costs (an access factor), this trend has been reversed and presently, a noticeable number of residents are preferring to live near the urban center instead of at the fringe. Thus, one of the factors contributing to the renewal process in the inner-city has been the "easy access" to the urban amenities.

Finally, the access/transportation factor can have a considerable effect on the life cycle operation in that it facilitates the movement and determines the timing of several of its stages.

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

Civic organizations and/or commissions also play a major role in the progression (or lack of) neighborhoods through the life cycle stages. The transition process of the twenty neighborhoods included in this analysis is, to some extent, affected by the activities of local organizations. Six neighborhoods have both an organization and a commission which provide for a greater degree of control over internal matters as well as over other issues pertaining to the social, political and economic health of the area. [4]

The organizations associated with the communities under study were

formed as early as 1900 and as late as 1980. Three principal reasons prompted their formation: (1) to prevent urban renewal from destroying the residential area (N=4); (2) to prevent further deterioration of the area (N=4); and (3) to protect and improve the residential area (N=9). The majority of the organization (N=17) meet on a monthly basis; however, attendance is usually dependent upon the issue and varies considerably from neighborhood to neighborhood. For example, an issue such as the distribution of CDA funds or the targeted construction of a nearby expressway would animate a large community meeting while an issue such as crime or a rodent control would attract only the members who attend on a regular basis.

Implicit in the preceding is a causal determinant of neighborhood change, namely the cooperative efforts of local residents. The organization serves as a means of organizing and pooling the available resources (mostly human) for purposes of collective action. As one resident notes: "Sometimes you win and sometimes you lose." Thus, the civic organizations, at times, are effective in initiating neighborhood change and at other times, are politically and economically too weak to achieve the desired action.

Based on the organization's activities and attendance, the researcher classified the neighborhoods into two categories: a low degree of activity and a high degree of activity. When this categorization was made, seven neighborhoods were placed in the former category, while thirteen was placed in the latter. Of interest was the fact that none of the stable communities had active organizations where as six of the historic districts were active in terms of their organizational

activities. A close examination of this finding reveals that it is consistent with the work of Gordon and Babchuk (1959:28) who pointed out that some organizations may be designed to maintain the status quo (i.e., Old Beechwold Association) or to seek to change it by taking appropriate action (i.e., Harrison West Residents Association, German Village Society). Further, this finding alludes to the important principle that a 'high degree of activity' is not necessarily a positive virtue. That is, a neighborhood organization which does not meet on a regular basis or facilitate promotional activities can achieve its stated goals just as well as the other organizations. For example, a gool such as "resistance to change" does not require much activity unless the neighborhood is threatened by the external environment.

Finally, the manner in which neighborhood organizations initiate change or affect the movement of the life cycle stages is summarized by Tomeh: "The formal or voluntary association may be interpreted as an organizational invention that aids in the continuing transitional process of urbanization by blends of primary and secondary social experience" (1974:89).

FACE BLOCKS, PROPINQUITY AND SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY

As outlined in Chapter I, Suttles refers to several types of neighborhoods that can be found in an urban area. Among those noted are: face-block, defended neignborhood, community of limited liability and the expanding community of limited liability.

The neighborhoods that have instituted the face block type of

organization in Columbus have done so in a very orderly manner. The unit consists of the confronting sides of two city blocks which provide a "network" of acquaintances who have been selected primarily because they are known from shared conditions of residence and the common usage of local facilities."[5] (Suttles, 1972:55) The organization, as a whole, cannot be attuned to the residents' needs as can a representative from each block within the neighborhood. Thus, this localized type of activity facilitates the co-operative efforts of the residents, a state of affairs that in years to come will make for a more cohesive and organized unit in attempting to bring about neighborhood change.

The relationships that develop in a face block are dependent upon propinquity. For many Columbus residents, the face-block concept is a relatively new mechanism for facilitating organizational activities at a grassroot level. Typically, block captains are elected to serve as communication links between the residents and the organization. As Schwirian contends, people vis-a-vis each other, and the degree to which their paths cross in their daily activities are contributing conditions to the extent and nature of the relationship that emerge. Drawing, in part, from Gans, he further states that social homogeneity is a necessary condition for the occurrence of these relationships because if neighbors are too diverse, differences in behavior or attitude may lead to conflict. (Schwirian, 1977:201-202). A conflictual situation would, of course, be detrimental to the 'co-operative efforts' necessary for positive neighborhood change (renewal) to occur.

However, it appears that social homogeneity in terms of socio-economic factors, child-rearing practices, political ideologies, leisure-

time activities, and other capatibilities is not an overriding concern in the formation and vitality of face blocks in the neighborhoods under study. In other words, the relationships that exist in face blocks are dependent upon propinquity; however, social homogeneity is not necessarily the cohesive element which keeps these relationships in tact. In focusing on the areas that have incorporated the block-club concept, informants indicated that a genuine concern in improving the quality of the community (clean-up garbage pickup, maintenace of property, etc.) seems to be a more important factor than social homogeneity in the stability of these clubs. Despite the fact that some residents will not choose to participate in any local activities, their diverse interests and/or different ideas about the type of neighborhood improvements to be made have not adversely affected the inclination or eagerness to achieve certain goals at the block level. Yet, due to the novelty of this idea in Columbus, these differences may not have nurtured long enough to lead to conflict situation.

While complete heterogeneity would obviously be antithetical to the face block concept, 'social homogeneity' needs to be qualified. That is, the fact that an individual chooses to live in a particular neighborhood or block guarantees sufficient 'homogeneity' to warrant being able to work together on area improvement. Partial support for this contention can be found in the work of Greer: ". . . one chooses his neighborhood by his household needs and his share of society's rewards . . . the results are a relative homogeneity within the neighborhoods and variation among them." (1962:80-81)

Thus, propinquity and social homogeneity within or outside the

realm of face blocks are important factors affecting the operation of a neighborhood life cycle. The effect of homogeneity appears to be more contributory than necessary and the failure of the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis is case in point.[6]

'MULTIPLIER EFFECT'

Correlative with propinquity is another source of neighborhood change referred to as the 'multiplier effect.' This phenomenon is defined as "any functioning of the economy such that magnified results are obtained from an original action." (Moffat, 19/6:192) However, within the context of this study, the 'multiplier effect' pertains to the positive effect of tne revitalization of certain inner city neighborhoods (i.e. German Village, Victorian Village) on the revitalization of other neighborhoods within the city. Eighty percent (N=16) of the informants disclosed that the rehabilitation of other enclaves has had a cumulative, and in principle, a measurable effect upon the city as a whole and upon the neighborhoods in particular. Further, Khari Enahara, Chairman of the Driving Park Commission, contended that this 'ripple effect' is also reflected in the activity of the developers who are examining the possibilities of expanding their markets in other communities with deteriorating pieces of property. In other words, it is the belief that the success of German Village can be replicated in other inner city areas.

Thus, changes within certain neighborhoods, inclusive of the urban core, (level of investment, rehabilitation activities, etc.) have served as a stimulus for the revitalization of other neighborhoods.

'A SENSE OF COMMUNITY'

Finally, a sense of community or sentiment, as stated in Chapter III, appears to be a factor affecting neighborhood change. With a few exceptions, most of the neighborhoods are fairly cohesive, at least at on a supeficial level, and the majority of informants (N=17) indicate that the 'neighborliness' of local residents is "above average to excellent." They also note that this quality creates an atmosphere that contributes immeasurably to the renewal trends in neighborhoods encircling the urban core. This source of change is consistent with the work of Firey (1947) who indicate the extent to which 'sentiment' and 'local attachment' can have on the life cycle operation.

Further, the effect of ethnicity, a factor usually associated with 'sentiment,' 'local attachment,' and the like, on neighborhood change have been documented by many scholars including M^{c}Kenzie (1923), Greer (1962), Timms (1971), Suttles (1972), Schwirian (1976), Berry (1979), and O'Loughlin and Munski (1979). However, the "ethnic stigmata," as in the past, does not appear to be a significant factor affecting the transition process. In fact, the informants asserted that racial and ethnic factors had very little impact on the revival of inner city areas, but, as stated above, have emphasized a 'sense of community' among local residents as an impetus for renewal activities. Even among the enclaves with ethnic nomenclatures, ethnicity was not acknowledged as a determining factor in the revitalization process. In particular, Frank founder of the German Village Society, alledged that the small number of German in German Village, as well as the small number of Hungarians in Hungarian Village almost eliminate ethnicity as a causal factor

affecting neighborhood change. Partial support for Fetch's statement can be found in the writing of Greer who, among other things, referred to a "disappearance of the old, incapsulated, ethnic enclaves . . . " (1962:75 and 82)

In conclusion, the renewal activities of neighborhoods such as German Village, Victorian Village, Italian Village, etc. appear to be more a genuine interest in restoring a former way of life (i.e. maintaining the German/English/Italian) heritage and tradition rather than a result of strong ethnic ties.

Summary:

The point of issue in this chapter has been to identify the principal determinants of neighborhood change in order to understand the dynamics of the life cycle model. In general, the transition process appears to be more than a function of the Hoover and Vernon variables Specifically, ten causal factors were identified as affecting the progression of neighborhoods through certain life cycle stages: urban renewal, resident types, neighborhood character, housing market urban core, access, civic organizations, propinquity and social homogeneity, 'multiplier effect' and a 'sense of community.'

The preceding factors have historically affected the operation of the life cycle and continue to do so today. Several of these factors may occur simultaneously which alludes to the multifacted aspect of the transition process. As indicated earlier, a number of factors are closely related and the possibility of statistical interaction also exists. That is, the interrelation of these determinants does not

preclude the possibility of differential effects on the life cycle operation of the neighborhoods understudy. The effect of transportation on the life cycle of Driving Park and Victorian Village is a case in point.[7]

In closing, if the City of Columbus is going to initiate and support inner city revitalization, it is essential that the differences among neighborhoods be recognized, and that the sources of change be understood. In other words, revitalization strategies should distinquish among areas, along with the associated factors affecting the transition of these areas, because some neighborhoods may only require short term public assistance to spur private investment, other neighborhoods may require sustained public support, while a few neighborhoods may be too deteriorated to be revitalized with the resources available. Finally, the 'Reagonomic' policies dictate that intelligent decisions be made regarding the administration of federal dollars; thus, the continued revival of inner city areas of Columbus is especially dependent upon the prudent policies of city planners concerning the distribution of funds earmarked for revitalization.[8]

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this investigation has been to test the propositions of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model proposed by Hoover and Vernon. Previous tests of the Model (Duncan, et al., (1962), Haggerty, (1971), Guest, (1973, 1974), Hunter, (1974), Birch, (1976) and Schwab, (1976)) have provided general support for the life cycle concept. Specifically, these studies have shown that neighborhoods change in a manner consistent with the Hoover and Vernon postulates in that residential areas emerge as single-family housing developments, mature, decline into old,run-down, undesirable environments, and eventually experience a period of renewal. Nonetheless, all of these studies, save two, employed census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods which leads one to question the validity of the results since the former is usually not coterminous with the latter.

Hunter (1974) and Schwab (1976) addressed this concern by using data from "community areas" instead of census tracts to test the life cycle model in Chicago and Cleveland, respectively. However, since most American cities do not have time series data on "community areas," the city block was employed as an alternative unit analysis because of its appropriate size and internal homogeneity. Specifically, city blocks were aggregated to the neighborhood level in order to provide a more accurate test of Hoover and Vernon's model. Several analysts

have suggested the use of city blocks as a basis for testing models of urban change (Olds, 1949; Myers, 1954; Cleaver, 1963); however, the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model has never been tested using aggregated city blocks as the unit of analysis.

As noted earlier, the 'community of limited liability' best described the neighborhood in its present form, and was, therefore, used in this analysis. This community type was operationalized by employing the boundaries identified by the neighborhood organizations and/or commissions in conjunction with an eight-element physiographic analysis of neighborhood designation used by the Columbus Department of Development. (See Chapter I). More importantly, these boundaries were incorporated into the cognitive models of the resident population which provided for a more meaningful study.

Finally, in addition to testing the Hoover and Vernon propositions, this investigation examines the causal factors of neighborhood change because such a succinct presentation is absent from the literature on urban change.

Findings:

The data provide general support for the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model. An examination of twenty inner-city neighborhoods in Columbus reveal that none of these areas were in the 'residential development' and 'transition' stages because of an early date of settlement. However, it is clear that all of the neighborhoods experienced these two stages, although at times, the distinction was tenuous.

Thus, the neighborhoods in this study were in the latter stages of

the life cycle process as indicated by the following summary table:

TABLE XXI

Salient Life Cycle Stage of the Twenty Neighborhoods

Stable

Beechwold
Clintonville
Eastgate

'Downgrading' Stage

'The Bottoms"
Unity

'Thinning-Out' Stage

Hungarian Village
Livingston Park
Reeb-Hosack

'Early-Renewal' Stage

Necko
Harrison West
Italian Village
Olde Towne East
Franklin Park
Driving Park
Hilltop
North End

'Intermediate-Renewal' Stage

Victorian Village
Dennison Place
Mount Vernon Plaza

'Advanced-Renewal' Stage

German Village

A perusal of Table XXI suggests that seventeen of the neighborhoods

manifested charachetistics congruent with the life cycle model posited by Hoover and Vernon, while three 'stable' areas did not progress through the postulated sequence of stages. Nevertheless, this variant of the life cycle process was anticipated by these economists, and was later empirically confirmed by Schwab. In general, distance from the CBD, the transportation network, enforced zoning, and a 'sense of community' have been important determinants of the stability evident in these enclaves.

Hypotheses:

As outlined in Chapter I, the five hypotheses tested in this analysis are drawn from the Hoover and Vernon Model. General support is found for these hypotheses, and for clarity of presentation, the findings will be discussed individually followed by policy implications.

> H_1: The progression of neighborhoods through the first three stages of the life cycle varies directly with the measures of density before a leveling off occurs in Stage IV, the 'Thinning-Out' Stage.

The inner-city neighborhoods under study exhibit a density pattern generally consistent with the Hoover and Vernon propositions. Although the period of incipient development of most of the neighborhoods antedated block statistics, it is evident that the areas displayed systematic increases in population and housing densities during the periods identified as the 'residential development' and 'transition' stages. This pattern of increases densities is documented in the Area Histories in the form of an increase in the construction of apartments following an initial period of development and the subdivision of existing housing

structures to accommodate the residential needs of an increasing number of minorities (Blacks and White Appalachians) into the neighborhoods. Both events suggest regular increases in the measures of density while the latter event is characteristic of the 'downgrading' stage, the period of the highest density levels in the transition process.

As predicted, the 'thinning-out' stage was indicated by significant drops in the indices (population, housing units, densities) which was clearly shown in the tables.

In general, an examination of the neighborhoods suggested that as they moved through the hypothesized stages of the life cycle from 'residential development' to the 'renewal,' there was a systematic change in the density levels. Given the available data (housing units per acre), the level of density tended to increase between 1940 and 1950, tended to remain relatively stable or exhibited a slight increase between 1950 and 1960, and tended to decline between 1960 and 1970. Finally, H_5 also yielded partial support for this hypothesis.

> H_2: A neighborhood undergoing the 'downgrading' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience an increase in the number of minority population and a major decline in those variables associated with socio-economic status and housing quality.

Strong support for this hypothesis was noted in the Area Histories. Briefly, the decline in the socio-economic level of the neighborhoods coincided with the advent of the auto and Great Depression of the 1930's. The former permitted the resident middle class population to move to the fringe areas, and still maintain access to the urban amenities, a

migration pattern that encouraged lower income individuals to occupy the vacated inner-city areas. This initial period of 'downgrading' was accelerated by the latter occurrence (The Great Depression) which engendered a slow development period for the city as a whole and had a deleterious effect on the quality of inner city housing. The incoming residents had neither the means nor the desire to maintain an aging housing stock, and as a result, deterioration became a salient characteristic. On the average, this stage lasted about thirty years and it was apparent that in some areas (German Village, Victorian Village, Italian Village), the downgrading was a severe and protracted process, while in other areas (Driving Park, Franklin, Hilltop), it was relatively mild.

The 'downgrading' stage was reflected in the block statistics by an increase in the percentage of non-whites (mostly Black) and by concomitant increases in the number of dwelling units, percentage of rental units, and levels of density. Additional statistical support for the occurrence of this stage was suppressed because the White Appalachians, a lower socio-economic group in the city whose movement into a neighborhood was usually associated with downgrading, were not distinguished from the resident or long-term 'white' population.

H_3: A neighborhood undergoing the 'thinning-out' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience an increase in the number of vacant units and regular declines in population, housing units, and housing densities.

Sixteen of the neighborhoods manifested characteristics associated with the 'thinning-out' stage. In general, the 'transition' stage of the neighborhoods began in the 1960's as expressed by declines in

population, housing units and density levels. As noted earlier, the urban renewal program was responsible for some of the 'thinning' that occurred because a number of deteriorated housing structures were bulldozed while other structures were lost because of freeway construction.

Finally, two additional factors indicated support for H_3: (1) a decrease in the average family size, and (2) an increase in the percentage of vacant units.

> H_4: A neighborhood undergoing the 'renewal' stage of the life cycle is more likely to experience significant increases in the overall quality of housing structures, environmental conditions and property values.

General support for this hypothesis was obtained from four principal sources: (1) (an extrapolation of) 1970 trends; (2) information obtained from the informants; (3) information presented in the 'Area Descriptions and Histories;' and (4) neighborhood property values.

Since most of the neighborhoods were experiencing the 'thinning-out' stage around 1970, the 'renewal' stage should have ensued. However, since 1980 block statistics are unavailable, sources (2), (3), and (4) were used extensively to determine if the neighborhoods in question had indeed progressed to the 'renewal' stage because the neighborhoods could have remained in the 'thinning-out' stage, or could have re-entered a 'downgrading' period.

Twelve of the neighborhoods exhibit definite signs of renewal as manifested by an increase in the number of owner-occupants, the number of rehabilitated structures, the adjusted average value of single-family

housing structures, and a reversal of declining property values. As noted earlier, some of the renewal activities were being performed by a fairly, specialized group of people ('gentrification'), a trend that has prompted long-term residents to participate in the revitalization ('incumbent upgrading')

Finally, several factors have been instrumental in the renewal trend including the exorbitant cost of construction suburban homes, escalating transportation costs, community block grants, the attractiveness of downtown and the successful rehabilitation and/or restoration of German Village.

H_5: As a neighborhood progresses through its life cycle, measures of density will decline exponentially over time as the area ages and moves from stage to stage.

The Neighborhood Life Cycle Model postulates that density, dwellings and the local population of urban areas change <u>regularly</u> through time as the areas progress from stage to stage (Hoover and Vernon, 1962; Schwirian, 1977); moreover, studies have shown that the <u>regularity</u> of transition over time is typically an exponential function. (Clark, 1951; Berry, et al, 1963; Winsborough, 1963; Newling, 1966; Vaughn and Schwirian, 1979).

Briefly, the studies concerned with H_5 have disclosed that density patterns exhibit a systematic tendency to decline with increasing distance from the urban core. Clark (1951) provided the first empirical analysis of density - distance pattern and suggested that this relationship is described adequatley by the negative exponential:

$$D_x = D_o\, e^{-bx} \qquad (1)$$

where

D_x = population density at distance x

D_0 = population density at the city center

e = base of Naperian or natural logarithm, 2.71828...

b = density gradient

x = distance from the city center

The D_0 and b values are usually obtained through least squares procedures for the logarithmic transformation of the density value.

Thus,

$$\ln D_x = \ln D_0 - bx \qquad (2)$$

In terms of testing H_5, housing density (housing units per acre) is used instead of population density as the dependent variable because of availability of data and simple linear regression is used to estimate the parameters (D_0 and b). The findings are presented in the following table:

TABLE XXII

Regression of Housing Units Per Acre on Distance, 1940-1970

	Linear			Natural Log		
Year	D_0	b	R^2	D_0	b	R^2
1940	9.79	-1.54	.41	2.56	-.44	.57
1950	10.79	-1.53	.40	2.50	-.30	.47
1960	11.19	-1.39	.25	2.49	-.23	.42
1970	9.51	-.99	.26	2.30	-.17	.40

The results in the above table lend support of H_5. That is, the housing density for the neighborhoods understudy declined with increasing distance from the center of Columbus and also declined exponentially over the four time periods. The four b values (density gradient) are statistically significant (p .001) and in all cases, the goodness of fit (b's and R^2's) is better for the logarithmic regression model than for the linear model.

Finally, Winsborough (1963) has called the b value deconcentration and the D_0 value congestion. Both values are taken as summary measures of the density-distance relationship and Winsborough as empirically demonstrated that these values need not move together. Nonetheless, the Columbus data indicate that these values are varying together, and it appears that the city is both deconcentrating and decongesting.

Determinants of Neighborhood Change:

Characteristic of most models formulated by precursors is a failure to consider all the major aspects, dimensions, and/or components of the phenomenon under study. This is precisely the case concerning the descriptive typologies of human ecology (Concentric Zone Model, Sector Model, etc.) and Hoover and Vernon's Neighborhood Life Cycle Model. To be specific, the preceding models of neighborhood or urban change neglect to identify the causal mechanisms underlying the transition process.

In the search for causal factors affecting the life cycle operation, ten such factors are identified. They are: the urban renewal program, resident types, neighborhood character, the housing market, the urban core, access, civic organizations, propinquity and social

homogeneity, the 'multiplier effect,' and a 'sense of community.' A conceptual analysis of these factors yields three general dimensions: (1) a factor associated with housing; (2) a factor associated with the activity/attractiveness of the urban center; and (3) a factor associated with the activity of the residents. In short, the impetus for the progression of neighborhoods through the stages posited by the life cycle model depends upon the operation of these factors. The existing body of literature on urban change, as cited in Chapter IV, also lends support to the above findings concerning the determinants of neighborhood change.

Policy Implications:

Throughout the preceding chapters, implications of the life cycle model were alluded to, but not explicitly stated because one of the difficulties with such a declaration of policy implications is that there is typically a lack of consensus on the appropriate plan of action. Further, the slated cut-backs in federal funds require that more prudent policies be formulated concerning the vitality of neighborhoods, and for the city as a totality. However, the major concern in this concluding section is not to make judgments about objectives or problems, but to answer this question: In what ways do an understanding of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model assist city planners in making rational decisions regarding the distribution of funds and other resources to maintain or rekindle a viable inner-city?

First of all, the life cycle model can be used to describe, explain and predict change in a single inner-city area. Despite the tenuous

nature of some stages, a knowledge of the characteristics associated with each stage is instrumental in this regard. For example, a change in the residential character of a neighborhood from predominantly single-family housing units to multi-family housing units is generally an indication that the enclave is beginning a 'downgrading' trend; thus, city planners can implement policies to prevent such a decline or at least lessen its severity. Another example of the Model's utility for policy formulation is that population and housing density declines are typically manifestations that the area is 'ripe' for renewal; therefore, the earlier this activity can be recognized, the better the preparation can be, and hence, a more successful renewal program. Correlative to these and other examples is an awareness of the fact that the housing quality in each neighborhood at each transition stage is essential to the above processes (description, explanation and prediction); that is, housing is a primary determinant of a neighborhood's life chances.[1] This was also evident in the preceding discussion by the plethora of empirical referents to housing quality such as deterioration, restoration, plumbing, type of construction, age, etc. Thus, housing constitutes an important policy consideration simplified by the life cycle model, a thesis that is the next topic of discussion.

Basic to the operation of the life cycle model is the concurrent change in population and housing characteristics as the neighborhoods progress through the five stages. The latter has been the chief focus of this study, and as suggested above, certain implications for policy center around this important variable.

Chapter III reveals a close relationship among neighborhood age,

transition through the sequential stages, and housing quality. For example, young neighborhoods typically experience the initial stages of the Model and are characterized by a structurally sound housing stock. Consequently, as neighborhoods age and move through the life cycle stages, housing quality, with few exceptions, began to decline. Thus, a city planner that can recognize the life cycle stage of a neighborhood is also cognizant of its housing conditions, an awareness that allows policies to be implemented to guard against deterioration, to rehabilitate units or to bulldoze units. In the Columbus example, most of the neighborhoods are experiencing a period of 'renewal;' therefore, planners should be developing policies to facilitate this on-going trend or at least to prevent the neighborhoods from reversing their direction. As alluded to earlier, a prudent planner would have anticipated this occurrence during the 'thinning-out,' stage , and would have planned accordingly.

At present, the housing policies of Columbus are, at best, amorphous; however, the amount of public monies awarded to local residents to rehabilitate and/or refurbish existing housing structures are quite apparent. Columbus is making strides toward improving an aging housing stock and a knowledge of the life cycle model in addition to a similar set of policy objectives at the local, state and federal level would greatly aid this process.

The final implication to be discussed concerns the Model's assertion that homogeneous areas defferentiate themselves from other areas and that change in neighborhoods is expected. The former alludes to the differences between neighborhoods as well as their differences

from surrounding interstitial areas and the latter alludes to the 'naturalness' of change. Thus, it is essential that policy makers recognize differences among neighborhoods and that the sources of change be understood. Stated differently, revitalization policies should distinquish among areas because some neighborhoods may only need short term public assistance before private investment occurs, other neighborhoods may require sustained public support, while certain residential areas can not be revitalized with the resources available. The life cycle model accents these differences, and is therefore a valuable tool for policy makers or city planners.

In conclusion, the twenty inner city neighborhoods of Columbus yield support for the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model. However, certain neighborhoods, as suggested by Firey (1947), may resist the life cycle process and remain relatively stable; three neighborhoods in this research are classified as stable, and therefore, did not exhibit a life cycle pattern. Finally, the analysis of the factors affecting the operation of the life cycle process contribute greatly to an understanding of urban area differentiation in general, to neighborhood structure and change in particular, and to certain policy implications.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Perry noted that other neighborhood institutions were also essential but that the ones mentioned were practically universal.

2. Other studies (i.e. Downs, 1970; Smith, 1963) have been closely related to the Hoover and Vernon Neighborhood Life Cycle Model but were not intended to test the Model.

3. The term, 'gentrification,' was apparently coined by Ruth Glass to describe changes in London neighborhoods in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

4. London acknowledges Walter Firey for this idea concerning 'gentrification.'

5. Clay (1980:19) refers to the latter process (rehabilitation of housing structures by long-term residents) as 'incumbent upgrading.'

Chapter II

1. The 'nonwhite' racial category consists of the following groups: Black, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Malayas, and Asian Indian. However, this racial category is composed primarily of Blacks as manifest by the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between percent nonwhite and percent Black in 1970. ($r = .99$, $p < .001$)

2. Since the acreage of German Village and Mount Vernon Plaza was known, the accuracy of using the polar planimeter could be estimated. As stated in the chapter, the margin of error was never more than five percentage points. Further, Vaughn (1980:80) estimated the margin of error as being within ± four percentage points.

3. When the present presidents (or chairpersons) could not be scheduled for an interview, past presidents (or chairpersons) were used as informants.

4. The question on ethnicity was dropped from the analysis because of serious problems of response validity.

5. The type, quality and value of housing has been shown to be highly correlated with social status. (Nagi, 1969:72; Miller, 1977:211)

6. Regression is based on the following assumptions: (1) For any fixed value of the variable X (independent variable), and Y (dependent variable) is a random variable with certain probability distribution. (2) The Y values are statistically independent of one another. (3) The mean value of Y is a straight line function of X. (4) The variance of Y is the same for any X - homoscedasticity. (5) For any fixed value of X, Y has a normal distribution.

   Scatter plots and coefficients of skewness were examined to check the statistical assumptions. None of the assumptions were violated to the degree of expecting bias estimating procedures.

7. The parameters refer to the y-intercept and the unstandardized regression coefficient (b or the slope).

Chapter III

1. The other two units of analysis used to test the life cycle model were "community areas." (see Chapter I)

2. Hilltop is the next neighborhood to be considered.

3. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 is a program of federal assistance designed to primarily improve physical conditions at the local level by providing funds to insure safe housing conditions, a suitable living environment and expanded economic opportunities. The Act requires communities to direct assistance toward deteriorating neighorhoods and primarily benefit low and moderate income residents. Title I of the Act, the Community Development Block Grant Program (CBGP) consolidated seven existing grant-in-aid programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

4. Because of the repetitive nature of the twenty neighborhood presentations, the tables have not been footnoted but have been drawn from the United States Department of Commerce - Census of Housing: 1940-1970, Block Statistics, Columbus, Ohio.

   For the most part, the tables are self-explanatory; however, the following should be noted:
   (1) Percent nonwhite - See Note 1 - Chapter II
   (2) Adjusted Value of housing units - The average value of single-family, owner-occupied housing structures were adjusted to reflect the change in value relative to the rate of inflation.

To obtain these adjusted values, the average value of the housing structures in each neighborhood for each decade was simply divided by the 'Consumer Price Index - U.S. City Average.' The CPI values, based on 1956 dollars, were as follows: 1940 = 48.8; 1950 = 83.8; 1960 - 103.3; 1970 = 135.3. (Labor Law Reports, 1981:;779)

(3) Percent Overcrowded - As stated in Chapter II, this measure of density was affected by a change in definition over the span of the study. In 1940 and 1950, a dense unit was defined as '1.51 persons per room,' while in 1960 and 1970, a dense unit was defined as '1.01 persons per room.'

5. This does not present a problem in the examination of Hilltop because the excluded area is very similar to the neighborhood area included in the study.

6. The data pertaining to property values, the relative value of residential property, were provided by the Columbus Department of Development.

7. It should be recalled that although NECKO supported neighborhood revitalization, the organization was specifically organized to prevent an expansion of The Ohio State University into their residential enclave.

8. This percentage of renters is declining as many middle and upper income homebuyers are moving into the area.

9. This development area also included the old "Flytown" area now known as Thurber Village.

10. Osteopathic medicine provides an additional dimension in the diagnosis and management of disease. More specifically, there is an "emphasis on the relationship between body and structure and organ function and a philosophy of treating the patient as a total unit. These concepts have led to greater understanding of anatomy and special skill in recognizing and correcting structural problems through manipulative therapy." (Doctors Hospital North, 1981, 1981)

11. The rehabilitation efforts were funded, in part, by the Third Year Community Development Block Grant Program.

12. In November-1966, Congress enacted the "Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act," or commonly referred to as the Model Cities Act. The Act provided for a new approach to the problems of race and poverty in the nation's cities by encourgaging the

redevelopment of blighted inner city areas. The intent of the program was to upgrade the total environment and significantly improve the lives of all residents in such neighborhoods.
In November of 1967, Columbus was designated a Model City. The 2.56 square mile area, on the Near East Side, selected to receive these funds was bounded on the north by the Pennsylvania-Central railroad tracks, on the west by Interstate 71, on the south by Interstate 70, and on the east by the Norfolk and Western railroad tracks. (Model Cities in Columbus, 1974:3 and 7)

13. Presently, there are fifteen rental tenants in Mount Vernon Plaza.

14. This uncertainty is also reflected in the target area plan for the neighborhood: ". . . public sector involvement may be required beyond the three to five years funded for the CBGP target area activities. Careful monitoring of local employment will also be necessary as another industrial closing, similar to Federal Glass, could have disasterous effects on the area." (Inner City Areas of Change, 1980)

Contrary to the usual "invasion-succession" sequence, the socio-economic level of the invading group (Blacks) into a neighborhood (Driving Park) was very similar to the socio-economic level of the succeeding group (Jews).

16. See Note 5 - Chapter I

17. These percentages were derived from ratios of similarity. In 1970, the ratios of similarity for Victorian Village and Driving Park with respect to the City of Columbus were 0.59 and 0.63, respectively. Presently, the estimated ratios of similarity for these neighborhoods with respect to the City have increased to 1.70.
Briefly, a ratio of similarity is used to compare characteristics in the neighborhoods to similar attributes in the City of Columbus. The summary measures from the respective neighborhoods were compared to similar measures for the City such that a ratio greater than one indicated that the measure was higher in the neighborhood than in the City, while a ratio less than one indicated that the measure was less than that of the City. The ratio of similarity is used in Tables 1 - 3 in Appendix D.

Chapter IV

1. The revitalization of German Village, the first neighborhood to undergo such a process, was totally financied by the private sector; thus, it is an exception to this statement.

2. The Section 8 Housing Program was part of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969. The program enabled Public Housing Agencies to offer expanded opportunities for rental assistance to lower income families utilizing existing units. It also provided a mechanism for these families to obtain housing in areas with substantially small proportion of low income residents. (Public Housing Agency Administrative Practice Handbook For The Section 8 Existing Housing Program, 1979:2.2)

3. In addition, more than 85,000 people work in the downtown area daily.

4. Essentially, the commission has more of a political impact because seven of its members are appointed by the mayor. By law, one member has to be an architect, one member has to be on city council, one member has to be a local businessperson and the remaining member can be an 'interested citizen.' Typically, the mayor appoints the city council member and takes the recommendation of the neighborhood organizations for the other appointments.

5. This housing project consisted of a very homogeneous population; however, because of a lack of unity and maintenance and construction defaults, it became a professional embarrassment. For further discussion, see Schwirian, 1977:167 and Suttles, 1972:12)

6. The effect of transportation on the operation of the life cycle in Driving Park was minimal while the effect of transportation on Victorian Village was substantial. The advent of the auto in the 1920's signaled the beginning of the 'downgrading' stage for the latter as the neighborhood's wealthier residents began to move to the fringe areas, a movement that permitted individuals of lower socio-economic means to inhabit the vacated housing structures.

7. This popular term, 'Reagonomics,' refers to the economic policies of the Reagan Administration.

Chapter V

1. Additional examples of these policy implications can be found in Chapter I (page 37).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arter, Bill. 1966. Columbus Vignettes. Columbus: Nida Eckstein Printing, INC.

Arter, Bill. 1969. Columbus Vignettes, II. Columbus: Nida Eckstein Printing, INC.

Berry, B. J. L., J. W. Simmons, R. L. Tennant. 1963. "Urban Population Densities: Structure and Change," Geographic Review 53, 389-405.

Berry Edna H. 1979. Neighborhood Life Cycles: A Comparison of Two Historic, Rehabilitated Neighborhoods. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Bingle, Anne. 1978. "Renewing The American Dream," Columbus Business Forum, Vol. 14, No. 8 (September), pp. 20-21.

Birch, David. C. 1971. "Toward A Stage Theory of Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 37, pp. 78-87.

Butler, Edgar W. 1976. Urban Sociology: A Systematic Approach. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Campen, Richard N. 1978. German Village Portrait. Columbus: Richard N. Campen and West Summit Press.

Capitol Square Study. 1979. Columbus: City of Columbus, Department of Development, (March).

Cicin-Sain, Biliana. 1980. "The Costs and Benefits of Neighborhood Revitalization," in Urban Revitalization, Donald B. Rosenthal, ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Vol. 18, pp. 49-75.

Clark, Colin. 1951. "Urban Population Densities," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A. No. 4, pp. 490-496.

Cleaver, Partick T. 1963. The Development of An Index For Estimating Social Class Levels of City Blocks. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Clintonville Information Profile: Community Planning Area 10. 1976. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (August).

Collins, Richard C. 1980. "Changing Views on Historical Conservation in Cities," American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals 451 (September), pp. 86-97.

Community Development Block Grant Program: First Annual Report. 1975. Washington, D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Compensating Polar Planimeter Instructors Manual. 1972. New York: Deuffel and Esser.

Condon, George E. 1977. Yesterday's Columbus: A Pictorial History of Ohio's Capital. Miami, Florida: E. A. Seemann, Publishing, INC.

Cooley, Charles H. 1924. Social Organization. New York: Charles Schirbner's Sons.

Doctors Hospital North. 1981. Columbus: Doctors Hospital.

Downs, A. 1970. Urban Problems and Prospects. Chicago: Markam Press.

Downtown Columbus. 1978. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (June).

Duncan, Beverly, Georges Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdol. 1962. "Patterns of City Growth," in Comparative Urban Structure: Studies in the Ecology of Cities, Kent P. Schwirian ed. Lexington: D. D. Heath Company, pp. 63-73.

Firey, Walter. 1947. Land Use In Central Boston. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Form, William, Joel Smith, Gregory Stone and James Cowhig. 1954. "The Compatibility of Alternative Approaches to Delimitation of Urban-Subareas," American Sociological Review 19, pp. 434-400.

Foster, Kathy G. 1981a. "Neighborhoods: Driving Park - A Close Community," The Columbus Dispatch, Section L, April 12, p. 6.

Foster, Kathy G. 1981b. "Neighborhoods: Harrison West's Changing Style," The Columbus Dispatch, Section L, May 24, p. 6.

Foster, Kathy G. 1981c. "Neighborhoods: Hilltop - A Small Town Nested in a Big City," The Columbus Dispatch, Section L, April 19, p. 6.

Foster, Kathy G. 1981d. "Neighborhoods: Old Beechwold," The Columbus Dispatch, Section K, May 17, pp. 8-9.

Foster, Kathy G. 1981e. "Neighborhoods: South Linden," The Columbus Dispatch, Section K, May 10, pp. 8-9.

Franklinton Information Profile: Community Planning Area 16. 1976. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (July).

Gapp, Paul. 1980. "The American City: Challenge of the 80's." The Chicago Tribune, Section 1, March, pp. 1 and 10.

Garrett, Betty and Edward R. Lentz. 1980. Columbus: America's Crossroads. Tulsa, Oklahoma: Continental Heritage Press, INC.

Garvey, Peggy. 1981. "Neighborhoods: The University District," The Columbus Dispatch, Section K, March 1, pp. 10-11.

Goodman, John Jr. 1980. "People of the City," American Demogrpahics, 2, pp. 14-17.

Gordon, C. W. and Nicholas Babchuk. 1959. "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review 24, pp. 22-29.

Greer, Scott. 1962. The Emerging City: Myth and Reality. New York: The Free Press.

Guest, Avery M. 1973. "Urban Growth and Population Densities," Demography 10, pp. 53-69.

Guest, Avery M. 1974. "Neighborhood Life Cycles and Social Status," Economic Geography 27, pp. 228-243.

Haggerty, Lee J. 1971. "Another Look at the Burgess Hypothesis: Time as an Important Variable," American Journal of Sociology 76, pp. 1084-1093.

Harris, Simon R. 1976. Gentrification in the Inner City: Conceptualization and Empirical Evidence. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Hawley, Amos. H. 1950. Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure. New York: The Ronald Press.

Hilltop Information Profile: Community Planning Area 15. 1976. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (July).

Hooper Osman C. 1920. History of The City of Columbus, Ohio. Columbus: The Memorial Publishing Company.

Hoover, Edgar M. and Raymond Vernon. 1962. Anatomy of a Metropolis. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company.

Hoyt, Homer. 1939. The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities. Washington, D.C.: Federal Housing Administration.

Hudson, James R. 1980. "Revitalization of Inner-City Neighborhoods: An Ecological Approach," Urban Affairs Quarterly 15, pp. 397-408.

Hunter, Albert. 1974. "Community Change: A Stochastic Analysis of Chicago's Local Communities," American Journal of Sociology 79, pp. 923-947.

Hunter, Albert. 1974. Symbolic Communities: The Persistence and Change of Chicago's Local Communities. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hunter, Albert. 1979. "The Urban Neighborhood: Its Analysis and Social Contexts," Urban Affairs Quarterly 14, pp. 267-288.

Inner City Areas of Change: A Study of The Relative Value of Residential Property. 1980. City of Columbus, Department of Development.

Isaacs, Reginald R. 1948. "The Neighborhood Theory: An Analysis of Its Adequacy," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 14, pp. 15-23.

Italian Village Manual and Architectural Control Ordinance. n.d. Italian Village Commission.

Kehres, Kelvin. 1981a. "Neighborhoods: Franklinton - Future in Doubt?" The Columbus Dispatch, Section L, March 22, pp. 8-9.

Kehres, Kelvin. 1981b. "Neighborhoods: Italian Village on the Move," The Columbus Dispatch, Section L, March 29, pp. 8-9.

Keller, Suzanne. 1968. The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House, INC.

Labor Law Reports: Labor Relations. 1981. Commerce Clearing House, INC.

LaGory, Mark and John Popkin. 1981. Urban Social Space. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, INC.

Laska, Shirley B. and Daphne Spain (eds.) 1980. Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation. New York: Pergamon Press, INC.

Black, J. Thomas. "Private-Market Housing Renovation in Central Cities: An Urban Land Institute Survey," pp. 3-12.

Clay, Phillip L. "The Rediscovery of City Neighborhoods: Reinvestment By Long-Time Residents," pp. 13-26.

Chefnoff, Michael. "Social Displacement in A Renovating Neighborhood's Commercial District: Atlanta," pp. 204-219.

Fusch, Richard. "A Case of Too Many Actors: Columbus," pp. 156-172.

Gale, Dennis E. "Neighborhood Resettlement: Washington, D.C.," pp. 95-115.

Laska, Shirley B. and Daphne Spain. "Anticipating Renovators' Demands: New Orleans," pp. 116-137.

Lipton. S. Gregory. "Evidence of Central-City Revival," pp. 42-60.

London, Bruce. "Gentrification as Urban Reinvasion: Some Preliminary Definitional and Theoretical Considerations," pp. 77-92.

Spain, Daphne. "Indicators of Urban Revitalization: Racial and Socioeconomic Changes in Central-City Housing," pp. 27-41.

Tournier, Robert E. "Historic Preservation as a Force in Urban Change: Charleston," pp. 173-186.

Weiler, Conrad. "The Neighborhood's Role in Optimizing Reinvestment: Philadelphia," pp. 220-235.

Lee, Terence. 1968. "Urban Neighborhod as a Socio-Spatial Schema," Human Relations 21, pp. 241-265.

Livingston Park Neighborhood Notice. 1981. Vol. 2, No. 1, (January), Livingston Park Neighborhood Organization.

Livingston Park Neighborhood Notice. 1981. Vol. 2, No. 6, (June), Livingston Park Neighborhood Organization.

Long, Larry H. 1980. "What The Census Will Tell Us About Gentrification," American Demographics 2, pp. 18-21.

Lutsch, Margaret. 1979. "Where is Hungarian Village?" The Southern Light, Vol. 1, No. 5, July 16, p. 6.

Lutsch, Margaret. 1980. "Livingston Park Becomes A Real Neighborhood," The Southern Light, Vol. 1, No. 23, March 24, p. 4.

McKenzie, Roderick D. 1923. The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

March Against Displacement: Harrison West. 1981. The Columbus Tenants Union.

Miller, Delbert C. 1977. Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, New York: David McKay Company, INC.

Model Cities: Area Plan 37. 1974. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (March).

Model Cities in Columbus. 1974. Citizens Research, INC. (April).

Moffat, Donald W. 1976. Economics Dictionary. New York: American Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, INC.

Myers, Jerome K. 1954. "Note on the Homogeneity of Census Tracts: A Methodological Problem in Urban Ecological Research," Social Forces 32, pp. 364-366.

Nagi, Saad Z. 1969. Disability and Rehabilitation: Legal, Clinical and Self-Concepts and Measurement. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.

Near East Information Profile: Community Planning Area 19. 1976. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (July).

Near South Information Profile: Community Planning Area 22. 1977 City of Columbus, Department of Development, (March).

Newling, Bruce. 1969. "The Spatial Variation of Urban Population Densities," The Geographic Review 59 (April), pp. 242-252.

Nisbet, Robert A. 1969. Social Change and History: Aspects of The Western Theory of Development. London: Oxford University Press.

Olds, Edward B. 1949. "The City Block as a Unit for Recording and Analyzing Urban Data," Journal of the American Statistical Association 44, pp. 484-500.

O'Loughlin, John and Douglas C. Munski. 1979. "Housing Rehabilitation in The Inner City: A Comparison of Two Neighborhoods in New Orleans," Economic Geography 55, pp. 52-70.

Osbourne, Julia. 1980. "A Nearly Perfect Neighborhood," Columbus Monthly, Vol. 6, No. 12, pp. 66-76.

Park, Robert E., E. W. Burgess and R. D. McKenzie. 1925. The City. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Park, Robert E. 1952. Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology, New York: The Free Press.

Perry, Clarence A. 1929. "The Neighborhood Unit: A Scheme of Arrangement for the Family-Life Community," Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs: Neighborhood and Community Planning 7, pp. 20-140.

Public Housing Agency Administrative Practice Handbook For Section 8 Existing Housing Program. 1979. Washington, D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Reeb-Hosack Policy Plan. 1974. Reeb-Hosack Area Planning Committee.

Ricketts, Gilbert M.V. 1974. The Development Plan For Italian Village. Italian Village Commission.

Rybak, Ron. 1978. Harrison West: Community Center Feasibility Study. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (March).

Saunders, Arthur. 1971. Columbus Model City Area: A Development Concept, City of Columbus, Department of Development.

Scherer, Arnold M. and Edythe L. 1978. Simplex Guide of the City of Columbus. Dhreher's Simplex Guide, INC.

Schwab, William A. 1976. A Test of the Neighborhood Life Cycle Model of Hoover and Vernon. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Schwirian, Kent P. 1974. Comparative Urban Structure: Studies in the Ecology of Cities. Massachesetts: D.D. Heath and Company.

Schwirian, Kent P. 1977. Contemporary Topics in Urban Sociology. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Press.

Seidler, John. 1974. "On Using Informants: A Technique for Collecting Quantitative and Controlling Measurement Error In Organization Analysis," American Sociological Review 39, pp. 816-831.

Sherry, Scot. 1978. "Mount Vernon Plaza," Columbus Business Forum, Vol. 14, No. 8, pp. 16-18.

Sims, William R. 1973. Neighborhoods: Columbus Neighborhood Definition Study. City of Columbus, Department of Development.

Smith, Joel. 1954. "A Method for the Classification of Areas on the Basis of Demographically Homogeneous Populations," American Sociological Review 19, pp. 201-207.

Smith, Wallace F. 1963. "Forecasting Neighborhood Change," Land Economics 39, pp. 292-297.

Spain, Daphne. 1980. "Black-to-White Successions in Central City Housing: Limited Evidence of Urban Revitalization," Urban Affairs Quarterly 15, pp. 381-396.

Stuart, Reginald. 1978. "Columbus Enjoying A Queit Prosperity as Its Sister Cities in Ohio Decline," The New York Times, Section A, November 20, p. 18.

Sullivan, Richard J. 1980. Victorian Village: A Study of Neighborhood Restoration. Columbus: Victorian Village Society.

Suttles, Gerald D. 1972. The Social Construction of Communities. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, William A. 1909. Centennial History of Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio. Chicago-Columbus: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company.

Timms, Duncan W. G. 1971. The Urban Mosaic: Toward A Theory of Residential Differentiation. London: Cambridge University Press.

Tomeh, Aida K. 1974. "Formal Voluntary Organizations: Participation, Correlates and Interrelationships," in The Community: Approaches and Applications, Marcia P. Effrat, ed. New York: The Free Press.

University/Near North Information Profile: Community Planning Area 13. 1978. City of Columbus, Department of Development, (August).

United States Department of Commerce. Census of Housing: 1940. Block Statistics.

United States Department of Commerce. Census of Housing: 1950. Block Statistics. H-E42.

United States Department of Commerce. Census of Housing: 1960. Block Statistics. HC (3) - 311.

United States Department of Commerce. Census of Housing: 1970. Block Statistics. HC (3).

United States Department of Commerce. Census of Population and Housing: 1970. Final Report PHC (1) - 50 Columbus, Ohio SMSA.

United States Department of Commerce. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1970 (100th Edition).

Vaughan, Suzanne. 1980. The Temporal and Spatial Aspects of the Density-Distance Relationship in Puerto Rico, 1899-1970. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Vaughan, Suzanne and Kent P. Schwirian. 1979. "A Longitudinal Study of Metropolitan Density Patterns in a Developing Country: Puerto Rico, 1899-1970," Environment and Planning A, Vol. II, pp. 423-433.

White, Robert and Gerald A. Wiley. 1972. The Model City Housing and Development Concept: A Survey Report. Columbus: Robert White and Associates.

Winsborough, Hal H. 1963. "An Ecological Approach to the Theory of Suburbanization," The American Journal of Sociology 68, pp. 565-570.

APPENDICIES

- Appendix A -

The Interview Schedule

DETERMINANTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

HELLO, MY NAME IS ALTON THOMPSON AND I AM CONDUCTING A STUDY CONCERNING THE DETERMINANTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE. PLEASE FEEL FREE TO MAKE COMMENTS ABOUT ANY OF THE QUESTIONS AND INDICATE IF THERE ARE ANY THAT YOU DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER. BE ASSURED THAT YOUR RESPONSES WILL REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Neighborhood _____

1. Name of organization _____

2. Informant's

   Name _____

   Title in the organization _____

   Address _____

3. When was the _____ formed?

   _____

4. Why was your organization formed?

   a. To reverse deterioration and take advantage of available resources to rehabilitate the area

   b. To prevent encroachment by a large firm and/or organization

   c. To prevent urban renewal from destroying the residential area

   d. Other: _____

   _____

   _____

5. How regular does your organization meet?

   a. Biweekly

   b. Bimonthly

   c. Bimonthly

   d. Quarterly

   5. Other: _____

6. On the average, how many of the residents attend the regular meeting of your organization?

_____

7. Over the last ten (10) years, has there been much change in the type of membership and leadership within the organization?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, what type change have you noticed?

_____

_____

_____

IF NO, how would you characterize the membership and leadership?

_____

_____

_____

8. Presently, what are the primary goals of the _____ _____?

_____

_____

_____

9. In your judgement, how successful is the organization in addressing these goals?

   a. Highly successful

   b. Somewhat successful

   c. Somewhat unsuccessful

   d. Not successful at all

10. Has the membership of your organization increased, decreased or remained relatively stable over the last five (5) years?

   a. Increased

   b. Decreased

   c. Remained relatively stable

   IF INCREASED OR DECREASED, what is the approximate range of the _____ _____?

   _____ to _____

11. Would you say most of your membership comes from

   a. low-to-moderate income group?

   b. moderate income group?

   c. moderate-to-high income group?

12. Do you think that _____ is attracting other types of residents in addition to the residents your organization was originally intended for?

   YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, what are the types of residents?

_____

_____

_____

On a scale from 1 to 5 (with 5 being very instrumental), how instrumental was the organization in attracting these residents?

_____

13. Does the _____ sponsor promotional activities to foster a positive neighborhood image?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, what are some of these activities?

_____

_____

_____

14. Does your organization participate in any activity (or activities) with other neighborhood organizations?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, what neighborhood organization(s) does your organization share activities with?

_____

_____

_____

What activities are shared?

15. What do you consider to be the main disadvantages or negative qualities of your neighborhood?

16. What do you consider to be the main attractions of your neighborhood?

17. Are most of the housing structures made of brick construction or frame construction?

18. Does the neighborhood housing stock consist primarily of one-unit structures, two-unit structures (doubles) or more than two-unit structures?

19. Are most of these housing structures single-family dwelling units or multiple family dwelling units?

20. Have any of the poor or deteriorated housing structures been rehabilitated in your neighborhood in the last ten (10) years?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, did the majority of rehabilitation funds come from the public sector or private sector?

_____

IF PUBLIC FUNDS, did the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 provide funds to assist in rehabilitating these housing structures?

YES _____ NO _____

IF NO, what public funds were available to the residents?

_____

21. Which type of resident is primarily responsible for the rehabilitation of the housing stock?

a. Long-term resident

b. Incoming resident

c. Other: _____

22. Provided the residents wanted to rehabilitate their housing units, how difficult do you think funding was to obtain?

a. Very difficult

b. Slightly difficult

c. Not difficult at all

23. What is the current price range of the housing stock in your neighborhood?

From _____ to _____

24. What is the average price? _____

25. Do you think that local realtors guided potential homebuyers to look in your neighborhood?

YES _____ NO _____

26. Have there been any other neighborhood improvements over the last ten (10) years?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, what improvements have been made?

_____

_____

_____

27. Did the majority of funds for these neighborhood improvements come from public funds or private funds?

_____

28. Do you think that the rehabilitation of other neighborhoods within the city affected the rehabilitation of _____?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, in what ways?

_____

_____

_____

29. What do you think about the future development of this neighborhood area in the next five (5) years? Do you think it will

    a. improve rapidly?

    b. improve slightly?

    c. remain stable?

    d. decline slightly?

    e. decline rapidly?

30. What are the major ethnic groups in your neighborhood?

    _____

    _____

31. About what proportion of the total number of residents does each ethnic group compose?

    _____

    _____

32. How would you rate the ethnic ties in _____?

    a. Excellent

    b. Above average

    c. Average

    d. Below average

    e. Poor

33. How would you rate the neighborliness of local residents?

    a. Excellent

    b. Above average

    c. Average

    d. Below average

    e. Poor

34. Finally, are there any additional comments about _____ concerning the reason(s) it has undergone change that you think should be noted?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND HELP.

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

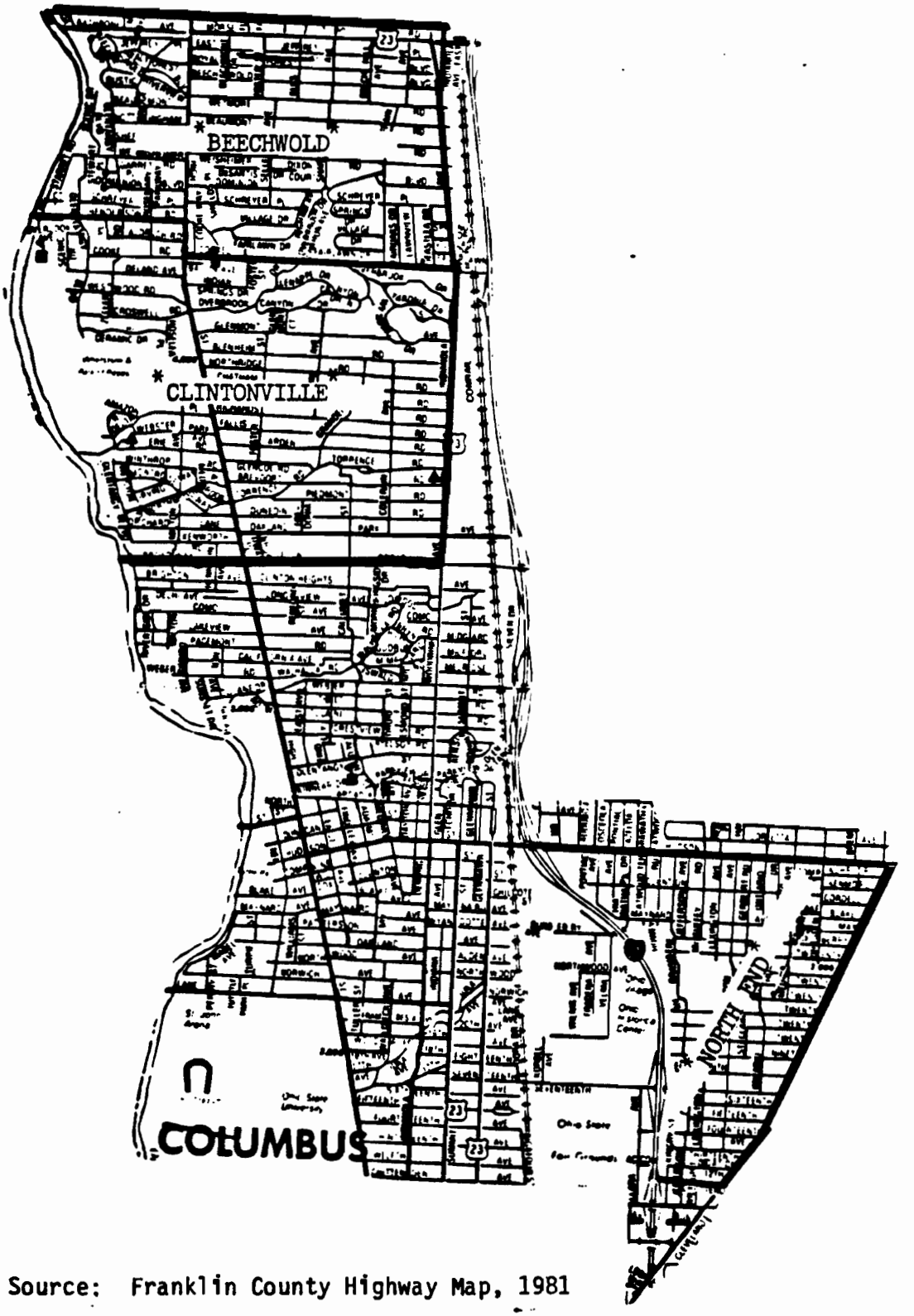
Place: _____

Rapport: _____

- Appendix B -

Maps

Map 1

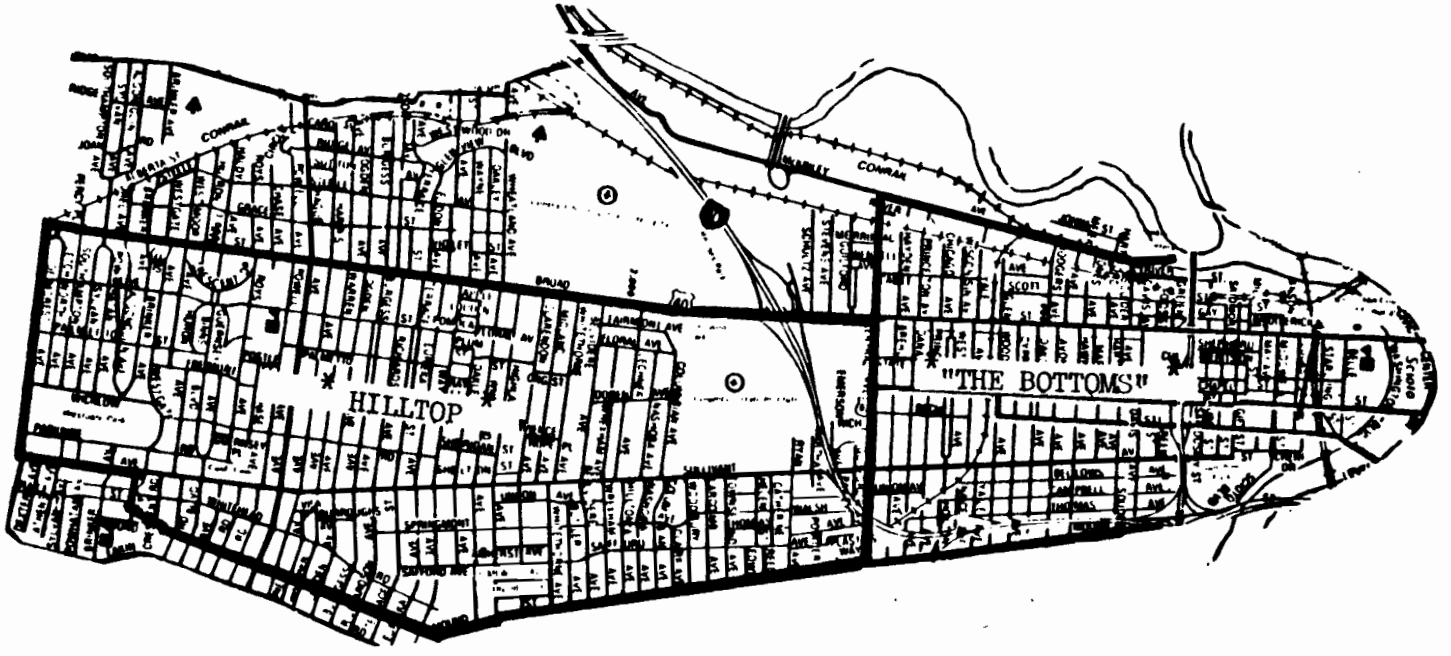


Source: Franklin County Highway Map, 1981

Map 2

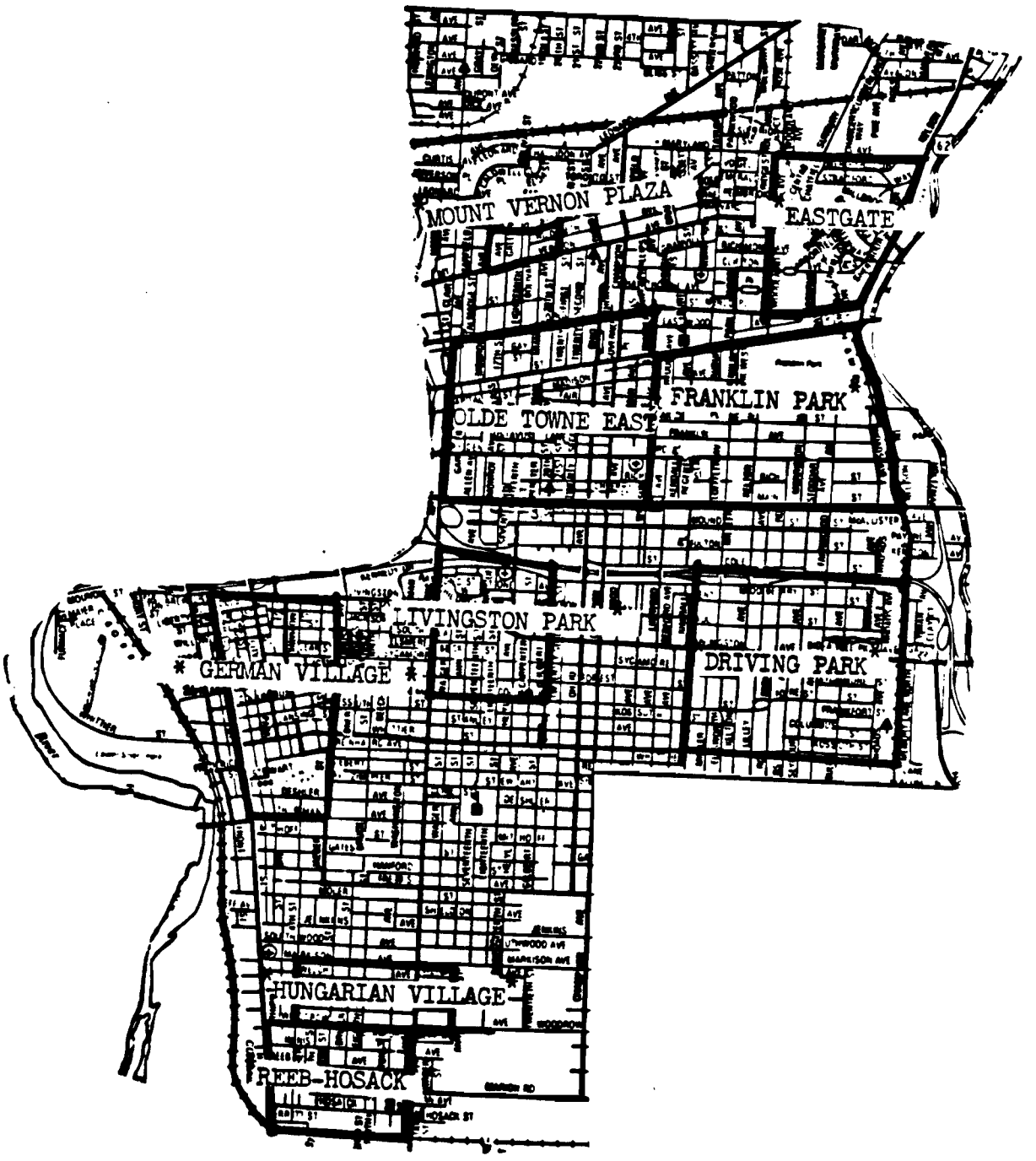
Source: Franklin County Highway Map, 1981

Map 3



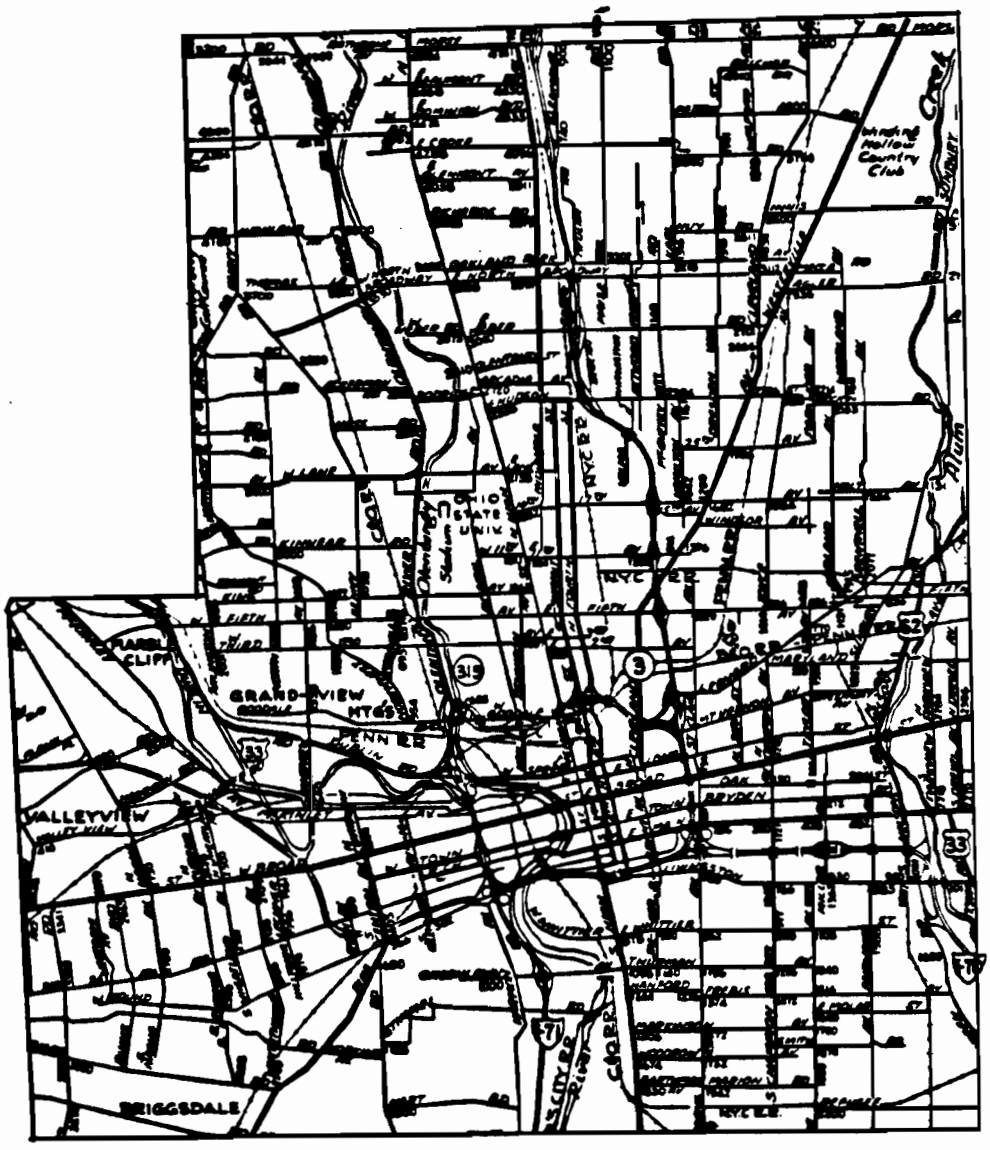
Source: Franklin Countt Highway Map, 1981.

Map 4



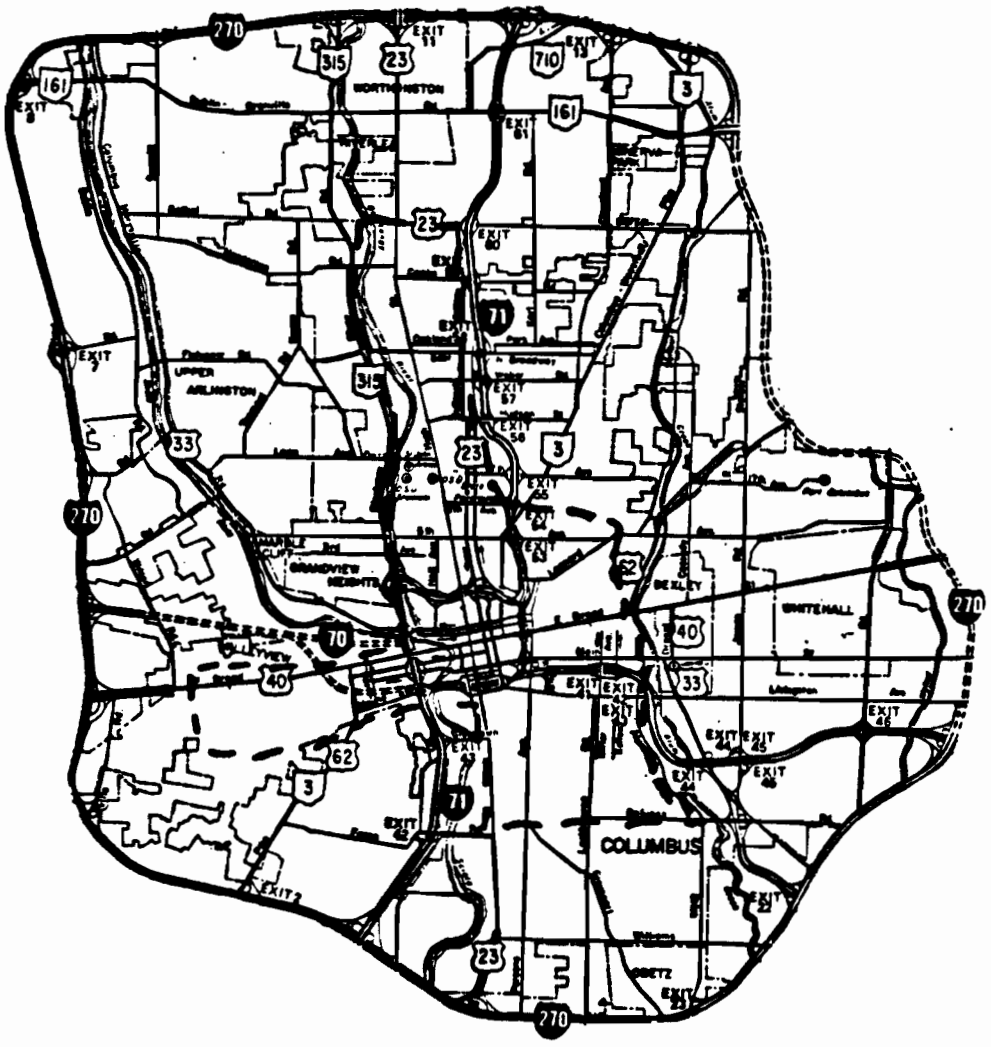
Source: Franklin County Hignway Map, 1981

Map 5



Source: Scherer, Arnold M. and Edytne L. Drehler's Simplex Guide of the City of Columbus, 1978

Map 6



___ Area of Study

Source: Scherer, Arnold M. and Edythe L. Drehler's Simplex Guide of the City of Columbus, 1978

- Appendix C -

Selected Characteristics: Columbus, Ohio and the United States

TABLE I

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS: COLUMBUS, OHIO[1] AND THE UNITED STATES[2]

	Columbus	United States
Demographic Characteristics		
Percent White	81.0	87.4
Percent Black	18.4	11.0
Percent Other Races	0.6	1.5
Sex Ratio	92.5	94.8
Socio-economic Characteristics		
Median Educational Level (Years Completed)	12.2	12.5
Percent High School Graduates	34.0	36.0
Percent College Graduates	11.4	13.9
Median Family Income	$ 9,731	$17,640
Whites	$10,700	$18,368
Blacks	$ 7,556	$10,879
Percent White Collar Workers	54.1	48.3
Percent Blue Collar Workers	35.7	35.3
Nonagricultural Employment		
Manufacturing	23.0	27.3
Wholesale/Retail Trade	21.2	21.2
Transportation/Public Utilities	6.5	6.6
Construction	5.1	5.4
Housing Characteristics		
Percent Owner Occupied	49.6	51.0
Percent Rental Occupied	50.4	49.0
Median Number of Rooms	5.0	4.7
Average Household Size	3.0	3.1
Average Value	$19,000	$18,600
Average Rental Value	$ 95	$ 118
Lacking Some or All Plumbing Facilities	2.2	1.9

[1]United States Department of Commerce, Census of Population and Housing: 1970. Final Report PHC (1) - 50 Columbus, Ohio.

[2]United States Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1970 (100th Edition)

- Appendix D -

Selected Neighborhood Characteristics Obtained from Block Data

TABLE 1

Similarity Between the Neighborhoods and the City of Columbus: Occupied Housing Units

	Percent Owner-Occupied				Percent Renter-Occupied			
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1940	1950	1960	1970
Columbus	35.7	46.5	51.6	48.4	60.7	52.0	48.4	46.5
'The Bottoms'	0.88	0.90	0.75	0.69	1.09	1.09	1.14	1.31
Hilltop	1.59	1.53	1.31	1.25	0.67	0.53	0.60	0.78
Clintonville	2.09	1.92	1.62	1.70	0.34	0.19	0.29	0.35
Beechwold	2.24	1.89	1.66	1.76	0.24	0.20	0.26	0.29
Necko	1.07	0.69	0.39	0.10	0.91	1.28	1.52	1.89
Denniaon Place	0.75	0.51	0.30	0.20	1.11	1.44	1.55	1.76
Harrison West	0.74	0.85	0.54	0.37	1.16	1.15	1.32	1.59
Victorian Village	0.48	0.43	0.33	0.23	1.29	1.51	1.71	1.67
Italian Village	0.45	0.48	0.39	0.36	1.34	1.46	1.44	1.59
Unity	0.28	0.50	0.47	0.36	1.44	1.45	1.39	1.54
North End	1.33	1.57	1.29	1.19	0.83	0.50	0.62	0.82
Mount Vernon Plaza	0.43	0.74	0.61	0.56	1.40	1.25	1.20	1.20
Olde Towne East	0.69	0.54	0.32	0.26	1.15	1.41	1.50	1.53
Franklin Park	0.91	0.75	0.51	0.46	1.04	1.22	1.32	1.38
Eastgate	1.56	1.65	0.91	0.83	0.60	0.43	1.03	1.20
Driving Park	2.10	1.35	1.12	1.07	0.37	0.71	0.79	0.93
Livingston Park	1.03	0.99	0.77	0.82	0.98	1.02	1.12	1.12
German Village	0.88	0.79	0.68	0.64	1.08	1.19	1.24	1.35
Hungarian Village	1.24	1.32	1.12	1.05	0.90	0.73	0.84	0.99
Reeb-Hosack	0.74	0.81	0.72	0.72	1.19	1.18	1.21	1.24

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Block Statistics, 1940-1970.

TABLE 2

Similarity Between the Neighborhoods
and the City of Columbus: Average Value of Units

	Owner Units				Rental Units			
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1940	1950	1960	1970
Columbus	—	8964	14300	19000	30.78	39.86	68.00	95.00
'The Bottoms'	—	0.64	0.66	0.51	0.68	0.79	0.88	0.73
Hilltop	—	1.02	0.91	0.78	1.18	1.16	1.09	0.88
Clintonville	—	1.60	1.43	1.26	2.08	1.62	1.39	1.20
Beechwold	—	1.58	1.54	1.35	1.96	1.88	1.52	1.21
Necko	—	1.42	1.22	—	1.44	1.26	0.93	1.00
Dennison Place	—	1.02	0.83	0.63	1.17	1.15	0.97	0.93
Harrison West	—	0.69	0.58	0.48	0.76	0.84	0.90	0.71
Victorian Village	—	0.65	0.75	0.59	1.53	0.96	0.94	0.78
Italian Village	—	0.55	0.52	0.48	0.61	0.75	0.84	0.66
Unity	—	0.70	0.64	0.58	0.81	0.77	0.92	0.70
North End	—	0.96	0.85	0.72	0.98	1.08	1.09	0.87
Mount Vernon Plaza	—	0.68	0.44	0.49	0.55	0.65	0.92	0.59
Olde Towne East	—	0.89	0.79	0.59	1.21	1.16	0.98	0.79
Franklin Park	—	1.04	0.92	0.77	1.32	1.16	1.10	0.82
Eastgate	—	1.38	1.16	1.08	1.63	0.97	1.10	0.88
Driving Park	—	1.06	0.89	0.75	1.32	1.09	1.11	0.86
Livingston Park	—	0.69	0.68	0.58	0.83	0.82	0.96	0.80
German Village	—	0.64	0.58	0.77	0.69	0.77	0.85	0.91
Hungarian Village	—	0.74	0.66	0.58	0.84	0.87	0.98	0.80
Reeb-Hosack	—	0.58	0.55	0.50	0.59	0.70	0.86	0.71

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Block Statistics, 1940–1970.

TABLE 3

Similarity Between the Neighborhoods and the City of Columbus: Quality Indexes

	Percent Overcrowded				Percent of Units Lacking Adequate Plumbing			
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1940	1950	1960	1970
Columbus	3.6	3.6	9.8	6.3	15.9	12.6	3.9	1.30
'The Bottoms'	1.36	1.14	1.33	1.56	1.76	1.92	0.54	1.30
Hilltop	2.83	1.30	0.53	0.89	0.64	0.37	0.20	0.35
Clintonville	0.01	0.04	0.21	0.34	0.23	0.09	0.05	0.14
Beechwold	0.09	0.06	0.19	0.25	0.20	0.03	0.02	0.25
Necko	0.12	0.44	0.47	0.87	0.11	0.23	0.26	1.52
Dennison Place	0.53	1.33	0.74	0.63	1.53	1.93	3.87	3.30
Harrison West	0.81	0.92	2.03	2.63	1.91	1.56	1.54	0.56
Victorian Village	1.61	1.19	1.60	1.63	2.02	2.60	2.69	4.26
Italian Village	2.44	1.75	1.78	1.96	2.73	3.00	3.18	4.00
Unity	0.78	0.67	1.55	1.92	0.43	0.72	0.28	0.56
North End	0.33	0.16	0.82	1.92	0.43	0.23	0.10	0.43
Mount Vernon Plaza	1.58	2.92	1.98	1.44	3.01	3.80	1.23	2.09
Olde Towne East	0.58	1.28	2.00	1.67	1.29	1.90	3.67	5.65
Franklin Park	0.29	0.53	1.04	1.35	0.85	0.62	1.54	1.13
Eastgate	0.15	0.09	0.30	0.70	0.23	0.20	0.00	0.14
Driving Park	0.07	0.08	0.53	1.33	0.32	0.10	0.09	0.40
Livingston Park	0.61	0.81	1.30	1.87	1.55	1.13	0.25	0.41
German Village	1.34	1.36	1.46	0.73	2.03	1.94	0.87	2.21
Hungarian Village	0.94	1.08	1.00	1.25	1.40	1.13	0.28	0.65
Reeb-Hosack	2.89	2.97	2.00	2.19	0.65	0.97	1.26	4.26

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Block Statistics, 1940-1970.

TABLE 4

Quality of Housing Units for the City of Columbus and Selected Neighborhoods, 1960

	Deteriorated Units		Dilapidated Units	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Columbus	24168	15.9	6870	4.5
'The Bottoms'	3245	59.8	565	11.5
Hilltop	917	9.8	102	1.1
Clintonville	53	1.4	2	0.05
Beechwold	16	0.62	4	0.15
Necko	115	21.5	2	0.37
Dennison Place	273	20.0	230	16.8
Harrison West	445	35.8	33	2.6
Victorian Village	1001	27.5	118	3.2
Italian Village	822	38.4	124	5.8
Unity	231	33.8	116	17.0
North End	77	2.2	12	0.34
Mount Vernon Plaza	139	43.2	57	17.7
Olde Towne East	1119	27.0	402	9.7
Franklin Park	679	23.9	39	1.4
Eastgate	8	1.1	7	0.98
Driving Park	89	3.5	8	0.31
Livingston Park	141	12.2	117	10.1
German Village	1372	61.1	66	2.9
Hungarian Village	149	17.6	23	2.7
Reeb-Hosack	396	32.0	114	9.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Block Statistics, 1940-1970.

- Appendix E -

Figures for Chapter IV

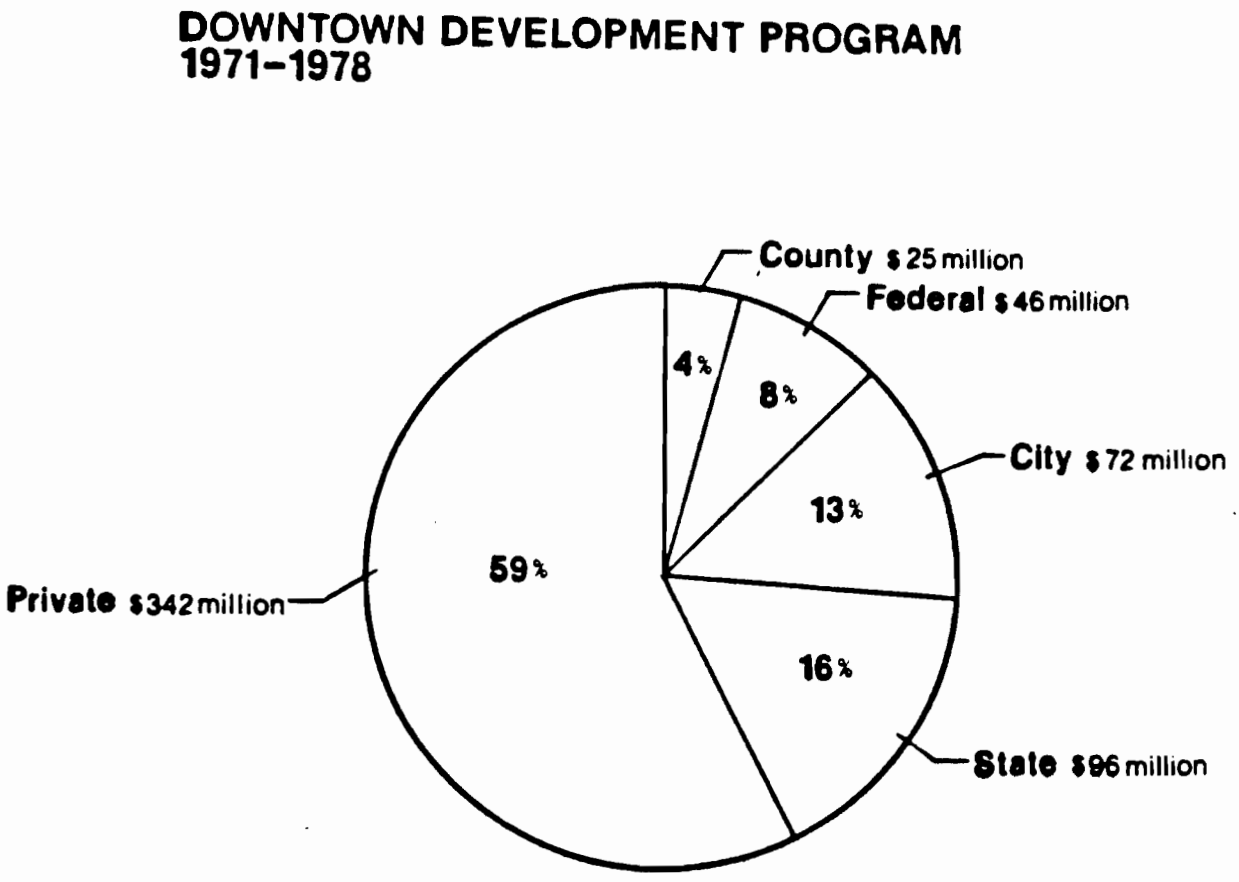
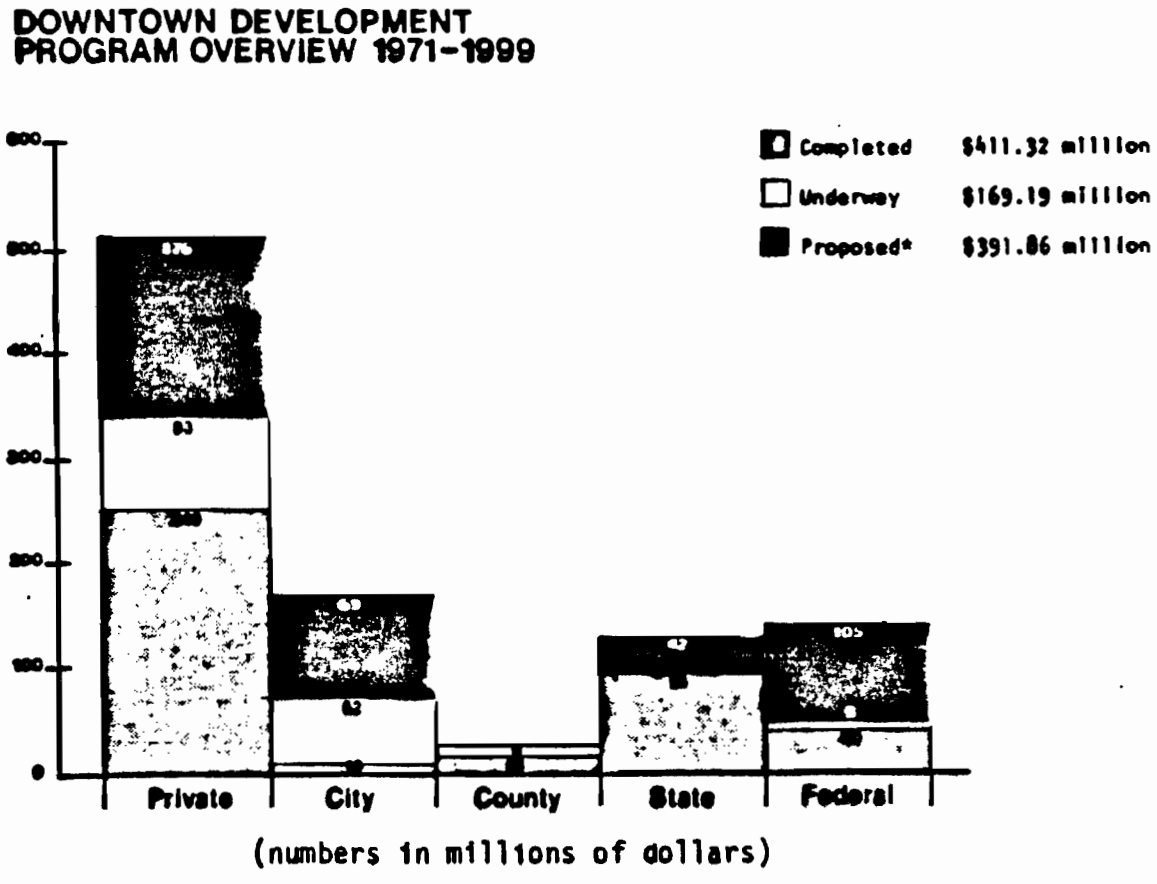


Figure 3. Sources of Funding for Downtown Development Program

Source: Downtown Columbus. Department of Development, City of Columbus, June, 1978.



*Includes only those dollars currently identified.

Figure 4. Status of Funding for Downtown Development Program

Source: Downtown Columbus. Department of Development, City of Columbus, June, 1978.

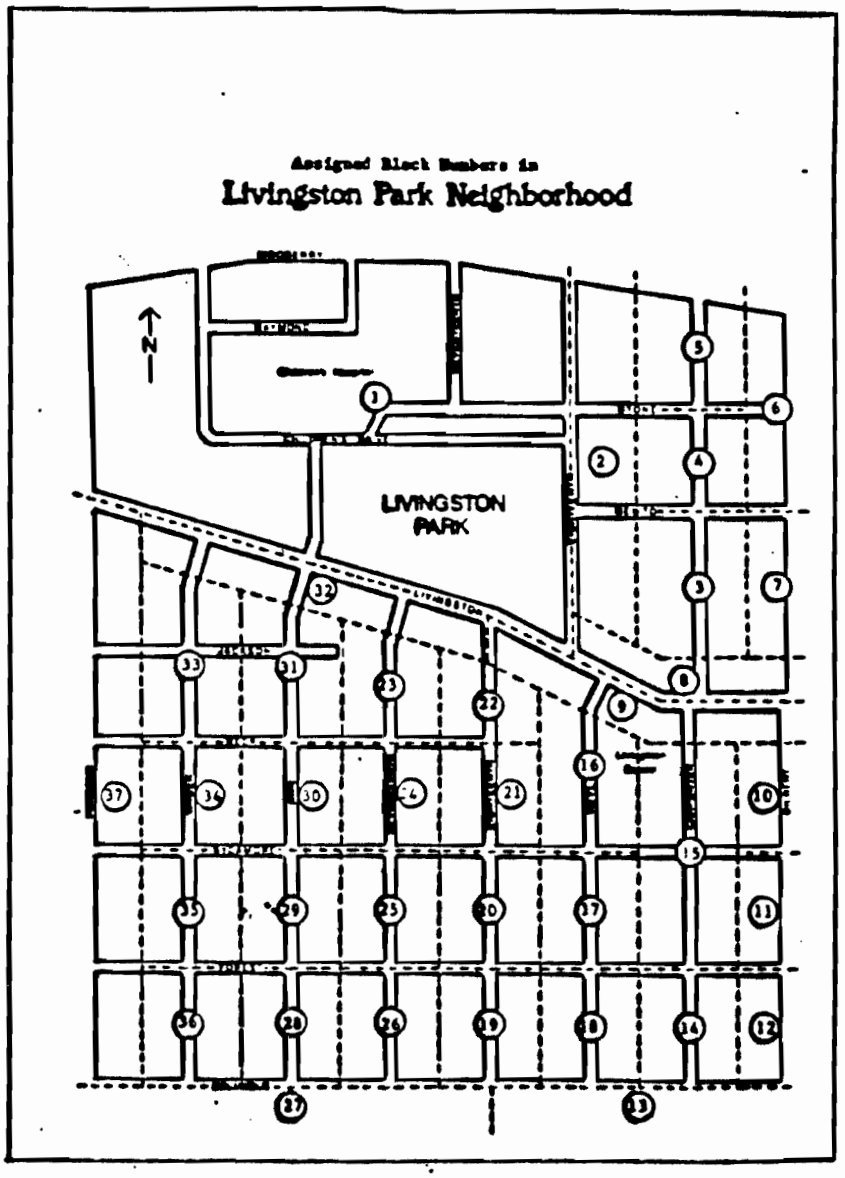


Figure 5. Assigned Face Blocks for Livingston Park Neighborhood

Source: Livingston Park Neighborhood Notice, Livingston Park Neighborhood Organization, Volume 2, Number 6, June, 1981.