The Thesis committee for Matthew Clayton Martinec

certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

The Political Economy of Neighborhood Change and Public Housing (re)Development in Austin, Texas

APPROVED BY

SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor: _____

Elizabeth J. Mueller

Co-Supervisor: _____

Barbara Brown Wilson

The Political Economy of Neighborhood Change and Public Housing (re)Development in Austin, Texas

by

Matthew Clayton Martinec, B.B.A., M.A.

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The Political Economy of Neighborhood Change and Public Housing (re)Development in Austin, Texas

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Matthew Clayton Martinec, M.S.C.R.P.

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SUPERVISOR(s): Elizabeth J. Mueller and Barbara Brown Wilson

The aim of this thesis is to explore the evolving relationship between neighborhood change and public housing in the historically black neighborhood of Rosewood in Austin, Texas. In October 2010, the Housing Authority of the City of Austin was awarded a grant to begin the process of redeveloping one of the nation's oldest federally funded public housing facilities – Rosewood Courts. As the once segregated public housing complex is slated for redevelopment, community members representing an assortment of interests have engaged in a series of heated exchanges and elevated discourse surrounding the legacy of public housing in Austin, Texas. At the same time, the Rosewood Neighborhood has witnessed a dramatic transformation in recent decades, losing much of its long-standing black community to an ever emergent gentrifying population. This research evaluates the relationship between neighborhood change and public housing (re)development, highlighting the position of Rosewood Courts within larger processes of policy and political economy transformation.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In the spring of 2014, on a brief trip to New Orleans, Louisiana, I decided to drive by the remains of the Iberville public housing complex adjacent to the French Quarter.[1] As I passed by the gutted interiors of the Iberville, I was struck by the no trespassing signs adorning the construction site fencing – large images of German Shepherds with their canines exposed warning prospective "intruders" that vicious dogs awaited if they decided to jump the fence. The racial connotations were not subtle. The redevelopment of the Iberville is part of the multi-decade effort to vacate the city of its conventional public housing stock, a feat expedited by Hurricane Katrina.[2] Still, the Iberville – proximate to the hub of tourist and entertainment activity – represents something broader: the city's ongoing effort to remake its environs in an image more conducive to supporting a wealthier, globally connected and technically adept citizenry – a radical departure from its pre-Katrina demography.

The legacy of public housing in New Orleans is especially harsh. As one of the first cities to receive federal funding for conventional public housing development in the early 1930s, it was also one of the first cities to begin dismantling its conventional public housing stock under various Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) public housing redevelopment programs.[3] The Iberville public housing complex was admired by

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[1] The Iberville public housing complex was constructed following the Housing Act of 1937 in the former Storyville district of New Orleans. Originally, the Iberville was designated as the segregated "white" public housing facility, reserving a portion of units for military families in the New Orleans area.

[2] Conventional public housing refers to dedicated units of public housing owned and operated by the government; typically, units are grouped together in complex/facility like arrangement.

[3] HUD is a Cabinet department of the Executive branch of government in the United States. HUD was created as the central agency for housing and urban affairs under President Lyndon Johnson in 1965. Today, HUD oversees the allocation of multiple streams of federal transfers to states and cities in the form of conventional public housing funding, Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) / Section 8 and

architectural historians and public housing advocates for its Ivy League-like appearance – complete with verdant central courtyards and solid brick construction resembling the prestigious collegiate atmosphere of Northeastern schools – in a style that some reference as the Grand Era of public housing construction. It was also the last of the conventional public housing facilities in New Orleans to receive federal redevelopment money. Before its closure, the complex, along with the other public housing facilities in the city, had been internalized in the dominant collective imagination of New Orleanians as a locus for crime and other social pathologies associated with the convergence of public housing and the city's black population – almost entirely neglecting that these complexes also supported vibrant, though struggling and marginalized, communities.

My own relation to public housing is relatively distant. My father spent part of his childhood in public housing in Austin, Texas.[4] On a visit to Chicago as a fifth grader, I remember being fascinated by the towers of Cabrini Green, so much so that my parents purchased me a copy of LeAlan Jones and Lloyd Newman's (1993) *Our America*, a narrative of childhood experiences in Chicago's Ida B. Wells Homes. In many ways, this story – which at the time captured the public attention – embodied the elevated discourse of disaster surrounding conventional public housing in the 1990s. Still, these stories contrasted those told by my father and grandmother, where community and place based social networks prompted a nostalgia for aspects of post-War (sub)urbanism. I say this because conventional public housing remains misunderstood. The popular narratives surrounding

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Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs). HUD oversees the operation of the Federal Housing Agency, Federal Housing Finance Agency and Government Sponsored Enterprises (GSEs) Ginnie Mae and Freddie Mac among others.

[4] My father spent part of his childhood (mid-1950s through mid-1960s) in Chalmers Courts, one of the three original public housing facilities in Austin, Texas. Chalmers Courts was initially constructed to house the white working poor.

public housing do not mention its importance to many American families, and the policy responses resulting from these narratives often seem to appeal more to popular discourse than the actual needs of public housing residents. This is further complicated by an evolving policy framework – at federal, state and local levels – that favors market based solutions over readily observed state-based interventions. Conventional public housing, as the most visible physical manifestation of American social policy, remains a target for those espousing the benefits of neoliberalism.[5] Just as conventional public housing poses uncomfortable yet necessary questions pertaining to race relations in the United States, it also raises important concerns with respect to political economy, and the unavoidable housing problems (crises) arising from the structural conditions of dominant political economy.

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[5] Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as,

> …a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defense, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, healthcare, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit (p. 2).

He continues,

> The process of neoliberalization has, however, entailed much 'creative destruction', not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land and habits of the heart. In so far as neoliberalism values market exchange as 'an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs', it emphasizes the significance of contractual relations in the marketplace. It holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market (p.3).

As part of a core course requirement for my graduate studies in community and regional planning at the University of Texas, School of Architecture, I was introduced to the redevelopment initiative surrounding the Rosewood Courts public housing facility in Austin, Texas over the course of the Fall 2012 semester. Unlike New Orleans, Austin's conventional public housing stock has remained fairly intact. As a class, we were invited to observe the public process meetings surrounding the awarding of a HUD Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI) planning grant to the Housing Authority of the City of Austin (HACA) for the redevelopment planning of Rosewood Courts; seeking to acquire input from neighborhood and public housing residents regarding the proposed redevelopment of the property.[6] The first series of public meetings was intense; public housing and neighborhood residents shouted across the auditorium, at each other and at housing authority officials. None of our coursework could have prepared us for the heated dialogue that we witnessed – accusations of racial and class insensitivity were commonplace. To many in the room, HACA officials represented a clear threat to the cultural integrity of a neighborhood in transition. For much of the remaining black population in the Rosewood Neighborhood, the deep racial legacy of public housing redevelopment was obvious. Conventional public housing and subsequent redevelopment programs cannot be

[6] In October 2012, HUD awarded HACA 300 thousand USD to commence a redevelopment planning initiative for Rosewood Courts. Beginning in 2010 the CNI is the latest policy program supporting the redevelopment of conventional public housing in the United States. The grant is designed to be used for facilitating community input and formulating a redevelopment proposal for the site in collaboration with public housing residents and neighborhood stakeholders (representing a slight departure from the site specific nature of previous redevelopment programs). HACA is Austin's local public housing authority (PHA), responsible for conventional and voucher public housing programs in the Austin area. Along with the PHAs of New Orleans and New York, HACA is the oldest PHA in the country. Upon the completion of tasks required by the CNI planning grant, HACA is eligible to receive a CNI construction grant for the implementation of the redevelopment proposal completed with CNI planning grant.

disassociated from their racial context, disproportionately targeting black and minority populations in central cities. Public housing redevelopment programs have been significant contributors to the displacement and fragmentation of black and minority communities across the country; making way for "preferred" mixed income housing, or for black and minority populations easily conflated to mean "mixed-race" (or less of a particular race) housing.

Alongside the contested history of conventional public housing and later redevelopment programs, the Rosewood Neighborhood has witnessed its own contested transformation in recent decades. The relentless growth of Austin, coupled with shifting household preferences in recent decades favoring locations proximate to and within the urban core, has ushered in a period of dramatic neighborhood change for many areas in Central Austin. With the exception of West and Northwest Austin, Austin's historically wealthier areas, most central city neighborhoods have undergone dramatic transformations in recent decades, exhibiting renewed investment in the housing stock, revitalization and redevelopment of commercial corridors and accompanying influx of wealthier households. Central East Austin, specifically the Rosewood Neighborhood, has demonstrated some of the most pronounced change over a relatively shorter time span. As one *Austin American-Statesman* article effectively captures,

> The Rosewood Neighborhood area in East Austin is a rapidly changing part of our city, with new construction, many remodels and the opening of a MetroRail train station… […] Lonny Stern lives in Rosewood and is secretary of the Rosewood Neighborhood area contact team. He moved to the area to be close to downtown. It's easy in Rosewood to have a one-car household, he said. "You can ride your bike everywhere, and we have several bus lines coming through which go downtown," Stern said. The influx of new restaurants and shops is improving the quality of life here, he said: "Every time something new comes around, it keeps getting better and better." […] It is a popular area with many restaurants including East Side Café, East Side Pies and Zandunga Mexican Bistro. "We're really excited

> about the future," Stern said. "this area is ripe for dense development. We feel like it's an undiscovered gem" (Santos, Austin American-Statesman, 2.26.2012).

At the same time, as a share of total population, the black population in Travis County has decreased from 20.4 percent in 1930 to 8.5 percent in 2010 (United States Census Bureau, 1930; United States Census Bureau, 2010).[7] Similarly, when evaluating neighborhood level demographic change, the census tract (8.04) home to the Rosewood Courts facility has exhibited more acute change: in 1980 the total black population amounted to 2,394 persons or 83.39 percent of the total population compared to a 2012 total black population of 460 persons or 19.19 percent of the total population (United States Census Bureau, 1980; United States Census Bureau, 2012).

While gentrification – the displacement of poor and working class populations in favor of wealthier populations – certainly factors into this demographic change, it is not the entirety of the equation. Prior to the early 2000s, previous decades exhibited a flight of the black community to more Northeastern quadrants of the city. As a report on community change in East Austin notes,

> East Austin's Population is changing in ways that may affect the future of the community. In terms of race, there has been a noticeable conversion over the past century, with East Austin transforming from being predominately African-American to predominately Hispanic. In the decades since integration, the African-American community has been dispersing into suburban areas of Austin. With respect to Hispanic growth, Central East Austin is witnessing less of an influx than the city of Austin as a whole (Wilson et al. 2007, p. 27).

Though in part enabled by federally sponsored programs like urban renewal, some of this shift can also be attributed to the black community's concerns regarding crime and other symptoms of community divestment affecting the Rosewood Neighborhood in the decades

[7] The vast majority of the geographical boundaries of the City of Austin lie within Travis County.

following desegregation. Further, these trends can be safely extrapolated to the entirety of Central East Austin. These trends of demographic change are viewed as especially problematic among much of the black community, whose interest in preserving the cultural history of Rosewood is seemingly under threat from an encroaching population unrepresentative of the historical patterns of segregation and resilience that have in part defined the community. Despite this transformation, the Rosewood Neighborhood remains a focal point of the remaining local black community, now eager to reassert their cultural history in the face of dramatic neighborhood change. In many ways, the Rosewood Courts public housing facility provides the highest concentration of remaining black households in the Neighborhood. As the prospects for redevelopment have emerged, questions and concerns surrounding the trajectory of the redevelopment are inevitable.

Rosewood Courts is considered to be the first federally funded and constructed historically black public housing facility in the United States.[8] The public housing site sits atop a portion of the former Emancipation Park, a symbol of racial struggle unique to Texas.[9] The distribution of conventional and voucher public housing in Austin is reflective

[8] Depending on the legislative reference point used, Rosewood Courts was the first public housing facility funded and constructed for black residents under the Housing Act of 1937. Several earlier iterations of housing legislation are responsible for housing complexes like the Iberville (notably unconstrained from construction cost containment provisions found in the Housing Act of 1937), though many of these earliest examples of public housing have disappeared with recent HUD emphasis on redevelopment.

[9] The northeast corner of the Rosewood Courts site sits atop the former Emancipation Park. In Texas, much of the black population celebrates Juneteenth, also known as "Freedom Day" or "Emancipation Day", one of the oldest known celebrations of the end of slavery. While Lincoln's "Emancipation Proclamation" effectively abolished institutionalized slavery, those in Texas were not made aware of the pronouncement for more than six months after when General George Granger, the commander of Union troops in Texas, arrived in Galveston on June 19th, 1865 and announced General Order 3,

> "The people of Texas are informed that, in accordance with a proclamation from the Executive of the United States, all slaves are free. This involves an absolute equality of personal rights and rights of property between former masters and slaves, and the connection heretofore existing between them becomes that between employer and hired

of the spatial patterns of segregation that became institutionalized in the early 20th century; all three of the original conventional public housing facilities – Rosewood Courts, Chalmers Courts and Santa Rita Courts – lie east of Interstate 35 (formerly, East Avenue).[10]

Rosewood Courts is located in Central East Austin, bound by Rosewood Avenue to the north, Poquito Street to the east, Chicon Street to the west, and residential properties to the south.[11] The 8.9 acre site originally consisted of 130 units of public housing, constructed in a low-rise, one and two story style, referencing earlier forms of United States and European social housing models. The housing facility was constructed in two phases. The first phase, placed on the southern, higher elevations of the site consisted of 60 units of one-story rectilinear buildings. Construction of these units began at the same times as Santa Rita Courts, November 1st, 1938. The first three public housing facilities in Austin were constructed using 450,000 USD from the New Deal era United States Housing Authority (USHA), supplemented by 50,000 USD from the Austin Housing Authority (AHA) and the City of Austin.[12] Following the initial allocation of federal monies, the AHA received additional funding from the USHA for the construction of an additional 70 units of public housing on the northern end of the site along Rosewood Avenue, completed January 1st, 1941. Each of the units is comprised of reinforced concrete and brick masonry construction.

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labor. The freedmen are advised to remain quietly at their present homes and work for wages. They are informed that they will not be allowed to collect at military posts and that they will not be supported in idleness either there or elsewhere." (accessed via TSLAC, 2014)

[10] Following the passage of the Housing Act of 1937, Austin began the planning and development of three segregated public housing facilities: Rosewood Courts for the black population; Santa Rita Courts for the Latino population; and, Chalmers Courts for the white population.

[11] See Image 1: "Map of Rosewood Courts"; See Image 2: "Rosewood Courts facilities"

[12] The USHA was created following the Housing Act of 1937 to monitor and support the activities of PHAs. Its first director was Nathan Strauss; and regional representative for Austin, architect Oliver Winston.

Image 1: "Map of Rosewood Courts" (Rosewood Choice, 2012)

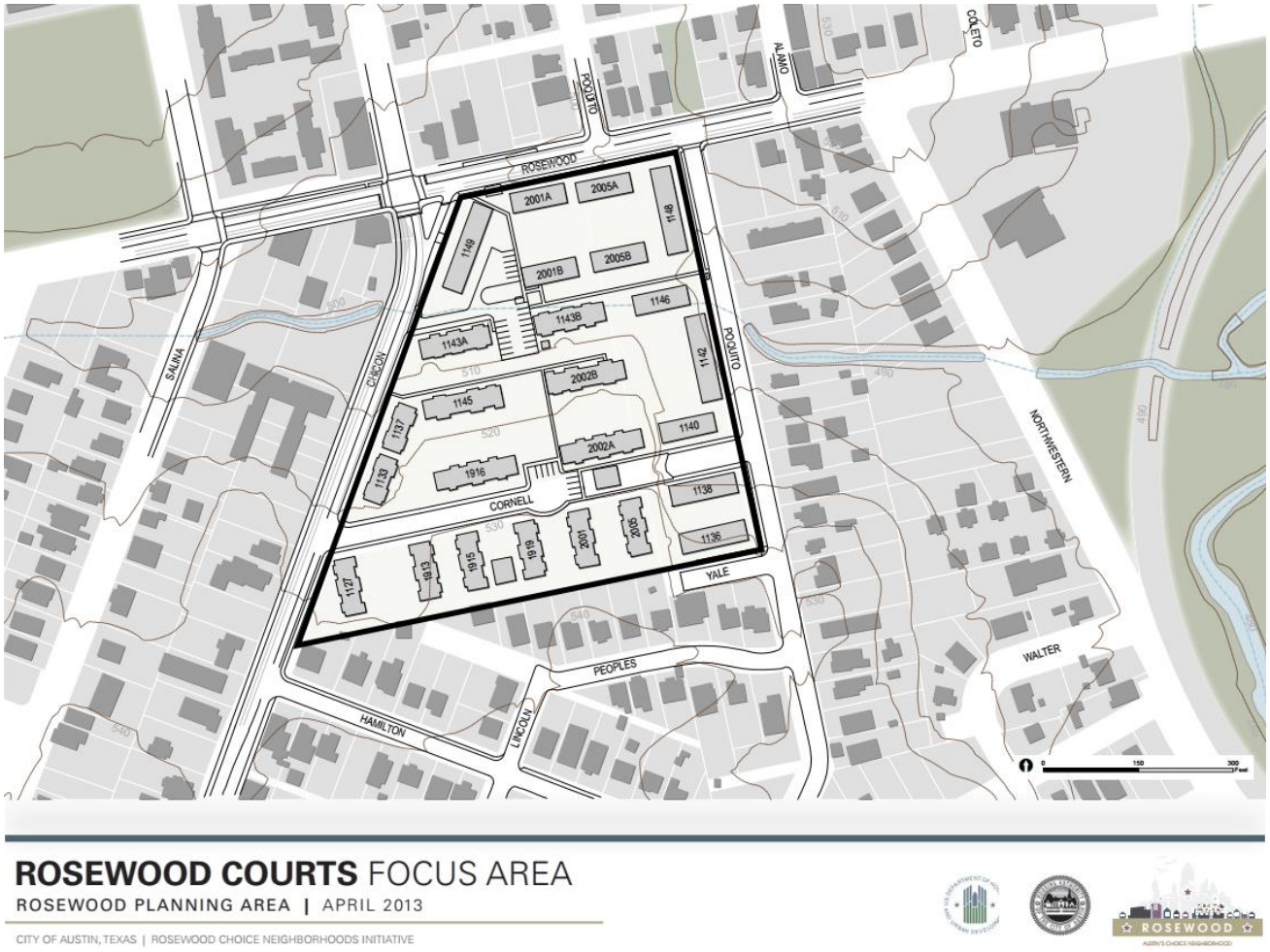

Image 2: "Rosewood Courts facilities" (Phillip Yong, 2013 as retrieved at hacanet.org)

The historical significance of Rosewood Courts to Austin's black community, the rapidly changing conditions of the broader Rosewood Neighborhood – arguably a multifaceted departure from its historical black identity – and the disparate impact and discriminatory intent associated with the dismantling and redevelopment of conventional public housing across America in previous decades, converged to create an atmosphere of visible tension in the early phases of the CNI planning grant implementation.

Unlike New Orleans, and numerous other cities, Austin's PHA – HACA – has demonstrated itself to be a relatively competent administrator of public housing programs, maintaining most of its conventional public housing stock and expanding voucher programs (HUD, 2013).[13] The relative managerial and programmatic competence of HACA, and Austin's lack of participation in previous, more easily criticized, public housing redevelopment programs, does not map easily onto the national narratives regarding public housing redevelopment. Yet, the layers of neighborhood change, historical racial segregation (public housing facility and neighborhood level) and legacy of previous public housing redevelopment programs merged to create situation that HACA was ill prepared to confront.

As the remainder of conventional public housing stock continues to age, and need for some form of rehabilitation persists, it is critical that we collectively recognize the relationship – however problematic – of public housing to ever threatened and increasingly disappearing black and minority neighborhoods proximate to the central city.[14] The dynamics between the co-evolutionary streams of neighborhood change and public housing

[13] In 2013, and previous years, HACA was named a "high performing" PHA by HUD's Public Housing Assessment System (PHAS).
[14] In 1973, President Richard Nixon declared a moratorium on the construction of any new conventional public housing stock in the United States. With the exception of money allocated to redevelopment programs, no new conventional public housing stock has been added.

redevelopment programs, especially in the context of highly racialized histories, provides a flash point for the structural evolution of institutionalized policies and seemingly invisible forces contributing the persistent attack on poor and vulnerable communities, black or otherwise. This understanding hinges on an examination of the evolving discourse for public housing (re)development in the context of neighborhood change.

It is my hope that the remainder of this thesis will in some way add to the conversation and sensitivity needed to confront critical public policy and urban planning dilemmas going forward. The deliberate and not-so-deliberate ways in which we approach policy with respect to public housing and neighborhood change require a significantly more layered understanding of the outcomes they produce; in part, that is the purpose of this text. While the future of conventional public housing remains unclear, it is my hope that this document offers greater clarity to the complexities of the relationship between public housing (re)development and neighborhood change in the United States, especially in the context of shifting political economy.

Chapter Two: Federal Public Housing Policy, Urban Political Economy and Neighborhood Change

In order to appropriately frame the following analysis of neighborhood change and public housing (re)development, it is necessary to have a conceptual and theoretical basis for understanding the contested evolution of America's conventional public housing stock and corresponding inner city neighborhoods. The ontological classifications provided here are not intended to serve as distinct themes. Rather, they are my own way of understanding movement and transformation in each of the determinant elements of the current status of conventional public housing – threatened. Each of the themes presented here has considerable overlap with other bodies of literature that are relevant, though less dominant, in the formulation of my thesis topic. In developing my research agenda, I chose to focus on political economy as the primary frame of reference for the proceeding analysis for reasons explained below.

Generally, political economy is understood to be the interplay between law, politics and markets. Singling out a more confined definition of political economy, like those provided by established Marxist or Austrian intellectual traditions, is counterproductive to the approach I want to take. Instead, for the purposes of this thesis, one should consider the broadest of the political economy definitions: the interaction between market and state. Certainly, political economy does not fully capture the environmental, social, or cultural conditions influencing the public housing debate – but it does capture the layered interaction between politics and economics. Based on previous literature, filtering public housing (re)development and neighborhood change through a political economy lens, seemed the most appropriate way to understand the factors shaping the current push to redevelop one of the most historically significant public housing complexes in the United States. It is

particularly useful in helping to understand the respective narratives of neighborhood change both during the original siting of Rosewood Courts and the current discussions of how the property should be redeveloped. Central to this framing, political economy allows the incorporation of race into the conversation. As demonstrated throughout the remainder of this thesis, the racial make-up of neighborhoods and public housing is political.

Conventional public housing occupies an awkward space in the collective American imagination. The provision of state subsidized and state constructed housing is counter-directional to the perceived collective values that American's are presumed to hold – namely, the contemporary construction of individual freedom. As housing scholar Lawrence Vale (2000) aptly summarizes,

> At the core, the controversy over public housing is a debate about the form and purpose of state-subsidized neighborhoods in a society that places ideological value on individual homeownership and the unfettered operation of private markets. In the United States, where individual liberties have long been given broad guarantees, government action in the field of housing has almost always worked to enhance these freedoms (p. 6).

The provision of public housing is at its core based on a contested interpretation of American political economy. As both the evolution of housing legislation and shifting structural conditions of local, national and global political economies will demonstrate, much of our current debate is responsive to the interaction among, and transformation of, layers of American political economy. Because of this, this literature review and subsequent research place less emphasis on environmental, social and cultural forces, instead focusing on the shifting structural conditions that constrain and shape our current public housing debate – political economy inclusive of racial politics. The legislative history of federal housing policy cannot be divorced from the literature highlighting political economic transformations at multiple scales. Similarly, literature covering neighborhood change cannot

be evaluated without understanding the linkages between political economy and neighborhood conditions.

This literature review is grouped broadly into three overlapping themes: 1) the legislative history of federal public housing policy; 2) urban political economy; and, 3) neighborhood change. This literature review frames the evolving nature of neighborhood change theory as influenced by our understanding and transformation of political economy in the context of federal public housing policy; or, more broadly framing the relationship between neighborhood change and public housing (re)development. The literature review is followed by a presentation of research questions derived from gaps in the existing literature.

Legislative History of Federal Public Housing[15]

Housing Act of 1937

Beginning with the housing legislation enabling the development of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility, the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 (or, the Housing Act of 1937), this section provides a critical overview of the trajectory of federal public housing legislation and subsequent policy implementation as the basis for understanding the conditions influencing the initial siting of the Rosewood Courts development.

Preceding housing legislation, like the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 or the National Housing Act of 1934 did not have the national scale impact (with regard to the provision of conventional public housing) of the Housing Act of 1937 and remained in a precarious state following several court challenges, though each of the previous legislative

[15] Much of chronology of events in this section relies on Edward G. Goetz' (2013) book *New Deal Ruins: Race Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy*. This is perhaps the best example of literature that highlights current community concern surrounding the proposed redevelopment.

attempts was partly responsive to the Depression-era economic conditions of the 1930s.[16] As exhibited by the oft cited President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) quote, the notion that productive state intervention in the economy was possible represented a departure from the prevailing political and economic discourse of the early 20th century. Speaking at the opening of the Techwood Homes in Atlanta he stated,

> Within sight of us today, there stands a tribute to useful work under Government supervision…here, at the request of citizens of Atlanta, we have cleaned out nine square blocks of antiquated squalid dwellings, for years a detriment to this community. Today those hopeless old houses are gone and in their place we see the bright cheerful buildings of the Techwood Housing Project (Roosevelt, 1935).[17]

The language employed by FDR at the opening of the Techwood Homes stands in stark contrast to today's political discourse surrounding government intervention in the economy. In part, FDR's statement is reflective of the transformations in American political economy from the Depression-era to the present. The dire conditions of the Depression-era economy, and willingness of legislators and constituents to adopt alternative means for economic recovery permitted (however briefly) a different political economy landscape in the United States.

The Housing Act of 1937 was part of FDR's New Deal program of legislation promoting government investment in public works projects. The government also played an active role in stimulating private sector investment as well. For instance, the creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) under the Housing Act of 1934 effectively increased the allowed loan-to-value (LTV) ratios in the mortgage market, reducing the down payment

[16] Initial calls for housing legislation evolved out of the social reform movements associated with the harsh living conditions of tenement housing in industrial cities.
[17] The Techwood Homes (and neighboring Clark-Howell Homes) were demolished as a part of urban renewal efforts adjacent to downtown in anticipation of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta. The Techwood Homes were constructed following the passage of housing legislation preceding the Housing Act of 1937.

needed to qualify for homeownership.[18] As with other New Deal era initiatives, the Housing Act of 1937 was largely predicated on the idea that massive investment in public works projects could stimulate the economy by putting to work the temporarily under and unemployed working class of the United States (Goetz, 2013). Thus, as with much of the New Deal era legislation, The Housing Act of 1937 was primarily concerned with alleviating the surplus absorption dilemma provided by the debt-deflationary economic conditions of the Great Depression. Units would be constructed with the dual purpose of generating employment and addressing market shortages in decent affordable housing production (Quercia, 1997). Only when the legislation was believed to be substantial enough to contribute to the country's economic recovery did Roosevelt decide to endorse it. Reflecting the central tension in American political economy, FDR and parties within the Commerce and Interior departments remained apprehensive about the public provision of housing and its potential impact on an already depressed domestic housing market – a theme that continues to resonate in the shaping of federal public housing policy today. The bill's sponsor, Robert F. Wagner (D-NY), was adamant about the non-compete nature of the bill, stating,

> …the most important consideration is, that public housing projects should not be brought into competition with private industry…To reach those who are really entitled to public assistance, and to get into the field where private enterprise cannot operate, is the objective of this bill (Mitchell, 1985, p. 247).

Finally, as Wagner sold the legislation as the "next step in the country's economic recovery", it was clear that the longstanding social aims of housing reformers had been co-opted by the

[18] The FHA also federally insured all mortgage transactions, thereby reducing the risk of lending for banks.

bill's promising prospects for recovery, able to generate significant employment with the construction of publically sponsored housing (Fisher, 1959).

Prior to its passage, the bills controversial nature – namely, interfering with established norms regarding the provision of housing via the private market – shaped its eventual form. In order to acquire the necessary votes, the bill stipulated proximate slum clearance projects associated with the construction of new public housing, cost containment measures for new construction, decentralized authority and implementation by newly established PHAs and local control over the siting of the new public housing.[19] Effectively, these provisions in the bill accommodated apprehensive legislators. Appealing to the sensibilities surrounding public safety, welfare and morals, congressional supporters of the Housing Act of 1937 were able to garner additional support by frequent mention of the bill's importance in correcting the social pathologies associated with deficient housing, binding any new construction of public housing to the equivalent demolition of nearby slum housing.[20] The slum clearance provision had almost universal political appeal. The idea that decrepit inner city living conditions trapped the working poor evoked sympathy among legislators and citizenry, even those concerned with government intervention in the housing market. As one public housing advocate wrote to social reformer champion Catherine Bauer, "I wonder where we'd be today if we had not scared (the hell) out of people about the conditions of slums, and would have just talked about beautiful little cottages with white picket fences around them" (Bohn, 1941, retrieved from von Hoffman, 2000).

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[19] In Boston, district politicians fought for public housing to be constructed within the districts they represented. This changed as cost containment measures were implemented and demographic shifts of residents began to favor definitively minority populations.

[20] See Image 3: "Slums Breed Crime"

Image 3: "Slums breed crime" (United States Housing Authority)

Similarly, attempting to appease additional detractors, the authority over the development of public housing facilities remained largely decentralized and most implementation and siting decisions remained local. Local control meant that cities could determine for themselves if new public housing facilities would compete with private market supply. Cities were required to establish PHAs for the purposes of directing federal monies toward local housing projects. The local autonomy provided by the bill meant that PHAs and subsequent implementation plans became more responsive to the demands of local political and economic climates than the needs of housing the working poor. The Housing Act of 1937 authorized the creation of the United States Housing Authority (USHA), the governmental entity that would be responsible for authorizing the issuance of bonds associated with public housing construction and responsible for the limited oversight imposed on local PHAs.

The eventual siting of nearly all of the United States' conventional urban public housing stock was effectively predetermined by the convergence of stipulations provided by the enabling Housing Act of 1937. As public housing facilities began to be constructed across the country, their siting reflected a contested legislative history. Nearly all public housing facilities constructed in the decades to come would be located in areas economically, socially and spatially isolated from the dominant geographies of urban growth and prosperity – such isolation was heavily correlated with race. As Edward Goetz (2013) remarks,

> the public housing program that emerged from these legislative battles thus took on a particular look, one calculated to appease critics as much as accomplish the goals of its supporters. The charge of public housing – to provide decent, safe and affordable housing to very low income families in the context of urban decline – is under any circumstances a difficult one. The specific features forced upon it by its opponents have had the effect of making the job even more difficult (p. 29).

The bill that eventually emerged would later be characterized as the seminal Pyrrhic victory for American social policy in 20th century, representing a tragic cooption of Progressive desires by conservatives and real estate interests (Hunt, 2005).

Soon after the passage of the Housing Act of 1937, three cities were the first to receive approval for federal funding for the construction of public housing facilities: Austin, New Orleans and New York City. The ambition of a newly elected congressman and eager New Deal supporter from Texas' 10th district, Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ), ensured that his constituents would be the first to receive federal monies for public housing construction. In Austin, three racially segregated public housing facilities were built in the minority concentrated areas east of East Avenue.

The public housing program was beset with political difficulties before its passage and almost immediately after. The central contradiction of having to provide a supply of affordable housing while remaining distant from existing private market provisions, effectively sealed the political and economic conditions that would come to define public housing in the latter half of the 20th century. Though the Housing Act of 1937 prompted the completion of over 50,000 units of conventional public housing stock, its agenda was stymied as the country's political and economic climate began to shift. Adding to the legislation's relatively rapid demise, Nathan Straus Jr., the first director of the United States Housing Authority (USHA), has been characterized as an abrasive leader who alienated senior staffers and key congressmen (von Hoffman, 2000). At the same time, with growing political resentment toward New Deal legislation, newly elected politicians between 1938 and 1942 cut funding for the public housing program, leaving only money for defense program

housing (von Hoffman, 2009). It was not until the passage of the Housing Act of 1949 that Congress reauthorized the construction of new public housing facilities.

Housing Act of 1949

The reauthorization of the public housing program in 1949 mirrored the contested environment surrounding the passage of the Housing Act of 1937. The Housing Act of 1949 attempted to meet its landmark housing goals via three primary mechanisms: Title I, financing slum clearance under the guise of urban redevelopment; Title II, increasing the capacity of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to authorize mortgage insurance, further expanding the country's private sector lending capacity; and Title III, mandating the construction of 810,000 public housing units.[21]

Similar to the Housing Act of 1937, scholarly works focusing on the Housing Act of 1949 invoke the language of "contradiction" and "appeasement" as defining themes of the legislations eventual legacy (von Hoffman, 2000). Exhibiting this contested environment, and reflective of the central private market provisions in the enabling legislation, nearly every construction and real estate trade association was adamant about shaping the 1949 legislation. Organizations like The National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), the U.S. Savings and Loan League, the National Apartment Owners Association, and countless other industry groups and representatives were vociferously against the public housing provisions in the Housing Act of 1949 (Goetz, 2013). These private sector interests

[21] The slum clearance programs that evolved out of Title I in the Housing Act of 1949 eventually became known as part of the controversial urban renewal programs that defined redevelopment of central cities throughout the mid-20th century. The deadline for the completion of 810,000 units stipulated by Title III was missed by nearly two decades.

employed exaggerated rhetoric to influence the fate of the final bill; often charging that public housing represented a "socialist" stain on the American fabric. This rhetoric eventually found itself in a 1952 congressional requirement that public housing residents take an oath of loyalty before moving in, fearful that the "socialist" nature of public housing would facilitate the emergence of Communist Party cells in the United States (Goetz, 2013). In an effort appease a vocal opposition, the legislation shifted its central focus. Though the public housing program was reauthorized, the bill placed more emphasis on a much larger program of slum clearance and urban renewal (Lang and Sohmer, 2000). As Vale (2000) notes,

> The disproportionate expenditure of time and rhetorical energy spent fighting public housing seems best explained as part of a broader effort of the business community to regain a more secure role after the blows of the Depression. The real estate lobby was less concerned with actual fears about socialist encroachment in public housing than with its own viability as on industry (or as a collection of industries) in a post-laissez-faire economy. The attack upon public housing was simply the most expedient way of expressing its fears (p. 239).

Again, reflecting the central tension of the Housing Act of 1937, private sector real estate interests represented by their respective trade and lobbying organizations, played a significant role in shaping federal housing policy. Though this time, the focus shifted from the construction of public housing facilities in areas with sub-standard housing conditions to one whose emphasis on demolition – via slum clearance and urban renewal programs – resulted in the massive displacement of poor and minority communities across the United States.

In addition to mandating the construction of 810,000 units of conventional public housing, the bill also set out guidelines that dramatically altered the types of tenants permitted in public housing, again expressing concern over interference with private market

housing provisions. The bill required a 20 percent gap between the upper rental limits for public housing and the lowest rents provided by private market housing. Effectively, the Housing Act of 1949 limited public housing to very low income families and otherwise "hard to house" clients (Cunningham et al, 2000). This resulted in the median income of public housing residents falling from 57 percent of the national median in 1950 to 41 percent in 1960, 29 percent in 1970, and less than 20 percent by the mid-1990s (Nenno, 1996 as retrieved in Schwartz, 2013). Alongside these changes, there were later amendments made to the legislation lowering the rents public housing families were required to pay, basing the amount as a percentage of income. The long term effects of this made it nearly impossible for many local PHAs to properly maintain their public housing facilities, as cash flow from rents was initially designed to cover the operating costs of public housing facilities, and served as a primary driver of the rapid physical deterioration of the most notorious of public housing facilities, those which would eventually provide the impetus for public housing redevelopment legislation in the decades to come.

Urban Decline and Public Housing Demolition

The convergence of public housing construction in already marginalized sections of America's urban realm and the demolition of existing low-income housing stock through urban redevelopment and renewal programs exacerbated the displacement and sporadic resettlement into public housing by minority populations. This change in demography alongside the pervasive mismanagement of public housing facilities by PHAs, the geographical implications of "White Flight" and post war suburbanization combined to create a destitute situation for many public housing residents; they were often void of

economic opportunity and increasingly vulnerable to the whims of urban renewal strategies legislated by Congress and pursued by local downtown commercial interests (Crump, 2002).

As the post-War era progressed, the fate of America's public housing stock had largely been pre-determined by the legislative compromises of the 1930s and 1940s. While structural conditions of the American economy began to shift and PHA mismanagement continued, public housing maintained its precarious position in the American consciousness. The mortgage guarantees provided by Depression-era and post-War housing legislation fuelled a cheap supply of peripheral single-family housing while lending practices discriminated against minority communities. The resulting suburbanization of the United States' urban population was largely segregated, leaving public housing facilities and many minority communities with relatively fewer opportunities than their white suburban counterparts.[22]

At the same time, some large PHAs became a political backwater, with many municipal administrations providing token jobs to inept supporters.[23] Public housing began to assume what Goetz (2013) refers to as an "exaggerated discourse of disaster". As argued by most critical housing scholars, the changing demography of public housing toward heavier concentrations of minorities and the poorest of the population coincided with a changing discourse around public housing; no longer was public housing viewed as a

[22] Among other factors influencing the passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act, the practice of redlining with respect mortgage lending practices, effectively shut out many black and minority communities from being able to access conventional home financing tools. Thus, if mortgage loans were acquired, the terms were often considerably less favorable than their white counterparts. Much of the redlining practices in the United States can be traced back to the creation of Home Owner's Loan Corporation maps published by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) in the mid-1930s – more detailed analysis of Austin HOLC maps and accompanying reports in Chapter V.

[23] In most cities, PHAs have usually been led by people appointed by the mayor and city council. Often, these appointments were reserved for supporters of an administration, many of whom had no substantive qualifications for managing already troubled governmental bodies.

productive component of urban redevelopment and renewal projects, instead it came to symbolize the perceived failure of government sponsored social policy and the attendant social pathologies associated with the urban core that so many (more affluent) Americans had left (Henderson, 1995). Though some public housing facilities in some American cities – notably, places like Chicago and New Orleans – faced very real problems, they were not wholly representative of the relatively well functioning majority of the United States' conventional public housing stock. Public housing and the minority tenants received a barrage of negative media tension. As Henderson (1995) details,

> In 1986, readers of a major news magazine learned about Desire, a New Orleans housing project. Presumably open to all of New Orleans' "poor people", most of Desire's residents – as the text and photographs made clear – were African Americans. Out of the projects population of 7,800, almost 3,000 were children, some of whom represented a "third generation of poverty" characterized by an "inexorable cycle of crime, welfare dependency and diminished hopes." Moreover, Desire was a "world without order, cleanliness, privacy or parental supervision," where school drop-outs, teenage fathers, and unwed mothers were common…By the late 1960s though, a highly problematic image – based largely on race – had come to dominate the popular press, obscuring alternative representations that would have more accurately depicted the range and variety of public housing throughout America (p. 31).

More than decade earlier, conventional public housing had already so negatively captivated the collective consciousness of the country that then President Richard Nixon declared a moratorium on the construction of new conventional public housing in 1973. This followed the dramatic televised demolition of St. Louis' Pruitt-Igoe complex, a massive series of high-rises that fell victim to the same mismanagement and political and economic geographies that doomed other public housing facilities. In the following years, Congress passed the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 which authorized the creation of Section 8 housing voucher program, a clear departure previous conventional public housing policy. The Section 8 program, later the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program, shifted

federal subsidies from "hard units" to directly subsidizing families and allowing them to use vouchers to supplement rental costs of private units offered by willing landlords in the open market.

Though much of the federal attention shifted away from conventional public housing in the mid-late 1970s and 1980s, the mismanagement and narrative(s) surrounding public housing persisted. During this period, the demolition of conventional public housing stock began to gain momentum. Around most public housing facilities in the 1980s, housing markets remained depressed; public housing was more and more frequently associated with the poverty, gang violence, crack cocaine and other "criminal" activity that surrounded some of these facilities. The majority of the demolition – 84 percent in the 1980s – came from large PHAs (those with greater than 1,250 units). Of those, HUD labeled "troubled" PHAs with severe mismanagement issues, exhibited an even greater propensity for demolition of units (Goetz, 2013). In many instances, PHAs would purposefully let their respective public housing facilities deteriorate so much that HUD had no choice but to permit the demolition of units. As Goetz (2013) summarizes,

> In the case of de facto demolition, a PHA in effect induces the physical obsolescence that is required for demolition approval through willful neglect of the public housing project, allowing physical problems at the site to go uncorrected, creating the conditions for vandalism by keeping large numbers of units vacant, and allowing major building systems to decline significantly to the point that repairs become prohibitively expensive (p. 54).

These early phases of decentralized public housing demolition (and resulting legal battles), coupled with continued concern about inner city conditions, eventually prompted the congressional establishment of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing in 1989.

HOPE VI

The Commission was charged with evaluating the conditions at the nation's most troubling public housing facilities, primarily concerned with large city, high-rise public housing complexes. By August of 1992, the Commission published a report detailing the conditions of America's public housing stock:

> Although only 6% of the public housing stock is estimated to be severely distressed, this percentage represents approximately 86,000 units. Thus, clearly a significant number of families are living in extreme poverty in almost unimaginable and certainly intolerable conditions. The Commission thus believes that in human terms, only 6% is 6% too many…It is important to note that if 6% of the units are severely distressed, approximately 94% of the units are not in such a state; thus, the public housing program continues to provide an important rental housing resource for many low-income families and others. However, research indicates that unless corrective actions are taken immediately, the number of units that meet that definition for severe distress will increase (NCSDPH Report, p. 2)

In response to the Commission's Report, Congress passed the Urban Revitalization Demonstration program by October 1992, what later became known as HOPE VI.[24] Figureheads of the new Clinton Administration quickly capitalized on the plight of some the most notorious high-rise public housing facilities, Vice President Al Gore referred to these types of public housing facilities as "monuments of hopelessness", while HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros characterized them as being "as close to the approaches of hell as one can find in America" (as retrieved in Williams, 2004; *Baltimore Sun*, 5.3.1994). After touring public housing facilities in Atlanta, Baltimore and Chicago, Cisneros concluded,

> …that public housing in the form it took in many big cities was an unacceptable way to house the nation's most needy residents. It seemed if anything, that the analysis of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing had understated the severity of the problem. (Cisneros, 2009).

[24] HOPE is an acronym for Housing Opportunities for People everywhere, an oft used acronym for housing policies at multiple scales.

While the Commission's Report renewed congressional and executive attention to the issues of public housing in the United States, politicians managed to exaggerate the needs and miscalculate the direction of public housing reform. At the same time, political pressures resulting from the party turnover in the 1994 mid-term elections pressured the Clinton Administration to accommodate broader congressional desires to reduce the federal government's role in housing assistance (Goetz, 2013). The resulting evolution of the 6 billion USD HOPE VI program thus transferred attention away from the rehabilitation of public housing toward a program with a greater emphasis on the demolition of conventional public housing facilities in favor of mixed-income properties, a loose parallel to previous urban development strategies pursued by HUD and respective PHAs.

The dramatic expansion of the urban-suburban footprint that emerged in the post-War era meant that many of the nation's older public housing facilities were located relatively proximate to downtown areas. The early 1990s also became the proving ground for emergent urban planning movements responding to the sprawling land use patterns of the suburban post-War United States – New Urbanism.[25] New Urbanism and its associated lobbying and promotional organization the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) courted HUD officials in an effort to ensure that public housing redevelopment projects adopted the principles of New Urbanism. As Cisneros' successor Secretary Andrew Cuomo stated,

> All of us at [HUD] are committed…to the goal of livable, mixed-used neighborhoods built to a human scale. This is consistent with the principles of New Urbanism – and yes, we strongly support this approach because we have seen that it works (HUD, 1997 as retrieved in Elliot et al, 2004).

[25] New Urbanism is a professional movement consisting of thousands of architects, urban planners, and real estate professionals. Though constantly evolving, in the early-mid 1990s New Urbanism was largely focused on countering "un-planned", low density, suburban sprawl with neighborhoods that are relatively compact, small scaled mixed use and pedestrian friendly. With relation to HOPE VI projects, New Urbanism also adopted an emphasis on mixed income communities as capable of promoting desired social cohesion (Elliot et al, 2004).

The resulting focus of HOPE VI thus embodied many of the New Urbanist principles, but most importantly a commitment to the idea of mixed income housing – both site specific and neighborhood wide. The policy emphasis, housing or otherwise, on mixed income housing and geographical dispersal of poverty does not appear to have strong theoretical or practical foundations. As Rachel Kleit (2005) concludes in her study on social relations before and after HOPE VI redevelopment projects,

> Both the policy literature on mixed-income housing and the design principles of New Urbanism suggest that proximity is one way in which benefits may accrue, by strengthening bonds among residents, by encouraging working local institutions, by acting as role models, or by preventing concentrations of the poor from spreading negative behaviors. Furthermore, some notion of overlapping social worlds is meant to be beneficial. Although residents may inhabit a shared world, their language and family differences, disparities in how they use facilities and the variations in the meaning of proximity for their relationships imply that those worlds do not overlap greatly (p.1439).

The invocation of mixed income as a successful model for poverty alleviation and public housing reform remains at the center of the conversation surrounding federal public housing policy. As evidenced in next sub-section, the CNI program also employs mixed income ideology as the centerpiece of neighborhood revitalization.

As the program evolved, importantly temporarily losing its one-for-one replacement requirements in 1995, many large cities with perceived troubled public housing facilities proximate to the urban core embarked on a dramatic remake of their inner city neighborhoods along the prescribed ideals of the New Urbanist movement.[26] Chicago's Plan for Transformation was among the most notorious, as Goetz (2013) states "If public housing is dead, it is Chicago that killed it." (p.75) Atlanta, New Orleans, Memphis,

[26] In 1995, Congress repealed the one-for-one replacement requirements associated with the HOPE VI program, though re-established the requirement within several years.

Baltimore, San Francisco, Cincinnati and Houston, among numerous others, also witnessed an almost total remake of their conventional public housing stock and adjacent neighborhoods. The effect on minority populations, especially established inner city black communities, has been dramatic enough that scholars have referred to the role of HOPE VI and resulting real estate pressures for redevelopment as the "New Urban Renewal" and "Negro Removal" (Hyra, 2008; Goetz, 2013).

Reflective of the internal tensions associated with previous federal public housing policy, the policy formulation relying on the competence of local PHAs proved problematic. The HOPE VI program combined grants for physical rehabilitation and redevelopment with additional funding for management improvement and supportive services. The language of the legislation and subsequent grant issuance framework was vague, and enabled considerable latitude among HUD and PHAs for the creation and implementation of public housing redevelopment plans across the United States (Popkin, 2004). Hence, there is considerable variance in the outcome of HOPE VI projects. Still, this combined with ever-changing stipulations to the legislation following the 1992 enactment to create housing facilities that focused on mixed income requirements and based their justification on geographic and economic mobility needs among the urban poor.

The flexibility in implementation stipulated by the weak language in the final legislation, coupled with the Clinton Administration's loyalty to the mixed income and dispersal of urban poverty agenda created an environment where the United States lost a significant percentage of its conventional public housing units following the implementation and evolution of the HOPE VI program. Congress amended the HOPE VI legislation multiple times, abandoning the initial one-for-one replacement requirements and at times

calling for the total demolition of public housing facilities receiving HOPE VI grants – resulting in a loss of approximately 140,000 units from 1995-2007 (Center for Large Public Housing Authorities, 2013). The lifespan of the HOPE VI program – from 1992 to 2010 – thus constitutes one of the most dramatic physical remakes of the urban environment pursued by the federal government. As research on the HOPE VI program states,

> Thus, the rapid expansion of demolition that occurred in the 1990s was in large part a response to the economic reinvestment opportunities in central city neighborhoods. These opportunities were great enough and the problems of crime associated with public housing alarming enough, that a decades-long reluctance on the part of federal officials to sanction demolition was swept away. Once the policy environment had changed, however, the story of public housing demolition at the city scale became more racialized and political. Though crime remains a significant predictor of unit loss, public housing demolition and sale after 2000 becomes less a matter of gentrification and is more dependent on race and politics. (Goetz, 2013, p. 73).

As of June 2010, there had been a total of 254 HOPE VI projects authorized in collaboration with 132 PHAs since 1993, totaling more than 6.1 billion USD in federal government transfers for the remake of conventional public housing facilities and surrounding neighborhoods.

Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI)

With the expiration of HOPE VI funds in 2010, HUD and congressional attention turned to the creation of new redevelopment strategies for the remaining "problematic" conventional public housing stock. The Obama Administration developed the CNI in response to the rapid and often destructive neighborhood change brought about by the HOPE VI program. Still, in many ways CNI is similar to its predecessor. To date, there is little, if any, academic literature covering the new CNI program. Most existing literature

takes the form of "white papers" and other policy publications.[27] At present, there is not an ability to evaluate the CNI program or any affiliated redevelopment project substantively.

The language and resulting latitude among stakeholders and implementing authorities permits a similar loose interpretation of grant requirements. Broadly, CNI differs from the HOPE VI program in that it provides for more strategic and neighborhood wide initiatives for the implementation of redevelopment projects. Reflecting the increasingly spatial emphasis associated with economic and social opportunity arguments in the United States, CNI proposes a more holistic, neighborhood-wide and community sensitive approach to public housing redevelopment, yet employs many of the same policy mechanisms found in the HOPE VI program. As HUD describes CNI, the program aims to,

> …supports locally driven strategies to address struggling neighborhoods with distressed public or HUD-assisted housing through a comprehensive approach to neighborhood transformation. Local leaders, residents, and stakeholders, such as public housing authorities, cities, schools, policy, business owners, nonprofits, and private developers, come together to create and implement a plan that transforms distressed HUD housing and addresses the challenges in the surrounding neighborhood. The program is designed to catalyze critical improvements in neighborhood assets, including vacant property, housing, services and schools (*Choice Neighborhoods*, 2013).

The CNI program is a central part of the Obama Administration's Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative (NRI), a cross departmental attempt that "recognizes that the interconnected challenges in high-poverty neighborhoods require interconnected solutions" (*Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative*).[28] The CNI program has three stated goals:

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[27] Several policy papers have been commissioned by the Anne E. Casey Foundation and HUD, both published by the Urban Institute. The latest, a 200+ page report on the progress of five sites receiving the implementation grant, provides the most detailed look at CNI projects; see Urban Institute, 2013.

[28] The NRI is the Obama Administration's tool for directing change in distressed neighborhoods. It coordinates the competitive grant efforts of the Department of Justice (DOJ), HUD, Department of

- **Housing**: Replace distressed public and assisted housing with high-quality mixed-income housing that is well-managed and responsive to the needs of the surrounding neighborhood;
- **People**: Improve educational outcomes and intergenerational mobility for youth with services and supports delivered directly to youth and their families; and
- **Neighborhood**: Create the conditions necessary for public and private reinvestment in distressed neighborhoods to offer the kinds of amenities and assets, including safety, good schools, and commercial activity, that are important to families' choices about their community (*Choice Neighborhoods,* 2013).

At present, CNI grants are divided according to planning and implementation phases.[29] Approximately 1:5 of those cities or PHAs receiving the planning grant will be selected for the much more sought after implementation grant.[30] Currently, HACA and the Rosewood Courts facility have received a planning grant for the purposes of plan-making, which will ultimately be submitted to HUD for the competitive awarding of the implementation grant.[31] There have been nearly 40 planning grants issued to cities and PHAs and other local coordinating agencies of all sizes.[32] As of March 2014, only eight cities have received the coveted implementation grant: Boston, MA; Chicago, IL; Cincinnati, OH; New Orleans, LA; San Antonio, TX; San Francisco, CA; Seattle, WA; and, Tampa, FL.

Health and Human Services (HHS), Department of Education (DOE) and executive level White House Domestic Policy Council (DPC) and the White House Office of Urban Affairs (WHOUA) in an effort to, "catalyze and empower local action while busting silos, prioritizing public-private partnerships, and making existing programs more effective and efficient." (*Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative*).

[29] As of March 2014, HACA has only received the 300 thousand USD CNI planning grant.

[30] Calculation derived according to number of CNI planning grants vs. number of CNI implementation grants issued.

[31] If awarded an implementation grant, PHAs are eligible to receive up to 30 million USD from HUD; 7 million USD of that total can be used to support ancillary supportive services targeting within the CNI grant boundaries. Existing PHAs and community partners receiving implementation grants have combined the funds received through CNI with other forms of financing for redevelopment.

[32] Unlike previous HUD competitive redevelopment grants, CNI allows agencies beyond PHAs to apply for planning and implementation grants, and does not have to focus site specific conventional public housing.

Reflecting similar variance in the outcomes of HOPE VI projects, the scale of the redevelopment under CNI is dependent on aspirations of local coordinating agencies and stipulations set by the grant targeted areas. Some CNI projects have focused on Section 8 housing while others are conventional public housing site based. The outcomes of the existing implementation grant allocations have not been fully evaluated with respect to their ability to "impact" recipient neighborhoods.

Concluding, in each of the rounds of federal public housing policy detailed above, key themes emerge: 1) the constant acquiescence to private sector interests; 2) the inability for federal housing policy to effectively respond to the needs of poor and vulnerable populations; 3) a demonstrated history of exacerbating the conditions of the populations public housing is intended to serve, especially in later rounds of federal public housing policy; and, 4) the shift to more market oriented forms of housing subsidy to compensate for the absence of new conventional public housing stock. Contradiction and appeasement of various political interests, private sector or otherwise, appears to have contributed to the expected fate of conventional public housing, especially in the context of a shifting global and national political economy toward ever more neoliberal governance. Though the CNI has yet to fully be evaluated, it is difficult to imagine significantly different alternatives from a policy that in many ways mimics its predecessor HOPE VI.

Urban Political Economy

The relationship between public housing (re)development and neighborhood change is also shaped by local political leadership. This section discusses how the changing demands of urban regime coalitions and growth machine politics, helped shift the discourse surrounding the (re)development of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility. In

Chapter Four, I will highlight the local experience of political economy transformation and neighborhood change; while this section will provide a theoretical framework for understanding the local experience.[33] Coupled with changes in the federal level public housing policy, each of these sections highlights the unique lens that political economy provides to evaluating the (re)development of Rosewood Courts.

Urban regime theory has been a dominant force in the field of urban politics since its inception in Clarence Stone's (1989) analysis of urban politics in Atlanta with the publication of *Regime politics: governing Atlanta, 1946-1988* (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Since, it has been a valuable tool in understanding the public and private sector relationships that have come to define American cities. Urban regime theory evolves out the international relations literature, specifically Krasner's (1983) edited collection of works, *International Regimes*, where he defines the term as: institutions possessing a framework of norms, decision rules, and procedures that provide set of expectations. Emerging from the international relations tradition, Painter (1997) constructs urban regime theory as,

> Regime theory starts from the proposition…that the process of governance in complex societies is about much more than government. Successful governance, whether of a city, a nation-state, international relations, or economic processes almost always depends on the availability and mobilization of resources and actors beyond those that are formally part of government. Governing a city, particularly in the United States where the institutions of elected urban government are relatively weak relies on the ability to form governing coalitions that bring together the formal agencies of government with interest groups from the wider society. Foremost among these, in the American context at least, are business interests (p.128).

Further, business interests become central to this evaluation because regime success or viability over time is at least in part evaluated according to the economic prosperity "they"

[33] See Chapter Four: Austin's Shifting Political Economy and Respondent Rosewood Neighborhood Change

confer to their constituents and because in the United States local governments depend heavily on local businesses for tax revenues (Painter, 1997).

Rigidly defining the composition of an urban regime is difficult and context dependent. Regime politics vary across cities, confronting differing social and economic circumstances. Broadly, as well rooted in the traditions of critical political economy, power (concentrated or fragmented) is assumed to be the primary determinant of political, economic and social relations. With regime analysis, power is viewed as fragmented and regimes as the "collaborative arrangements through which local governments and private actors assemble the capacity to govern" (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). As Davies (2002) summarizes regime theory with respect to power,

> At the heart of regime theory is Stone's conceptualization of systemic power, based on Lindbloom's formulation that in market societies, governments are strongly predisposed toward the preferences of business leaders.[34] […] For Stone, systemic power results in an indirect conflict between favored and disfavored groups. The favored are normally those concerned with economic growth, while the disfavored are interested in redistribution. Due to its control of productive resources, business is likely to exercise a privileged influence on the urban policy agenda (p. 3).

Effectively the presence of urban regime politics is based on the assumption that, "Both local government and business possess the resources needed to govern – legitimacy and policy-making authority, for example, in the case of government, and capital that generates jobs, tax revenues, and financing, in the case of business" (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001, p.

[34] Stone defines systemic power as:

> …that dimension of power in which durable features of the socioeconomic system (the situational element) confer advantages and disadvantages on groups (the intergroup element) in ways predisposing public officials to favor some interests at the expense of others (the indirect element)… Because its operation is completely impersonal and deeply imbedded in the social structure, this form of power can appropriately be termed "systemic" (Stone, 1980 as retrieved in Davies, 1993, p. 3)

812). Key aspects of Stone's work on urban regimes (1989-1993) are identified by Mossberger and Stoker (2001) as:

1) A regime is "an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions" (Stone 1989, p. 4 as retrieved from Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Collaboration is achieved not only through formal institutions but also through informal networks.
2) Regimes bridge the divide between popular control of government and private control of economic resources. […]
3) Cooperation is not taken as a given but as to be achieved. […]
4) Regimes are relatively stable arrangements that can span a number of administrations. […]
5) Distinctive policy agendas can be identified (i.e., development regimes or middle-class progressive regimes) that are influenced by the participants in the governing coalition. […]
6) Consensus is formed on the basis of interaction and the structuring or resources. This is achieved through selective incentives and small opportunities.
7) Regimes may not feature complete agreement over beliefs and values, but a history of collaboration would tend to produce consensus over policy (p. 813).

In addition, Stone (1993) develops four typologies of urban regimes to illustrate how these coalitions of political and economic stakeholders govern. Briefly, these regime typologies are: 1) maintenance regimes – representing those coalitions who make no effort to introduce any significant change, preferring the maintenance of the existing political and economic climate; 2) development regimes – who are primarily concerned with changing land use in order to promote growth or counter decline; 3) middle class progressive regimes – interested in the promotion of environmental protection, historical preservation, affordable housing and other normative planning ideals, though still dependent on new development because of their reliance on exactions; and, 4) regimes devoted to lower class opportunity expansion – these coalitions would hypothetically focus on job training, transportation access and general greater opportunity for lower income populations, though Stone admits that this regime is effectively non-existent in the United States (Stone, 1993). Of these typologies, it is

important to note the overlap between them, and that any regime would likely promote the goals of an alternative typology in exchange for the continuation of power – though some scholars would contend that regime presence is dependent upon a coordinated set of actions directed at a single goal (development, social equity or otherwise).

For many regime scholars, there seems to be a persistent problem of misclassification. Even so, this judgment is dependent on how loosely, or conversely the importance of rigidity in understanding regime politics, one measures the relationships (institutional, sectoral or personal) constituting a given regime. This contested presence of regimes is especially problematic in capitalistic societies, as Mossberger and Stoker (2001) state,

> The problem is that all cities are assumed to be regimes. In a broad sense, it could be argued that regimes are a default condition in a capitalist society, where some level of collaboration between public and private sectors is needed everywhere for governing and for the functioning of the economy. The privileged position of business fosters the conditions for the development of regimes at the local level in all capitalist countries, although local job creation may be more of a concern in some countries and local tax revenues in others (p. 815).

Hence, in the United States and most of the world, depending on the scholarly reference point used, one could assume that the majority of cities inherently host some form of regime politics and must do so in order to maintain their presence, however misaligned their stated policy ambitions might be.

Finally, evolving from earlier urban regime work and closely paralleled to the development regime typology outlined above, Imbroscio (1997) develops his own typology of an urban regime: the *dominant* urban regime. He argues that the dominant regime form in American cities is constituted as a "local governing coalition having at its center a close alliance between officials of the local state and land-based businesspeople, and an urban

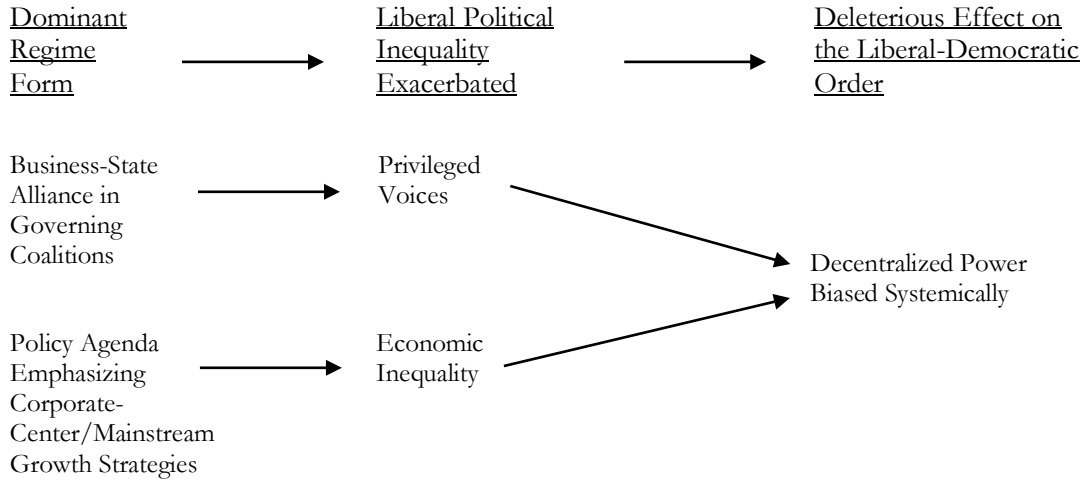
agenda heavily favoring corporate-center /mainstream growth strategies" (p. 6). Imbroscio (1997) identifies two central problematic themes with relation to dominant urban regime theory. These two, the "problem of privileged voices" and the "problem of economic inequality" are central to the long-term maintenance of dominant urban regimes under dominant forms liberalism, and increasingly neoliberal, political economy (Imbroscio, 1997). Imbroscio (1997) summarizes these correlated themes in the following:

> …two separate but interrelated problems for local political equality emerge. These problems closely parallel the two tenets of the dominant urban regime form (i.e., the "who" and "what" dimensions of central city politics). […] The first problem occurs because certain citizens – namely, land-based business people – occupy a special position in urban regimes. I refer to this outcome as the problem of privileged voices. The second problem – what I call the problem of economic inequality – stems from the nature of the agenda pursued by the local governing alliance. Specifically, the regressive distributional effects of the current set of public policies adopted by central cities tend to reinforce and extend an extreme level of material deprivation among certain citizens, which is ultimately incompatible with a condition of political equality (p. 10).

For Imbroscio (1997) the dominant urban regime form consists of a "business-state alliance in governing coalitions" and a "policy agenda emphasizing corporate-center/mainstream growth strategies"; this arrangement confers a political economy condition that is inherently characterized by contradiction inducing privileged voices and economic inequality, culminating in the "deleterious effect on the liberal-democratic order" via a systemic decentralized power bias (p. 11).[35]

[35] See Model 1: "Empirical and normative features of city politics"

Model 1: "Empirical and normative features of city politics" (as adopted from Imbroscio, 1997)



Stone and Imbroscio continue to argue over the subtleties differentiating their respective regime classifications, and the role regime scholars have in trying to subvert established political economy. As Rast (2005) summarizes,

> At issue is whether or not practitioners of regime theory should focus their attention more directly on economic questions through efforts to expose shortcomings with corporate-centered development and advance superior alternatives. Imbroscio believes that regime theory's normative goals of achieving more democratic governing coalitions warrant such a shift. Stone is unconvinced. […] Stone's position in this debate has been to acknowledge alternative economic development strategies and ideas as potentially interesting but holding little transformative capability in themselves (Stone, 1998, 2004a, 2004b as cited in Rast, 2005). According to Stone, the key problem with Imbroscio's line of argument is his inattention to politics. By failing to identify how alternative economic development strategies and ideas can become politically viable, Imbroscio fails to make a persuasive case for a shift in the analytical focus of regime theory (p. 53).

For the purposes of this research, the differences between Stone's *develolopment* urban regime and Imbroscio's *dominant* urban regime are marginal. Most important is understanding the inherent local political economy arrangement (between economic interests and political

administrations) as a condition of the larger (though shifting) economic, political and social implications of (neo) liberalism.

It is difficult to disassociate the work of growth machine theorists from their urban regime counterparts. In many ways Molotch (1976) and Peterson's (1981) respective works, "The city as a growth machine" and *City Limits*, were prescient texts informing later urban regime theory development. Still, these texts and other ancillary works, place greater emphasis on growth as the backbone determinant of urban political economy and subsequent policy development. The remainder of this section focuses the work of Molotch and Peterson while framing the necessity of growth as foundational to the continuation of the dominant political economy order and how this emphasis structurally reinforces low-income population's inability to substantively participate in democratic life and/or markedly improve their relative social and economic disparity. While impossible to present an entire overview of critical urban political economy theory, the following pages do highlight the key internal contradiction (use value vs. exchange value) within the dominant political economy framework, especially as it relates to the urban realm, specifically housing.

Molotch's (1976) seminal work, "The city as a growth machine: toward a political economy of place", was perhaps the first widely read piece to introduce sociologists, economists and political scientists to the notion of an urban regime, though not the first to explicitly use that language. The concept of urban political economy has been around since the inception of the social sciences, both Karl Marx and Adam Smith commented on urban settlement, though the use of regime theory to analyze urban systems is a relatively recent academic movement, some even arguing that it may be nearing its expiration (Molotch, 1993). Since, the concept has been used to evaluate the intersection between local political

coalitions with growth and development agendas in cities around the world. Though respective regime theories, labeled as-such, did not emerge till approximately a decade later, the revelatory framework established by Molotch lays the groundwork for much of the subsequent urban political economy analysis via regime theory. As Molotch (1976) summarizes in the beginning of the text,

> A city and, more generally, any locality, is conceived as a real expression of the interests of some land-based elite. Such an elite is seen to profit through the increasing intensification of the land use of the area in which its members hold a common interest. An elite competes with other land-based elites in an effort to have growth-inducing resources invested within its own area as opposed to that of another. Governmental authority, at the local and nonlocal levels, is utilized to assist in achieving this growth at the expense of competing localities. Conditions of community life are largely a consequence of the social, economic, and political forces embodied in this growth machine. […] Thus although there are extensive literatures on community power as well as on how to define and conceptualize a city or urban place, there are few notions available to link the two issues coherently, focusing on the urban settlement as a political economy. […] This paper aims toward filling this need. I speculate that the political and economic essence of virtually any given locality, in the present American context, is *growth*. I further argue that the desire for growth provides the key operative motivation toward consensus for members of politically mobilized local elites, however split they may be on other issues, and that a common interest in growth is the overriding commonality among important people in a given locale – at least insofar as they have any important local goals at all. Further, this growth imperative is the most important constraint upon available options for local initiative in social and economic reform. It is thus that I argue that the very essence of a locality is its operation as a growth machine (p. 309).

Similarly, though arriving at the same conclusions from a slightly different perspective, Paul Peterson's (1981) book *City Limits* also emphasizes the role of local economic interests in determining the urban political environment. Peterson also emphasizes the centrality of growth, and strategies to achieve growth, to the exercise of urban policy. Both texts frame business interests and their intersection with local governance as playing a key role in the outcome of the urban environment (Imbroscio, 1997). Peterson's (1981) contribution to the study of urban political economy closely mirrors Molotch,

> … the policies of cities are limited by an overriding necessity to improve their "market position" while having few tools at their disposal for the enactment of policies. Cities must attract business in order to maintain jobs, capital investment and tax revenue. To do this they seek to influence positively the classic factors of production: land, labor and capital. But the means of control on the local level are closely circumscribed. They can have little influence over their labor supply, at best providing an environment that is attractive to a more desirable workforce. Tax concessions, limits on regulatory restrictions, and low-cost utilities can be used to attract capital, but at a cost to local coffers. Ultimately, a city's control of land becomes its principal vehicle for attracting industry. The construction of access highways, placement of public utilities, granting of tax holidays, and favorable zoning become the means by which locales exercise their greatest controls… (Root, 1982, p. 666).

Both of these texts highlight the role of growth in influencing the policies pursued by local government. As growth is determinant of local employment opportunities, local politicians are most responsive to the needs of growth and its perceived cultivator, local (land-based) business interests. At the same time, both authors – Molotch and Peterson – detail the competitive nature of cities with respect to the need to constantly attract public and private investment to improve market position and further propel growth. The implications for growth politics evolve according to the changing structural conditions of more macro political economy; in an increasingly market driven landscape, many localities are opting for *Floridian* creative class strategies as opposed to aggressively seeking federal dollars for massive infrastructure projects. These divergent, though often overlapping strategies, have different aims according to the desired trajectory of growth within a given locality.

Growth, and its maintenance, is central to understanding the study of political economy. For growth regime scholars, the incessant quest for growth – at the individual, community, regional, national and global levels – is necessary for the maintenance of the existing political, economic and social order. Because those in power have an almost natural propensity to maintain power, their primary concern, though not always explicitly stated,

becomes the accommodation of growth. Without delving too heavily into the foundations of critical political economy, famed critical geography theorist David Harvey (2008) adequately explains this condition with respect to the urban realm,

> From their inception, cities have arisen through the geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon, since surpluses are extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while the control over their disbursement typically lies in a few hands. This general situation persists under capitalism, of course; but since urbanization depends on the mobilization of a surplus product, an intimate connection emerges between the development of capitalism and urbanization. Capitalists have to produce a surplus product in order to produce surplus value;[36] this in turn must be reinvested in order to generate more surplus value. The result of continued reinvestment is the expansion of surplus production at a compound rate [growth] – hence the logistic curves (money, output and population) attached to the history of capital accumulation, paralleled by the growth path of urbanization under capitalism (p. 24).

Summarized, Harvey is stating that the concentrated production and extraction of surpluses (often dependent upon the subjugation of "labor", or extrapolated here to mean poor / vulnerable / and working class) by the "capitalist" class, gives way to one of the central contradictions of the capitalist condition, that the interests of labor (read: low-income and minority central city neighborhoods) are structurally marginalized in their ability to ever fully compete for control over a commodified city. Similarly, capturing this condition with respect to low-income housing, the prescient Engels (1872) offers this analysis,

> The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those areas which are centrally situated, an artificially and colossally increasing value; the buildings erected on these areas depress this value instead of increasing it, because they no longer belong to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with workers' houses which are situated centrally and whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected. (p. 23).

[36] In the simplest terms, surplus value refers to profit; while surplus product refers to the need to maintain an excess inventory of goods and services, or a constant disequilibrium of supply for the accommodation of surplus value. Without this condition of dependent surpluses, growth halts.

What I am attempting to capture here is the theoretical relationship between the needs of the dominant urban regime – typically one whose main interest is preserving growth – and the resulting vulnerability of those outside the political and economic domains of power.

Growth, especially of the neoliberal variety, often propels class polarization, and in many cases does not serve the real human needs of working class/ poor/ vulnerable populations. The associated processes of supposed creative destruction, as extrapolated to the urban realm, are often to the detriment of these populations with respect to displacement and eviction, conditions that often further exacerbate their plight. As Leitner (1990) states,

> …growth-promoting public-sector development policies have come to dominate overtly the agenda of urban politics and planning in many American cities. Much of this has to do with the economic and political restructuring that the United States has been facing. A shifting economic base in the face of a reorganized global economy and a shift in emphasis from Keynesian to supply-side policies, have together had a profound impact on the fortunes of cities and the everyday life of central-city residents. […] In the face of this, competition with other cities for economic growth has assumed primacy over distributional issues in urban policy-making. The impact of these changes can also be seen within central cities, where revitalized downtowns with glistening towers of glass and steel contrast sharply with dilapidated residences in central-city neighborhoods, and well-dressed office workers on their way to new jobs in the downtown push past the homeless whose single-room occupancy units (SROs) have been razed to make room for these towers (p. 146).

Concluding, the impetus for growth in cities is a constant under the capitalist arrangement. Still, the changing ways in which we accommodate growth, according to the shift toward hyper liberalized, or neoliberal, economy, in part accounts for the evolution of discourse surrounding the (re)development of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility. As the next section elaborates on, this is further complicated by neighborhood change and the political economy conditions driving these transformations.

Neighborhood Change

Most of the neighborhood change literature remains within the confines of its respective disciplinary production, that is to say that neighborhood change theory and subsequent literature rarely provides a holistic evaluation (theory) to account for ever changing neighborhood conditions. As Temkin and Rohe (1996) note, the literature "remains a prisoner of its own intellectual parochialism" (p. 159). Still understanding the evolution of neighborhood change literature is necessary to derive a research agenda for evaluating the Rosewood Neighborhood's transformation since the completion of the Rosewood Courts facility in the 1930s, and more specifically in the past two decades. Finally, the latest neighborhood change literature begins to account for the structural changes provided by political economy, and how these influence institutional and citizen action at the neighborhood level. No doubt, the emergent neighborhood change models are extremely complex, capturing a range of moving variables to assess change. Yet, political economy, at a range of scales, remains the backbone for understanding movement among all variables, however removed from the intersection between politics and economics.

The earliest models of neighborhood change are reflective of ecological concepts. These models, notably the invasion/succession model introduced by Burgess (1925), position the urban fabric as seeking a natural "biological" equilibrium. As Burgess (1925) concludes in his seminal piece,

> …to determine how expansion disturbs metabolism when disorganization is in excess of organization; and, finally, to define mobility and to propose it as a measure both of expansion and metabolism, susceptible to precise quantitative formulation, so that it may be regarded almost literally as the pulse of the community…(p. 344).

As Schwirian (1983) summarizes contributions to the invasion/succession model of neighborhood change,

> …the invasion of a natural area by socially or racially different individuals is met with resistance. Competition for housing may be turned into conflict as the locals and the newcomers attempt to devise strategies to best each other. If some accommodation between the two populations is not reached, one of the two groups will withdraw, the invasion has been halted. If the established population withdraw, their departure coupled with the continued arrival of the new group will result in succession (p. 89).

The invasion/succession model was heavily used by the Chicago School of Sociology in the mid-20th century. Numerous scholars supplemented Burgess' (1925) original model with additional classifications, transition phenomena and ethnic differentials thought to drive neighborhood change (see Duncan and Duncan, 1957; Smith and McCann, 1981; Lee, 1974; and others). Some authors used the invasion/succession model in terms of land use changes (commercial/industrial vs. residential) while others attempted to identify a "tipping point" – "the percentage of new black residents at which the remaining whites move out" (Schwirian, 1983, p. 90). Invasion/succession models have evolved according to seemingly countless scholarly iterations and debates with respect to a range of factors thought to influence neighborhood change.

Similarly, filtering approaches within the ecological framework of neighborhood change, explain change according to the decisions made by landlord and homeowners to invest in property, making the housing stock more or less desirable relative to housing stock of an entire urban area. Those landlords that invest decreasing amounts of capital into their housing stock, effectively filter down that housing stock to tenants who would have been previously unable to afford the property. The filtering argument is best suited to explain varying levels of maturation within a neighborhood as determinant of reinvestment potential and subsequent tenant composition.

Complementing the use of the ecologically derived models of neighborhood change, Hoover and Vernon (1959) developed a life-cycle model to better capture movement within neighborhood change models and theories. Used alongside respective invasion/succession models originating with Burgess (1925), Schwirian (1983) describes Hoover and Vernon (1959) as,

> Hoover and Vernon argued that many areas of the city undergo a process of life-cycle change that involves five stages: development, transition, downgrading, thinning out, and renewal. As the neighborhood passes from one stage to the next several things change: the status and the racial and age composition of the population; the intensity of the land and dwelling use; population density; and the quality and condition of housing. (p. 92).

Metzger (2000) argues that the Hoover and Vernon (1959) life-cycle model of neighborhood change is an evolving real estate appraisal concept often serving as the basis for urban planning decisions in the United States (p.7). He emphasizes the correlated role that the life-cycle model plays with respect to urban political economy.[37] Metzger (2000) states,

> Disparate patterns of metropolitan growth and decline in the United States are the legacy of economic racism, decisions on industrial locations and the suburban bias of federal highway and housing programs.[38] These disparities have been exacerbated by the neighborhood life-cycle theory, an evolving real estate appraisal concept used as a basis for urban planning decisions. Planners constrained by fiscal and political conditions have used this theory to encourage the "deliberate dispersal" of the urban poor, followed by the eventual reuse of abandoned areas.[39] The life-cycle theory was challenged by community groups in the U.S. manufacturing core region (the cities of the Northeast and Midwest) that organized against mortgage redlining – the refusal of financial institutions to make loans in specific geographical areas. These groups argued that the future of an urban neighborhood depended not on its stage in a race-based lifecycle of inevitable decline, but on whether residents had access to financial resources within an environment of community control (p. 7).

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[37] See Table 1: "The Stages of Neighborhood Change: The Evolution of the Life-Cycle Theory, 1935-1975"

[38] See Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Jackson, 1985; Wilson, 1987, 1996

[39] See Downs, 1973

Table 1: The Stages of Neighborhood Change: The Evolution of the Life-Cycle Theory, 1935 to 1975 (as adopted from Metzger, 2000)

U.S. Home Owners' Loan Corp. residential security maps (1935)	U.S. Home Owners' Loan Corp. *Waverly: A Study in Neighborhood Conservation* (1940)	Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon *Anatomy of a Metropolis: the Changing Distribution of People and Jobs within the New York Metropolitan Region* (Regional Plan Association of New York, 1959)	Real Estate Research Corporation *The Dynamics of Neighborhood Change* (HUD, 1975)
First Grade "A" Area (green) Well-planned, homogenous population	*First Stage* New residential construction	*Stage 1* Single-family residential development	*Stage 1: Healthy* Homogenous housing and moderate to upper income, insurance and conventional financing available
Second Grade "B" Area (blue) Completely developed, stable	*Second Stage* Normal use and maintenance	*Stage 2* Transition to higher density, apartment construction	*Stage 2: Incipient Decline* Aging housing, decline in income and education level, influx of middle-income minorities, fear of racial transition
Third Grade "C" Area (yellow) In transition and decline from age, obsolescence, lack of restrictions, lower household incomes and housing values, lack of homogeneity	*Third Stage* Age, obsolescence, structural neglect	*Stage 3* Downgrading to accommodate higher density through conversion and over-crowding of existing structures, spread of ethnic and minority districts	*Stage 3: Clearly Declining* Higher density, visible deterioration, decrease in white in-movers, more minority children in schools, mostly rental housing, problems in securing insurance and financing
Fourth Grade "D" Area (red) Final stage of decline, mostly low-income rental housing, "undesirable population"	*Fourth Stage* Falling investment and rent values, neglect of maintenance, district-wide deterioration	*Stage 4* Thinning-out or "shrinkage" characterized by population loss and decline in housing units	*Stage 4: Accelerating Decline* Increasing vacancies, predominately low-income and minority tenants or elderly ethnics, high unemployment, fear of crime, no insurance or institutional financing available, declining public services, absentee-owned properties
		Stage 5 Renewal through public intervention, redevelopment and replacement of obsolete housing with new multifamily apartments	*Stage 5: Abandoned* Severe dilapidation, poverty and squatters, high crime and arson, negative cash flow from buildings

Effectively, Metzger (2000) proposes that the life-cycle model of neighborhood change evolved out of established racial patterns in American cities and only served to reinforce the racially influenced political economy partly responsible for the trajectory of urban growth in the United States. As exhibited in Table 1, Metzger (2000) highlights the perception that neighborhood change according to earlier theories and models was a natural process, rather than accounting for how those theories informed political actions within/toward neighborhoods and how political actions, and related economic racism, was accounted for in earlier neighborhood change theories.

Contrasting the ecological models of neighborhood change, sociologists placed emphasis on "the role of social networks, socially determined neighborhood reputations, and the degree to which neighbors feel a sense of attachment to their community" (Temkin and Rohe, 1996). The sociologist – and subculturalist – perspective placed emphasis on social networks and cohesion as determinants of neighborhood stability, decline or improvement; dealing with "the attitudes and values of the population and with the forms of social relations that evolve within the context of neighborhood" (Schwirian, 1983, p. 93). Much of this realm of neighborhood change scholarship focuses on the role of neighborhood groups as an important influence on neighborhood conditions and perceived desirability of a particular neighborhood. Still, these authors neglected to account for the larger structural changes, in part, influencing the desired social stability and cohesion.

Evolving out of this frustration, increased emphasis on political economy as determinant of neighborhood change began to emerge. The political economy approach to neighborhood change evaluates the process according to "complex linkages between

economic and political institutions and the various segments of the business and housing markets" (Schwirian, 1983 p. 94).

The focus on political economy coincided with the emergence of theories emphasizing the role of growth, many attributed to Molotch (1976). The development of the political economy perspective contributed to new ways of thinking about neighborhoods and the types and desires of property ownership. The political economy theories of neighborhood change are diverse, ranging from institutional perspectives to local land-based economic interests. Broadly, the major difference in political economy streams of neighborhood change models is the difference in orientation between pluralist and more Marxian models (Guterbock, 1980). The pluralist camp of the political economy approach typically focuses more on the role of institutional actors (real estate and insurance agents, bankers and various public officials) in neighborhood change while the Marxist camp relies more on analysis of the contradictory nature of use values vs. exchange values. Rephrased, while the pluralist camp is more likely to concern themselves with the structural inequities provided by a given political economy (discriminatory lending practices, etc.), the Marxist camp focuses on the inherent contradictory nature of the capitalist condition, irrespective of the spectrum of political economy alignments permitted by capitalism – the central tension reflected in the competing interests between use value and exchange value.[40]

[40] John E. Davis' (1991) book *Contested Ground* provides an overview of the contradictions pertaining to use vs. exchange value in housing markets. Briefly, these contradictory interests are evaluated according to the differences in tenure – or, renter vs. owner households vs. landlords. For renters the use value is based on the security of tenure while for owner's and landlords (property capitalists) there is greater emphasis on the correlated themes of exchange value, liquidity, appreciation, speculation an equity (p. 79). See Table 2: "Domestic property interest groups" (Adopted from Davis, 1991)

Table 2: "Domestic property interest groups" (as adopted from Davis, 1991)

Tenurial relations	Do not own domestic property (Nonowners)			Do own domestic property (Owners)						
Functional relations	*Neither accommodation nor accumulation* (Homeless)	*Accommodation* (Tenants)		*Both accommodation and accumulation* (Owner-occupiers)			*Accumulation* (Property capitalists)			
Domestic property interests	(Security)	Security Amenity	Security Amenity Autonomy	Security Amenity Autonomy Legacy (Liquidity) (Equity)	Security Amenity Autonomy Legacy Liquidity Equity	Equity Liquidity Amenity Autonomy Security Legacy	Liquidity Equity (Amenity)	Liquidity (Equity) (Amenity)	Equity (Liquidity)	Equity
Domestic property interest groups	Homeless	Public tenants	Private tenants	Social homeowners	Household homeowners	Acquisitive homeowners	Landlords	Financiers	Developers	Speculators

As Tempkin and Rohe (1996) summarize the problematic nature of use and exchange values with respect to neighborhood change,

> Logan and Molotch (1987) suggest how the dialectic involving exchange and use values affects neighborhood change. They believe neighborhood stability is most likely where use and exchange value are congruent. Once a neighborhood's exchange value is enhanced by a change in use values, a "rent gap" occurs such that the current use of a particular parcel of urban land is less than other more profitable uses (Smith, 1979). Consequently, land use is altered, perhaps from a working class community to a more upscale neighborhood. This perspective suggests that the contradiction between use and exchange values is often resolved in favor of capital's interests (p. 163).

The understanding of the contradictory motivations between use value and exchange value with respect to neighborhood change is critical to understanding the latest round of change affecting the Rosewood Neighborhood. Recently, with more economically endowed households moving into the neighborhood and subsequent reinvestment in property (housing and commercial), the contradiction between the desires of use and exchange value property arrangements is exacerbating the displacement of the remaining black community.

The political economy perspective(s) on neighborhood change has been more recently elaborated by the bodies of work from scholars like Neil Smith and David Harvey. For both, there is usage of the term *gentrification*. While many author's use *gentrification* in an almost indiscriminate way, many of those coming out of the political economy perspective have based its usage on an "architecture" of interests, often resulting from shifts in political economy, converging to induce gentrification in inner city neighborhoods. As political economy has evolved from its more statist influence in the mid-20th century, so has respondent gentrification. Interestingly, the first discreet mention of gentrification in the early 1960s corresponds to the at the time emergent neoliberal growth paradigm,

> One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two

> rooms and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again…Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964, p. xviii as retrieved in Smith, 2006, p. 191)

Hackworth and Smith (2000) chronicle this evolution according to three distinct waves of gentrification: first-wave gentrification – sporadic and state led; second-wave gentrification – expansion and resistance; and, third-wave gentrification – recessional pause and subsequent expansion (p. 468). Summarized, the first-wave is thought to have been mainly isolated in smaller neighborhoods of the Northeastern United States; the second-wave began to effect smaller, less global cities and was thought to correlate with the presence of high concentrations of artists and other aligned professionals; finally, the third-wave is attributed more than ever to linkages with the global economy and the arrival of foreign capital in many otherwise unrealized markets (Hackworth and Smith, 2000). As Hackworth and Smith (2000) summarize the third-wave of gentrification,

> Post-recession gentrification – the third-wave of the process – is a purer expression of the economic conditions and processes making reinvestment in disinvested inner-urban areas so alluring for investors (Smith and Defilippis, 1999). Overall, the economic forces driving gentrification seem to have eclipsed the cultural factors as the scale of investment is greater and the level of corporate, as opposed to smaller-scale capital, has grown. […] First, gentrification is expanding both within the inner-city neighbourhoods that it affected during earlier waves and to more remote neighbourhoods beyond the immediate core. Second, restructuring and globalisation in the real estate industry has set a context for larger developers becoming involved in gentrifying neighborhoods (Logan, 1993; Coakley, 1994; Ball, 1994).

For Hackworth and Smith (2000), the third-wave of gentrification is also representative of an effort to maintain the prospects for growth within a particular urban regime while adjusting to the diminishing federal transfers American cities have experienced as a result of political

and economic restructuring in recent decades. They go as far to say that the latest round is characteristic of even heavier state involvement, though this time creating favorable land-use regulations and tax incentives to induce neighborhood change as opposed to direct federal transfers and guarantees (Hackworth and Smith, 2000).

Most importantly, Smith et al, challenge the dominant narratives around current determinants of neighborhood change. Instead of assuming that neighborhood change is simply reflective of increased demand and the like (conferring almost natural qualities to the change taking place), they point to very specific actions by local (and national) authorities that wholly exacerbate the prospects for gentrification, especially with the emergence of global capital in previously marginal cities. As Smith (2002) elaborates on the relationship between transforming political economy and the urban environment,

> And yet, to differing degrees, gentrification had evolved by the 1990s into a crucial urban strategy for city governments in consort with private capital in cities around the world. Liberal urban policy, which in Europe dated back in some places to the end of the nineteenth century and in North America to the transition from the Progressive era to Roosevelt's New Deal, was systematically defeated beginning with the political economic crises of the 1970s and the conservative national administrations that followed in the 1980s. From Regan to Thatcher and, later, Kohl, the provisions of that liberal urban policy were systematically disempowered or dismantled at the national scale, and public policy constraints on gentrification were replaced by subsidized private-market transformation of the urban built environment. This transformation was intensified by the coterie of neoliberal leaders that followed – Clinton, Blair, Schröder – and the new phase of gentrification therefore dovetails with a larger class conquest, not only of national power but of urban policy. By the end of the twentieth century, gentrification fueled by a concerted and systematic partnership of public planning with public and private capital had moved into the vacuum left by the end of liberal urban policy (p.440).

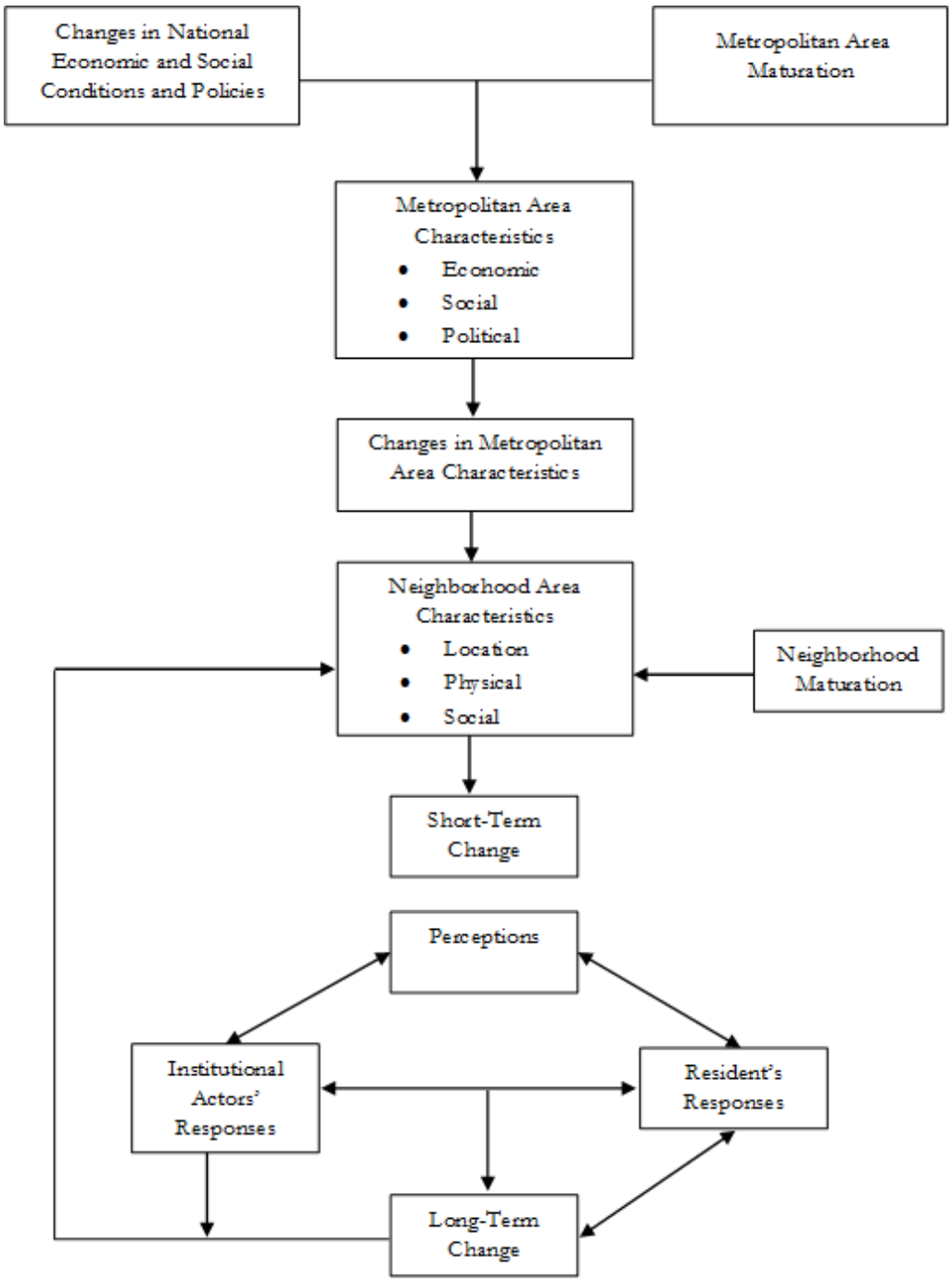
Thus, the claims provided by some, primarily earlier, scholars that processes of gentrification were somehow natural are contested by those following the political economy camp of neighborhood change. Instead, these changes are driven by a series of actions at a range of scales, to the detriment of households and communities without the adequate capital

position to respond. As such, the more Marxian oriented political economy approaches to neighborhood change offer little in the way of firm policy conclusions, largely because of the overlap of scales needing policy response to affect local neighborhood change.

Reflective of more pluralist political economy approaches to neighborhood change, and incorporating other elements of neighborhood change ignored by the political economy camp, Temkin and Rohe (1996) go on to create a "synthetic model of neighborhood change" that attempts to capture all of the disciplinary constrained approaches into a comprehensive model for evaluating neighborhood change. The model provided offers a good framework to analyzing changes the Rosewood Neighborhood.[41] It accounts for changes in global and national political economies, and translates these changes through a city's own economic, social and political traits, coupled with maturation; then further extends this understanding of change to the neighborhood level, where collective perceptions of a neighborhood stimulate resident and institutional response(s) (Temkin and Rohe, 1996).

[41] See Model 2: "A synthetic model of neighborhood change"

Model 2: "A synthetic model of neighborhood change" (as adopted from Temkin and Rohe, 1996)



Still, the political economy undertones, especially in the context of the neoliberal growth paradigm are present. As Temkin and Rohe (1996) state,

> Our model outlines a complex process in which neighborhoods are involved in a competition for scarce resources necessary to promote neighborhood stability bounded by the political and social environment of the metropolitan area. […]
>
> To successfully resist the forces of change, neighborhood residents must be able to influence larger political, financial and other institutional actors whose decisions affect neighborhood stability or change. This focus on the institutional actors is consistent with the political economy framework. We reject, however, the deterministic notion that the city's "growth machine" always wins when there is a direct conflict between use and exchange values. Neighborhoods can collectively shape their futures, but they must do so in a complex social and uncertain political and economic environment (p. 165).

As demonstrated in the case of the Rosewood Neighborhood and the proposed redevelopment of a long standing cultural and community focal point, the neighborhood's ability to collectively reshape its future has been diminished. Temkin and Rohe (1996) continue with an apt metaphorical description of their model,

> Imagine a piece of cheesecloth whose weave varies in density from very tight to very loose. If a liquid is poured onto the cheesecloth, areas with a tight weave will be relatively impervious, and the liquid will run off to the areas of looser weave. Like cheese cloth, urban neighborhoods vary in density of their social fabric. Those with tightly knit social fabrics are more resistant to change while those with looser fabrics are more susceptible to change (p. 167)

As later chapters exhibit, shifting political economy is heavily correlated with the evolving social fabric of the neighborhood, in turn influencing the susceptibility of the Rosewood Neighborhood to various forms of change; the more classically liberal political economy interfused with racial politics forced a certain resiliency and cohesion of social fabric under segregation, the shift to a more neoliberal political economy has coincided with fracturing and erosion of social fabric witnessed currently.

Though the proposed research will be primarily framed according to the political economy component of the synthetic model, nonetheless the other variables influencing neighborhood change cannot be totally excluded due to the exploratory and descriptive nature of the research methods used here. Especially when taking into account the evolving discourse surrounding public housing (re)development and neighborhood change in Austin, Texas; when discourse is also reflective of changing individual and collective perceptions of neighborhood conditions.

In many ways the theories neighborhood change and political economy are co-evolutionary, in part because they are co-dependent. As shifts in political economy continue to manifest themselves in tangible ways at the local level, our understanding of neighborhood change requires greater complexity. The relationships between these streams is even further complicated by the prospect of public investment in public housing (re)development. It is the layered nuance provided by this interaction that informs the development of the research questions presented in the next section.

Emerging Research Questions

Pertaining to gaps within the literature reviewed, most literature, especially case studies of public housing redevelopment, remain confined by their own disciplinary boundaries. The public housing redevelopment case studies that do exist are typically focused on elements of the design and process employed before and after the redevelopment. To my knowledge there are no case studies of public housing redevelopment that frame the issue in the context of neighborhood change or political economy.

Beyond the case study format, several chronologies of public housing in the United States link transformations in political economy to public housing, notably Lawrence Vale's (2000) *Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* and Edward Goetz' (2013) *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic Justice and Public Housing Policy*.[42] Still, neither of these account for the relationship between changing neighborhood conditions and public housing (re)development, especially as they pertain to community. Case study works with greater emphasis on neighborhood scale change, often in part influenced by public housing redevelopment, more effectively capture the implications for political economy transformations, as is the case with the comparative case study provided by Derek Hyra's (2008) *The New Urban Renewal: The Economic Transformation of Harlem and Bronzeville*.[43]

Similarly, literature within the growth machine and urban regime categories of urban political economy, does not delve into public housing (re)development. Still, these bodies of literature provide a series of useful frameworks for evaluating the evolution of public housing, with respect to federal housing policy and respective municipal responses to perceived public housing "problems". Though in many ways, growth machine literature and urban regime literature are correlated, each provide a distinct but related lens to view public housing (re)development in Austin, Texas. The overarching theme of political economy has the capacity to capture the evolving institutional responses to the public housing "problem", while remaining inclusive of race as a partial determinant of shifting perceptions of how to

[42] Vale (2000) examines the case of public housing in Boston relative to the city's own administration, PHA and federal housing policy, though not focusing on any particular public housing site in Boston. Goetz (2013) provides a heavily critical examination of public housing in relations to the correlated themes of political economy and race.

[43] Hyra (2008) examines two of the most celebrated black neighborhoods in the United States, comparing their evolution, partly in the context of public housing redevelopment, with respect to the varying political structures of New York and Chicago. As an in-depth comparative case study, this piece is perhaps the closest scholarly work embodying what I am trying to capture in Austin.

address the "problem". As political economy, coupled with related discourse, is inherently an issue of power, there is some inspiration drawn from the type of analysis provided by Bent Flyvbjerg's (1998) *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*.

Finally, the neighborhood change literature evaluated has evolved considerably in the approaches used since the beginning of the 20th century. Most critical to the case study of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility are those elements focusing on the political economy aspects of neighborhood change and more recent "synthetic" models. While Hyra (2008) does evaluate role of public housing redevelopment with respect to neighborhood change, his comparative case study is less concerned with the past versus present relationship and more focused on present conditions. Further, it less concerned with evolving community structure in response to shifting political economy and more about the comparative political structures informing the trajectory of neighborhood change and public housing redevelopment.

The relationship between public housing (re)development, urban political economy and neighborhood change is inherently complex and contextually rooted. Even so, the overlapping themes of race, transforming political economy and recent rapid neighborhood change in Austin, Texas give rise to a set of broad questions necessary to more fully comprehending the complexities surrounding the contested atmosphere of public housing redevelopment for Rosewood Courts. The following central research question, and subsequent theory-based questions, are my attempt to capture some of the nuance needed to have a more informed perspective:

Central Research Question: What is the relationship between neighborhood change and public housing (re)development in Austin, Texas, as evaluated through the lens of political economy?

- **Theory Question 1:** What types of *discourse(s)* shaped the initial siting of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility?
- **Theory Question 2:** What types of *discourse(s)* are driving the current effort to redevelop the Rosewood Courts public housing facility?[44]

[44] In order to order to operationalize these questions effectively, it is useful to provide definitional clarity to the terms embedded in the research questions (see last section of Chapter 2: "Emerging Research Questions"). Specifically, how does one evaluate the term – *discourse* – with respect to the research questions.

This research implies that *discourse(s)* is an effective proxy for understanding the interplay between legal frameworks (a political outcome) and economic climate (also, arguably a political outcome), and provides ample evidence of evolving nature of the public housing debate, especially as it relates to neighborhood change and shifting political economy. Broadly, *discourse* is understood to be a set of written and spoken communication debate. Though not entirely employing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) here, the way in which CDA scholars frame discourse is helpful in operationalizing the term relative to the research questions above. As Van Dijk (2003) states,

> Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (p. 352)

Because discourse is reflective of political action and vice versa, the discourse reviewed in the following chapters serves as an effective proxy for constructing a compelling narrative when evaluating the relationship between neighborhood change and public housing (re)development in Austin, Texas as it relates to transformations in political economy.

Departing from more classical approaches to discourse analysis, the research does not deconstruct discourse according to linguistic methods. Rather, evaluating discourse as a way of understanding the dialectic(s) surrounding neighborhood change and public housing (re)development through the overarching lens of political economy. As such, the following research does not attempt to formally categorize discourse relating to the interplay above, but use this understanding of discourse, especially of the political variety, as a lens for understanding the multiple, and often conflicting, narratives surrounding public housing across the United States using the evolution of the Rosewood Neighborhood and Rosewood Courts public housing facility as a case study to illuminate this interaction.

Key Findings

Broadly, I anticipate to find that changing neighborhood conditions and federal public housing (re)development policy are linked, both dependent on structural changes in the global political economy landscape, as filtered down to the local level and translated into the relationship between institutional (HACA and HUD / federal public housing policy) and social and economic geographies of neighborhood change.

This transformation in global political economy, filtered down to the local level, coupled with changing community perceptions of inner city neighborhoods, have created an environment for new, though similar, public discussion and rational for the redevelopment of public housing in Austin, Texas. The current discourse, while similar in many ways to that provided for public housing development in the 1930s is responsive to feedback and relational movements between varying levels of an ever transitional political economy: global, national and local. Further, and especially pronounced in an evaluation of American urban political economy, perceptions of race are instrumental in the evolution of policy and neighborhood change.

Mirroring the trends of cities that have already radically remade their public housing complexes and much of their urban fabric in the wake of neoliberal reforms, Austin will continue to demonstrate these patterns of disparate impact on poor and minority populations, especially the ever dwindling component of Austin's African American population in the historical neighborhood of Rosewood. Though these patterns will continue to be less pronounced than in other cities with more readily visible, and recognized, racial histories. The emergence of Austin's progressive identity amongst its Texan peers, in

many ways, only further conceals the spatial-racial relationships in the city, especially as they relate to public housing (re)development.

Summarized, I expect the findings to demonstrate an evolving set discourse(s) for the public housing (re)development of Rosewood Courts correlated with changes in political economy – at varying scales – and a subsequent transformation of neighborhood conditions.

Chapter Three: The Early History of Public Housing Development in Austin, Texas

In attempting to answer my first research question – what types of discourse(s) informed the initial siting of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility? – I rely on the use of existing biographical and legislative literature and archival research methods. The purpose of this section is to illuminate the factors influencing the late 1930s siting of the public housing development in the context of a highly racialized and Depression-era policy climate. As demonstrated throughout this section, perhaps the single greatest determinant of the final siting of Rosewood Courts is a political and economic environment that persistently acquiesced to the demands of private sector interests while trying induce growth under stagnant Depression-era economic conditions. Though not entirely dissimilar from contemporary political economy informing neighborhood change and public housing redevelopment in today's contested atmosphere, there are important differences, namely the overt manner in which race is factored into the equation. These central tensions, not exclusive to the case of public housing in Austin, arguably sealed the legacy of public housing in dominant political and economic discourse(s) in the decades to come.

Paralleling the current CNI redevelopment initiative, much of the discourse for the initial siting of Rosewood Courts is centered on the collective perceptions of neighborhood conditions. This section is divided into three parts: 1) siting in the context of entrenched spatial segregation; 2) a focus on the efforts of then Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson in relation to the Housing Act of 1937; and 3) opposition to public housing – and more broadly the entirety of federal New Deal initiatives – by the business community. Each of these components of Austin's early history of public housing had significant influence on the

discourse(s) surrounding the initial siting of Rosewood Courts, and its sister public housing facilities, Chalmers Courts and Santa Rita Courts.

Siting in the Context of Entrenched Spatial Segregation

In much of the United States, an evaluation of race is integral to an understanding of political economy and its spatial-racial impacts. Austin is no exception. The correlated themes of race and space are critical to comprehending urban policy and change in Austin during the 20th century. In this section, I focus on the layered history of spatial-racial segregation in Austin, Texas. Beginning with an overview of restrictive covenants, this section then delves into the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928* and the later publication of Homeowner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) lending guidelines and maps for Austin, Texas. Certainly, these are not the only factors contributing to the spatial and racial divides that continue to characterize Austin's urban fabric. Still, the relatively short time span in which each of these mechanisms were employed to promote spatial exclusion, provides ample insight into how race factors into the development of the city, especially in relation to the siting and construction of the Rosewood Courts facility.

Restrictive Covenants

The use of restrictive covenants in Austin predates the implementation of the *Plan of 1928* and other forms of racial exclusion.[45] This sub-section relies entirely on analysis by Eliot Tretter (2012) from the publication *Austin Restricted: Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial*

[45] Covenants are legal arrangements that bind an individual or other owner of real property to refraining from certain types of actions. Typically, land covenants bind the owner to a relatively strictly set of land uses for their property. In the United States, especially Southern cities, restrictive covenants were a method of excluding sale to minority populations and limiting the types of land uses permitted such that individual properties maintained their value over the long term, as in part determined by prevailing social and racial conventions of the day.

Covenants and the Making of Segregated City.[46] It is incorporated into this thesis because of the determinant effects of racially restrictive covenants in influencing the outcome of the discussed *Plan of 1928* and HOLC documents (discussed later) that in-part influenced patterns of mortgage lending in the following decades.

As Tretter (2012) is quick to introduce, Austin is not unique among American cities in its efforts to confine certain populations (p. 4). In many Southern cities, the use of private zoning mechanisms, namely restrictive covenants, worked to create an environment that along with public zoning, determined the racial settlement patterns in cities long before the implementation of explicitly racist pubic forms of land use discrimination. As Tretter (2012) states,

> Nevertheless, in terms of residential land-use, and the segregation of the city's housing in terms of race and class, the foundation was laid in how both public and private forms of zoning worked together and interacted in a cumulative way to reinforce general special patterns. […] …private land use restrictions, the city's zoning laws, and federal policy all worked together to shape the patterns of residential segregation found in Austin during most of the 20th century. The outlines of the pattern were set by restrictive covenants, which existed before the city's first local comprehensive plan was adopted in 1928 but were used with increasing regularity after its adoption. To a large extent, in fact, public zoning ordinances in the late 1920s helped to enshrine in a different legal arena the patterns of development – i.e., the features of housing segregation – that had been set in motion by limitations in deeds…Moreover, zoning rules identified areas of the city for commercial and later industrial development that relied on past geographical distribution of covenants, which restricted noxious land-uses in some parts of the city, but their absence in other parts made those areas available for more non-residential development (p. 5).

Restated, the use of restrictive covenants impacted zoning and racial distribution in two ways: 1) it established patterns of segregation via restricting parcels in "white" areas of town from being transferred to anyone of "African descent"; and, 2) left the remaining majority

[46] As of April 2014, the paper remained in draft form. Nonetheless, it offers countless examples of the impact of restrictive covenants on establishing spatial-racial settlement patterns in Austin, Texas.

"black" areas of town as among the only areas that would permit more intensive commercial and industrial land uses (Tretter, 2012).

The development of restrictive covenants and convergence of public and private forms of zoning in many Southern cities is attributed to Southern Progressivism, a broad movement responsive to specific changes in the "social landscape of the region, particularly the coming of industry, increasing urbanization and the growing importance of a new middle class made up of business and professional groups" (Grantham, 1981, pg. 1036 as retrieved from Tretter, 2012). Southern Progressivism was in many ways a reaction to the changing social relations resulting from the collapse of more "traditional" social relations under institutionalized slavery before the end of the Civil War. After the Civil War, as bonded labor forms became less prominent and the Southern states began a period of urbanization, Southern Progressivism was the political response to these quickly changing social, political and economic geographies. While Progressivism in the United States is often associated with a broad based social reform agenda, even an emphasis on social justice, in the South it took the unique form of what some scholars have labeled "business progressivism", which, "advocated for the expansion and efficiency of public services to facilitate urban and economic growth more than programs to enhance public welfare" (Brown, 1984 p. 7; Tindall 1967 pg. 254 as retrieved in Tretter, 2012). As Tretter (2012) aptly summarizes,

> Moreover, all aspects of the social reform agenda of Southern Progressivism operated within a framework of white supremacy and anti-black racism. Inheriting a longtime system of white racial hegemony, the benefits of Southern Progressivism, as Woodward once again so astutely characterized it, were for "whites only" (p. 10)

The Southern Progressive era reforms that did emerge, thus only solidified the domains of white racial identity, and if improvements for non-whites were made, they were often coincidental and selective, used to reinforce the imposed racial hierarchy and existing racial

barriers (Colten 2005 pgs. 77-107; Hale 1998 pgs. 121-197; Tindall 1967, pgs 254-284 as retrieved in Tretter, 2012).

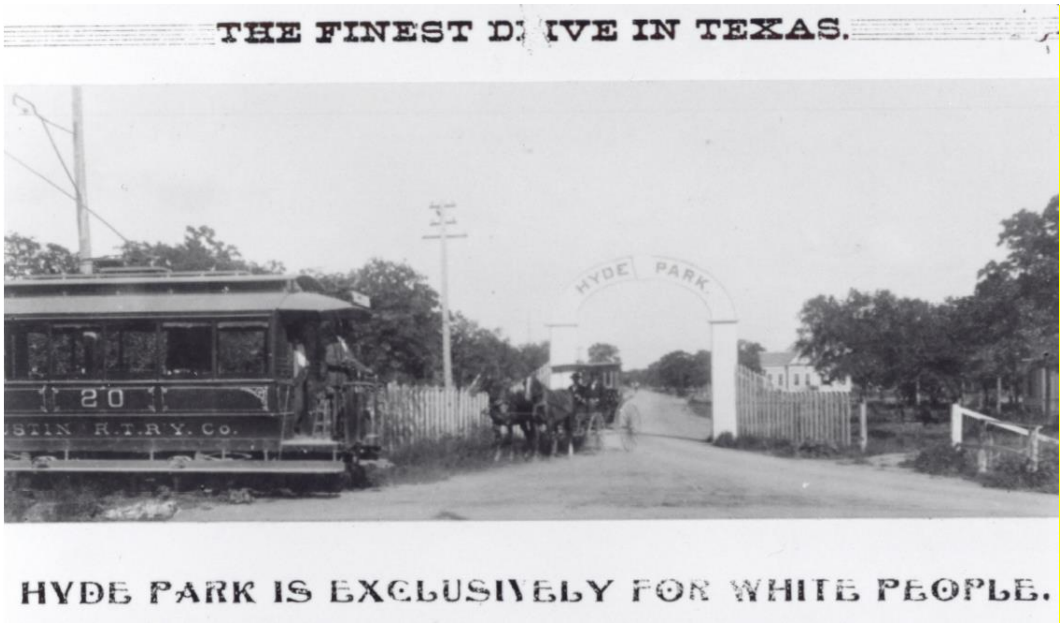
Restrictive covenants are thought to have originated in 17th century Boston as a tool for private property owners to limit the types of uses permitted on a parcel of land, with the earliest applications used for things like animal husbandry and health-related form based restrictions (Holleran 1998 pg. 67 as retrieved in Tretter, 2012). As they evolved, restrictive covenants adopted a racial component, becoming one of the significant tools for "producing housing segregation and locking down the uneven urban geographies of class and race in cities" (Tretter, 2012 p. 22). As one restrictive covenant of a deed approved by the Austin City Council and signed by Mayor Tom Miller reads,

> No lot or part thereof shall ever be used by, rented, leased, sold, demised, conveyed to, or otherwise become the property of or come into the use or possession of any persons other than white persons of strict Caucasian blood provided these provisions shall not prevent occupancy of servants of a different race or nationality employed by owner or tenant. (Royal Oak subdivision, Section 2, date unknown, as retrieved in Tretter, 2012).

Dozens of private developers used restrictive covenants as a method of insuring property value maintenance for prospective buyers according to social and racial conventions of the time, attracting potential homeowners to the perceived security of their investment. One notable and well published example of this type of marketing was used by late 19th century Austin developer Colonel Monroe Shipe. Shipe developed an area of town north of the University of Texas and formerly a horse racing track, and rebranded it as Hyde Park, a garden-style suburb located approximately two miles from Austin's central business district connected by a privately financed street car system. As much of the marketing material

demonstrates, "Hyde Park is exclusively for white people", a slogan certified through the use of restrictive covenants ("The finest drive in Texas as retrieved from Tretter, 2013a).[47]

Image 4: "The finest drive in Texas" (as retrieved from Tretter, 2013a)



The use of restrictive covenants proved crucial to the establishment of more institutionalized forms of public segregation found in the *Plan of 1928*, which when evaluated alongside the aims of "business progressivism" and the guidelines established by federal public housing legislation, contributed to the final set of constraints binding the development of Austin's initial three public housing facilities, specifically Rosewood Courts, to the area of Central East Austin.

[47] See Image 4: "The finest drive in Texas"

Koch and Fowler Plan of 1928

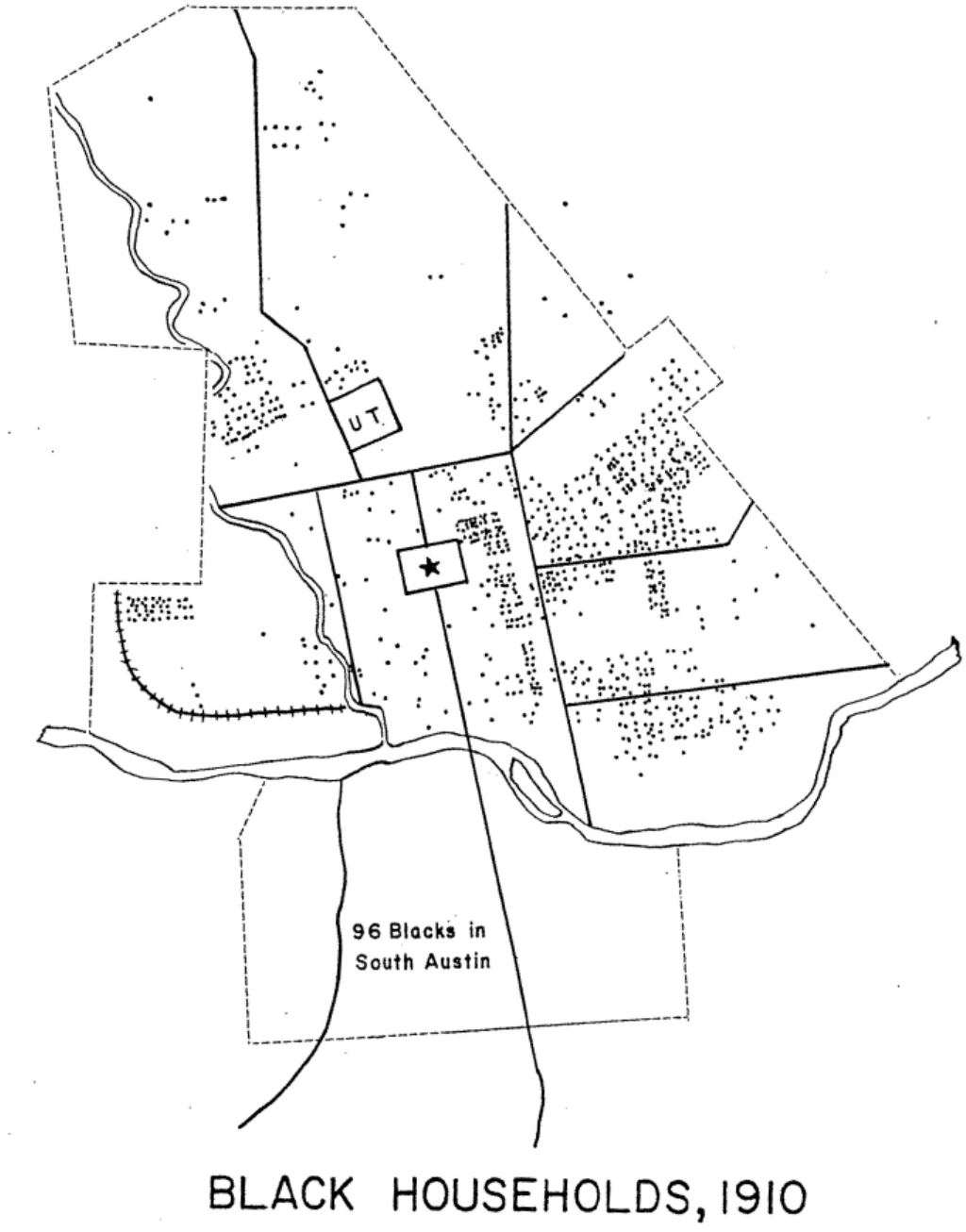
The Koch and Fowler (1928), *A City Plan for Austin, TX* was the first example of municipally directed spatial-racial planning.[48] The plan, developed by an engineering consulting firm, proved instrumental in establishing spatial patterns of racial distribution in Austin, depriving minority populations of segregated public services facilities west of East Avenue (present-day Interstate Highway – 35). The resulting decline of black communities, at the time distributed throughout increasingly desirable real estate proximate to the downtown area, cannot be disassociated from the introduction of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*. Long before the idea of public housing came to Austin, pervasive racial tension had come to characterize the city in physical, social, economic and spatial ways. By the late 1930s, almost the entirety of Austin's black and minority populations resided east of East Avenue (later Interstate Highway 35).

This spatial separation according to race did not happen by accident. Rather, it was the product of a series of calculated moves by Austin's political establishment, city planners, real estate interests and other influential persons, troubled by the relative intermixing of black settlements in and around Austin prior to the institutionalization of the notorious Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*. Prior to Austin's era of rigid spatial segregation, the city was home to numerous black settlements spread relatively evenly across its geographical area.[49] Many of these black settlements, some of them freedman's colonies dating back to the antebellum era, were initially beyond the geographical bounds of Austin's early settlement

[48] Also referred to as the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*.
[49] See Image 5: "Black Households, 1910"; The boundaries of Clarksville, as an historically black community, have been roughly defined by West Lynn Avenue to the east, Enfield Rd (15th street) to the north and 6th street to the south.

history – notable examples include Clarksville and Wheatsville. In most cases, the gradual growth of Austin led to the increasing encroachment of the "white" city on these freedman's settlements. As such, a significant portion of the black community was under continued threat from local real estate interest's intent on expanding the segregated bounds of the city. One of the key provisions of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928* was to further concentrate black and minority populations east of the former East Avenue. To do this, city officials used Jim Crow era tactics, depriving minority era residents of all city services outside of Central East Austin, forcing the scattered black communities to concentrate in the largest established black community furthest from desirable land for future "white" populations – the Rosewood Neighborhood.

Image 5: "Black Households, 1910" (Austin Human Relations Commission, as retrieved from Tretter, 2013a)



With the introduction of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*, Austin's spatial segregation became significantly more pronounced in the following decades. So much so, that by the time the idea of public housing came to Austin, there were few neighborhoods better suited to accommodate the spatial-racial demands provided in the enabling legislation of 1937. As the *Plan of 1928* vividly exhibits,

> There has been considerable talk in Austin, as well as other cities, in regard to the race segregation problem. This Problem cannot be solved legally under any zoning law known to us at present. Practically all attempts of such have been proven unconstitutional…In our studies in Austin we have found that negroes are present in small numbers, in practically all sections of the city, excepting the area just east of East Avenue and South of the City Cemetery [Rosewood]. This area seems to be all negro population. It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the necessity of duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area. We are recommending that sufficient area be acquired adjoining the negro high school to provide adequate space for a complete negro play-field in connection with the negro high school. We further recommend that negro school in this area be provided with ample and adequate playground space and facilities similar to the white schools of the city (Koch and Fowler, p 57).

Effectively, the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928* prompted city officials to concentrate black community and social services facilities to areas within East Austin, specifically Rosewood. Following, the city began to phase out services for black residents in areas desired by the dominant white population. Health care services, educational and recreational facilities and simple infrastructure provision for minority populations were largely restricted to the area of Central East Austin as defined in the *Plan of 1928*.[50] Considering the information presented throughout this paper, namely the need to co-locate public housing facilities in areas deemed

[50] See Image 6: "100 years and still struggling" – embodying the sentiment of remaining, though very minor, black population remaining in communities like Clarksville and Wheatsville.

slum-like, and the inability for public housing to compete with private market housing provisions, the final decision to site all of Austin's three public housing facilities in East Austin becomes ever more apparent. Still, the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*, while institutionalizing the spatial segregation patterns already present and still reflected in today's urban fabric, did not wholly satisfy the concerns of private market real estate interests.

Image 6: "100 years and still struggling" (Austin History Center as retrieved in Emergent Urbanism, 2006)

The resulting geographical concentration of black and minority populations in Eastern quadrants of the city continues to manifest itself today, more than 80 years after the adoption of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*. Race has permeated through many aspects urban policy going forward; and to an extent, is still a consideration today, even if in less pronounced terms. As in countless other American cities, the forced concentration of black populations became even more problematic as post-War (sub)urban landscape began to

unfold and desegregation help to empty historically black communities across the Southern United States.

The implementation of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928* was perhaps the most defining moment for Austin's contemporary spatial distribution along racial lines. As such, subsequent evaluations of political economy cannot be divorced from their often deleterious impacts on black and minority populations.

As the Great Depression neared, the racial foundation of Austin's future political, economic and social geographies had been determined. With the onset of the Depression, an entirely new political economy, one characterized by relatively heavy state involvement, began to emerge in many American cities. Austin, with its receptive New Deal politicians, is perhaps the best example of state driven growth and planning (via Depression-era federal transfers) as laying the groundwork for an increasingly competitive urban environment going forward.

Home Owners' Loan Corporation

Illustrating the concerns of Austin's real estate market professionals, one finds considerable evidence of the systematic spatial-racial discrimination in Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) documents. The HOLC documents capture the concerns of private market lending institutions, especially as they relate to the non-compete clauses found in the Housing Act of 1937.

The HOLC was a New Deal entity created to refinance home mortgages facing default during the Depression era. The HOLC issued bonds for the purchase of troubled mortgages during the Depression-era. Created in 1933 under FDR, the HOLC assisted many cities in assessing the viability of local housing markets. At the request of the Federal

Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) in 1935, the HOLC published countless reports and accompanying maps to assist bankers and real estate professionals in making seemingly educated decisions surrounding investments in local housing markets.

The "confidential" "Report of a Survey in in Austin, Texas" (HOLC, 1935), included an analysis of the local economic climate, with specific attention paid to the property and labor market. Pronouncing its authority on the respective subjects, the document notes its reliance on "seven reliable and well informed real estate and mortgage men of Austin" (HOLC, 1935, p. 8).[51] The report is followed by interviews with each of the "qualified" individuals in addition to other "principled business men", including: T.H Davis, John Gracy, Clyde Hailey, John Harrison, F.C. Morse, Robert Mueller, A. Shierlow, F.W. Sternanberg, Henry Wendlandt, L.D. Williams, Claude Wilson and G.F. Zimmerman – a collection of names that continues to resonate in Austin's contemporary business community. The report notes that only three "banking and trust" companies were present in Austin at the time: The American National Bank, The Austin National Bank, and The Capitol National Bank. At the time of publication, all three of these banks had limited mortgage lending activity, with only one partaking in the FHA program. Even so, the report indicates that of the two banks not participating in the FHA program, "the trust department of one of the banks will make real estate loans while the other institution has adopted a policy of making a limited number of mortgage loans wherever a need exists", in part reflective of the apprehension toward federal level housing programs interfering with local markets (HOLC, 1935, p. 15).

[51] Prior to the creation of the FHA, much of the financing for home construction in Austin was done through local lumber suppliers.

As the HOLC Report (1935) details the distribution of the black population and the desirability of alternative areas of the city, the report states,

> Austin is an old city wherein the trend of the best residential is entirely in one direction. The best section begins at Enfield Road on the south and continues north well out of the city limits. The eastern boundary of this section is Rio Grande Avenue. Adjacent to the University of Texas Campus on the north is another high class residential section.[52] Surrounding these areas are the stable and/or still desirable sections of the city. […] Except for Travis Heights, an exclusive residential section in the southeast part of the city, Austin is almost equally divided as to residential areas, the best being to the north and the inferior grades to the south. These designations are clearly shown on Map No. I (grades or security) which accompanies this report.[53] This map represents the composite judgment of seven reliable and well informed real estate and mortgage men of Austin. […] The negro population is scattered in five sections of the city. However, the heavy concentration is in the eastern part. All of the portion north of "E" street to Manor Road and east of East Avenue is occupied by negroes, Mexicans intermixing with the colored in the southern part of this area….It will be observed that there are three small negro residential sections in the best areas of the city. Real Estate men explained that the negroes had occupied these sections for many decades and because of the superiority of the residential sections surrounding them, there has been no blighting of the areas surrounding the colored sections. (p. 8).

As mentioned in the quote above, accompanying the HOLC report for Austin is a map designating favorable and unfavorable loan opportunities within the city's geographical area. The map demarcates areas in four categories from "Hazardous" to "Best" with respect to the security and risk of mortgage financing from the lenders perspective.[54]

Piggybacking off of the ambitions of the Koch and Fowler *Plan of 1928*, the map deems the area bound by 1st Street on the south (currently Cesar Chavez Street), Manor Road to the north, East Avenue on the West and Pleasant Valley Road to the East, as being universally "hazardous" and thus undesirable for mortgage lenders or other ancillary home

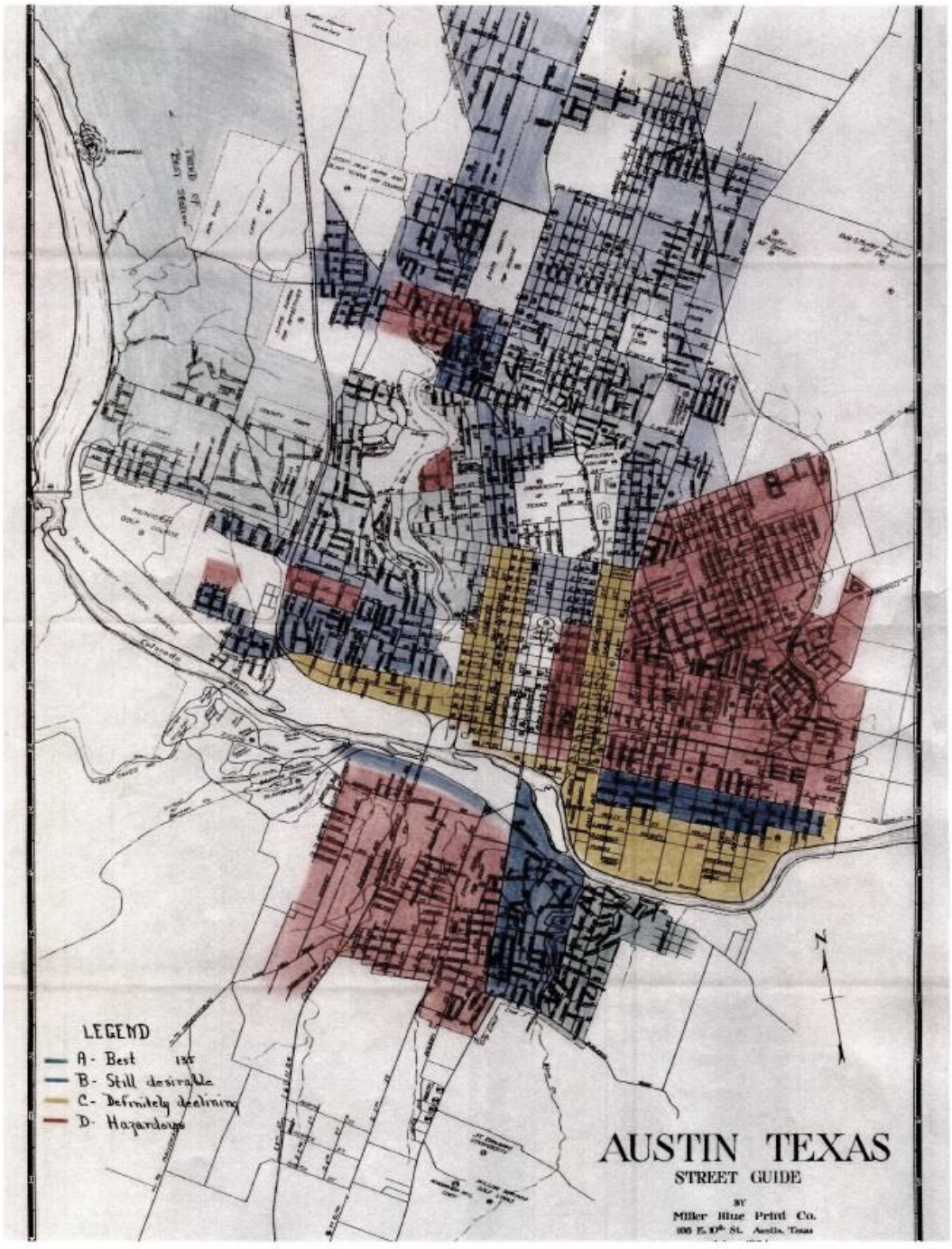
[52] Likely reference to the Hyde Park neighborhood. At the time a segregated, whites only, suburban area connected to the core of the city by a privately financed tram line.
[53] See Image 7: "HOLC Map"
[54] See Image 7: "HOLC Map"

construction and real estate professionals (HOLC, 1935). Effectively, this delineates the entirety of Central East Austin as too risky for banks to underwrite mortgages for. Though the document and map do not explicitly state that the conventional private housing market is not active in this area, it does effectively guarantee that the financiers and associated real estate professionals in the housing market would have been disinterested in investment opportunities in these "undesirable" areas. Further, in analyzing the entirety of the City of Austin's existing housing stock with respect to vacancy and habitability, the HOLC Report (1935) states,

> Vacancies in the habitable houses are very few. The experience of the largest real estate firm (Harrison-Wilson Company) is typical. This firm is rental agent for 1600 properties and reports that the only vacancies are a few in the negro section. [There] are virtually no vacancies in the better class of properties in Austin (p. 10).

This highlights the problematic nature of the HOLC Report for several reasons. First, it attributes what marginal negative housing conditions it does account for (in terms of vacancy) with the "negro" population. Second, as reflected in the oppositional streams of language to come in the following years surrounding the debate over public housing, it effectively denies the existence of poor housing stock within the city, declaring 100 percent of the units habitable.

Image 7: "HOLC Map"



Considering the requirements of the Housing Act of 1937, with respect to non-competition in the private housing market and proximate slum clearance, these documents illustrate the siting constraints imposed upon supportive city officials and the AHA. The HOLC documents, supportive of the trends initiated by restrictive covenants and the *Plan of 1928*, highlights the perceptions of key stakeholders in the housing market. The HOLC Report affirms the patterns of spatial-racial segregation instituted by previous rounds of institutional discrimination and internalizes these patterns for housing market professionals, cordoning off entire black and minority populated areas from investment opportunities for decades to come.

Concluding, if public housing were to be a viable initiative in Austin, it would have to locate itself in these areas effectively deemed unwanted by the real estate and finance industries of Austin. The establishment of racially distributed settlement patterns had been established through the use of the racially restrictive covenants and reaffirmed by the *Plan of 1928* and HOLC documents. As New Deal money flowed into Austin during the Great Depression, many of these large public works projects reinforced these racial patterns, influencing the racial distribution of the city into the present day.

The Housing Act of 1937[55]

As The Wagner-Steagall National Housing Act of September 1937 (also known as the Wagner-Steagall Act and the Housing Act of 1937) was largely the product of the convergence of Depression-era economic needs and the sustained, if fragmented, social housing movements preceding it. Prior to the Housing Act of 1937, the United States had been struggling to address the tenement housing and slum conditions associated with major

[55] Further discussion available in Chapter 2, Section 2

industrial cities. With the onset of the Great Depression, the federal government was eager to find ways to use public dollars to re-stimulate the economy. At the time, problems associated with housing for the inner city working poor were met with recommendations for slum clearance and a robust remake of physical conditions for inner city housing. To combat the surplus absorption problem, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) spearheaded the creation of the Public Works Administration (PWA), a tool of Roosevelt's "New Deal" politics to reinvigorate the Depression-era economy using massive transfers of federal dollars to infrastructure and other local building projects.

Shortly after Roosevelt assumed office, the Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Act of 1932 passed, authorizing the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to assist in the financing of locally sponsored housing for low income families (Goetz, 2013) Within a year, following the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (the central piece of New Deal legislation) in 1933, the program was transferred to the PWA within the Department of the Interior. This earliest phase of federally sponsored public housing construction was responsible for the completion 58 developments with approximately 25,000 units of housing.

This earliest iteration of federal public housing commitment was halted with the U.S. District Court decision in 1935 with the case of *United States v. Certain Lands in the City of Louisville*. (Goetz, 2013) The court ruled that the federal government could not take private lands via eminent domain for the use of public housing. Instead of challenging, the Housing Division of the PWA along with the Roosevelt Administration, encouraged state and local governments to adopt their own enabling legislation. At the same time, housing advocates

continued to press for a more de-centralized large scale federally funded program that would transfer responsibility to state and local entities.

Roosevelt was apprehensive about a large scale federal public housing program, yet cognizant of the need for New Deal programs to put people to work. He was concerned that public housing would interfere with an already depressed private housing market. Even so, the severity of Depression-era economic conditions coupled with the ability for a public housing program to create employment and address a long standing affordable housing shortage, Roosevelt decided to endorse the 1937 version of federal public housing legislation. As the opening declaration of the legislation states,

> It is the policy of the United States to promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing its funds and credit, as provided in this Act, to assist the several States and their political subdivisions to remedy the unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of lower income and, consistent with the objectives of this Act, to vest in local public housing agencies the maximum amount of responsibility in the administration of their housing programs (Housing Act of 1937).

Following two failed legislative housing battles in 1935 and 1936, the Roosevelt Administration and legislative supporters had to make concessions granting the bill's passage. Congressional supporters were able to garner greater support by tying the legislation to slum clearance, stipulating that any new public housing construction would have to be accompanied by proximate slum clearance. The now mandated relationship between slum clearance and public housing development generated more interest among the elected representatives, where the most visible and physical despair associated with Depression-era economic conditions could be found in the inner city slums. As part of the final legislation, every unit of public housing constructed would have to be countered with the demolition of substandard/slum housing nearby. This requirement was also intended to

address another major theme of the 1937 legislation, the stipulation that public housing not compete with the private market.

Citing previous issues with federal takings for the construction of public housing, the 1937 legislation ceded nearly all control of siting to local authorities. The local implementation of public housing construction meant that elected city officials and appointed local PHA officials determined where public housing facilities would be located. The PHA would be responsible for managing all federally transferred dollars for public housing construction. The authority granted by the 1937 legislation to PHAs and elected city officials for managing public housing funds effectively perpetuated the already institutionalized spatial segregation occurring throughout the country, especially pronounced in cities in the Southern United States. Under this requirement, the USHA could not directly build or manage any public housing constructed following the passage of the 1937 legislation.

Finally, the other factor shaping siting with respect to the 1937 legislation, was the requirement that new public housing construction not interfere with private market housing provision. As slum areas were often beyond the scope of traditional private market real estate transactions, these areas were all the more attractive to officials eager to attract federal dollars to their municipalities. The previous 1935 and 1936 failed attempts at housing legislation were in part the product of "socialist" fear. Congressman Steagall, for whom the bill shares a name, eventually decided to endorse the 1937 version only after Roosevelt and housing advocates ceded to private real estate market concerns (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form – Rosewood Courts Historic District). The initial

legislation's sensitivity to private real estate market interests can be found throughout the text, notably in assessing the siting of the public housing, the legislations states,

> To be eligible for development grants under this subsection, a project must be located in an area that is experiencing a severe shortage of decent rental housing opportunities for families and individuals without other reasonable and affordable housing alternatives in the private market (Housing Act of 1937).

Accompanying this acquiescence to the real estate industry, the legislation placed a ceiling on the cost of construction for public housing facilities, ensuring that construction costs would be below those offered in the private market. These initial cost-containment measures were evident in the bill's incorporation of a 5,000 USD cost limit per unit of construction. Supporters of the cost-containment provisions felt that it would guarantee a poor physical standard for public housing units, forcing their inability to compete with private market housing options.

Concluding, the final iteration of housing legislation, as passed with the Housing Act of 1937, generated the opportunity – or, inopportunity – space for local city officials and associated PHAs to influence the citing of the initial federally sponsored public housing facilities. The convergence of the initial legislation's provisions for accompanying slum clearance, de-centralized local control, sacrosanct private real estate market guards and cost-containment measures effectively determined the trajectories that local authorities would take in siting public housing. By providing the foundation for subsequent decisions at the local level, the Housing Act of 1937 enabled the siting of public housing facilities within already spatially segregated American cities. Following the passage of the 1937 Housing Act, five housing authorities were created and three loans announced by Roosevelt: New York, New Orleans and Austin, Texas (historical application). Why Austin? As New Deal era policymaker and economist Leon Keyserling explains, "There was this first-term

congressman who was so on his toes and so active and so overwhelming that he was up and down our corridors all the time…" (Dugger, 1982, p. 210) In Austin, as the rest of this paper will explore, the inevitable nexus between the 1937 legislation, city, PHA officials and local real estate interests effectively guaranteed the siting of public housing facilities in already marginalized areas of town.

An Eager Congressman from Texas' 10th District

In April 1937, LBJ was elected to the United States House of Representatives in a special election following the death of Rep. James Buchannan. During the election, Johnson championed himself as a proponent of the New Deal, eager to realize the state's loyalty to FDR, who had just been reelected in Texas by a margin of 7 to 1 (Dugger, 1982). Aware of Johnson's deep ties to Texas' machinist political establishment and existing relationship with Vice President John Nance Garner, Roosevelt developed a politically beneficial relationship with LBJ. LBJ provided constant support to the judicially challenged New Deal initiatives and Roosevelt responded by supporting the allocation of newfound federal dollars to LBJ's congressional district.

Beyond the public housing facilities LBJ helped to attract to Austin, he is also well known for attracting funds for the Depression-era major infrastructure projects, most notably Tom Miller Dam. Johnson's eagerness to direct federal dollars to his district resulted in countless federally sponsored projects that continued to shape Austin's spatial configuration for decades to come. His pursuit for public housing dollars following the 1937 legislation is an early indicator of his well-documented political maneuvering and prowess.

Almost immediately after the Housing Act of 1937's September passage, LBJ was trying to appropriate USHA funds to Austin. As early as December 1937, Johnson had returned to Austin to sell the notion of public housing to the public, coordinate the establishment of a PHA with local officials and contain real estate interests anticipated push-back. As the legislative session closed at the end 1937, Johnson met with Austin Mayor Tom Miller, a New Deal proponent, and city council to discuss the possibility of a public housing facility in Austin. Speaking to this group, Johnson stated, "Now look, I want us to be the first in the United States if you're willing to do this, and you've got to be willing to stand up for the Negroes and Mexicans" (Dugger, p. 209). He went before the city council, proclaiming, "We have slums in Austin…We ought to be progressive enough to remove certain eyesores" (Dugger, p. 210). The next day the city created a housing authority. Within several months, having received the go-ahead from city officials, Johnson was successful in earmarking federal funds for public housing. As the January 21st, 1938 issue of the Austin American reports,

> Cong. Lyndon Johnson, who succeeded in having $450,000 in federal funds earmarked by Nathan Straus, United States housing administrator [Director, USHA], at Washington recently, is returning to Austin to give its citizens further information on the proposed $500,000 low cost project here (Austin American, 1.21.1938).

Johnson anticipated opposition to the proposed housing facility. In coordination with Mayor Tom Miller and local media outlets, arrangements were made to generate public support for the project and stymie real estate interest opposition. Johnson planned to broadcast descriptions of slum areas in Austin to radio listeners, titled "The Tarnish Under the Violet Crown", the broadcast provided listeners with a tour of the city's slum conditions (Austin American, 1.21.1938). The broadcast was coupled with multiple speeches around

town to an assortment of gatherings. As was customary at the time, the broadcast was recorded into the Congressional Record. Several days later, Johnson, Tom Miller, AHA director E.H. Perry and USHA regional director, Oliver Winston, held a public meeting for citizens to discuss the proposed public housing facility. The language invoked by Johnson mirrors the justifications provided by other elements of the community in support of public housing. Because the language of the broadcast is so politically rich and encapsulates the supporter's justifications for public housing, it is quoted at length below. Broadcasting his political justifications for public housing in Austin, Johnson (1938) stated:

> Last Christmas, when all over the world people were celebrating the birth of the Christ child, I took a walk here in Austin – a short walk, just a few blocks from Congress Avenue, and there I found people living in such squalor that Christmas Day was to them just one more day of filth and misery. Forty families on one lot, using one water faucet. Living in barren one-room hut, they were deprived of the glory of sunshine in the daytime, and were so poor they could not even at night use the electricity that is to be generated by our great river. Here the men and women did not play at Santa Claus. Here the children were so much in need of the very essentials of life that they scarcely missed the added pleasures of our Christian celebration. […] I found one family that might almost be called typical. Living within one dreary room, where no single window let in the beneficent sunlight, and where not even the smallest vagrant breeze brought them relief in the hot summer – here they slept, here they cooked and ate, here they washed themselves in a leaky tin tub after carrying the water for 100 yards. Here they brought up their children ill-nourished and amid sordid surroundings. And on this Christmas morning there was no Santa Claus for the 10 children, all under 16 years old, who scrambled around the feet of a wretched mother bent over her washtub, while in this same room her husband, and the father of the brood, lay ill with an infectious disease. (Johnson, 1938).

He continues in a section titled "Bad Housing Breeds Disease",

> What, for instance, are the dangers to the health of you and your children as a result of these conditions? What, you might ask, is the loss to Austin as a result of unsanitary living? This is a question which we can answer definitely. Sickness from dilapidated, indecent, unsafe and unsanitary housing has been measured in several places. […] In Baltimore it was found that infant mortality in these areas was twice that of the more prosperous and sanitary districts. In the Birmingham slums the tuberculosis death rate was found to be three times that of the rest of the city. Typhoid fever is twice as prevalent; and so on throughout the whole range of

> disease and pestilence. And the disease germs that thrive in these civic pestholes speed through the community. They are not, and cannot be, isolated, because the people who live there go out to work and mingle in many ways with the rest of us. The children go to school, and all children are thereby exposed to the germs which have thrived in squalor. So though you may live proudly in Enfield or modestly in other parts of the city, out of sight of these areas, you are not out of reach of the germs which they produce (Johnson, 1938).

Similarly, in a section titled "Shanties are Hotbeds of Crime", he states:

> Crime, like disease, is most at home in the slums. In one city a study was made in one of their slum areas which showed that out of every four adolescent boys in that area at least one passed through the juvenile court in a year. Gangsters are the result not only of foul environment but also of undernourishment and disease; and no city, however small or large, can afford to harbor their breeding places. In fact, from a purely financial point of view, slums are drain on a city which none should endure (Johnson, 1938).

And finally, in a section titled "Jobs for Men Who Want Work", he concludes,

> There is, I believe, very little argument against the advisability of these housing projects; but if anyone says that the people of Austin do not need these improved dwellings, I hope you will do as I have done. Tell them of the 2,867 dwellings the Department of Commerce said were in dangerous disrepair or unfit for habitation. Take them through the blocks of slums which we have and show them the conditions which are a disgrace to Americans in any city. And if anyone tells you that we do not need the employment which the construction of these houses would give to our carpenters, plumbers, electricians, bricklayers, and other building tradesmen who are necessarily idle a large part of the year, take him to talk with the heads of the trades unions and ask them whether Austin could use this extra employment. And don't forget that for every hour a man is employed at the site of construction, other men will be employed for two and half hours at work in the lumberyards, the brick factories, and in the manufacturing and transportation of other building materials (Johnson, 1938).

While Johnson clearly sympathized with the Depression-era conditions of the working poor, translating this into tangible action among the black community was even more contested. Even so, during this time, Johnson also remained (though at times inconspicuously) committed to the plight of his black constituency. As Ronnie Dugger (1982), former editor of the *Texas Observer* and LBJ biographer summarizes, "Blacks were thought to have no political power in those days. The New Deal paid their cause lip service, but in Texas they

were niggers…But Johnson had a feeling for the blacks, and he broke custom to seek their votes openly" (p.197). Before being elected to Congress, Johnson had met with several leaders in Austin's black community. Reflecting on their time with Johnson, E.H Elliot, the former bursar of Houston Tillotson College, and F.R. Rice respectively commented, "He made a statement that there was some things he wanted to do that he couldn't do, and if we'd stick by him, 'I think I can help you.'"(Dugger, p. 197). And,

> He went on to tell that if he got to Congress he could do such things as recognizing the Negroes for their votes, we together could recognize their voting rights. He spoke of the hot lunch programs. He was very favorably disposed toward us, and he was askin' for our help. (Dugger, p. 197).

Recounting the interaction, F.R. Rice stated that the blacks stayed with Johnson, "ever since that meeting." (Dugger, p. 197). Johnson recognized the harsh living conditions of city's black (and Hispanic) community, but perhaps was more aware of the potential political benefits of openly supporting a black public housing facility.

The discourse employed by Johnson and his supporters is dependent on previous perceptions of neighborhood conditions, and how those detrimentally affect the city as a whole, from contesting its progressive image to enabling concentrations of crime and disease. With the desperation of the Great Depression fully realized, the ability to generate employment with public housing construction was also a relatively easy political selling point. Having garnered the apprehensive support of the majority of the city council establishment, and having created the Austin Housing Authority, Johnson and the supporters of the public housing focused their attention on confronting the opposition and finalizing plans for the construction of Austin's public housing.

Opposition to Public Housing in Austin, TX

Opposition to public housing in Austin was not limited to conventional real estate interests. The concerns of white citizens, as evidenced in numerous editorial pieces published, mirrored the sort of not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY-ism) found in contemporary development battles. Though real estate interests composed the most vocal opposition to public housing, multiple groups were apprehensive to the prospect of government sponsored housing, in part attributing the initiative to the Socialist cause. Senator Harry Byrd (D-VA) spoke of the "stench of gross inefficiency and Russian communism which hovered over the projects." (Friedman, 1968). In Austin, the opposition to public housing in the late 1930s embodied this uniquely American tension. As this section attempts to demonstrate, the range of opposition to public housing in Austin – from lay citizenry to land based economic interests – presented a formidable challenge for advocates of public housing. Further, the already entrenched patters of spatial segregation found in Austin, coupled with the inordinate influence of real estate interests, effectively constrained siting options for Austin's prescribed public housing facilities.

Not all of the Austin city council was initially receptive to the idea of public housing. Reflective of the later real estate opposition to come, Councilman Simon Gillis was especially concerned. At a meeting of conservative real estate actors in Austin, Johnson took on a more defensive tone. As an owner of slum rental housing throughout East Austin, Gillis adopted the charge of socialism and unfair public competition with private business, stating, "The government is competing with the shacks and hovels and hogsties and all the other foul holes in which the underprivileged have to live." (Dugger, 1982, p. 211). Johnson fought back, labeling the councilman and other opposition as "rent hogs". Commenting to

a reporter following the confrontation, LBJ stated, "[he] told me that he was for the housing project if it did not compete with his rent houses…" (Dugger, 1982, p. 211). Having fought the initial push-back from city council members, the public housing initiative still had to gain traction with Austin's majority white citizens, and more importantly, quell the fears of real estate interests.

Government intervention in the private housing market was the overriding concern of local real estate interests. Many saw the introduction of federally subsidized housing as a guaranteed boon to the local housing market. Beyond the initial meetings held opposing the creation of a local public housing authority, real estate interests continued to apply pressure throughout the implantation phase of the public housing initiative. As home builder Felix Cherico commented, "I'd never build another house if I had to compete with the government." (Austin American, 1.15.1938). At one meeting, headlined in *The Austin American* as "Business Men Strike at Housing Proposal: Election Suggested", M.H. Crockett of the well-known Crockett real estate family in Austin, spoke to an assortment of "30 real estate men, bankers, investment bankers, building and loan men, contractors and architects", urging the city to hold a referendum on the proposed public housing facility. (The Austin American, 1.15.1938). One man stated, "I think that a community which doesn't need them should refuse to grab at government grants…there are no real slums here." (The Austin American, 1.15.1938). Another remarked, "We should let the other cities with real slums have this money." (Austin American, 1.15.1938). The oppositional theme of "real slums" was evident in a number of journalistic pieces covering the original debate surrounding public housing in Austin. Much of the opposition was not convinced about the presence of slum housing conditions in the city. The slums that they would admit to being present were

labeled as places for transitional and temporary workers, never permanent residences of the working poor, as one editorial states,

> The first question that greeted the proposal for a half-million dollar slum clearance project for Austin was: 'Slums? What Slums'…Austinites were mildly startled to hear that their city has a slums district. And rightly so…'but what about all those people living in those shacks made out of old license plates?' the doubter is asked….The answer is simple: these folk are itinerant cotton pickers and charcoal burners who are thrown out of work in the winter and settle down wherever they happen to be when the jobs play out. In the spring they will be gone again, and may never come back. They have no income other than what they can pick up by odd jobs, which is barely enough to supply food….The general conception of a slum is a squalid fire trap in a crowded city, where pale children play on stairways rather than in front yards and where fresh air and sunshine are blessings rarely received…Certainly, Austin has no such conditions. If half a million of federal money is to be spent, let it be used in New York or Chicago or San Francisco, where human suffering from overcrowding really is acute (Sunday American, 1.23.1938).

As momentum gathered for public housing in Austin, the local newspaper became populated with editorials supporting and opposing the plan. Many of the opposition editorials reflect modern-day constructions of poor and vulnerable populations, a reversion to "the other". The types of fears espoused in many of these editorials are similar to current NIMBYism concerns surrounding change spurred by significant development projects. The concerns exhibited in editorials provide insight into the pressures faced by elected officials from their white constituents with regard to the final siting of the three initial public housing facilities. It is difficult to truly quantify the impact of these editorials, only to say that they are at least partially representative of the concerns of many of Austin's economic and political power brokers and the majority of its voting base. Exemplifying the "otherness" concerns presented in these articles, and the general apprehensiveness of lay white citizenry to fully accept the notion of public housing, one piece states, "The city holds no promise for these indigents. There is nothing here they can do except become hungry and steal. One

building housing 25 families of this type would soon become the biggest headache the city police has ever known." (Sunday American Statesman, 1.23.38). Evidently, the "discourse of disaster" surrounding public housing in the 1980s, 90s and 00s had earlier roots.

The arguments, as captured in the positions of Austin real estate interests and editorial columns, against public housing fall into three broad and often intersecting categories: 1) the fear that the presence of government sponsored low-income housing would jeopardize local private housing markets; 2) that "real" slums simply did not exist in Austin during the late 1930s, if they did, they were restricted to use by temporary labor only; and, 3) public housing would amplify the supposed social pathologies of the poor and working class, creating a safety issue for the "decent" folk of Austin. These three streams of opposition, when taken together, add another element of justification for the eventual siting of Austin's original public housing facilities.

Austin Housing Authority Finalizes Public Housing Plans

As the AHA proceeded with its plans to construct three public housing facilities in Austin, constrained by existing spatial segregation in the city, desires of real estate and banking professionals, and captive to the concerns of the majority white constituency, its decisions as to where to locate the facilities were predetermined. Even so, the AHA published reports to the USHA documenting the suitability of its proposed sites for public housing. These documents provided an illuminating account of the justifications that converged to determine the final siting decisions for Austin's first public housing facilities. In *Chapter V: Discussion of the Sites Selected for the Proposed Projects with Data on Land Costs and Option Already Secured*, the opening justification for final site considerations states,

> The site areas for the White, Negro, and Mexican Housing projects tentatively selected as indicated on the accompanying maps in attached exhibits are areas to

> which the following general conditions apply: A) All three areas are located in substandard slum sections of the city; B) Each Project is located in a section of the city or district with a racial characteristic in conformity with the project; C) Present developments are not in conformity with the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Austin with respect to height and area and density of population requirements; and, D) A large percentage of the present improvements to not comply with the building code, sanitary and health regulations of the city of Austin (HACA, 1938).

Each of the sites selected by the AHA application for USHA review conforms to the siting provisions outlined in the Housing Act of 1937, with attention focused on adjacent property conditions. The chapter continues with a description of site choices for each of the three proposed public housing facilities. With respect to the "Negro" facility, eventually Rosewood Courts, the document provides significantly less supporting material than it does for the "White" facility. Even so, the document highlights some of the justifications for the eventual location of Rosewood Courts, stating,

> …f.) Public school facilities are provided by the location of a colored high school and grammar school within 1,000 feet of the area. g.) A municipally supervised colored community center and playground, including a swimming pool, is located within 1500 feet of this area, providing all types of supervised recreation. h.) A colored branch of the Municipal Library is located within 500 feet of this area…. (HACA, 1938).

Summarized,

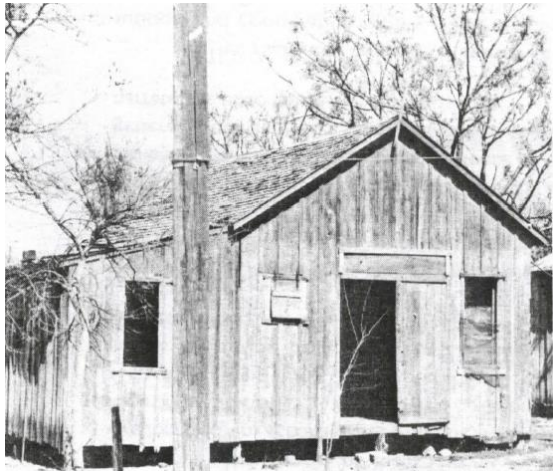
> The proposed site for the colored low-rent Housing Project is located in the east part of the City of Austin and is in the midst of the colored settlement. Schools, playgrounds, and swimming pools are available. Also, the necessary transportation facilities are available, as well as the various city services (HACA, 1938).

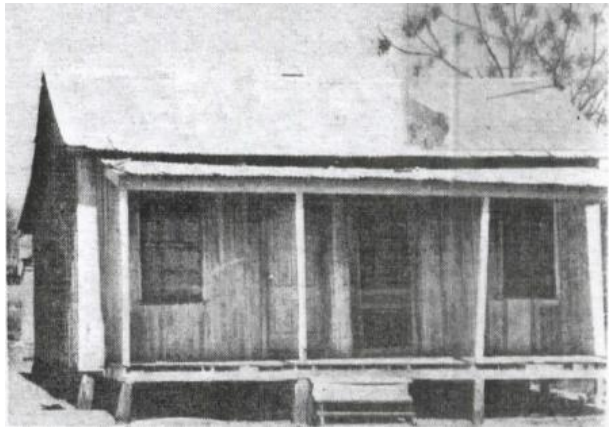
As finally exhibited by the original AHA application to the USHA, these passages highlight the convergence of politically instituted constraints provided by the enabling 1937 legislation and responses by local officials, city and PHA, coupled with the speculative fear that public housing would undermine an already depressed private housing market. The formal discourse provided by the AHA mirrors the series of grievances displayed prior to the development of Austin's public housing facilities.

Similarly, following the completion of the initial three housing projects in Austin, AHA published a *Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Austin for the years 1938-1939*, detailing the motivations and justifications of the AHA. The report briefly chronicles the activities of the newly established municipal organization, offering evidence of the physical condition of housing demolished to make way for public housing in Austin.[56]

[56] See Image(s) 6: "Houses demolished for public housing construction"

Image(s) 8: "Houses demolished for public housing construction"





Concluding, the initial siting and development of public housing facilities in Austin, Texas cannot be disassociated from the overarching political and economic forces enabling its creation and the neighborhood conditions justifying its presence. The interweaving of discourse provided by this relationship contributed to the siting of public housing that was dependent on dominant Southern perceptions of race in the Depression-era. The Keynesian -esque political economy rooted in the surplus absorption crisis of the Depression took on a particular tone in the more racially charged quadrants of the United States (arguably, all quadrants of the United States were racially charged at the time). Paralleling this relationship are the neighborhood conditions resulting from the harshness of a two-tiered political economy, one overtly and structurally disfavoring black populations. Just as current neighborhood change can be attributed to a politically architected form of gentrification, so can the perceived former slum like conditions of East Austin, specifically the Rosewood Neighborhood.

Chapter Four: The Local Experience: Austin's Shifting Political Economy and Respondent Rosewood Neighborhood Change

This section relies on existing literature to illustrate Austin's shifting political economy from the early-mid 20th century to present and resulting implications for neighborhood change in East Austin. In order to appropriately understand the context for the current Rosewood CNI redevelopment initiative, it is necessary to understand Austin's evolving political and economic landscapes and respondent neighborhood change. As such, this narrative will focus on the interaction between political economy and institutional actors as drivers for neighborhood change. I will exclude analysis of shifting global and national political economy in this section. There is an abundance of literature covering these topics – I rely on analysis of the critical variety to inform my framing of the local political economy experience. I assume the global, national and subsequent local transformation of political economy reflect the established neoliberal paradigm. That is, an increasing reliance on and devotion toward the market in the provision of all goods and services for a given population; the market is assumed to be the best mechanism for the distribution of all goods (even essential goods) and responding policy reflective of the perceived supremacy of the market. To be expected, there is relatively limited scholarship on political economy at the local level; as such, any conflation of the broader East Austin area and Rosewood Neighborhood is deliberate and restricted by previous analyses unspecified grouping of the multiple neighborhoods constituting Central East Austin.

The analysis presented in this section relies heavily on the contributions of several Austin-based or formerly Austin-based scholars, who have provided a range of exhaustive political economy analysis for the city. Anthony Orum's (1987), *Power, Money and the People: The Making of Modern Austin*, highlights the role of traditional growth regime politics in

shaping the city's social, economic and geographical form. Orum (1987) focuses on many of the decisions made at the local level during the New Deal era, including the provision of public housing, as the foundation for the condition of modern Austin. This book provides unique insight into the role federal transfers played in shaping the development and growth prospects of Austin from the early-mid-20th century to present. Later scholars, notably Elliot Tretter and Andrew Busch, have analyzed recent developments in the city during the late 20th and early 21st centuries.[57] These scholars emphasize the implications of dominant political economy transformation for poor and vulnerable populations as Austin continues to adopt ever greater concessions conducive to the attraction of foreign investment and the maintenance of growth under an increasingly neoliberal global political economy. Relying on the work of the scholars mentioned above, this section frames changes in Austin's political and economic landscapes from the time of the initial siting and development of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility to current efforts to redevelop the property.

The New Deal era (1933-1938) is perhaps the best starting point for evaluating Austin's shifting political economy, especially with respect to the Rosewood Courts public housing facility and the broader Rosewood Neighborhood. The emergence of New Deal era projects in Austin was largely the result of three dynamic figures, a host of institutions and the federal government: then Congressman Lyndon Baines Johnson, Mayor Tom Miller, and civic-oriented businessman (and first Austin Housing Authority director) E.H. Perry. The tightly knit power regime that these men effectively managed, coupled with a relatively permissive business climate (any business was good business during the Great Depression, federally subsidized or otherwise), laid the groundwork for successive industrial expansion

[57] See Busch 2011a, 2011b and 2013 and Tretter 2012, 2013a, 2013b and 2013c

and resulting growth in Austin and Central Texas. These projects included: Buchannan Dam, Mansfield Dam and Tom Miller Dam (all situated to tame the flooding of the Lower Colorado River), Bergstrom Air Force Base, massive improvements at Robert Mueller Airport, facilities expansion at the University of Texas at Austin, new schools for Austin Independent School District (AISD), countless parks and recreational facilities and three public housing facilities in Central East Austin. As Orum (1987) states in his aptly titled chapter, "Of Ancient Regimes",

> It happened not simply because of the dams, though they represented a major part of the plan. It took place, too, because Miller and Johnson were so much a part of the New Deal crowd, so caught up in the rhetoric and the plans of the New Deal, that whatever big money poured into Austin came from federal coffers. There were the millions and millions of dollars spent taming the Colorado, but there were additional funds spent on other projects. There was a fish hatchery, developed in the early 1940s, the development of Bergstrom Air Force Base, near Austin, and numbers of other projects. There was also the magnesium plant that Lyndon arranged to have built in Austin. The plant, which later would become the site of the university's Balcones Research Center, was put in Austin to buy up much of the unused electricity by Tom Miller Dam. The plant was operated on behalf of the Department of Defense; payments for the electricity went for retiring the federal funds that were used to construct the Miller Dam. A nice boondoggle Lyndon had arranged – the government, in effect, was repaying itself for the building the dam. But Lyndon and Tom knew where their bread was buttered and were good at getting their hands on federal dough (p. 132).

The alignment of Mayor Tom Miller and Congressman Lyndon Johnson to the New Deal programs of the Roosevelt Administration, together with their close relationships to Texan-native Vice President John Nance Garner, meant that of all the monies issued to cities through New Deal programs, Austin was well suited to receive them. The political alignment of Austin relative to the federal administration, coupled with a (albeit apprehensive) willingness of Austin's business community – as represented by the Chamber of Commerce – to receive federal dollars, translated to Austin becoming a sort of proving ground for New Deal initiatives, a payoff that shaped the trajectory of Austin's growth for

decades to come. Effectively, the political economy of Austin during the New Deal era, in line with many American cities, was one of a willingness to accept massive federal transfers for infrastructure and quasi-industrial development, and most importantly providing immediate resolve to the stagnant and pervasive unemployment conditions of the United States – though marginally better in Austin. Rephrased, willing to accept forms of state intervention counter to previous frontier-esque eras; or, a political economy with a much greater reliance on state sponsored and state directed intervention.

The type of industrial development that resulted from the initiation of New Deal projects, took on a uniquely Austin trajectory, one that cannot be disassociated from its racial context. As highlighted in the HOLC (1935) publication of a "Report of Survey in Austin, Texas", Austin did not have an industrial legacy to uphold, rather,

> Austin is not an industrial city, her manufactories being only smaller and varied type common to any city of similar size. What is reputed to be the largest chili and tamale canning plant in the world is located there. There is also a limestone finishing plant and a brick and tile plant, both of which compare favorably in size and production capacity with similar institutions in southwest cities. Among other products manufactured in Austin on a modest scale are flour, brick and tile, mattresses, cotton seed oil, leather goods, furniture extracts, cigars….Politics and education are the two "industries" or economic influences which have built and which sustain the city (p. 1).

Alongside the political influence of New Deal actors like Mayor Tom Miller, then-Congressman Lyndon Johnson and E.H. Perry, economic and business oriented individuals also shaped the trajectory of Austin's development during the Depression-era. Walter Long, long-time president of the Austin Chamber of Commerce, was critical to establishing new industry in the city. Long is credited with helping to bring new airlines, establishing a new airport, securing the location for Camp Mabry (headquarters for the Texas Armed Forces), and facilitating funds for damn construction (Orum, 1987). Though, unlike his

New Deal counterparts, Long was suspicious of any cooperation with the federal government. Despite the nervousness, Long and the Chamber of Commerce ultimately ceded their opposition to federally funded projects in Austin, recognizing that the programs held a greater material benefit for the development of community than an otherwise stagnant Depression-era economy. Even so, their influence – and desire to shape city growth on their terms – did not dissipate.

Austin does not possess an abundance of natural resources complimentary to the robust industrial growth experienced in rust-belt cities; unlike many parts of Texas, the presence of extractive industries is relatively minimal. With a physical geography consisting of hills, rivers and lakes, Austin was believed to be a prisoner of its own landscape. The building of the dams and other federally sponsored public works projects began to change this perception (Orum, 1987). At the same time, many of the "principled men of property" had a unique vision for Austin's future growth, one characterized by an absence of heavy industry and respect for natural surroundings. As local businessman, and supporter of heavy industry, C.B. Smith sarcastically captured popular attitudes against heavy industry (complete with tenement housing and smokestacks) in Austin, describing it's presence as, "a middle European woman, with a goose under her arm, getting on a streetcar" (Orum, 1987, p. 231).

The tension between business personalities in favor of generating heavy industry type growth and those opposed led to Walter Long being challenged as the stalwart of Austin's business community. Ironically, by the late 1940s, Long was perceived as being opposed to growth in Austin (a dangerous perception for the head of a chamber organization). New organizations, sponsored by emergent economic players, began to

subvert Long's authority at the Chamber. Smith, as head of the Industrial Bureau at the Chamber of Commerce and the Austin Area Economic Development Foundation, began looking for ways to attract industry to Austin and effectively forcing Long from his position of power.

These early conflicts between the camps representing different visions of industrial development for the city has had significant influence on the political economy trajectory of the city since the post-War era. Though largely removed from his position of influence, Long and his fellow "anti-dirty industry" camp managed to have a lasting impact on the type(s) of growth Austin continues to experience. Federal dollars have continued to pour into the foundational synergistic components of Austin's current tech oriented economy, most pronounced in the 1950s and 1960s; various University of Texas affiliated schools and research centers have attracted research dollars (federal or otherwise) for decades, notably to the Balcones Research Center (later the J.J. "Jake" Pickle Research Campus).[58]

The Depression and post-War era decline in agricultural employment (approximately 3 million) throughout the Southern United States meant that cities were having to look for new growth strategies following the end of wartime production needs (Busch, 2013). As Busch (2013) summarizes,

> In the aftermath of the war, business and academic leaders realized that economic growth could be generated by state-sponsored research and development. For Austin, creating the scientific infrastructure to take advantage of the university's skilled labor pool was paramount to creating a robust economy that was not dependent on heavy industry or unskilled labor. To growth advocates, this nonindustrial paradigm kept the ills of larger cities out of Austin while maintaining the natural landscape and quality of life (p. 978).

[58] The Pickle Research Campus is an approximately 400 acre site in North Austin. Formerly a magnesium plant during World War II, the campus now houses research facilities catering to nuclear physics, defense and space flight.

He continues (2012),

> Massive federal investment in research and development drove the early information economy at universities around the country. Between 1940 and 1944, the federal budget for industrial research grew by over 1,000 percent in an effort to achieve technological dominance for the war effort. After the war ended, federal spending for military research and development grew even more quickly and was increasingly funneled into research universities; in 1948 the federal government was responsible for more than 53 organized research at U.S. universities. Engineering and other defense related disciplines grew rapidly at research universities. In Austin, defense-based research was viewed as an economic engine that could stimulate urban growth while maintaining the city's reputation for quality of life and natural beauty (p. 979).

The synergistic play between institutions (the University of Texas business, engineering and computer science faculties), the political will and aspirations of the city's politicians, the relative permissiveness to federal transfers at the height of research funding and collective desire to maintain Austin's natural beauty converged to create a growth paradigm that resulted in the recent branding of the city as "Silicon Hills", a nod to the city's environmental qualities and formidable high tech industry.

The multi-decade emergence of technology firms and investment (industry sans smokestacks), and resulting growth, has had a dialectic effect on inner city minority neighborhoods, Rosewood included, both spatially and structurally. The progressive identity that emerged with the city's shift to a more technology oriented economy had profound consequences for its minority and inner city neighborhoods. Simply, the conditions of these neighborhoods did not fit with the desired image of Austin's political and economic leaders. As Orum (1987) notes,

> The growth of Austin affected blacks, and in a rather strange way. Comfortable white Austinite's could not rid themselves of their fellow residents, nor did they truly hope to. Instead they claimed that the living conditions of black residents were so poor as to be publicly inappropriate for a progressive community. How can you show off to the world, be a first-class place to live, be the dream of Northerners who wish to come to the South, if you have poor people? So the city officials did

> what they had done in the past. They declared the area of East Austin to be one of slum housing, and thus the object of slum clearance (p. 171).

From a physical perspective, the oddly contradictory nature of Austin's growth paradigm has had significant implications for the city's minority and inner city neighborhoods. As Austin's urban renewal history demonstrates, the city actively sought urban renewal funds with environmental undertones as the justification for their deployment. Urban renewal in Austin almost exclusively affected the broader Rosewood Neighborhood; all of Austin's urban renewal projects were located within and around the Rosewood Neighborhood. As Busch (2011a) notes,

> All five major urban renewal projects in Austin affected some areas of the Eastside, and two focused exclusively on the Central Eastside neighborhoods of Kealing and Glen Oaks. Large tracts of the central Eastside were raised; it is unclear exactly how many acres were redeveloped or residents dislocated, but as of June 1966 nearly 1,000 acres were scheduled for clearance and or rehab in East Austin, and at least 250 of those acres were in central East Austin which was virtually all African American (p. 216).

In light of the discriminatory intent and disparate impact noted by Busch's analysis of Austin's urban renewal history, the implications for the stability of the Rosewood Neighborhood were devastating. The growth trajectory pursued by the city's leaders meant that the black labor force was essentially expendable. At the same time, the resulting vulnerability of the Rosewood Neighborhood created the conditions for surplus absorption (reinvestment) accompanying the influx of highly-skilled and highly-educated workforce. Busch (2013) continues, stating

> Urban renewal must be viewed, however, within the dual framework of historical racial discrimination and the city's decision to encourage economic growth through nonindustrial development. Austin's rapid economic expansion during the 1960s had very little positive benefit for its minority communities, as city leaders and business people focused on attracting external workers to expand skilled labor markets in the city and especially at the university. Austin capitalists had never concentrated on producing more adequate internal labor power because of the

> nonindustrial quality of its industries. Thus, most unskilled laborers were highly expendable because of the reproduction of their labor power served little purpose in a local economy with such paucity of heavy industry…Not only did the growth of the 1960s remain unfulfilled for most minority Austinites, urban renewal sought to expand accumulation by taking advantage of the surplus created by the boom, which mean profiting from expanding real estate values but not necessarily in central East Austin as well as on the urban periphery (p. 989).

The type of labor force needed to supply technologically oriented drivers of the Austin economy could not only depend on those students matriculating through the University of Texas. Rather, as Busch (2013) frames the discussion, the city needed to attract relatively foreign populations to supply the emergent high-tech firms. This meant the development of an environment conducive to the cultivation of a highly-skilled, globally connected, creatively oriented work-force, or what Florida (2004) might term, the "creative class".

Prior to the development of the "creative class" stream of literature, high tech cities had recognized the need to remake their urban environs according to the desires of this highly-educated and consumption discriminate class of labor. At the same time, Austin's established "environmental" predisposition has created a landscape conducive to the housing preferences of this incoming population. In doing so, the city has created a policy framework to encourage density in and around the urban core, while preserving the established environmental protection areas in the western sections of the city, simultaneously denying the presence environmental assets in the eastern sections of the city while encouraging greater density and redevelopment in the eastern sections of the city. As Tretter (2013) notes,

> While Austin is 'the mid-sized American city with the most [urban] sprawl' (Steiner, 2008, p. 16), the local government has attempted (with more determination than its regional neighbors) to promote density in the traditional urban core in order to construct a more sustainable urban infrastructure under the rubric of environmental protection (p. 299)

The type of sustainability agenda pursued by the city has hinged on the redevelopment and densification of areas proximate to the urban core, especially East Austin. Thus, the remake of the central city environs can be viewed as process necessary to maintaining growth prospects under the shifting political and economic demands provided by neoliberalism.

The emphasis on competitiveness, and need to create housing opportunities perceived to be conducive to the workforce to uphold the current growth trajectory, has resulted in the dramatic remake of central-city neighborhoods, especially those with less political agency to maintain their community identity under the prospects of relatively foreign capital inflows and diminished labor opportunities necessary to maintaining the historical demographic make-up of these neighborhoods. In recent decades much of this competiveness has been pursued through the adoption of an assortment of sustainability initiatives. Sustainability in Austin has centered more on the established normative environmental and economic aspects and systematically denied social equity concerns in its implementation. As Tretter (2013) states,

> These sustainability initiatives, particularly those centered on the environment, have increasingly figured as central tenets of Austin's strategic competitive vision (Lyman, 1998). Its highly skilled workforce and natural urban monopolies (e.g. the state government and the University of Texas at Austin) have long been recognized as distinctive assets, but increasingly the city's compactness, political concern with the environment and the large number of ecological amenities are understood by the city's elites as locational advantages that can enhance the competitive position of the city center in relation to its regional and national rivals in the struggle for investment (McCann, 2007, p. 189). In a sense, the principals of developing an environmentally sustainable city are underwriting the investment campaign because of the rationale for the reorganization of the city's landscape (investing in Austin's urban core and redeveloping its downtown) is that it is environmentally friendly and increases Austin's competitive stature. Hence, it is increasingly apparent that a version of environmentalism has become inseparable from, compatible with and even beneficial to the city's fortunes. Despite the fact that sustainability often means more than just ecological concerns, the dominant vision in Austin is organized around a specific idea of environmentalisms that is informed by the political conflicts that emerged over the development of the city's

> western suburbs, and is controlled by people who are white and have significantly accumulated economic and cultural capital (p. 299).

The established environmental penchant of the city's evolving growth regime that it has a stated interest in protecting is part of an agenda to improve the competitiveness of the urban landscape relative to the desires of a highly-skilled and highly-educated workforce. This condition is exacerbated by the continued pervasiveness of neoliberal reform at all scales of United States government, in which cities are forced to become less reliant on federal funding and place increased emphasis on competitiveness and relative market position to maintain their tax base and economic vitality.

At the same time, the polarization of Austin's workforce has had devastating effects on the opportunity of inner city minority neighborhoods to more readily realize the increased city-wide opportunity and agency with the advent of desegregation in Southern cities. The subsequent absence of jobs that could have been available to the structurally disadvantaged black populations in Austin has two overlapping though independent effects. First, these neighborhoods were further denied any sort of reinvestment potential by the indigenous populations with declining employment opportunities available to them. Second, the emergence of creative class professionals in the city, especially from the 1980s to present, with increasingly urban residential preferences, has meant that these neighborhood are ever more vulnerable to the wealth gains associated with this highly skilled workforce. As Busch (2011b) states,

> Austin is a very affluent and consumption-oriented city, but it also has a higher than average rate of poverty, which is especially acute among minority residents. This disparity is largely the outcome of workforce increasingly bifurcated into information (high tech white collar) and informal (unsteady or underpaid blue collar) components. The numbers bear this out: in 2000, white Austinites made almost exactly twice as much money per family as Austin's African Americans and Latinos. Even though Austin's overall population grew roughly 15 percent between

> 2000 and 2008, the African American community in Austin lost gross population. Viewed economically and demographically, Austin's African American community does not appear to be experiencing the *topophilia* evidently common in the rest of the city (p.407).[59]

The resulting vulnerability of inner city neighborhoods (with respect to community and cultural identity) in the presence of a bifurcated labor force is further complicated by the needs of capital under an increasingly neoliberal growth paradigm. Effectively, all of the investment into the city (private sector or otherwise) targeted at the high tech sector has also created a sort of localized surplus absorption problem (necessary to remedy in order to maintain growth prospects). The persistent divestment in inner city neighborhoods following desegregation in Southern cities, compounded by implications of a bifurcated labor force and environmental politics stressing density and compactness, has created conditions for central city neighborhoods that are areas ripe for reinvestment, surplus absorption, creative destruction and gentrification. Though referencing conditions during and following the first urban renewal projects in the city, Busch (2013) states,

> Surplus capital generated by economic growth and relocations was also increasingly reinvested in the secondary circuit of real estate, which underwent the most intense boom of all capital investments in 1960s Austin. Although Austin was only the sixty-seventh largest U.S. city in 1968, it ranked sixteenth in value of construction permits, with a total value of more than $131 million spread throughout 4,600 total permits. […] In terms of residential building, Austin saw heavy competition for middle and upper income structures, but the market for families with low moderate income had "practically disappeared" according to a 1971 report. For minority residents segregated on the city's Eastside, however, the city's economic boom only exacerbated conditions of inequality that they had endured for decades (p. 981).

Under the neoliberal growth paradigm, it is easily argued that these conditions have only worsened. The city's continued emphasis on strategic competiveness with regional, national and global players for high-tech and ancillary industry investment has prompted a round of

[59] Busch (2011b) defines *topophilia* as, "love of place"

branding directly targeting the consumption preferences of a highly-skilled, increasingly global labor force. As such, inner city neighborhoods, whose prospects remained relatively bleak through the late 1990s and early 2000s have witnessed robust reinvestment in the past decade. The resulting fragmentation of cultural and community identity from heavy inflows of capital seeking to maintain dominant growth regime arrangements has muddled the cohesiveness of these communities while layering the complexities in which they are forced to respond.

Concluding, the shifting conditions of global and the United States political economy have had pronounced effects at the local level, as represented by neighborhood change in Austin, Texas. Ever increasing emphasis on competitiveness via the neoliberal growth paradigm has resulted in high rates of reinvestment in inner city neighborhoods. The subsequent change in neighborhood conditions, partly a product of housing reinvestment, is altering aspects of community identity associated with the historically black population. As a publication detailing community change in East Austin comments,

> The places and spaces in East Austin neighborhoods are undergoing a period of substantial change that may alter their community identity. The confluence of public and private investment has meant a recent and rapid increase in the value of residential properties. The implications of increased property assets can be a blessing for homeowners, whether longtime residents with well-paying jobs and stable financial situations or new residents drawn by development and investment in the areas. Rising property assets can also present a challenge for residents with fixed incomes or limited financial resources. As regional growth trends spur population inflows and record levels of new housing development, the proximity of East Austin neighborhoods to downtown suggests that its land and property will continue to increase in value.
>
> The housing situation in East Austin has deep roots in the development of the city and its housing policies. Choices concerning public and private investment have had a notable effect on the current status of housing in East Austin (Wilson et al., 2007, p.29.)

In Austin, this is compounded by an existing architecture of gentrification resulting from the intentional development of a bifurcated workforce, one exhibiting preference for a highly-skilled and highly-educated labor force. For minority communities long excluded from participation in the economy desired by local political actors, this has meant the continued disruption and fragmentation of community and cultural identity. For the Rosewood Neighborhood especially, with its textured legacy of racial oppression and urban renewal, these identities remained threatened by shifts in global political economy and subsequent local level response. As the remainder of this thesis explores, the evolving discourse of public housing redevelopment mirrors the shifting needs of the City of Austin as it responds to the ever changing conditions of global and national political economy, one briefly characterized as placing increased emphasis on market fundamentals as a route to the continued maintenance of growth and prosperity for already economically endowed populations.

Chapter Five: Redevelopment in the Context of Rapid Neighborhood Change

On October 11, 2012 HACA was awarded a 300,000 USD planning grant through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUDs) Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI) for the purpose of strategizing the revitalization of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility and the surrounding Rosewood Neighborhood. Since the initial completion of the facility in the late 1930s, the City of Austin and the Rosewood Neighborhood have exhibited remarkable change: a complete remake of their physical environment; the engineered taming of natural resources; desegregation and the political features of a more liberalized economy; and, the rapid influx of human and financial capital with the advent of an architected technology boom.

The dramatic city wide and neighborhood level change demonstrated cannot be divorced from the shifting demands provided by a transformational political economy; one whose key feature is the general retraction of state influence in favor of more market oriented politics and policy. These shifts are also correlated with an evolving discourse surrounding public housing (re)development. The dialectical manner in which this changing discourse corresponds to transformations in political economy highlights the complexity of the relationship between public housing (re)development and neighborhood change, especially in the context of a rapidly growing city like Austin, Texas. The complexity, and layered nuance present, is central to the neoliberal growth paradigm, where contradiction and contestation, especially as they relate to neighborhood change, are seen as natural processes instead of a politically and economically manufactured phenomena.

The current discourse surrounding the proposed redevelopment of Rosewood Courts is more subtle, though no less contested, than the discourse surrounding the initial

development of public housing in Austin, Texas. For Austin, a city whose collective perception of itself hinges on an identity of supposed progressivism surrounded by a sea of intolerance, the nuance in the discourse surrounding Rosewood Courts and the Rosewood Neighborhood is evermore illusive. The air of benevolence surrounding both those opposed and in-favor of redevelopment clouds more critical questions about our current growth trajectory. As the Rosewood Courts redevelopment initiative illustrates, the dialectic surrounding our established growth trajectory has created a flashpoint for a community facing very real prospects for extinction under the confines of a neoliberal growth paradigm. As the remainder of this chapter demonstrates, the change in discourse surrounding public housing (re)development and neighborhood change is reflective of the shifts described above. In the following, I correlate the role of shifting political economy with the current redevelopment initiative in competing and sometimes counter-directional ways; from the way in which neoliberalism is prompting redevelopment resulting from decreased federal transfers dedicated to conventional public housing to the impact it has in cultivating, and at the same time, fragmenting community opposition to the project.

This chapter relies on purposive interview data, state historical preservation board nomination filings, the CNI planning grant application, and Rosewood Choice planning literature to illuminate the discourse surrounding the proposed redevelopment process. This chapter is divided according the following subsections: 1) grant conditions, neighborhood eligibility, physical need and preserving affordability; and 2) community opposition to redevelopment.

Grant Conditions, Neighborhood Eligibility, Physical Need, and Preserving Affordability

The awarding of the Rosewood CNI planning grant was subject to the constraints of the CNI planning grant parameters published by HUD. To be eligible for the CNI planning grant, the PHA or other local coordinating body, is required to meet a range of eligibility requirements.

CNI requires that PHAs and other key stakeholders develop a Transformation Plan as part of the requirements planning grant. Once completed, the Transformation Plan is supposed to become the centerpiece of the grant application for the more prized implementation grant. Ideally, the Transformation Plan culminates in a redevelopment proposal that is financially viable, has institutional stakeholder and community support and furthers HUD's policy emphasis on deconcentrating poverty, namely through the employment of mixed-income housing strategies. HUD summarizes the goals of the CNI accordingly,

> The spatial concentration of poverty remains a serious and often unrecognized challenge to the ability of poor families and children to access opportunity and move up the economic ladder. […]
>
> Choice Neighborhoods employs a comprehensive approach to neighborhood transformation. The program helps communities transform neighborhoods by revitalizing severely distressed public and/or assisted housing and investing and leveraging investments in well-functioning services, high quality public schools and education programs, high quality early learning programs and services, public assets, public transportation, and improved access to jobs. Choice Neighborhoods will ensure that current residents will be able to benefit from this transformation, by preserving affordable housing or providing residents with the choice to move to affordable and accessible housing in another existing neighborhood of opportunity (HUD, 2012, p. 1).

The language of the grant summary is telling, with a focus on notions of transformation and choice as conferred by greater opportunity. As with other recent policy developments in social programs, it is representative of the narratives providing justification for an

increasingly neoliberalized political economy, emphasizing themes of individuality as central to the promotion of collective welfare improvement. As detailed further in the following paragraphs, the summary is also reflective of increased emphasis on the spatial dimensions of poverty and associated spatiality of opportunity, a key justification for the employment of mixed-income strategies as a response to alleviating poverty. The point being; that if the current discourse surrounding the proposed redevelopment of the Rosewood Courts is at least in part dependent upon the grant issuance framework, then the grant summary, as representative of policy responses associated with the neoliberal growth paradigm, establishes the trajectory of discourse accordingly. Restated, the summary, itself responsive to the demands of the growth paradigm under dominant political economy, provides insight into the direction of policy responses and resulting discourse.

Neighborhood Eligibility

As the grant is inherently a place-based allocation of funding, the target area is required to be identified as *distressed* and must meet a series of requirements in order to be identified as such. To meet the eligibility requirements, targeted "neighborhoods" must meet threshold requirements with respect to household poverty concentration and distress related to high crime, vacant or substandard housing stock or inadequate local school performance. With respect to neighborhood geography, the CNI planning grant parameters state:

> a. Eligible neighborhoods for Choice Neighborhoods grant funds include neighborhoods with
> 1. At least 20 percent of households estimated to be in poverty or have extremely low incomes and
> 2. That are experiencing distress related to one or more of the following
> a. High crime; […]
> b. High vacancy or substandard homes; […]; or

c. Inadequate schools; […]

b. HUD recognizes that some of the eligible neighborhoods may be impacted areas and/or areas of minority concentration. Since the goal of this program is to transform such areas into neighborhoods of choice, these neighborhood are still eligible for funding under this NOFA (HUD, 2012, p.15).[60]

Again, the threshold requirements relating to neighborhood geography emphasize aspects of spatial opportunity and choice. The target area identified in the Rosewood Choice grant documentation and subsequent maps issued as part of the planning process identify a much broader area than any generally accepted neighborhood boundaries for the Rosewood Neighborhood, demarcating an area bound by 7th Street to the South, IH-35 to the West, 13th Street to the North and Airport Boulevard, Webberville Road and Pleasant Valley Road to the East.[61] The target area identified encompasses at least nine independent neighborhood associations: Robertson Hill, Guadalupe, Blackshear/Prospect Hill, Kealing, Foster Heights, Rosewood-Glen Oaks, Homewood Heights, Clifford Sanchez and McKinley Heights.

Effectively, in order for Rosewood Courts and the surrounding Rosewood Neighborhood to be deemed eligible for the CNI planning grant, based on current neighborhood conditions (crime, vacancy, education), HACA needed to extend the target area boundaries to an area that met HUD eligibility requirements, even though the

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[60] *Neighborhood* is defined as,

> The neighborhood is the geographic area within which the activities of the Transformation Plan shall focus. HUD understands that neighborhood boundaries are not fixed like municipal or county boundaries. The Department also recognizes that neighborhoods do not necessarily follow statistical boundaries, such as Census Tracts. For Choice Neighborhoods, HUD will rely on applicants to identify boundaries for the target neighborhood that are generally accepted as a neighborhood. In many communities, those typical neighborhood boundaries are delineated by major streets or physical topography. The neighborhood must be larger than just the footprint of the distressed public or HUD-assisted housing targeted in the application, but is typically an area less than two miles wide (HUD, 2012, p. 11.); NOFA – Notice of Funding Availabiltiy

[61] See Image 9: "Rosewood Choice Neighborhood Planning Area"

boundaries do not conform to any established qualification of the Rosewood Neighborhood. As one HACA official stated,

> There were requirements that had to be met too, as far as poverty level in the neighborhood, crime in the neighborhood, for us to even be eligible. Chalmers [Courts] wasn't eligible…The poverty rate was not high enough because of changes in that neighborhood.

And another HACA official commenting on selection of the Rosewood Courts property with respect to neighborhood boundaries and grant eligibility,

> We were having more systems issues, maintenance issues, more expenses related to Rosewood Courts versus the other two [Chalmers Courts and Santa Rita Courts]…The other thing that we had to take into account for the purposes of the grant was the poverty rate of surrounding neighborhood as well as a low performing school that fit into the neighborhood and the crime statistics. There was that formula that we had to meet, minimum threshold requirements, and when we plugged in those same parameters for Chalmers Courts, for example, we did not meet all of the minimum thresholds…So, looking at a broader neighborhood too, it still did not rise to the poverty statistics, and the crime statistics, and the vacancy rates, and a low performing school, sort of that magic formula that needed to be met for the grant purposes and we were able to do that with Rosewood Courts.

Though maintenance issues and associated expenses are certainly a contributing factor to the selection of the Rosewood Courts property for the CNI planning grant application, relative to the two other original public housing facilities in Austin (Chalmers Courts and Santa Rita Courts), the eligibility of Rosewood Courts with respect to neighborhood conditions hinges on its ability to meet the minimum threshold requirements so long as the boundaries of the neighborhood are extended to include areas with sufficiently poor crime, vacancy and school performance statistics.

Image 9: "Neighborhood Planning Area" (Rosewood Choice, 2012 <http://www.rosewoodchoice.com>)

The other two original public housing facilities, constructed at approximately the same time and with the same materials, are located in neighborhoods, just south of Rosewood, that have already fully experienced such a rapid rate of change as to exclude their eligibility for the CNI planning grant. That is, the level of neighborhood change demonstrated in the areas surrounding the other two original public housing facilities can be characterized as having undergone a more complete process of gentrification. Still, the changes taking place in the entirety of Central East Austin, though most heavily rooted in the southern section inclusive of the Chalmers Courts and Santa Rita Courts facilities, are quickly spreading to other portions of the area.

While the rate and scale of change taking place in the broader Central East Austin area differs, the eligibility of the Rosewood Neighborhood and Rosewood Courts property is dependent on its position in that spectrum of change – while experiencing a pronounced shift in the demography and subsequent physical characteristics of the neighborhood, there is an apparent lag, however marginal, between the changes taking place in the Rosewood Neighborhood versus the other neighborhoods housing the original public housing facilities in Central East Austin. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, much of this change, across the entirety of Central East Austin, can be attributed to the calculated political economy trajectory of Austin since the post-War period, one stressing competiveness via changes in the built environment. Further, the current conditions of the neighborhood, however geographically defined, are in part a product of the necessity for cities to stress competiveness in their policy formulation and respondent growth trajectory.

The bifurcated labor force present in Austin, one giving preference to a highly skilled and educated workforce has systematically disfavored the viability of black and

minority inner city neighborhoods by denying them access to sufficient levels of investment necessary for neighborhood stability and at the same time attracting the type of workforce conducive to gentrifying. This process is two-fold: on the one hand effectively denying the historical black community of the Rosewood Neighborhood sufficient wages via available employment opportunities for the physical, economic and social upkeep of the neighborhood while at the same time creating conditions for the neighborhood that make it vulnerable to the intrusion of relatively foreign capital investment, in turn facilitating the displacement of a historically black community that in part defined itself according to its resilience and struggle within a structurally oppressive urban political and economic environment.

Physical Need for Redevelopment

Central to the potential success of the of the redevelopment proposal resulting from the CNI planning grant are the justifications provided by HACA and other ancillary groups.[62] These justifications are centered on the need for physical improvements to the property, preserving affordability in the Rosewood Neighborhood and the majority of current residents supporting the redevelopment.

With regard to the need for physical improvements at the property, the Rosewood Courts property had to meet HUD qualifying requirements for "severely distressed housing" to be eligible for the CNI planning and subsequent implementation grants.[63] Per the grant

[62] Ancillary groups include local non-profits and social service providers (public and private) supporting the current redevelopment initiative, namely: Austin Community College, Any Baby Can, Boys and Girls Club of Austin, Goodwill, The University of Texas at Austin and others.

[63] HUD defines "severely distressed housing" as,

> In accordance with Section 24(j)(2) of the 1937 Act, the term means public and/or assisted housing project (or building in a project) that:
>
> (1) Requires major redesign, reconstruction, or redevelopment or partial or total demolition, to correct serious deficiencies in the original design (including

application submitted, HACA and local contract architect Herman Thun, AIA, certify that the Rosewood Courts facility meets the "severely distressed housing" criteria because the property,

> Requires major redesign, reconstruction or redevelopment, or partial or total demolition, to correct serious deficiencies in the original (including inappropriately high population density), deferred maintenance, physical deterioration or obsolescence of major systems, and other deficiencies in the physical plant of the project (HACA, 2012)

This certification is based on structural and design deficiencies in both site and building contexts as documented in the grant application. Pertaining to the structural deficiencies at the Rosewood Courts property, the grant application notes, among numerous other deficiencies, the following,

> Due to site topography, there are multiple cracked retaining walls traversing the property, due to improper drainage. We recommend repairing the cracked retaining walls. […]
>
> The 72-year old site does not have adequate accessible sidewalks and entrances to apartment and some community services buildings. Installation of accessible ramps to all buildings with 42-inch high protective mesh insert railings will be required at retaining walls and precipitous slopes. […]
>
> ...buildings show signs of the wear and tear. Future major structural issues with foundations, roofs and other structural elements may lead to expensive repairs. Visible cracks in concrete slab apartment porches are prevalent throughout the site… […]
>
> …Units have 15 to 20 year old wall mounted gas fired furnaces or gas furnaces in a closet in larger units. Some of the closet installations appear to have

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inappropriately high population density), deferred maintenance, physical deterioration or obsolescence of major systems, and other deficiencies in the physical plan of the project;

(2) Is a significant contributing factor to the physical decline of, and disinvestment by public and private entities in, the surrounding neighborhood;

(3) (a) is occupied primarily by families who are very low-income families with children, have unemployed members, and are dependent on various forms of public assistance; (b) has high rates of vandalism and criminal activity (including-drug related criminal activity) in comparison to other housing in the area; or (c) is lacking in sufficient appropriate transportation, supportive services, economic opportunity, schools, civic and religious institutions, and public services, resulting in severe social distress in the project;…(HUD, 2012).

> combustion air ducted in to the top of the closet. There does not appear to be combustion air provided for the units with wall furnaces. If this is accurate, they are consuming the oxygen from the inside air of the unit. The heat exchangers on the wall furnaces and gas furnaces should be immediately (HACA, 2012).[64]

Mirroring the needs exhibited in grant application, several HACA representatives interviewed reiterated the issue of physical need, often respondent to the needs of residents, in their justifications for the redevelopment initiative. As one HACA interviewee stated,

> …accessibility. It is absolutely in my mind, ridiculous, that most of our older adults and disabled individuals have to live on Cornell Street.[65] One, because we can do more reasonable accommodations (ramps) to units. […] It is very hard for people with mobility issues to maneuver [around the property]. […] When we first did the needs assessment 49 percent of residents had disability issues. […] the other one is the stairs inside the units, they are so narrow, and they are so steep. We have a person that is visually impaired that has a two story unit. We have to place people because of the waiting lists here, and their units do not meet their needs.

And another,

> It has really reached its lifespan. The property itself was built in 1939. It does not offer the basic modern amenities that people take for granted these days. It is built of cinder block and it would be very costly to retrofit all of the modern amenities and equipment into the existing buildings. It would be more cost effective to rebuild the property, demolish and rebuild the property, with new structures that more energy efficient and more cost effective that would allow for families to have a better quality of life, a better housing, and they would also be able to spend less on utilities.

[64] See Image 10: "Exhibit B: Structural Needs"
[65] See Image 11: "Cornell Street perspective on Rosewood Courts"

Image 10: "Exhibit B: Physical Needs" (HACA, 2012)

Image 11: "Cornell Street perspective on Rosewood Courts" (Google Earth, 2014)

Image 12: "Typical accessibility configuration for Rosewood Courts units" (http://rosewoodchoice.com/photos/)

The need for certain physical improvement at Rosewood Courts is undeniable, especially when compared to present code compliance and accessibility standards. Despite the robust nature of their construction, they have exceeded the expected lifespan of typical residential structures in the absence of rehabilitation and improvement. Still, the precarious status of the property's fate, in terms of keeping the original structures intact, is correlated with the increasing pressures on the social safety net apparatus resulting from continued emphasis on the neoliberal growth paradigm.

Again, the relationship is complex. With political support for conventional public housing ever waning, the necessary attention toward maintenance, code compliance and accessibility issues in the context of diminishing federal resource streams is impossible to keep pace with. As one community representative opposed to the redevelopment of Rosewood Courts stated,

> I think that it is real that HACA, as housing projects all over the country, have real budgetary issues, that HUD's budget continues to be slashed and, in general, what is hard for any institutional or governmental entity is maintenance. I think they have a real problem there and I think that there are a lot of solutions to their problem, rather than just demolishing and building something else that eventually will have the same issue of maintenance.

HACA, even when operating as a "high performance" PHA, has extremely limited capacity to fully respond to the needs of the residents it serves. At the same time, it partially precludes the capacity for HACA and HUD to offer more cost intensive nimble interventions in the form of rehabilitation (versus redevelopment) for the Rosewood Courts property.[66] Effectively, the property, now over 70 years old, is exhibiting such severe

[66] Those opposing the redevelopment initiative, as represented by the Preserve Rosewood advocacy group, would contend that there are numerous retrofit options available to meet the physical improvement needs of Rosewood Courts.

obsolescence (relative to accessibility claims and current code compliance issues), that the only perceived way forward is via redevelopment as stipulated by the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, one which emphasizes a physical form that is deemed more compatible to the competitiveness required for maintaining growth prospects in the central city.

Contradictions of Supporting Affordability

In addition to the justifications provided surrounding the physical improvement of the property as a necessity for the improvement of current Rosewood Courts residents prospects (however evaluated), HACA has suggested that the redevelopment proposal is also motivated by a need to maintain affordability in the Neighborhood. The conversation surrounding affordability is in regards to the maintenance of conventional public housing stock and the addition of mixed income units to the property. The incorporation of mixed income housing into the redevelopment of the Rosewood Courts property is mandated by CNI. Despite the faulty theoretical premise on which mixed income housing is justified, HUD continues to advocate for mixed income approaches to public housing redevelopment, arguably in response to ever declining streams of federal funding for the continued maintenance of the remaining conventional public housing stock. The addition of mixed income units, both subsidized and market rate, improves the rent roll position for HACA, thus upholding the financial viability of the property over the long term. As one HACA official noted,

> To make it financially viable we are going to have more than 200 units. We are working on those numbers right now. We want to have more affordable, but there is going to have to be some market rate to balance that out. […] At the end of the day those market rate units are subsidizing the conventional public housing units.

Declining, and ever-substandard, levels of funding directed at HUD and PHAs has forced them to come up with alternative methods of improving cash flows at properties, especially

those constructed according to earlier iterations of federal public housing legislation. Facing the prospects of public housing funding going away, PHAs are forced to come up with alternative development strategies to improve cash flows.[67]

Even so, the inclusion of mixed income units into the redevelopment of conventional public housing is framed in the context of improving "opportunity" for the public housing residents. Much of this is reflective of the sort of behavior modeling policies directed at poor and working class populations in the United States. Effectively, these types of policies suggest that being proximate to people with somehow better normative behavioral traits improves the conditions of poor populations. By this, what is meant is that by co-locating the poor with people who are deemed to have lifestyles more conducive to economic, political and social norms, they are likely to confer those associated traits to the previously isolated and concentrated conventional public housing residents. At the same time, by enabling a greater mix of incomes in the neighborhood it contributes to desired community stability and opportunity prospects. It is rationalized that simply being closer to households with greater financial capacity in turn improves the financial capacity of residents otherwise confined to conventional public housing.

Finally, mixed income approaches are thought to improve the prospects for maintaining affordability of the neighborhood over the long term via the supposed enhancement of community stability. As mixed income units are typically directed at families with a greater economic position than conventional public housing residents but not

[67] As recently as the 2012 presidential election, Republican candidate Mitt Romney suggested eliminating HUD altogether, implying that it was a wasteful bureaucratic intrusion into the market.

necessarily fully market rate units, it creates housing opportunities for families needing relative affordability.[68]

While the theoretical foundations supporting the inclusion of mixed income units alongside conventional public housing are weak, the idea that mixed income housing is conducive to supporting continued neighborhood housing affordability is especially problematic.[69] As one HACA official stated regarding the inclusion of mixed income units in the redevelopment proposal,

> It is affordable housing that needs to be maintained there so that we do not entirely loose a cultural identity…There needs to be more affordable housing in that neighborhood, absolutely.

Yet, these justifications arguing that that redevelopment supports affordability contradict the organization's own realization that public and private investment, especially at the rate exhibited in Central East Austin, is counter to supporting affordability as it relates to the disappearing black community. As another HACA official stated with respect to renewed investment in the Neighborhood,

> Investments made in the neighborhood, primarily by the city along 11th street, has spurred private investment in the neighborhood. It has definitely brought in a new element to the neighborhood, a lot more non-minority people moving in, for better or for worse. It is improving conditions in the neighborhood, making it safer. […] Overtime, my opinion of the neighborhood has changed. It think it has gone from a pretty rough neighborhood to a gentrified neighborhood.[70]

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[68] Mixed income strategies have a variety of forms. Properties pursuing mixed income strategies allocate a certain number of units to a spectrum of thresholds relative to local median family income (MFI) and market rate units. Some units will be deemed "affordable" to families making anywhere from 30-80 percent of local MFI while others are allocated according to the local market rate of housing.

[69] See Kleit 2001 and 2005; Galster et al, 2008; Joseph, 2006; and others.

[70] Collaborating with the Austin Urban Renewal Agency and Austin Revitalization Authority, the City has enabled reinvestment along the East 11th Street corridor. Today, the East 11th corridor is more representative of the desired urban landscape wanted by the gentrifying populations versus the historic preservation elements advocated by the historically black community of the Rosewood Neighborhood; See Image(s) 13 and 14: "East 11th Street Corridor Reinvestment"

Image 13: "East 11th Corridor Reinvestment – The East Village" (Barry Chen Studio)

Image 14: "East 11th Street Corridor Reinvestment – 1111 East 11th Street" (Barry Chen Studio)

The more recent redevelopment occurring along the East 11th Street corridor, and quickly spreading to areas of the Rosewood Neighborhood, provides for an intentional visual departure from historical built environment norms in the community, representing a physical manifestation of the notion that "we are different than the previous inhabitants". This is captured in the deliberate rebranding of the East 11th Street corridor as the East Village.

Redevelopment, as spurred by public or private dollars, increases pressures on the neighborhood with respect to affordability for the remaining longstanding black community. As evidenced by the seemingly countless redevelopment and demolition projects in Central East Austin, starting with the initial construction of Rosewood Courts, followed by damaging effects of urban renewal, and now represented by the influx of capital catering to the preferences of gentrifying residents, any redevelopment, or attempt to create a built environment more conducive to the emergent urban landscape, is likely to prompt further speculative investment in the neighborhood. This, creates additional displacement and affordability pressures for a community already facing the prospects of extinction.

One cannot deny that the redevelopment of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility would have an immediate impact on the appreciation of property adjacent to the facility. The causal relationship between redevelopment and immediate property appreciation cannot be refuted, especially in the context of a rapid growth city like Austin, Texas.

The justifications surrounding the preservation of affordability are again another representation of the dialectical realm imposed by the neoliberal growth paradigm. Even in the context of more affordable forms of mixed income units, the effect of redevelopment on a 70 year old side would almost certainly have an immediate impact on the appreciation of

surrounding property values as well has creating a gateway for further redevelopment pressures in the Rosewood Neighborhood. The neoliberal preference for relatively unrestricted capital flows also diminishes the prospects for the City to develop any sort of policy to counter rising property values and rents. The relationship is layered: PHAs are forced to come up with strategies to improve the cash flow positions of their respective properties in the context of declining federal monies for the maintenance of public housing. At the same-time, redevelopment is justified by the possible creation of additional affordable housing opportunities on the Rosewood Courts site via the inclusion of less subsidized mixed income units. Yet the impacts of the likely additional redevelopment pressures created, and subsequent property value appreciation, resulting from the remake of a public housing complex more in-line with the established trajectory of the gentrifying (gentrified) neighborhood are denied.

Concluding, assessing these respective streams of discourse with respect to shifting political economy forces a dialectical approach to understanding the issue. First and foremost, declining funding for conventional public housing, has forced PHAs, including HACA, to confront trade-offs with respect to the upkeep of their properties, despite improvements in management by some PHAs. Essentially, the forced physical deterioration of the properties, a product of the ever diminishing and substandard funding streams relative to the extremely low-income populations they serve, has converged to create a situation of seemingly necessary redevelopment for the property. This physical deterioration of the property in turn is a partial catalyst for resident support of the redevelopment and collective community concern regarding condition of public housing. Further, the physical deterioration of the property and heightened qualifications for residential eligibility of public

housing overtime, have contributed to the perception of the property being incompatible with adjacent land uses, especially pronounced in the context of rapidly changing neighborhood conditions. The overlapping and often contradictory discourse provided, justifying the necessity of redevelopment, is directly respondent to the transformations in political economy as filtered down to a local level.

As the next section of this chapter demonstrates, shifting political economy is not only responsible for the discourse supporting the redevelopment of Rosewood Courts, but also in shaping the opposition, and relatively fragmented form of opposition, conflicting with the CNI redevelopment initiative.

Community Opposition to Redevelopment

As required by the CNI planning grant, PHAs, institutional stakeholders serving the targeted area, and community and public housing residents are required formulate a Transformation Plan to guide the planning process, culminating in a final proposal to compete for the implementation grant. An awarding of the planning grant is dependent upon the inclusion of resident participation strategies to inform the redevelopment process. As a result, HACA, and lead planning consulting firm Camiros, organized a series of community meetings targeting participation from existing Rosewood Courts residents and neighborhood residents.[71]

The atmosphere of the first community meeting in the spring of 2013 was extremely tense. Almost immediately accusations of racial insensitivity and a host of other class and race based arguments populated the conversation surrounding the trajectory of the

[71] In order to be eligible for the planning grant funding, HACA had to designate a planning partner to help facilitate the Transformation Plan. Camiros is a Chicago-based firm with assorted expertise in community revitalization projects.

redevelopment. One cannot overstate the verbal contestation manifested in the first series of community meetings. As a witness to the heated discourse present in these meetings, it seemed that the guiding stakeholders behind the Rosewood Courts redevelopment initiative, namely HACA and Camiros, did not fully anticipate the intensity of community opposition that was demonstrated. As one HACA representative commented, speaking to the perceived elements driving the contested atmosphere,

> I cried on the way home. I was like, oh my god, what did I get myself into….I just don't think we were prepared. I don't think we had had standing relationships with the neighborhood associations. It's something that I argue for a lot. We are in such a large planning area, there are so many neighborhood associations that want to have a stake in this project. I can't say this for sure, but in the past, no one has ever reached out.

For a first year graduate planning student observing a divisive community engagement process, it was impossible not to try and better understand the forces contributing to the contestation. I found myself questioning the usefulness of a profession that in many ways assumes what is needed for the populations it serves. The first takeaway came from the vitriol exhibited at the Camiros (and HACA) representatives. As admitted foreigners (i.e. being a Chicago-based based firm), questions surrounding their usefulness in the process immediately began to arise. Appeals to nativism by community members were often invoked. At the same time, it began to call into question definitions of community. The range of community members present at the meetings was diverse: current Rosewood Courts residents, former Rosewood Courts residents, a range of residents representing various demographic groups from the neighborhood planning area, former neighborhood residents and an assortment of community activists were present at the community engagement meetings that followed.

The symbolic nature of Rosewood Courts soon became apparent. The proposed redevelopment Rosewood Courts had (has) become a flash point for the convergence of a range of longstanding community grievances that lacked the political space to manifest themselves previously. The changes in the Rosewood Neighborhood documented in previous sections meant that conventional conceptions of community did not apply. The community was fractured and emergent opposition equally stunted by the decades of change, and types of change, exhibited in the Rosewood Neighborhood. As I argue in the remainder of this chapter, the grievances positioned by the opposition are directly respondent to the rapidly changing conditions of the Rosewood Neighborhood, as influenced by transformations in political economy, and the perceived threat to the formerly dominant community that the prospect of the Rosewood Courts redevelopment presented.

To start, much of the community, especially the remaining black community, continues to be frustrated by the absence of foundational community engagement on the part of HACA. The process, as the legacy of policies targeting East Austin demonstrates, fails from a community engagement standpoint, as one community representative commented,

> We don't think that this planning process has been successful in getting input from the community, or feedback from the community on what needs to happen. So, what our contention is, is that HACA has come up with an idea of what needs to happen, and is just trying to rubberstamp the idea that they came up with. And so what we are asking is to stop that, and come back and actually flesh out ideas, because there are people in the community that do have ideas [that are different than the existing proposal]. And that part of that re-envisioning have a historical preservation plan in place. Because Rosewood Courts is historically significant and the grounds that sits on is historically significant… that whatever happens there is not a gateway for more gentrification in the surrounding community. That it be looked at holistically how to keep the surrounding community intact, how to keep from raising property taxes in the surrounding community. That whatever happens

> there be a pathway for families to move into there that it not be housing catered toward young single people.

Yet the absence of an effective community engagement strategy, as defined by the long-standing historically black community, was symbolic of an even greater frustration. Even in the presence of a somehow successful community engagement strategy, redevelopment would have likely still represented a threat to the historically black community.

Simply, Rosewood Courts represents one of the last physical vestiges of an (arguably former) historically black community facing imminent erasure in the context of rapid neighborhood change. As one prominent representative of the remaining black community stated,

> Rosewood, like the majority of neighborhoods in East Austin, are under such great stress because of rapid change. And, there is the stress and tension around race, there is stress and tension around culture, around economics, around a vision around what Austin is, or should be. So, there are two or three different neighborhoods [conflicting visions] that are in that neighborhood [Rosewood].

The conflicting visions mentioned above are a reference to the multiplicity of perspectives surrounding public housing now that the Rosewood Neighborhood is home to people of multiple racial and class classifications. Opposition to the project has ranged from the gentrifying population's opposition to any additional affordable and low-income housing in the Rosewood Neighborhood to those committed to the total preservation of the existing Rosewood Courts facility. Though focusing the opposition presented by the contingent of the black community interested in maintaining the historical make-up of the community, the range of oppositional perspectives present is indicative of the fracturing legacy provided by neighborhood change, as exacerbated further by the shift to a more neoliberal form.

The interests of the longstanding – yet ever-diminishing –black community remaining in the neighborhood are different from the majority of existing Rosewood Courts

residents. Further, the grievances toward the redevelopment process by the black community are not necessarily expressed by current neighborhood residents. Rather, many have been either forced or opted to move to other sections of the city. For them, their interest in the Rosewood Neighborhood is related to its historical associations as a resilient community in the face of structural oppression. The presence of a quasi-Rosewood diaspora only complicates the current atmosphere around the redevelopment proposal, though it is reflective of the consequences of neighborhood change already demonstrated.

For many members of the historical black community associated with the neighborhood, their frustration is reflective of the threat presented by the gentrifying population, a threat constituted according to the incoming population's ability to more effectively assert its greater political and economic agency, more pronounced under the confines of the neoliberal paradigm, relative to the historically black community. As one community activist framed the perceived threat of the Rosewood Courts redevelopment initiative,

> They are a community of black and brown people that are used to having very little agency in a segregated Austin and then they see people who are moving into their community, who are young and white, and have a lot of agency and a vision that is not theirs, but they bring resources to actualize that vision. So, there has been continued resentment, but there is also a kind of cultural response, which is the feeling of "I do not have the power to fight back". It is also a continued legacy of a community that does not have power over its own destiny.

In many ways, the threat to community identity posed by the prospect of redevelopment has created a rallying around point around the issue of historic preservation for the property; the fact that one of the few, and certainly the most prominent, of the remaining representations of the historically black community in the Rosewood Neighborhood is threatened.

Facing the prospect of demolition (or, almost total demolition), the redevelopment proposal has become a flashpoint between the black community, HACA and newer neighborhood residents in the context of a history of policies characterized by discriminatory intent and disparate impact. For much of the gentrifying population, the existing Rosewood Courts facility does not represent any sort of architectural significance, but is representative of the incompatibility of the remaining built environment associated with the historically black community relative to the desires of the incoming population. As one preservationist summarizes,

> You will find a significant degree of change. Much of the continuity in the neighborhood though, is represented by Rosewood Courts and Rosewood Park.[72] Those are two fundamental institutions that have existed for most of the 20th century that are points of reference for people from the neighborhood. […] The demolition of either of those two iconic institutions would be perceived as a death knell for much of the cultural continuity of the neighborhood. […] Long-term people, with an interest in the neighborhood, who have understood its history and legacy, for them, this is an assault on their neighborhood.

The existing Rosewood Courts facility is among the last of the prominent structures associated with the cultural legacy of the black community. For many in the black community, the case for historic preservation of the Rosewood Courts facility is painfully obvious. For many at HACA, the case is not so clear. As one HACA representative commented,

> The historical significance came up when we started this project. And I find that a little bit interesting. Obviously, the property, it being Emancipation Park and (supposedly) the first African-American property in the Nation… It wasn't ever important before until we were going to consider redeveloping it.

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[72] Rosewood Park lies almost immediately east of the Rosewood Courts property. With the effective erasure of the original Emancipation Park following the completion of the Rosewood Courts property, Juneteenth celebrations are held yearly at Rosewood Park. Many former community members return to Rosewood Park each year for the celebration.

While I do not want to delve into the architectural history of the Rosewood Courts facility, the case for historic preservation from that standpoint is legitimate. More telling to the aspects I am examining here is the sudden emphasis on historic preservation for the property.

Representative of the prospects for the historic black community's erasure under exacerbated gentrification pressures provided by the neoliberal growth paradigm, the case for historic preservation and subsequent filings to the State Historic Preservation Board are the most viable way to preserve the facility according to its existing architectural embodiment. As captured by one member of the preservationist camp opposing the current redevelopment proposal,

> I don't accept that Rosewood Courts is unviable as public housing. I don't accept that it should be demolished. I don't accept any of those things. I certainly accept and desire for there to be renovations at Rosewood. I think those are things that should have happened over its 75 year history. For me that is a testament to its construction, that in spite of 75 years of neglect, by and large. It is still in use as public housing, and that people are still satisfied by its use.

For many of those affiliated with the historic black community of the neighborhood, the redevelopment proposal is merely the final domino to fall in the total remake of a neighborhood; and, the case for historic preservation responsive. The "new", or emergent, Rosewood Neighborhood is in line with the images associated with now necessary global competiveness strategies required by the neoliberal growth paradigm. It does not match the vision of its previously dominant population – a restricted black community living under the confines of racially defined political and economic structures.

The physical and demographic remake of the neighborhood, completed with hardly any ability for the historically black community to effectively respond to the types of change

occurring, especially in the limited political space offered by decades long structural and institutional oppression, has culminated in the focus of attention on what is now the highest concentration of black residents remaining in the neighborhood – public housing. The type of political economy offered by neoliberalism is on the one hand exacerbating the inflow of capital investment in the neighborhood while on the other, internalizing the idea that the resulting "improvement" is what is most needed for the neighborhood. As one activist aptly reflected,

> I see the gentrification. I see that the long-term residents have been moved out and replaced by shorter term residents. And, I see that those are things that have involved a great deal of human agency. And, that any argument that this is something that is natural, like the laws of gravity, I'm not particularly receptive to. […] Conditions were set into place in the late 1990s and early 2000s that basically encouraged this type of behavior. The gentrification of the East Side, is the result of the actions, active and passive, on the part of city officials to create the conditions for gentrification. It was done in the name of environmental protection. […] A desired development zone was created.[73] Why? Because we don't have aquifers over here. We do of course, though not in the view of some environmentalists. "We don't have an environment. God, look over here. Look how awful it is. Don't these people want more? Don't they want our largesse? We need economic development." This is the liberal part of neoliberalism. An elitist paternalism that is in deep denial about race and does not have an understanding of institutions and the manner in which racial prejudice comes folded into structural oppression.

The growth trajectory pursued by the City of Austin, and respondent Rosewood Neighborhood change, are not capable of fulfilling the vision of community as articulated by the needs of its historically inner city minority neighborhoods. The radical remake of inner city minority neighborhoods stands in stark contrast to the relative stability exhibited by historically wealthier and "whiter" neighborhoods.

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[73] As one of the first projects of the New Urbanist and Smart Growth Movements in Austin, a Desired Development Zone was created just east of Downtown to effectively test the viability for various forms of vertical mixed use in the City of Austin.

The political economy conferred via neoliberalism has had a layered, yet universally destructive, effect on the prospects of historically minority and relatively poor neighborhoods in the inner city, in Austin, Texas and elsewhere. The violent discourse exhibited in both the initial siting and construction of the Rosewood Courts facility and in the current Rosewood CNI process is representative of the transformational nature of political economy and extended pressures on local neighborhoods. The accommodation of capital flows, and perceived infallibility of the market in the American consciousness, has created a situation that undermines a once vibrant, though structurally and institutionally oppressed, community; all of this occurring alongside the existing political and economic architecture that emphasizes race as a determinant of policy formation. In the context of a rapid growth city like Austin, where changing neighborhood conditions are constructed as a natural process, and generally "good" for the neighborhood, this has subverted the racial implications of the relationships discussed. Certainly, institutional actors are in part responsible, though much of their current actions are directly responsive to the imposition of the neoliberal growth paradigm and having to maintain the prospects for growth under its restrictive, though seemingly liberating, umbrella.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Conventional public housing in the United States has a contested history. From its inception, it has represented a physical manifestation of social policy that confronts the supposed supremacy of perceived collective American values, namely the foundational notions of individualism that have emphasized the importance of independence and self-reliance. Yet, this collective imagination of ourselves and our potential fails to recognize the serious structural barriers along race and class lines, and how perpetually vulnerable racial and social groups continue to be impacted by public policy, even if in less pronounced terms under the shifting conditions provided by transformational political economy. Neoliberalism, more than any other previous political economy arrangement, inherently values individualistic desires of the American imagination, at the same time denying the very contradictions that make conventional public housing a necessity.

In Austin, Texas especially, a city that today defines itself according its supposed progressive identity, the implications of policy making for race and class become ever more blurred. The overtly racial tactics that defined the siting of the initial three public housing facilities in Central East Austin are no longer readily apparent. Today, HACA has a legitimate interest in redeveloping the Rosewood Courts property – the structural and amenity improvement needs are real. Still, this does not account for the layered history of racial policy making in what is increasingly a global city.

The early history of Rosewood Courts provides ample evidence for the racial and social pathology justifications provided for the initial construction of the facility. At the same time, the opposition to public housing, and other social policy, both locally and nationally, constrained the potential of the conventional public housing program with regard

to maintenance and upkeep needs and siting of facilities. The first rounds of public housing facility construction took place in predominately poor and minority neighborhoods. 70 years later, many of these public housing facilities are now in areas now considered proximate to and within the urban core of major American cities. The minority populations that for years defined many of these inner city neighborhoods are under threat; their communities facing very real prospects of extinction as wealthier household preferences shift back to the city. Austin is no exception.

In Austin, and arguably elsewhere, the decline of central city black neighborhoods is far from a natural process. The forced concentration of black and minority populations in the Jim Crow era established the justificational framework for the initial public housing siting. This was followed by a post-war need to create a new growth agenda in Austin. Fearful of the rust-belt consequences of industrialization coupled with a desire to preserve the environmental amenities of the city, Austin's political establishment opted to pursue a growth agenda focusing on the development of a highly-skilled and highly-educated workforce; at the same time, denying industrial employment opportunities available to a black population still plagued by the cumulative effects of racial policy, workplace or otherwise. Effectively, the city's growth trajectory, as defined in part by its political economy, denied inner city black neighborhoods the capacity to successfully defend themselves via sufficient levels of investment and maintenance from the onslaught of capital resulting from shifting household preferences and the development of a highly paid workforce operating under an increasingly neoliberal condition. All of this existed alongside the barriers provided by racial politics.

As the first series of community meetings regarding the proposed redevelopment of Rosewood Courts demonstrated, many members of the quickly disappearing historically black community associated with the Rosewood Neighborhood, along with some of the long-time Rosewood Courts residents, vehemently opposed any attempt to physically remake the public housing facility in line with the emergent neighborhood conditions. For many, the destruction of one of the few remaining physical vestiges of a disappearing community, represents the continued disenfranchisement of Austin's black community as perpetuated by a racialized political economy, even under its current more neoliberal auspices. Hence, the flash point provided by the Rosewood CNI is much more than a stressed PHA trying to fulfill its mission of providing affordable housing. Rather, it represents the very real effects of a multi-decade struggle by poor and minority communities, especially inner city black communities, to assert their political agency under a less overtly racial, though no less destructive political economy.

Finally, the nature of the relationship between the historically black Rosewood Neighborhood and the City's primary political and economic actors has been captured in the evolving discourse surrounding the Rosewood Courts public housing facility. This discourse is reflective of the shifting demands of a transformational political economy, especially as it relates to neighborhood change. As the potential redevelopment of the Rosewood Courts facility progresses, and the threat of losing the last physical vestige of a neighborhood becomes more apparent, it will be interesting to evaluate the resulting discourse. As the political economy approach to research offers more a diagnostic rather than prescriptive analysis, it is almost impossible to offer solutions to the current entanglement other than those advocating for a disruption of the existing political and economic order and the social

relations it produces. Still, it does beg further questions as they relate to the types of growth the City of Austin pursues in an ever competitive landscape.

Appendix:

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Research Design – Table 3: Research Methodology

Research Goals	Research Question	Working Hypothesis	Methods for Data Collection	Datasets	Sample Strategy	Sample Size	Methods for Data Analysis
To understand the primary forces contributing the siting of Rosewood Courts	What type(s) of discourse(s) shaped the initial siting of the Rosewood Courts public facility?	That contradictions and stipulations found in enabling 1937 legislation and resulting real estate and homeowner opposition, forced siting into already marginalized areas of town.	The Austin History Center, Briscoe Center for American History archival collections; existing Rosewood and public housing initial siting literature; Oral histories; LBJ biographies	HOLC maps and documents; Sandborne Fire Insurance maps; original applications from AHA to USHA; text of 1937 legislation; Austin American Statesman microfilm; oral histories	Dependent on available archival documentations	No more than 5 -10 oral histories.	Provide an interpretive and descriptive account of the factors shaping initial public housing siting in Austin, TX
To understand the motivations, justifications and constraints informing the current redevelopment initiative	What type(s) of discourse(s) are shaping the current redevelopment initiative surrounding the Rosewood Courts public housing facility?	That current justifications for public housing redevelopment mirror those used to justify its initial development – though shifting in response to changing neighborhood conditions and overarching political economy transformation at multiple scales	HUD/HACA databases, grant documentation and current planning initiative publications; primarily, interviews with HACA officials, long-time neighborhood residents, opposition	CHOICE neighborhood legislation language and grant application for Rosewood, Interviews with HACA officials, neighborhood residents and opposition, initial CHOICE program findings	Requesting purposive interviews from key HACA officials, longtime neighborhood residents and primary opposition figures	HACA officials – no more than 5 Long-term residents – no more than 5 Opposition – no more than 5	Situate community perceptions of current redevelopment efforts alongside CHOICE language and HACA initiatives, providing a compelling interpretation of changing justification for (re)development
To account for how the Rosewood Neighborhood has changed since the construction of Rosewood Courts, reframing that change in terms of political economy + racial implications	How has Rosewood neighborhood changed – with respect to social, economic and physical characteristics – since the completion of the public housing facility in the late 1930s?	The Rosewood Neighborhood has undergone dramatic change since the construction of Rosewood Courts, much of this responsive to changing political economy and resulting conditions	Existing literature; archival research	Available archival documentation; existing City of Austin history publications, specifically those with political and economic emphasis	Dependent on existing archival data and	N/A	Relate, via correlation and existing literature, causal linkages between shifting political economy and local neighborhood change

Research Design – Table 4: Construct Validity

Validity	Score	Rational
Internal	High	Because of the in-depth examination of a specific case, the research is likely to have high internal validity. The uniqueness of variables at the local scale, when provided relational context at the national and global levels, contribute to a high internal validity for the research design and methods used.
External	Low-Medium	The limited scope of the research with respect to the singularity of the case, limits the external validity of the research. The relative consistency in trends regarding public housing (re)development, as partly informed by federal public housing policy, certain cities with similar characteristics and political economy trajectories are likely to exhibit similar relationships; at the local institutional level this is problematic – though cities may exhibit similar characteristics, local PHAs have historically demonstrated considerable variance in their competency to manage public housing.
Face	Medium	As an evaluation of the researches ability to measure something that it states it does, the methods used asses the evolving nature of discourse in the context of public housing (re)development and neighborhood change
Construct	Medium+	Regarding construct, validity the methods used, while triangulating many aspects of change (interview data, census data, archival data and existing literature) to evaluate the transformation in the Rosewood Neighborhood, could benefit from a more robust measurement of the central research question – What is the relationship between changing neighborhood conditions and public housing (re)development?

Research Design – Summary

The research design employed here aligns with exploratory, descriptive and interpretive methods.[74] The research is conducted as a singular case study format, using a mixed methods approach to evaluate the central research questions stated above.[75]

Classification

The singular case study format is inherently problematic in its ability to confer generalized knowledge about a specific topic. Even so, the in-depth exploratory, descriptive and interpretive methods used to illustrate the importance of a singular case study can provide beneficial information to inform our current understanding of complex relationships over time periods exhibiting significant change at a range of scales – from both the neighborhood level and federal public housing policy level. The choice to embark on a singular case study has considerable limitations with respect to validity and reliability. Still, the development of singular case studies are critical to the development of more relevant and salient research topics. As Gluckman (1961) states,

> Clearly one good case can illuminate the working of a social system in a way that a series of morphological statements cannot achieve (p. 9, as retrieved in Mitchell, 1983)

Similarly, elaborating on the necessity of the singular case study approach, Mitchell (1983) suggests,

> The particular significance of the extended case study is that it traces the events in which the same set of main actors in the case study are involved over a relatively long period, the procession aspect is given particular emphasis. The extended case study enables the analyst to trace how events chain on to one another and how therefore events are necessarily linked to one another through time (p.194)

As an exploratory work, the central research question – understanding the relationship between changing neighborhood conditions and public housing (re)development with respect to political economy as evaluated according to evolving discourse – has yet to be fully, or even partially, covered in existing literature. As Marshall and Rossman (1999) qualify the characteristics of an exploratory work, to investigate little understood phenomena by demonstrating relationships between events and the meaning that these relationships might have (p. 33). The problem, or even the extent of the relationship is not known. The literature that does exist, typically only evaluates a single point in time, and positions the relationship between public housing redevelopment and current neighborhood conditions; there is nothing evaluating the evolving nature of this relationship. As this research will account for changes over an approximate 75 year period,

[74] See Appendix – Table 2: Research Design

[75] The central research question and theory research questions are presented in the section "Emerging Research Questions" of Chapter 2.

the way in which changes relate to public housing (re)development offers a certain exploratory component as yet to be demonstrated by existing literature. Though much of the established research design literature is critical of type of exploratory case-study format employed with this research, numerous contemporary scholars and emergent bodies of literature counter this notion. As prominent case-study scholar Bent Flyvbjerg (1998) states,

> When I first became interested in in-depth case-study research, I was trying to understand how power and rationality shape each other and from the urban environments in which we live. It was clear to me that to understand a complex issue such as this, in-depth case-study research was necessary. It was equally clear, however, that my teachers and colleagues kept dissuading me from employing this particular research methodology (Flyvberg 1998 as retrieved in Flyvberg, 2006, p. 219).

Inherent to the in-depth case-study approach is the use of exploratory, interpretive and descriptive methods. The nuance provided by the Rosewood Courts (re)development requires that the research methods used offer as complete a narrative as possible through the balanced use of these techniques. Though bias is impossible to avoid and objectivity impossible to achieve in any research design, the methods used here are especially vulnerable to the author's established worldview. Still, by incorporating as many points of analysis as possible, these potential short-falls can be largely avoided, though never fully escaped.

At the same time, because of the required historical analysis and related archival work completed, the research design will rely heavily on descriptive techniques. For the theory question related to the initial siting of the Rosewood Courts public housing facility, the research will be subjected to the constraints of the availability of archival material and existing biographical and historical literature pertaining to Rosewood Courts and the Rosewood Neighborhood. In this sense, the presentation of the research will have to be descriptive, attempting to provide a portrait of the interactions and relationships contributing to the initial siting of public housing facilities in Austin, Texas, while detailing the types of changes that have occurred at the neighborhood level since the completion of these facilities. The descriptive elements of my research design are central to its construction, as I will not be altering any of the variables associated, rather more modestly trying to generate a better understanding of the relationships already present. The hybrid nature of an exploratory and descriptive research design attempts to "build rich descriptions of complex circumstances that are unexplored in the literature (Marshall and Rossmann, 1999).

Finally, the research design used will be partly interpretive. Similar to the issues surrounding the descriptive component of the methods employed, any analysis of my findings will be subject to having to constructive in a relatively intelligible way, accessible to the reader, yet grounded in the data collected. My reliance on the intersection of historical data, purposive interviews and a spattering of quantitative data will enable the research to more robustly assign meaning to the decisions of the actors during the initial development of Rosewood Courts and offer a better understanding of the "meaning" in the context of the

current redevelopment initiative – especially when evaluated against the implications for shifting global political economy, and shift translates to decisions made at the local level.

Limitations, Validity, and Reliability[76]

The greatest limitation of the research that follows is the evaluation of a planning process for public housing redevelopment that has yet to be awarded the necessary funding for construction. At present, the HUD sponsored planning process – through the use of a CNI planning grant – is only to be used for proposing a redevelopment trajectory. Following the completion of tasks required by the CNI planning grant, HUD will have to select from multiple applicants for the awarding of the CNI implementation grant.[77] Based on previous rounds of CNI implementation grant allocation, HACA has anywhere from a 1:8 to 1:5 probability of actually receiving the construction money needed for the redevelopment.[78] This significantly inhibits the generalizability of the research to public housing redevelopment initiatives elsewhere. Even so, as long as it is adequately qualified, the discourse supporting redevelopment can be telling, and still exhibit a greater understanding of the relationship between changing neighborhood conditions and public housing (re)development. This limitation is most concerning with respect to the reliability of the research. Because the research is constrained to evaluating a project yet to be fully realized, it would be a stretch to conclude that the findings could be replicated elsewhere. Further, the contextual dependency of evaluating the neighborhood change component effectively limits the research from being fully translated to other public housing redevelopment cases. Summarized, the findings that research does present must be evaluated according to the very specific contextual bounds inherent in the design of singular case study format.

[76] See Table 4: "Validity"

[77] If awarded the CNI implementation grant, HACA is eligible to receive up to 30 million USD for the redevelopment of Rosewood Courts; a portion of that money, as much as 7 million USD, can be used for ancillary social support services improvement.

[78] If HACA does not receive the CNI construction grant, they have verbally stated their intent to package together other forms of financing for the proposed redevelopment.

Glossary/Acronyms

AHA – Austin Housing Authority

AISD – Austin Independent School District

CDBG – Community Development Block Grant

CNI – Choice Neighborhoods Initiative

CNU – Congress for New Urbanism

DOE – United States Department of Education

DOJ – United States Department of Justice

DPC – White House Domestic Policy Council

FDR – Franklin Delano Roosevelt

FHA – Federal Housing Administration

FHLBB – Federal Home Loan Bank Board

GSE – Government Sponsored Enterprise

HACA – Housing Authority of the City of Austin

HCV – Housing Choice Voucher

HHS – United States Department of Health and Human Services

HOLC – Home Owners Loan Corporation

HOPE – Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere

HUD – United States Department of Housing and Urban Development

LBJ – Lyndon Baines Johnson

LTV – Loan-to-value

MFI – Median Family Income

NAHB – National Association of Home Builders

NAREB – National Association of Real Estate Boards

NCSDPH – National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

NIMBY – "Not-in-my-backyard"

NOFA – Notice of funding availability

NRI – Neighborhood Revitalization Administration

PHA – Public Housing Authority

PHAS – Public Housing Assessment System

PWA – Public Works Administration

USD – United States Dollar

USHA – United States Housing Authority

WHOUA – White House Office of Urban Affairs

WPA – Works Progress Administration

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