

INTERSECTIONS OF GENTRIFICATION: THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND RESIDENTIAL
CONDITIONS OF FLAGSTAFF'S SOUTHSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD

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ABSTRACT

INTERSECTIONS OF GENTRIFICATION: THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND RESIDENTIAL CONDITIONS OF FLAGSTAFF'S SOUTHSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD

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Gentrification exists as a significant social problem within the larger discourse of urban sociology and urban change. This thesis examines aspects of gentrification occurring within the historic Southside neighborhood of Flagstaff, Arizona. Two primary research questions are asked in this thesis. First, do demographic and residential conditions within the Southside neighborhood indicate that the population occupying the neighborhood is vulnerable to displacement? Second, do demographic and residential conditions within the Southside neighborhood indicate that gentrification is occurring? And if so, to what degree is this process occurring? Answering these questions enables for a greater understanding of the risks facing residents of the Southside in order to reduce potential negative impacts caused by urban change and gentrification. This study takes a quantitative approach to answering the established research questions by examining and analyzing American Community Survey data related to demographic and residential conditions that may be linked to gentrification in the Southside neighborhood and the greater Flagstaff area. This thesis finds that the Southside neighborhood is home to a population that shows signs of vulnerability to displacement, and that some forms of gentrification are occurring within the neighborhood. Additionally, this thesis includes a historical overview of the

Southside neighborhood, a review of literature focusing on gentrification, a discussion of human ecology as a theoretical framework for studying urban change, the methodological approach used in this study, the findings of this study, and a discussion on the implications of the findings.

Key Terms: Gentrification, Urban Change, Population Vulnerability, Displacement, Socioeconomic Inequality.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT _____	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS _____	v
LIST OF FIGURES _____	viii
LIST OF TABLES _____	ix
Chapters	
1. SOUTH OF THE TRACKS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND STUDY OVERVIEW__	1
<i>Historical Context and Background</i> _____	1
<i>Statement of Problem</i> _____	3
<i>Purpose of Study</i> _____	4
<i>Research Questions</i> _____	5
<i>Theoretical Framework</i> _____	6
<i>Procedures</i> _____	7
<i>Significance</i> _____	8
<i>Organization of Study</i> _____	9
2. GENTRIFICATION: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE _____	11
<i>Understanding Gentrification</i> _____	11
<i>Historical Context of Gentrification</i> _____	14
<i>The Process of Gentrification</i> _____	18
<i>Gentry Relocation</i> _____	19
<i>Influence of Gentry</i> _____	20
<i>Residential Gentrification</i> _____	21
<i>Commercial Gentrification</i> _____	23
<i>Processes of Cultural Change</i> _____	25
<i>Potential Solutions</i> _____	27
<i>Rent Control</i> _____	27
<i>Longtime Resident Input</i> _____	28
<i>Community Integration Efforts</i> _____	29
3. HUMAN ECOLOGY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK _____	30
<i>Human Ecology</i> _____	30
<i>Concentric Zone Model</i> _____	32
<i>Conditions and Stages of Intra-Community Invasion</i> _____	37

4. METHODOLOGY _____	45
<i>Population and Sample</i> _____	45
<i>Location</i> _____	46
<i>Instrumentation</i> _____	51
<i>Procedures</i> _____	52
<i>Variables</i> _____	53
<i>Limitations</i> _____	59
5. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS _____	61
<i>Demographic Findings</i> _____	61
<i>Population and Density</i> _____	62
<i>Income</i> _____	64
<i>Race</i> _____	66
<i>Age</i> _____	69
<i>Education</i> _____	71
<i>Poverty Ratio</i> _____	73
<i>Residential Findings</i> _____	75
<i>Household Conditions</i> _____	75
<i>Home Values</i> _____	77
<i>Renters and Owners</i> _____	78
<i>Cost of Rent</i> _____	80
<i>Family and Non-Family Households</i> _____	82
<i>Conclusion</i> _____	83
6. THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTHSIDE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS _____	84
<i>Demographic Conclusions</i> _____	84
<i>Demographic Support for Occurrence of Gentrification</i> _____	84
<i>Additional Demographic Conclusions</i> _____	87
<i>The Demographic State of Gentrification in the Southside</i> _____	88
<i>Residential Conclusions</i> _____	89
<i>Residential Support for Occurrence of Gentrification</i> _____	90
<i>Additional Residential Conclusions</i> _____	91
<i>The Residential State of Gentrification in the Southside</i> _____	93
<i>The State of Gentrification in the Southside</i> _____	95
REFERENCES _____	98
APPENDIX A _____	101

LIST OF FIGURES

CONTENTRIC ZONE MODEL _____	33
CITY OF FLAGSTAFF MAP OF THE SOUTHSIDE _____	47
U.S. CENSUS BUREAU BG1T8 MAP _____	48
U.S. CENSUS BUREAU FLAGSTAFF MAP _____	50

LIST OF TABLES

POPULATION AND DENSITY _____	62
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION GROWTH _____	63
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME _____	64
POPULATION AGE BREAKDOWN _____	70
INCOME TO POVERTY RATIO _____	74
MEDIAN HOME VALUES _____	77
OWNERS AND RENTERS OF HOUSING UNITS _____	79
INCOME-TO-RENT RATIO _____	81

This thesis is dedicated to the longtime residents of the Southside.

CHAPTER ONE

SOUTH OF THE TRACKS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND STUDY OUTLINE

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Situated between the campus of Northern Arizona University and the historic downtown district in Flagstaff, Arizona lies one of the community's oldest and most historically interesting neighborhoods. Named based on its location relative to the train tracks, the Southside neighborhood has been home to significant social and cultural change within the Flagstaff community since its formation in the late 1800's. The origins of the Southside can be attributed to the ethnic minority populations who shaped the community in the early 1900's. The Southside was primarily home to laborers in the early days of the neighborhood due to its close proximity to the railroad and the local sawmill. Many of these laborers were Black or Latino, establishing an enclave in the Flagstaff community for minority residents during a time period of intense racial discrimination. "The Southside neighborhood has combined rich historical character with population influences. The neighborhood is the best representation of the ethnic diversity that evolved in Flagstaff from the turn of the century through the 1940's" (City of Flagstaff 2005:7).

In a sense, the Southside that was built up by ethnically diverse laborers who came to Flagstaff seeking work and opportunity no longer exists. Recent survey estimates indicate that Southside population is made up of about 75% of residents who identify as non-Hispanic whites (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Additionally, survey estimates suggest that the Southside is predominantly home to college

students today, rather than working class laborers (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). “Being the only neighborhood bordering NAU (Northern Arizona University), Southside’s character and working stand to be influenced by the university” (City of Flagstaff 2005:22) With such dramatic shifts being observed throughout the neighborhood’s history, urban change does not come as a new process for the Southside.

In recent memory, the Southside served as the City’s red light district, home to bars, bordellos, and was generally thought to be unsafe and “rough.” The outlaw character remains active in public perception. The Southside remains a place where artists, lower income residents and those with alternative lifestyles are clustered. For Flagstaff residents, the Southside is not a common retail or dining destination, and there are lingering concerns about safety. Within the past several years there have been several highly publicized drug busts in the Southside as well as other parts of the City, reinforcing safety concerns. Additionally, the Southside is where ethnic minorities first settled in the Flagstaff, and where descendants of some of these families continue to live today. (City of Flagstaff 2005:51)

To this day the identity of the neighborhood continues to show signs of additional changes occurring. The Southside has held a reputation for being “rough around the edges” for many years, being home to bars, pool halls, and brothels. However, many longtime residents have noticed that these edges are rapidly being smoothed out. Dive bars are being shut down and replaced by craft cocktail lounges. Burger joints are being traded out for artisan sandwich shops. Bungalows are torn down so luxury apartments can take their place. These changes raise questions about the direction that the community is moving towards. Who are these new amenities being built for? How are these changes impacting the social and cultural identities of the Southside? What risks do these redevelopment projects represent for residents of a lower socioeconomic status?

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In past years, urban change occurring within the Southside has raised concerns about potential gentrification and displacement of residents. Studies carried out focusing on conditions with the Southside have suggested that forms of urban change such as gentrification may present a threat to this neighborhood. “A number of factors have led to the Southside being relatively economically depressed – being on the south side of the tracks, being in a floodplain, lack of access, competition from Downtown being some key reasons” (City of Flagstaff 2005:22). This study seeks to address demographic and residential changes occurring in the Southside that may represent potential negative impacts for the residents of this community.

Considering the historical roots of the Southside being home to an ethnically and socially diverse population, recent changes to the demographic makeup of the community deserve attention. Neighborhoods experiencing forms of urban change such as gentrification often disproportionately impact residents of a low socioeconomic status (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008). The diversity that exists within the population of the Southside represents concerns regarding vulnerability of socially and economically marginalized residents living in this neighborhood.

The location of the Southside within the greater Flagstaff area has found the neighborhood impacted by the highly competitive housing market that exists in the community. With a median price of homes currently listed in Flagstaff at \$424,116,

the housing market in the community far exceeds that national median home price of \$239,500 (Zillow 2017). Additionally, the shared border between the Southside and the campus of Northern Arizona University has made the area a desirable location for students in need of housing. As the student population of the university continues to grow, the housing market in the Southside may experience increasing amounts of stress. Redevelopment of housing in the area also has the potential to attract wealthier residents from outside the neighborhood, as the Southside becomes more attractive to those with higher levels of economic freedom and influence.

The overarching concern that these changes represent come in the form of how residents of the Southside with a low socioeconomic status may be impacted. The influx of new wealth in a historically lower-class urban area often leads to gentrification, in which the community shifts to accommodate wealthy newcomers while putting additional social and economic pressure on poorer longtime residents. Observed changes in the Southside make this neighborhood a prime candidate for gentrification research. While many visible changes in the neighborhood certainly appear to indicate gentrification occurring, there is a lack of recent data analysis available to either confirm or deny these claims.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

This study seeks to gain substantial insight into the demographic and residential conditions of the Southside in order to perform analysis of the neighborhood in relation to issues of gentrification. This study involves analysis of

both the vulnerability of residents in the Southside to gentrification, as well as the occurrence of gentrification as a process in the neighborhood. One of the major goals of this study is to provide valuable information and analysis on gentrification in the Southside in order to minimize negative consequences that often occur during this type of urban change.

Additionally, this study aims to contribute to the overall literature and discourse surrounding gentrification. Because gentrification often unfolds in unique ways depending on the community it is occurring within, case studies focusing on individual neighborhoods, such as the Southside, are extremely valuable to the literature on gentrification. While some literature exists which focuses on gentrification and the Southside, very few sociological studies have been conducted on the area with gentrification as a primary focus.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study intends to answer two research questions in order to gain an understanding of gentrification in the Southside. The chosen research questions are designed to establish the risk assessment of the population, as well as to provide development analysis of gentrification in the Southside.

1. Do demographic and residential conditions within the Southside neighborhood indicate that the population occupying the neighborhood is vulnerable to displacement?

2. Do demographic and residential conditions within the Southside neighborhood indicate that gentrification is occurring? If so, to what degree is this process occurring?

The first research question enables this study to focus on the potential risks faced by residents of the Southside if gentrification is occurring, or occurs in the future. This is essential in order to determine if the urban change that is occurring in the area presents the threats that are often associated with gentrification, such as displacement. The second research question is designed to establish an objective opinion regarding the state of gentrification within the Southside. This research question is used in conjunction with the first question in order to determine an overall understanding of gentrification in the area. The research questions used in this study function independently of one another, allowing for conclusion to be obtained in multiple subsets of the topic.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The primary theoretical approach taken in this study is that of human ecology perspectives. The interdisciplinary field of human ecology focuses on behavior and movement of populations within designated environments. Specifically, this study relies on theoretical frameworks within the field of human ecology that address the organization of populations within urban environments. Two conceptual models act as the predominate forms of theoretical guidance in this study. The use of these two conceptual frameworks provides theoretical support for both demographic and residential factors relevant to this study.

First, this study addresses the Concentric Zone Model as developed by Ernest W. Burgess of the Chicago School of Sociology in 1925. The Concentric Zone Model is used in this study for the purposes of understanding the urban organization patterns that contributed to foundational conditions necessary for contemporary forms of gentrification to occur. This study applies the Concentric Zone Model to potentially gentrifying American communities, such as the Southside, in order to establish historical context. Second, this study applies R.D. McKenzie's 1925 work on conditions and stages of human invasion. McKenzie, also a member of the Chicago School of Sociology, provides a highly effective framework for understanding the patterns that lead to the relocation and invasion of human populations in urban areas. McKenzie's work is particularly useful to this study as it allows for analysis of conditions that may lead to gentrification, as well as the stages in which this process may unfold.

PROCEDURES

This study seeks to answer the stated research questions using quantitative methods of analysis focusing on secondary data made available by the United States Census Bureau. This process began with establishing research locations to be used for data collection. Census block groups were found to be the most appropriate scale for observation in this study. Census block 1 of tract 8 (BG1T8) in the Flagstaff area was selected to represent the Southside due to its substantial overlap with the area. For comparison, the census place of the City of Flagstaff (COF) was established as an additional research location.

The data collection process of this study was primarily done using the geospatial software Social Explorer. Using Social Explorer, American Community Survey (ACS) data was gathered within the perimeters of BG1T8. Five-year estimates (explained in chapter four) were used in order to achieve as accurate and representative findings as possible. Additionally, ACS data was gathered for the surrounding area of Flagstaff in order to allow for statistical comparisons (Also using five-year estimates.) The collected variables were chosen based on their relevance to demographic and residential conditions of gentrification.

Following the collection process, data were organized by research location and survey year in preparation for analysis. The analysis process used in this study focuses on determining if collected data indicates signs of gentrification occurring within the Southside. Efforts were made to ensure that findings potentially indicating gentrification were statistical changes occurring specifically in BG1T8 and not overall trends observed in the greater Flagstaff area. Following analysis of individual variables, a comprehensive analysis was done using the collected data in order to determine both the vulnerability of Southside residents to displacement, as well as if gentrification is occurring in the area and if so, to what degree.

SIGNIFICANCE

This study contributes significant findings regarding the state of gentrification within the Southside in order to provide resources and insight that can be used to protect vulnerable populations and improve overall conditions for residents. This study is carried out with the understanding that urban inequality

exists as an important social problem in communities on a global scale, and the Southside neighborhood is no exception to this perspective. The approach that this study takes to studying urban change in the Southside allows for objective viewpoints to be formed on the topic, as opposed to relying on circumstantial assumptions. The literature on gentrification makes it clear that this process of urban change can have very real consequences for marginalized populations. This study is intended to draw attention to the social and economic risks felt by some residents within the Southside neighborhood.

ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

This thesis is comprised of five following chapters, each with a specific focus related to the conducted study. Chapter two of this thesis is a literature review covering the available material surrounding the discourse of gentrification. This chapter begins with a section defining gentrification and discussing its origins as a concept. Historical context, processes, and potential solutions of gentrification are also included in this chapter. This chapter is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of what gentrification means and how it works as a process of urban change.

In chapter three the theoretical frameworks used in this study are discussed. The chapter begins with an overview of human ecology as an academic discourse, discussing the origins of the field as well as acknowledging its major contributors. This is followed by an in-depth explanation of Burgess's Concentric Zone Model and R.D. McKenzie's conditions and stages of human invasion. Both of these theoretical

frameworks are discussed in conjunction with the process of gentrification in order to demonstrate the relevance and applicability they hold to this study.

Next, this thesis transitions into an explanation of the methodological approach used during the research process of this study. Chapter four explains the population, locations, instrumentation, procedures, variables, and limitations involved in this study. Details regarding the data collection process used in this research can be found in this chapter. Additionally, this chapter provides justification for each survey variable used as they relate to gentrification.

Chapter five shares and discusses the findings of this study. The chapter begins with an overview of the demographic findings obtained in this study, including a brief analysis of the implications set by the data. The chapter continues with a similar overview that discusses the residential findings obtained in this study, as well as an analysis of implications. Demographic and residential findings are displayed independently in this chapter and discussed as separate areas of interest.

In chapter six, the thesis concludes with an in-depth analysis of both demographic and residential findings obtained in this study. Each category of data is reviewed in relation to gentrification, and conclusions regarding the state of the findings are shared. Explanations of how the demographic and residential findings overlap are addressed in this chapter. This chapter serves to provide objective conclusions to both of the established research questions used in the study. Included in this chapter are future implications based on the findings of this study as well as suggestions for continuing research.

CHAPTER TWO

GENTRIFICATION: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

UNDERSTANDING GENTRIFICATION

In 1964, British sociologist Ruth Glass first coined the term “gentrification” to describe links between housing and class struggles occurring in urban London (Slater 2011). Glass was primarily concerned with the socioeconomic power held by upper-class residents of the city that enabled them to influence where poorer residents could and could not afford to reside. In her 1964 publication *London: Aspects of Change*, Glass laid the foundations for the discourse of gentrification that would not only evolve as an academic field of study in coming years, but also prove to be a relevant area of focus for communities extending far beyond London.

Throughout the evolution of the discourse of gentrification, the term itself has been defined in varying ways and used in a range of contexts. Sharon Zukin, an urban sociologist who teaches at Brooklyn College and City University of New York, has been one of the primary contributors to progress within the sociological discourse of gentrification. While Zukin would likely be the first to admit that gentrification is a complex social phenomena that should not be over-simplified or generalized, she offers the following definition of gentrification as a foundational point of understanding the topic: “Gentrification is the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use” (1987:129). Similarly, the dictionary definition of gentrification is “the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents” (Merriam-Webster,

2017). In a 2003 article published for PBS describing urban changes in American cities, Benjamin Grant, an urban designer and city planner based out of San Francisco, stated, “Gentrification is a general term for the arrival of wealthier people in an existing urban district, a related increase in rents and property values, and changes in the district’s character and culture” (2003).

Equally important to defining gentrification, is gaining an understanding of the connotations that are often present when discussing this phenomenon. The term gentrification can often invoke very different responses relative to the populations using the term. When discussing gentrification occurring in American communities, the presence of a competitive capitalist market is seen by some to outweigh arguments concerning the social inequality that often results. In this type of capitalist market economy, the primary goal of land development is to maximize profit (Lees, Slater, & Wyly: 2008). From a strictly capitalist viewpoint, gentrification is seen as natural economic process in which those with the buying power to own desirable land will do so in order to serve their best interests. Examining gentrification with a focus on social inequality comes with its own set of implications as well. “New tastes displace those of longtime residents because they reinforce the images in politicians’ rhetoric of growth, making the city a 24/7 entertainment zone with safe, clean, predictable space and modern, upscale neighborhoods” (Zukin 2010:4). The sociological approach to studying the potential negative consequences of gentrification does not seek to deny that the long-term residents of a gentrifying community faced significant struggles prior to the arrival or affluent newcomers, nor does it seek to deny that newcomers may be bring

potential benefits to the community. Rather, the discourse is concerned with whom is able to access the benefits that occur during this type of urban renewal, and who is forced to face the consequences.

Gentrification is a frontier on which fortunes are made. From the perspective of working-class residents and their neighborhoods, however, the frontier is more directly political rather than economic. Threatened with displacement as the frontier of profitability advances, the issue for them is to fight for the establishment of a political frontier behind which working-class residents can take back control of their homes: there are two sides to any frontier. (N. Smith 1986:34)

As the discourse of gentrification has evolved, so has the language used within it. Important distinctions need to be made in order to properly understand the content provided in literature on gentrification. For example, the term “displacement” is frequently used in this literature, and should not be considered one and the same with “gentrification.” While it is often a consequence of gentrification, displacement refers to the movement of populations out of an area they previously resided in due to external pressures. The language used to describe the actions taken by gentrifiers is equally important. Slater argues that, “to use a term like ‘revitalization’ or ‘regeneration’ to characterize the implosion of low-income public housing projects in favor of mixed-income developments, is analytically erroneous and politically conservative.” (2011:573) This process is frequently referred to as “urban redevelopment” in order to avoid the downplaying connotations that are often applied to gentrification. Urban redevelopment describes the changes occurring in urban areas without insinuating a premature stance on the positive or negative factors that may come to be associated with such a process.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GENTRIFICATION

In order to understand both how and why gentrification is occurring in communities on a global scale, it is essential to acknowledge the historical context of urban living that predates gentrification. The initial groundwork for modern urban society can be traced back to a time period commonly referred to as the “urban transition” in which the majority of human populations relocated from rural living to urban living. This was largely influenced by changes in technology and industrialism that made city life more beneficial than rural life for many individuals. Demographer John R. Weeks states, “Most of us take the city for granted, some curse it, some find its attractions irresistible, but no one denies that urban life is the center of modern civilization” (2016:344). The urban transition laid some of the earliest foundations for gentrification (indirectly) by concentrating most populations within urban areas.

Among the most significant forms of urban change that influenced gentrification is the process of “suburbanization”, particularly in American communities. Suburbanization refers to the movement of large populations from the urban core of cities into connected or nearby satellite communities known as suburban communities “suburbs” for short (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008). Demographer John Iceland (2014) argues that U.S. policy has played a key role in making America the most suburban-dominated nation in the world through investments in highways, home ownership tax incentives, relatively low gas prices,

large scale zoning projects for family housing, and lower quality public schools in urban city centers. These aspects of suburban living, among many others, have historically made residing outside of urban city centers appealing to those Americans who can afford to do so.

To assume that the benefits of suburban life were the sole causation for the massive migration of residents from urban locations would be a mistake. The desire of many wealthy white residents to live in racially segregated communities in the 20th century played an important role in this relocation, commonly referred to as “white flight” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008). “The black-white color line has been a very rigid one, reinforced by discrimination and sometimes violence directed toward blacks” (Iceland 2014:172). While not all American suburban communities enforced “whites only” policies, economic inequality and social divisions often enabled suburban neighborhoods to become extremely homogenous. While suburbanization refers to the migration of populations from urban communities to suburban communities, it is equally important to consider what, and who, was left behind.

Since the early 1900s, immigrant populations relocating to American cities have tended to settle in central urban neighborhoods due to the close proximity to work opportunities (Burgess 1925). In addition to these immigrant populations, black American populations also relocated in large numbers to urban city centers (Iceland 2014). As a result, a high concentration of low-income and racial minority residents became highly concentrated in American city centers. As suburbanization and white flight accelerated dramatically in midcentury America, the geographic

racial divide became increasingly significant. While wealthy white Americans abandoned their homes in urban neighborhoods to relocate to growing suburban developments, they left a lasting impact in their trail. In addition to concentrating their wealth outside of urban districts, the suburbanizing populations created city centers that were predominantly made up of low-income minority populations, thus reducing the perceived value of these areas in the eyes of discriminatory investors (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008).

In 2001, geographers Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith published the “Stage Model of Gentrification” in order to provide a tool for tracking the stages of gentrification occurrences in history. Hackworth and Smith (2001) argued that gentrification had gone through three “waves”, with transitional periods dividing them. The waves consisted of periods of sporadic gentrification, the anchoring of gentrification, and a return of gentrification. By examining over 30 years of data related to gentrification, Hackworth and Smith (2001) were able to contribute to the historical understanding of gentrification within the larger discourse.

The first wave of the Stage Model of Gentrification begins in the 1950s and ends in 1973 during the global economic recession (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008). During this time period, gentrification was rather sporadic and isolated to specific neighborhoods in the United States and Europe. Government reinvestment into inner city areas was a common tactic used by communities experiencing urban decline. These actions of public sector reinvestment set the precedent for funneling money into declining urban neighborhoods in order to increase their value, while focusing on the land value rather than on the residents currently occupying the land.

A transitional phase followed the first wave when the 1973 global economic recession hit. As property values declined rapidly, wealthy investors purchased large amounts of property in neighborhoods hit hard by the recession (Hackworth & Smith 2001).

The second wave of gentrification begins in the late 1970s following the global economic recession and continues throughout the 1980s. During this wave, gentrification experienced a boom effect in which it became geographically widespread and increasingly economically significant. “In contrast to the pre-1973 experience of gentrification, the process becomes common in smaller, non-global cities during the 1980s... Intense political struggles occur during this period over the displacement of the poorest residents” (Hackworth & Smith 2001:477). Once again, this wave came to an end as a result of economic recession during the early 1990s. At this point, gentrification rapidly began to slow and many researchers argued that we were witnessing “degentrification” that would reverse the previous outcomes (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008).

The third wave of the Stage Model of Gentrification began as economic stability rose in the mid 1990s. Quickly disputing the beliefs of degentrification occurring, communities globally began to gentrify on even larger scale than second wave gentrification during the 1980s (Hackworth & Smith 2001). A significant change in the process of gentrification occurred during this wave as large-scale developers begin to redevelop entire neighborhoods and communities, often with state funding (Hackworth & Smith 2001). Third wave gentrification represents the

most recognizable forms of the process and is arguably the most relevant wave to the type of urban change we are still witnessing today.

Ultimately, the conditions that gave birth to impoverished and minority-dominated American city centers can be simplified by focusing on class and racial inequality. The literature on gentrification clearly provides evidence for the significance of historical inequality influencing this type of urban change. The forms of stratification that enabled some populations to abandon urban living in past decades remain active today as they enable the same populations to reclaim urban communities with little resistance.

THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION

While contributors to the discourse of gentrification may vary on some aspects of what does and what does not constitute gentrification, there are two primary components of this process that remain constant. The first component involves the movement of a population. Specifically, the population that is making the initial movement is an affluent or wealthy population. This population (often referred to as the “gentry”) relocates to an area that is occupied primarily by residents of a lower socioeconomic status. This movement is what ignites the spark for potential gentrification to occur as a result of conflicting interests and economic power between the wealthier and poorer residents now living in close proximity to one another. This leads us to the second essential component of the process of gentrification, in which the presence of the affluent newcomers influences the existing conditions within the community in a way that challenges the ability of

long-term residents to remain present in their homes. These components offer a foundational understanding of gentrification, but as the literature shows, this process can quickly become more complex and susceptible to a range of outside variables.

Gentry Relocation

The motives for a wealthy population to relocate to a low-income urban area vary by population and location. For some, the practical aspects of living in the city, such as being closer to work and having access to more amenities, is the driving force. For others, the cultural character and diversity of the inner city is found to be extremely desirable. Regardless of motivation, in recent years wealthy populations on a global scale have taken an interest in moving into and altering urban communities (Lees, Shin, & Lopez-Morales 2016).

It is however important to acknowledge that gentrifying populations rarely relocate out of spite or malice towards longtime residents (Freeman 2006). In fact, when interviewed, many members of gentrifying populations express a desire to integrate with longtime residents and to be a part of a diverse community (Freeman 2010). The terms “yuppie” and “hipster” are often attributed to wealthy, liberal, white populations who find the character of urban areas irresistible. For some of these populations, their decision to relocate to the city, frequently out of suburban neighborhoods, is driven by a desire to mix with others and abandon the homogeneity of their current setting. “Gentrifiers also appear to have a higher tolerance for risk and seek out ‘gritty’ areas, often on the edge of ‘ghetto’

neighborhoods, with this preference varying by the timing in which a gentrifier enters a neighborhood” (Hwang & Sampson 2014:728) Good intentions are worth noting, but they do not serve to reduce the potential impacts of gentrification felt by longtime residents.

The ability to gentrify a community comes primarily from the relocating population’s socioeconomic freedom. The buying power to relocate to an impoverished area and redevelop it to accommodate one’s desires is not something that all Americans possess. As a result, those with this economic power are able to dictate and influence the future of urban communities as gentrification progresses. Upon relocation, the wealth of gentrifiers presents a series of inadvertent changes to the community.

Influence of Gentry

Following the arrival of a newcomers into economically depressed urban areas, patterns of influence begin to occur which impact longtime residents of the community. While a wide range of influences can occur as a result of gentrification, there are several general forms that this type of urban change commonly takes on. The impact of gentrification on the housing market is arguably the most significant aspect of change that can be seen in communities during gentrifying processes. Additionally, general cost of living can be dramatically altered during gentrification due to changes in perceived value of a given community as well as changes to the active commercial sector that is present. Finally, gentrification can influence sweeping changes to the cultural standing of a community brought on by

newcomers to the area. “This sunny view of ‘revitalization’ and ‘renaissance’ ignored the harsh realities of poverty, displacement, and chronic shortages of affordable housing” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008).

RESIDENTIAL GENTRIFICATION

One of the primary theories used to study the impacts of gentrification on the housing market is known as the Rent Gap Theory, and was developed by Neil Smith in 1979. In this theory the “gap” is representative of the difference between the actual economic return from a piece of land in its present use, and the potential economic return if the land were put to its optimal use (Smith 1979). The theory suggests that as the rent gap grows, the potential for profitable redevelopment increases. “In a competitive market economy, new urban development is geared to maximize profit: landowners, developers, and everyone else involved in the development process all have incentives to use a particular land parcel for the most profitable function possible” (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008:51). In short, as outside investors witness the economic potential of urban land parcels rise, the incentive to gain control and profit off of these areas grows.

Following outside investors’ decision to redevelop residential properties in economically depressed urban areas, the interest of middle and upper class residents to relocate begins to rise. Gentrifying populations may develop an interest in relocating to central urban neighborhoods for a variety of reasons, but will typically only do so when efforts have already been made to improve housing options that will appeal to these newcomers (Freeman 2006). New residential

developments in impoverished urban neighborhoods are typically built specifically to target outside residents of a higher socioeconomic status than longtime residents. Once this process of residential redevelopment has started, it has the potential to rapidly gain momentum. As developers and investors begin to recognize the profit potential of land parcels in urban neighborhoods, the perceived value of the land is raised (Smith 1982).

The next stage of gentrifications impact on a communities housing market involves an increased appeal to new potential residents, who desire the geographic location and benefits of a central urban location, but also expect higher quality housing options than what was previously available. In order to meet this demand, more housing redevelopment often occurs, typically in conjunction with rising property values. "Speculation on real estate has been closely associated with gentrification debates due to its impact on both one production of gentrifiable properties and people's desire to accumulate wealth by investing in real estate properties" (Lees, Shin, & Lopez-Morales 2016:35). The economic potential created by real estate investment plays a crucial role in the rapid expansion of housing redevelopment in gentrifying communities.

The residential impacts of gentrification are arguably the most measurable and substantial changes experienced by residents. If residents are unable to continue residing in their homes as a result of price increases driven up by gentrification, other concerns such as commercial and cultural gentrification are secondary problems. In predominantly low-income urban areas, a majority of residents are likely to be home renters rather than homeowners (Lees, Slater, &

Wyly 2008). Renters are particularly vulnerable to residential gentrification as they face the threat of potential rent hikes due to increasing property values.

Residential gentrification not only threatens the ability of longtime residents to remain in their homes, but also creates barriers for future populations to enter the housing market of the community. By driving up property values, the gentry creates a scenario in which low-income residents who rent homes are squeezed out and any newcomers to the area must be of a high enough socioeconomic status to meet the demands of the market.

COMMERCIAL GENTRIFICATION

The literature on gentrification shows that the influence of wealthy newcomers extends outside of the home. While cost of rent and home prices can have a dramatic impact on longtime residents, additional factors often exist that can result in displacement pressure. The ability of longtime residents to remain in their neighborhoods despite an influx of wealthy populations is heavily influenced by their access to goods and services (Freeman 2006). Without the ability to access necessary resources within a reasonable proximity to one's home, the practicality of remaining in the area is called into question.

“Commercial” or “retail” gentrification is a process that refers to changes to the commercial and business standings of a community as a result of gentrification. This is a frequently observed phenomenon during gentrification, as residents begin to notice changes in storefronts and dining options occurring around them. Commercial gentrification typically occurs after the housing market of the given

community has already been gentrified, or is in the process of doing so, and takes on a similar form to the process of residential gentrification (Zukin 2010). “New retail entrepreneurs come to a neighborhood for the economic opportunity, because they see that the population is beginning to change to men and women with a higher social profile and more disposable income and they want to start a business that caters to their tastes” (Zukin 2010:19).

Commercial gentrification is often associated with the arrival of upscale businesses that wealthy newcomers are likely to find attractive, but low-income, long-term residents are likely to be unable to utilize. Freeman states, “Here whites are viewed as a group that will not tolerate inferior services. Cognizant of this, stores and providers of public services step up their performance to accommodate the new clientele” (2006:99). Retail gentrification presents a unique threat in densely developed urban areas due to the fact that these new businesses often require existing buildings to be repurposed. In this type of scenario, existing businesses that once served long-term residents may be replaced by those specifically targeting newcomers. Zukin argues, “New retail entrepreneurs are also, in a sense, social entrepreneurs. By opening places of socialibility where new residents feel comfortable – and longtime residents do not – they help to create a neighborhood’s new beginnings” (2010:20).

The crucial aspect to consider when analyzing cases of commercial gentrification is that of accessibility. Who are incoming and remaining goods and services accessible to? If residents, both longtime and newcomers, are able to access the goods and services that they require, then commercial gentrification is not

occurring. However, if businesses in a community take an overall shift towards increased prices that can only be met by newcomers, commercial gentrification becomes a very real concern for longtime residents.

Commercial gentrification ultimately becomes a displacement pressure on longtime residents if it reduces their ability to meet the financial demands of remaining in their community. “The improvements taking place are perceived as being targeted to others and not themselves. Gentrification is then a process designed to benefit whites and certainly not long-term residents” (Freeman 2010:105). Although impoverished areas often lack basic retail options, which are sometimes introduced during gentrification, the ability to utilize these options is paramount when determining if they serve any benefit to longtime residents. The opening of a Fry’s or Basha’s in a gentrifying neighborhood has a different impact than the opening of a Whole Foods, for example.

PROCESSES OF CULTURAL CHANGE

One of the less quantifiable, yet equally significant, impacts that can come as a result of gentrification is that of cultural shifts. Keeping in mind that gentrification must occur in communities that have been occupied by populations for substantial periods of time, cultures and customs within the area have typically been established. While existing cultural characteristics may be a hybrid produced by different subcultures within a given community, they are still organic in the sense that they were shaped and grown by the longtime residents. In many cases

gentrification can threaten to diminish and replace the cultural standings of longtime residents in effected communities.

Displacement goes beyond 'physical' displacement of residents from their dwellings, and encompasses the phenomenological displacement that occurs due to the increase in displacement pressures as neighborhoods change their characteristics and the way of life of the previous inhabitants faces extinction (Lees, Bang Shin, & Lopez-Morales 2016)

In her 2010 book *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*, Sharon Zukin focuses heavily on the cultural shifts that can occur during processes of gentrification. In comparison to the cookie-cutter model of development typically found in suburban communities, many affluent populations see urban areas as "authentic" and as having "character" to them. Zukin states, "We can see 'authentic' spaces only from outside them. Mobility gives us the distance to view a neighborhood as connoisseurs, to compare it to an absolute standard of urban experience" (2010:20). The perceived authenticity of a community may be viewed as an attractive cultural commodity to newcomers, but they tend to, often unintentionally, replace the original cultural characteristics of the community with their own. Gentrifying populations commonly express attraction to "bohemian-like" settings that tolerate diversity (Hwang & Sampson 2014). The bohemian and artist community characteristics appeal to gentrifiers, though they often do not realize that their cultural and economic standings are ultimately what can displace the individuals who gave the community its cultural identity.

As is the case with residential and commercial gentrification, the cultural shifts that occur can take on a range of forms, often directly related. As businesses change to cater to the tastes of gentrifying newcomers, they not only potentially out-

price longtime residents, but also chip away at the cultural establishments that exist within the community. “Businesses such as art galleries, yoga studios, clothing boutiques, and restaurants appeal to the discretionary tastes and incomes of newcomers and nonlocal consumers; longtime residents are less likely to want or be able to afford these goods and services” (Hwang & Sampson 2014:415). Changes to the cultural tastes being catered to by businesses and other establishments in gentrifying communities can ultimately act as a displacement pressure due to the alienation felt by longtime residents (Sullivan & Shaw 2011).

POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

The discussion surrounding how to reduce the negative impacts of gentrification is continuously in action and moving in different directions. While there is certainly not a blanket consensus regarding how to stop gentrification from occurring, there are multiple arguments for how to control the process in a way that limits the vulnerability of longtime residents of a lower socioeconomic status.

Rent Control

Due to the common issue of rent hikes during gentrification, which can lead to displacement, arguments for rent control have been suggested by some as a tool to reduce negative impacts on residents. Rent control involves regulation that protects renters from being subject to dramatic increases in rent over short periods of time. “Restricting rent increases and protecting against eviction are necessary parts of any anti-displacement strategy” (Marcuse 1985:942). Because residential

cost increases are some of the most directly impactful consequences of gentrification, rent control is agreed by many to be a crucial step in damage control (Lees, Slater, & Wyly 2008).

Rent control is typically discussed in relation to existing residencies, but can also apply to new developments in gentrifying areas. Affordable housing developments present a possibility for rent controlled living spaces in areas experiencing or at risk of gentrification. Unfortunately, publicly funded affordable housing projects have a history of crime and neglect in the United States, leading them to be seen as undesirable by many residents and city planners (Goetz 2011).

Longtime Resident Input

A less concrete, but equally interesting, argument for reducing the negative impacts of gentrification calls for giving a voice to longtime residents that allows them to provide input regarding the future of their community. Gentrification often results in longtime residents feeling “silenced” and removed from the conversation of choice in their neighborhoods. The physical and cultural changes that occur during gentrification commonly exist despite vocal opposition from longtime residents (Zukin et al. 2009). If developers made an effort to take input from longtime residents regarding the redevelopment projects occurring in their community, not only could it potentially reduce displacement, but in doing so might also be able to drive social integration by making the community desirable for newcomers and longtime residents alike.

Community Integration Efforts

Displacement and other negative consequences of gentrification are often associated with a failure of newcomers and longtime residents to integrate. In many gentrifying communities, these two populations become closer only in a geographical sense, and they often have little interaction with one another (Slater 2010). The decision of where gentrifiers send their children to school is a prime example of how the physical relocation of new populations can easily hold on to past forms of segregation. Many parents in gentrifying populations desire to live in urban areas, but do not view the school options as adequate and thus send their children to schools outside of their district (DeSena 2006). This prevents childhood integration and contributes to the “us and them” dynamic between longtime residents and newcomers. Initiatives to put resources into schools and other services that benefit both longtime residents and newcomers has the potential to increase integration, benefiting all members of the changing communities at hand.

Due to the lack of consensus regarding how to best reduce the negative impacts of gentrification, a strong argument can be made for applying different elements of the above strategies in accordance with the given community. Gentrification does not have a “one size fits all” solution, due the complex nature of its process as a social problem. Continued efforts by planners, academics, and residents to understand gentrification as a whole is a crucial step in right direction toward minimizing the consequences that currently exist.

CHAPTER THREE

HUMAN ECOLOGY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sociological theory addressing urban organization and change is a major component of the larger discourse and predates the conceptualization of gentrification. Like other sub-disciplines of sociology, theoretical frameworks are used in urban sociology as a tool for providing context and understanding to collected data or observed phenomena. The diversity that exists within urban sociological theories has resulted in a broad range of perspectives concerning how urban change operates. The application of theoretical frameworks offered by urban sociologists allows for contemporary research to be carried out in a way that demonstrates consistency and context.

While many important urban sociological theories do not directly acknowledge or focus on gentrification, the foundational concepts that they argue for serve as a valuable tool for analyzing how gentrification functions. Many of these theories focus on macro-level urban issues, which become useful when one wishes to apply the frameworks to different locations and scenarios. This research was guided by sociological theory in the interdisciplinary field of human ecology.

HUMAN ECOLOGY

Human Ecology is a school of thought developed as a tool to be used for studying relationships between human populations and their environments. By adapting ecological principals to sociology, this school of thought sought to understand the actions of human populations in relation to observed patterns in

nature. While sociology and ecology serve as the core disciplines of human ecology, other academic disciplines play important roles in rounding out this approach to human studies.

In the 1920s, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess developed human ecology into a sociological discourse. Park and Burgess were members of the Chicago School of Sociology, which specialized in urban studies. In 1925 Park and Burgess published *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment*. *The City* focused on theoretical approaches to studying human-environment relationships and borrowed from related disciplines including geography, ecology, economics, and of course sociology. *The City* is arguably the most significant work published in the field of human ecology, and remains a useful tool in contemporary urban studies. Additional contributions from members of the Chicago School, such as R.D. McKenzie, George Herbert Mead, and Louis Wirth have strengthened this sociological approach to urban studies.

Amos H. Hawley, a student of R.D. McKenzie of the Chicago School, also played an important role in advancing the discipline of human ecology. As a professor teaching Sociology at the University of Michigan, Hawley published *Human Ecology* in 1950. *Human Ecology* served to concentrate the theoretical developments of the discipline in a holistic fashion. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the discourse, a great deal of relevant publications needed to be condensed and connected. Hawley's work in *Human Ecology* enabled the school of thought to become significantly more concise than it had been in previous years.

The overarching focus of human ecology on human-environment relationships allowed for those in the discipline to offer a range of perspectives and approaches to be used. Additionally, conceptual models designed by Park, McKenzie, Burgess, and others in the field provided practical approaches to understanding the organization and movement of human populations. The theoretical frameworks within the discipline of human ecology allow for context and supported perspective when applied to urban studies, and specifically to gentrification for the purposes of this research.

CONCENTRIC ZONE MODEL

In *The City* Burgess dedicates a chapter to discussing the process of urban growth and population expansion. Burgess argued that the expansion of American cities was occurring at a dramatic rate and deserved the attention of scholars, planners, and developers alike. “In the United States the transition from a rural to an urban civilization, though beginning later than in Europe, has taken place, if not more rapidly and completely, at any rate more logically in its most characteristic forms” (Burgess 1925:47). Burgess sought to understand the organization of populations present in American cities and explain their movement within urban districts.

The Concentric Zone Model, sometimes referred to as the Burgess Model, was developed in an effort to designate different areas of cities based on their structural and demographic characteristics. “The typical process of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles” stated Burgess,

“which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion” (1925:50).

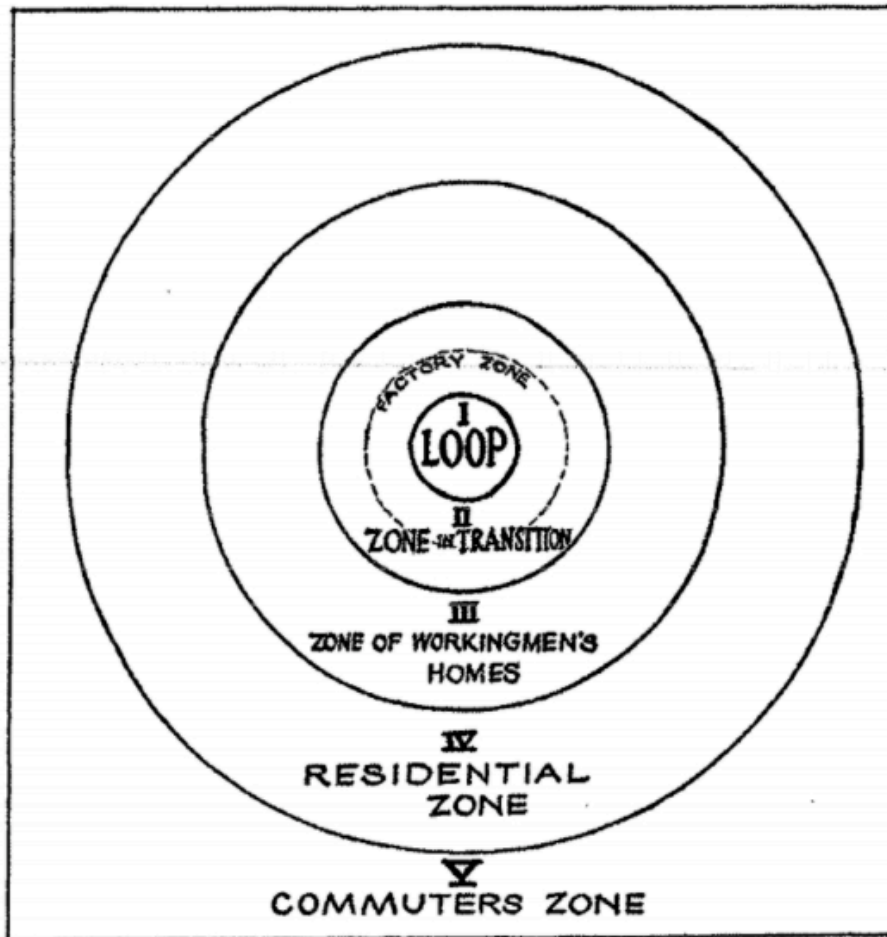


CHART I. The Growth of the City

Fig. 1 Concentric Zone Model Source: (Burgess 1925)

Starting from the core of the model, Burgess explains the defining characteristics of each zone. The concentric zones emerge outward from what Burgess refers to as “The Loop” (I). The loop represents the central business district of the city. This zone was both figuratively and literally centralized, as it was home to the primary economic dealings of the city and was geographically the core of the city in which other districts were built around. Surrounding “The Loop” is the “Zone

in Transition” (II). “Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture” (Burgess 1925:50). Burgess suggested that the Zone in Transition was home to low-income workers who were located in the area due to the close proximity to industrial jobs. The third concentric zone is the “Zone of Workingmen’s Homes” (III). This zone was occupied by workers who have the socioeconomic ability to move out of the Zone in Transition, but still wish to be in close proximity to their places of work. The “Residential Zone” (IV) represents a significant increase in capital and socioeconomic status of the occupying residents. Burgess described this zone as having “high-class apartment buildings or exclusive ‘restricted’ districts of single family dwellings” (1925:50). The final zone, referred to as the “Commuters Zone” (V) is primarily representative of suburban districts occupied by residents who have the ability to commute to work and avoid the potential negative aspects of urban living (Burgess 1925).

This chart brings out clearly the main fact of expansion, namely, the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone. This aspect of expansion may be called succession, a process which has been studied in detail in plant ecology. (Burgess 1925)

While it is important to keep in mind the time period in which Burgess designed the Concentric Zone Model, the model itself has proven useful as years have passed and urban organization has gone through many periods of change. One of the most lasting contributions of the Concentric Zone Model is that it has provided a view of how American cities came to be organized in the early-to-mid 1900s. Using this view, researchers who follow the model are able to focus on ongoing patterns of human movement and organization within urban areas by

comparing them to the trends observed by Burgess. It is also worth noting that the Concentric Zone Model is regarded as significantly more useful when observing American cities, rather than international cities, as it based on historical observations that in many ways are unique to the United States.

For the purposes of this research, the Concentric Zone Model can be used to understand how human populations have often historically organized themselves within American cities, and compare that to what is being seen in contemporary American cities. While the Concentric Zone Model is not precisely accurate to every American city, it offers a foundation for asking questions about how and why urban districts become categorized in specific ways. In many aspects, communities experiencing contemporary gentrification show aspects of this model and are representative of the arguments presented by Burgess.

The Zone in Transition, or Zone II, in the Concentric Zone Model is of particular interest when applying the model to studies of gentrification. First of all, the working class nature of this zone results in characteristics that may be linked to setting the conditions that enable gentrification to occur. Due to the existence of factories and industrial jobs within Zones of Transition, many vulnerable populations have historically occupied these areas. Industrial work often attracted immigrant populations in American cities that increased the density of racial and ethnic minority populations in certain areas. Additionally, the industrial occupations available to workers in Zones of Transition were typically low paying and resulted in a confined population with a low socioeconomic status occupying these areas (Burgess 1925). Finally, suburbanization no doubt contributed to the struggles of

those living in Zones of Transition as it drew increasing amounts of wealth out of inner city areas and into satellite communities (Iceland 2014).

Using Concentric Zone Theory, one can see how historical forms of organization within transitional zones created conditions that are consistent with those that are argued to be foundational to the process of gentrification. Similarly, the same argument can be made about Working Class Zones in the model, or Zone III. While the conditions of these zones are not viewed as being as impoverished as transitional zones by Burgess, they still lack the benefits and capital of residential and commuter zones. Working class zones are primarily developed for residential use, most commonly being made up of single-family residences (Burgess 1925). When considering that increases in the rent gap are occurring, the Working Class Zone is arguably one of areas most susceptible to gentrification within a city due to the relatively low cost of redeveloping and remodeling housing units in an effort to raise property values. Additionally, working class zones are already legally zoned for residential use, preventing the often lengthy and expensive process of rezoning a district for alternative uses (Platt 1997).

The predominant value of using this model as a guide for this research is the effectiveness it has as a functional tool for asking questions about population movement in urban communities. In areas experiencing gentrification, how does the district organization present in the Concentric Zone Model change? Most significantly, we can see a relocation of residents from residential and commuter zones (IV and V) into transitional and working class zones (II and III). In this type of movement, the populations relocating from the commuter and residential zones

represent the gentrifiers, while the residents of the transitional and working class zones represent the longtime populations who are vulnerable to potential gentrification. Taking this perspective both acknowledges the historical importance of social organization in the Concentric Zone Model and allows for contemporary forms of population movement to be applied to the pre-existing zones presented by Burgess.

An equally interesting question raised by applying the Concentric Zone Model to gentrification is where displaced residents, who have historically occupied the inner zones of the model, will relocate. If gentrification occurred full-scale, and the entire populations of residential and commuter zones chose to relocate to the inner zones of the city and abandon their previously occupied areas, one could argue that the displaced residents of the inner city would be able to occupy the suburban and satellite communities. However, gentrification has not been observed to occur on such a dramatic scale, thus the question remains: to where do displaced residents of the inner zones relocate? The use of the Concentric Zone Model for the purposes of this research concludes at this point, as it has served its purpose of showing the historical organizations of American cities, while also acting as a flexible tool that can be used to view the conditions and actions that occur during gentrification.

CONDITIONS AND STAGES OF INTRA-COMMUNITY INVASIONS

R.D. McKenzie, a member of the Chicago School of Sociology, was also a contributor to the human ecology discourse presented in *The City*. McKenzie authored

one chapter of the book, titled “The Ecological Approach” in which he focused on tightening the relationship between studies of population and demography with ecology. In this early stage of the discourse, McKenzie defined human ecology as “a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment” (1925:64). McKenzie’s work in *The City* would later serve as a major influence for Hawley as he synthesized *Human Ecology* in 1950.

While the overall contributions made by McKenzie to the field of human ecology should not be overlooked, several of his specific theoretical approaches prove to stand out as especially useful for this study. McKenzie was particularly interested in what he called “intra-community invasions” within human populations, which in short refers to population relocation within communities that is seen as invasive. “And just as in plant communities successions are the products of invasion, so also in the human community the formations, segregations, and associations that appear constitute the outcome of a series of invasions” (McKenzie 1925:74).

Additionally, McKenzie argued that while multiple types of intra-community invasions exist, there are two main forms in which they typically take on: “those resulting in change in use of land, and those which introduce merely change in type of occupant” (1925:74). For the purposes of this study, intra-community invasions that introduce change to the type of occupant are particularly relevant as they reflect the primary concerns of gentrification. With that said, changes to use of land can also be present during gentrification (circumstances of commercial

gentrification, for example). Applicable to either form of invasion, McKenzie (1925) identified what he believed to be the most important conditions necessary for invasion to occur.

1. Changes in forms and routes of transportation
2. Obsolescence resulting from physical deterioration or from changes in use or fashion
3. The erection of important public or private structures, buildings, bridges, institutions, which have either attractive or repellent significance
4. The introduction of new types of industry, or even a change in the organizations of existing industries
5. Changes in the economic base which make for redistribution of income, thus necessitating change of resident
6. Real estate promotion creating sudden demands for special location sites, etc.

(McKenzie 1925:75)

While McKenzie was not suggesting that these conditions would necessarily result in intra-community invasion, he argued that they played the most important roles in the standing of a community that was experiencing intra-community invasion. These conditions show an obvious parallel with many of the conditions that allow gentrification to occur, particularly conditions 5 and 6. While McKenzie's conditions that initiate invasion predate the coining of the term "gentrification" by almost 40 years, in many ways his concepts seem to refer to very similar urban phenomena.

McKenzie expanded on his theory of intra-community invasion significantly by following his section describing the conditions of invasion with an explanation of the stages of development that occur during intra-community invasion. McKenzie argued that intra-community invasions occurred over time and act as an ongoing process for the communities impacted. The classifications of invasion stage

developments are the initial stage, the secondary or developmental stage, and the climax.

“The initial stage of an invasion has to do with the point of entry, the resistance or inducement offered the invader by the prior inhabitants of the area, the effect upon land values and rentals” (McKenzie 1925:75). During the initial stage, contact and interaction first occurs between in the invading population and the current occupiers of the community. When applied to gentrification, the initial stage would be seen as occurring when affluent populations begin to relocate to historically impoverished urban areas. However, one could also argue that the initial stage of invasion could also include the point of gentrification in which affluent populations begin investing money into a community’s redevelopment prior to their relocation to the community.

McKenzie also states, “the resistance to invasion depends upon the type of the invader together with the degree of solidarity of the present occupants” (1925:75). The existence of group solidarity when resisting gentrification raises some interesting points. While populations resisting gentrification typically face an uphill battle due to economic inequality that exists between them and the gentrifiers, social resistance should not be entirely overlooked. While observing areas that are experiencing gentrification, I have noticed signs of local opposition to the urban change occurring. While visiting Oakland, California in the Spring of 2016, I walked past one of many new office buildings being built to house a major tech company. Across the side of the building in large spray painted letters “GENTRIFICATION” was written. In the Southside neighborhood of Flagstaff, an

older residential property was recently demolished and replaced by a high-end apartment building. During the construction process, a sign was put up on the fence of the property that said “Hope Construction”. Within a week the sign had been altered with spray paint to read “No Hope Construction”. Local residents may also demonstrate resistance to invading populations by protesting, speaking to newcomers about the impacts that they are facing, and working to support other longtime residents who are feeling threatened by the changes occurring in their community.

Regardless of whether or not resistance to invasion is successful, the stage of entry during invasion that McKenzie identifies is undeniably present during processes of gentrification. “The commencement of an invasion tends to be reflected in changes in land value. If the invasion is one of change in use the value of the land generally advances and the value of the building declines” (McKenzie 1925:76). The increase in land value observed by McKenzie during the early stages of invasion are reflected in many studies of gentrification that follow many years later, particularly apparent in the Rent Gap Model.

“During the course of development of an invasion into a new area, either of use or type, there takes place a process of displacement and selection determined by the character of the invader and of the area invaded” (McKenzie 1925:76). Again, in this stage McKenzie discusses intra-community invasion in a way that is incredibly consistent with explanations of gentrification, especially when considering the time period in which he published this work. Given a basic understanding of how gentrification works, the primary aspects of this stage need little comparison. An

obvious parallel exists between the invaders (gentrifiers) and the invaded (longtime residents).

McKenzie also covers aspects of intra-community invasion in the development stage that can be applied to commercial gentrification. “Business failures are common in such areas and the rules of competition are violated. As the process continues, competition forces associational groupings” (McKenzie 1925:76). One could argue that gentrification has the ability to drastically disrupt business competition, as gentry businesses typically have the economic power to buy out their competitors in impoverished areas. Additionally, many businesses in gentrifying areas are likely to benefit from being surrounded by other establishments of a similar class (Zukin 2010). This creates the type of associational grouping discussed by McKenzie as new businesses may have a motive to associate with and support other new establishments rather than older ones.

The primary focus of the development stage of intra-community invasion involves how the process perpetuates an “us and them” dynamic between the invaders and the invaded. During gentrification, this could be considered the period in which newcomers are entering a community, redeveloping property, and establishing their cultural tastes, while longtime residents are still present overall but feeling pressure to either resist or become displaced. It is also important to note that this is the point, during intra-community invasions and gentrification, in which efforts can still be made to reduce negative impacts on longtime residents. Once the development stage has ended, damage control involving how vulnerable populations are impacted becomes a lost cause.

The final stage of intra-community invasion is referred to by McKenzie as the “climax stage” during which the invasion has reached a tipping point. “The climax stage is reached in the invasion process, once the dominant type of ecological organization emerges which is able to withstand the intrusions of other forms of invasion” (McKenzie 1925:77). During the climax stage, one of the opposing populations is victorious in their goal of either invading or fending off an invasion. In a gentrifying community, the climax stage would occur either when the newcomers have successfully occupied the area and altered it to their desired tastes, or when longtime residents have been able to remain put and hold onto the established interests of their community.

McKenzie states, “Once a dominant use becomes established within an area, competition becomes less ruthless among the associational units, rules of control emerge, and invasion of a different use is for a time obstructed.” (McKenzie 1925:77). This stage represents the birth of new community ties for the successful population relative to the invasion process. Competition is no longer as steeply divided between the occupants of the area, and growing homogenous culture faces little resistance from outsiders.

The general effect of the continuous processes of invasions and accommodations is to give to the developed community well-defined areas, each having its own peculiar selective and cultural characteristics. Such units of communal life may be termed ‘natural areas’ or formations, to use the term of the plant ecologist. In any case, these areas of selection and function may comprise many subformations or associations which become part of the organic structure of the district or of the community as a whole. (McKenzie 1925:77)

One of the strengths of McKenzie's theoretical approach to studying intra-community invasion is that it relies on objective observation of community organization. The fact that this work is largely divorced from arguments regarding the moral and ethical aspects of invasion results in a useful tool for developing an unbiased perspective of urban change. In relation to gentrification, the moral and ethical dilemmas that exist are thoroughly covered by other scholars in the discourse. The use of McKenzie's conditions and stages of invasion allow for an understanding of the contextual process of how human populations relocate and occupy urban areas that is highly relevant to this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This study asks the questions: do observed demographic and residential changes to the Southside neighborhood of Flagstaff indicate gentrification, or risk of gentrification, occurring? Additionally, how do the demographic and residential conditions in the Southside compare to the conditions of the City of Flagstaff as a whole? The primary method used to answer these questions is quantitative data analysis focusing on secondary data made available by the United States Census Bureau. The analysis of residential and demographic data within a community allows for an understanding of urban changes occurring that may be linked to gentrification. This study aims to specifically focus on collected data that can be used to explain the type of urban change occurring in the Southside, the populations who are impacted, and the future implications that exist.

POPULATION & SAMPLE

The sample population used for the data in this study is made up of respondents to the American Community Survey (ACS) administered by the United States Census Bureau. The ACS is randomly sent to 3.5 million American households each year (census.gov). Residents who receive the survey are legally obligated to respond to the questionnaire as accurately as possible (census.gov). Due to the ongoing nature of the ACS, data from respondents can be compiled in order to make statistical estimates that are representative of a larger population. This study relies

on the 5-year estimates of ACS data. The ACS 5-year estimates for given areas are comprised of the selected ACS year and the four years of data prior. For example, the 2010 ACS 5-year estimates include data from 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010. The combining of this data enables for estimates that are likely to be more accurate and representative than data from individual years.

This study uses the sample of respondents from the American Community Survey rather than the United States Census due to the condensed timeline of available data. Because the United States Census is only administered once every ten years, there are decade-long gaps in the data that are problematic for the purposes of this research. The ACS enables this study to focus on the changes occurring at the census block group level over a relatively short period of time. This research examines populations of two defined areas, both in the Southside neighborhood and in the City of Flagstaff. Using the ACS, the sample populations will be representative of residents in the block group used to obtain data for the Southside, and the census place location of Flagstaff, Arizona. This study will thus use population samples for two different areas, and multiple time points based on selected survey samples.

LOCATION

The specificity of location is essential to this research in order to accurately link collected data to the defined area of the Southside. As is the case in many communities, different individuals may have conflicting ideas of what they do and do not consider a part of this neighborhood. In the case of Flagstaff's Southside neighborhood, different sources present different geographic boundaries when

discussing this area. This study acknowledges the boundaries of the neighborhood as determined by the City of Flagstaff, but relies on an overlapping census block group area in order to obtain data.

In a 2005 city planning document (*The Southside 2005 Plan*) published by the City of Flagstaff and outside consulting firms, an in-depth analysis of the conditions and boundaries of the Southside was compiled. The document included maps that clearly defined the geographic borders of the neighborhood in the eyes of the city. This information acts a useful source for this study as it verifies the widely agreed upon boundaries of the neighborhood according to the city and many residents.



Fig. 2 City of Flagstaff Map of the Southside (Source: The Southside 2005 Plan)

Collecting data on the census block group level was determined to be the most appropriate scale of data collection for this study. The census tract level that includes the Southside neighborhood stretches several miles to the east past the borders of the neighborhood as stated by the City of Flagstaff. Census Block Group 1 of Tract 8 (or BG1T8) was determined to be the closest match for obtaining census data related to the Southside. While the overlapping census block group is not identical to the boundaries of the Southside shown above, it covers a substantial portion of the same area.

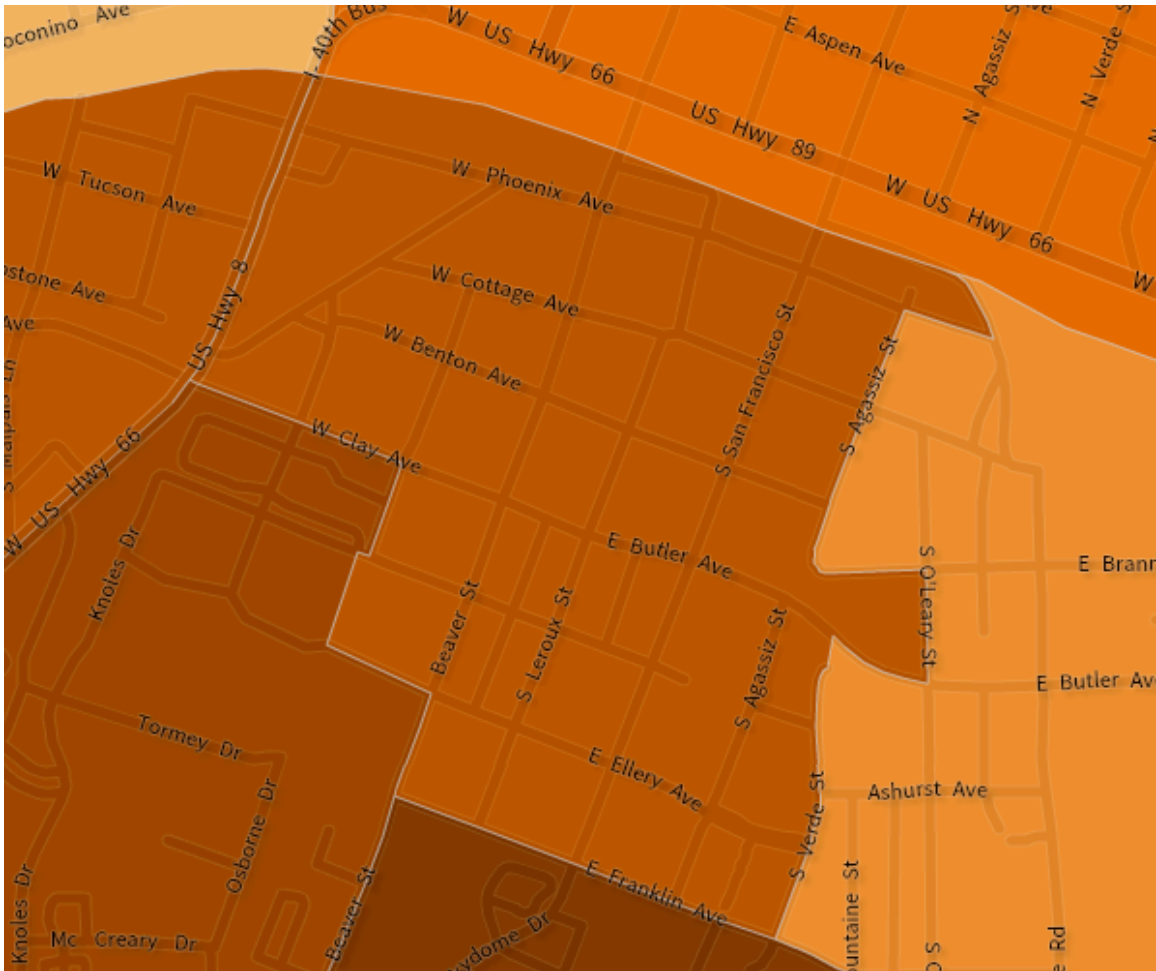


Fig. 3 U.S. Census Bureau Map of BG1T8(Source: Social Explorer)

The use of BG1T8 is appropriate for this study for a range of reasons beyond the fact that it shares a similar border to the Southside as defined by the City of Flagstaff. BG1T8 also covers several sections of the Southside that represent areas of interest in relation to gentrification. The section of the block group between East Franklin Avenue and East Butler Avenue is predominantly residential. This area also shares a border with the campus of Northern Arizona University, which likely plays a role in making the Southside a desirable place to live for many students. The data obtained from this section of the block group may be used to help analyze any significant changes to the population in the Southside as well as any significant changes to the types of housing options available. Additionally, the corridors of South San Francisco Street and South Beaver Street that extend from East Butler Avenue to Route 66 are bustling commercial sectors within the community. Although this study is not directly focusing on the potential commercial gentrification of the Southside, it is important to include these establishments in the research of location due to the influence they may have on surrounding areas of the neighborhood. Finally, BG1T8 covers the most densely developed areas of the Southside, contributing to a more representative sample of data for the Southside than other overlapping block groups.

This study also relies on research locations outside of BG1T8 in order to draw comparisons between the neighborhood of the Southside and the City of Flagstaff as a whole. For this purpose, the defined census place of Flagstaff, Arizona is used in order to show data representative of the entire community. The significance of collecting data for the surrounding community lies in the fact it

enables this study to ask questions about the uniqueness of any significant urban change occurring in the data. For example, if median household income is rising in BG1T8 at the same rate that it is in the census place of Flagstaff, then there is not a concern present that is unique to the Southside. However, if median household income is increasing at a rate in BG1T8 drastically higher than the rest of the community, questions need to be asked regarding the potential causes of the influx. By paying attention to these two defined locations, this study is able to determine what potential issues are unique to the Southside neighborhood relative to the City of Flagstaff as a whole.

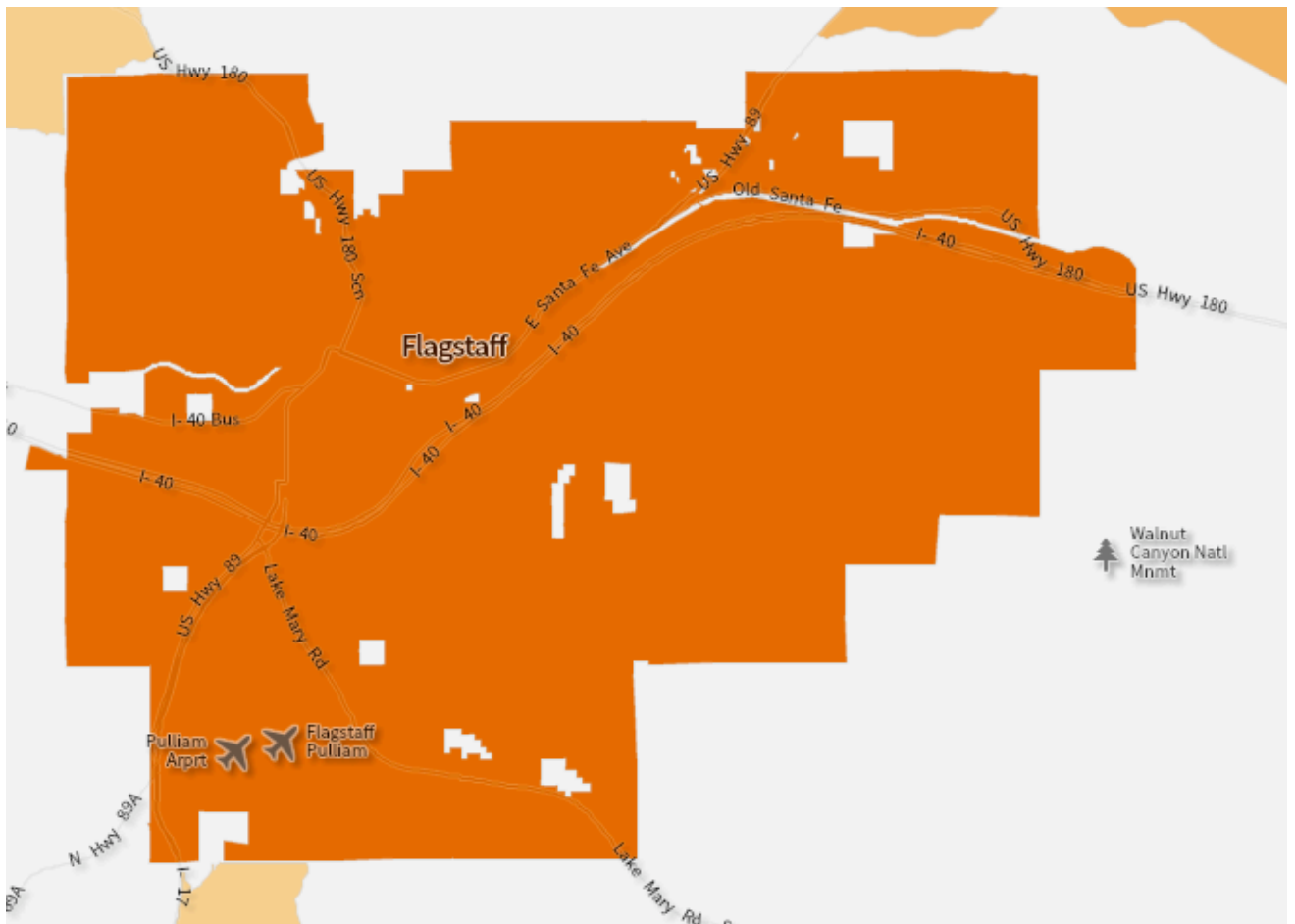


Fig. 4 City of Flagstaff Census Place Map (Source: Social Explorer)

INSTRUMENTATION

The data collection process of this study relies heavily on the use of the geospatial software program Social Explorer. Social Explorer contains the complete collections of public data made available by the United States Census Bureau. The software enables the user to overlay selected data onto specified geographic locations, down to the census block group level. For the purposes of this study, American Community Survey 5-year estimate data was viewed for BG1T8 in 2010 and 2014, and the City of Flagstaff in 2010 and 2014.

Social Explorer provides several tools that were used heavily in this study. First, Social Explorer enables the user to view maps showing the defined census areas such as county, place, tract, and block group. This enabled clear locations to be defined for use during this research. Additionally, Social Explorer offers a feature that compiles survey data based on selected surveys, years, and locations. This tool was used to catalog relevant data for the purposes of this research, which can later be analyzed.

The source of the data collected for this study using Social Explorer is the American Community Survey (ACS). This survey was first implemented in 2005 and has since been used as an ongoing form of data collection sent out in between the decennial U.S. Census. The ACS is based on previously used “long form” surveys sent out to some respondents of the U.S. Census. The questionnaire used by the ACS gathers significantly more detailed data than the standard U.S. Census questionnaire. The ACS also relies on sampling to collect data, as it is not sent to all

American households. The survey is sent to roughly 3.5 million American households each year (census.gov). The data collected by the ACS is combined with previous calendar years in order to create statistical estimates.

The U.S. Census Bureau recommends using ACS 5-year estimates for the study of small-scale populations and geographic locations. The 5-year estimates are available to view on the block group level, making them ideal for the purposes of this study. The use of 5-year estimates for the survey are also applicable to larger areas, and thus can be used for comparing the block group in this research (BG1T8) to the community of Flagstaff in its entirety.

PROCEDURES

The data collection procedures used in this research were primarily carried out using the report-generating features of Social Explorer. This process involved selecting ACS variables relevant to demographic and residential conditions that may be related to gentrification, compiling said variables for BG1T8 using ACS 5-year estimates for 2010 and 2014, and compiling said variables of the Flagstaff census place using 5-year estimates for 2010 and 2014. Following this data collection process, the data was organized into spreadsheets in preparation for comparisons and analysis to be made between locations and timeframes.

The process of selecting which ACS variables to collect was influenced by the literature review conducted for this study. Variables that indicated relevance to established factors of gentrification were selected and compiled. The selected variables were then organized by survey data, location, and categories of

demographic or residential. Following the initial data collection process, data sets were narrowed down to focus on appropriate variable measurements, for example, use of median household income as opposed to average household income. ACS data variables involving cash values were adjusted for inflation in 2014 dollars in order to allow for equivalent comparisons of economic changes.

Upon compiling data sets for BG1T8 (2010 and 2014 ACS 5-year estimates) and the Flagstaff census place (2010 and 2014 ACS 5-year estimates) organizational spreadsheets were created to allow for direct comparisons of variables in relation to location and timeframes. This organization allows for analysis between changes occurring within the Southside as shown by the 5-year estimates generated by the ACS. Additionally, these estimates can be compared to the greater Flagstaff area in order to determine if changes occurring in the Southside area are unique to the neighborhood, or rather are community-wide changes that are occurring.

VARIABLES

The initial data collection process of this study gathered a list of 40 ACS variables, and a selection of different measurement scales used in relation to variables. The complete list of collected variables can be seen in Appendix A. From the 40 variables initially gathered, refined measurements and specific variable forms were chosen for representation of relevant concerns in this study. This section will state the selected variables and provide justification for the use of chosen variables in this study. Following each variable are the numbers that correlate to their listing in Appendix A.

1. Population (*1, 2)

This study examines several variables related to population statistics of BG1T8 and the Flagstaff census place. The total population has been included to measure growth occurring in both research locations. Additionally, population density (per square mile) was collected. The population density allows for important comparisons to be made between the land occupied by individuals within the Southside relative to residents of the greater Flagstaff area.

2. Age (*7, 8)

Statistics related to the age of residents occupying the selected locations in this study are important for several reasons. One of the primary purposes of examining the age of residents within BG1T8 is to raise questions about the influence of Northern Arizona University bordering the Southside. It is likely that the Southside may be home to proportionately more residents in the age group of 18-24 than the greater Flagstaff area due to the college student population. Additionally, research on gentrification indicates that younger and middle-aged people often make up gentrifying populations. A rise in this age group's presence in BG1T8 may be discussed in relation to other factors related to potential gentrification.

3. Race (*10, 11, 13)

The existence of racial inequality is foundational to understanding many cases of gentrification in American communities. Urban change in the Southside should be studied in a way that acknowledges this significant demographic concern. Statistics on race enable this study to both observe any changes to the racial makeup of the Southside, and to compare the racial makeup of the Southside to the greater Flagstaff area. Specifically, the racial data observed in this study allows for analysis of concerns regarding the potential displacement of racial minorities in the Southside. Additionally, this data is useful in determining if certain racial groups are more concentrated in the Southside area compared to the greater Flagstaff area.

4. Education (*15, 16)

Data related to educational attainment can be very useful in research on gentrification, and is particularly relevant to research on the Southside due to the presence of Northern Arizona University on the border of this neighborhood. ACS data showing educational attainment for populations in BG1T8 and the greater Flagstaff area will allow this study to determine if degree-holding residents are becoming more concentrated in the Southside area. The ACS also includes “some college or more” as an educational attainment response, which may be representative of current students in the area. Additionally, levels of educational attainment may be compared with

income to determine if a relationship between these statistics is active in the community.

5. Income (*20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26)

Analysis of income statistics in potentially gentrifying areas is paramount when determining the type and degree of change occurring in a given community. For the purposes of this study, income statistics can be used to examine several important issues within the research locations. Primarily, income statistics can determine if the income of the population within the Southside is rising. If so, what is the cause of this? Income statistics can also be used to indicate discrepancies between the wealth of residents in the Southside and that of the residents of the greater Flagstaff area. For example, large rises in income within BG1T8 (while not occurring in the greater Flagstaff area) would represent a red flag for potential gentrification. Unless an alternate explanation exists, a large rise in income in a block group (such as BG1T8) can likely be explained by wealthier residents moving into the area and driving up levels of income.

6. Income to Poverty Ratio (*37)

The U.S. Census Bureau has developed an Income to Poverty scale in order to determine the economic vulnerability of residents in a given area. This scale compares the income earned by residents with the poverty level in the selected area. The scale uses a 1 to 4 scale to indicate status of vulnerability.

In this study, the ratio of income to poverty scale shows the percentage of the population in each research location in relation to vulnerability to poverty levels. This scale is used to make overall comparisons about both changes in poverty within the community over time, as well as poverty vulnerability differences between the research locations used in this study.

7. Household Structure (*12, 14, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 40)

Several statistical variables regarding the status of households are used in this study to examine structural changes to the residential conditions within the community. The number of households, size of households, and year households were built have been collected in order to determine potential redevelopment that may be occurring within BG1T8. For example, an increase in the average year of households built in BG1T8 would indicate that we are seeing newer developments in the neighborhood, which is particularly useful for the purposes of studying gentrification when linked with potential changes to home values within the area.

8. Family and Non-family Households (*38, 39, 23, 24, 25, 26)

Analysis of family and non-family households in BG1T8 allows this study to explain additional demographic and residential details about the neighborhood that may be relevant to gentrification. Due to the Southside sharing a border with Northern Arizona University, it is likely that many non-family households within the neighborhood are occupied by students. In

conjunction with other ACS variables, the non-family household statistics of BG1T8 may be very telling regarding the residential makeup of the neighborhood.

9. Renters and Owners (*28)

ACS variables concerning the amount of home-renters and homeowners within the research locations used in this study are essential for determining the vulnerability to displacement experienced by residents. As discussed in the literature review of this study, renters are vulnerable to rent-hikes that often occur during gentrification. Regardless of if the Southside is currently experiencing gentrification or not, a high percentage of home-renters in the area may be indicative of a population that is vulnerable to displacement should gentrification occur in the future. Conversely, college students are much more likely to rent homes than to own them, and this may be a conclusion drawn based on data showing a large percentage of home-renters in BG1T8.

10. Home Values (*33, 34)

The observed data regarding home values offer an objective representation of potential gentrification occurring if values are rising at a rate in BG1T8 that far exceeds that of the greater Flagstaff area. During gentrification, rising home values indicate increased desire and competition to occupy or invest in properties. Rising home values are likely to influence rising cost of rent in a

community, thus this variable will be used in conjunction with analysis of rent rates in BG1T8.

11. Gross Rent (*35, 36)

The gross rent of homes in the research locations of this study is useful both for the purposes of examining potential gentrification occurring (shown by rising cost of rent) as well as the vulnerability of renters living in the selected locations (shown by degree of change in cost of rent). These variables provide insight into how much residents in the community are currently spending in order to remain tenants in their homes in relation to how much they earn. Most importantly, gross rent statistics can be used to determine if rent-hikes are occurring in the Southside area and the degree to which this is impacting current residents.

LIMITATIONS

This study seeks to conduct analysis of the determined research locations with an approach that is representative and objective. Due to the small scale of the geographic location of BG1T8, multiple obstacles to this research have been observed. Initially, this study was intended to examine U.S. Census Bureau data covering the Southside dating back to 2000. However, it was found that the geographic borders of BG1T8 were altered in 2005. This resulted in the need to refine the timeline of observed data. Comparing earlier data would not be

representative of the current data applied to BG1T8 due to the change to the geographic borders of the block group.

Additionally, this study recognizes the potential for inaccuracy or misleading data that can occur as a result of sampling a population in a geographically small area. Due to the small geographic size and population of BG1T8, the ACS data used in this study must be recognized as estimates and not 100% representative statistics. The research methods used in this study comply with the recommendations of the U.S. Census Bureau in regard to studying census block groups, and every step to present accurate data in a representative way has been taken.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This study relies on careful analysis of ACS data in order to determine if gentrification is occurring in the Southside, or if the area is at risk of gentrification occurring. The literature review conducted for this study provides a basis for understanding the statistical data that may indicate concerns related to gentrification. This chapter will present all relevant findings, discuss connections between collected data and gentrification, and offer analysis of the data in order to determine the objective conditions of the Southside in relation to gentrification and the greater Flagstaff area.

DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

Demographic data, in the form of statistical 5-year estimates, from the American Community Survey was used in this study in order to gain insight into the conditions and characteristics of the populations occupying the selected research locations of Block Group 1 Tract 8 (BG1T8) and the City of Flagstaff (COF). The data allows for this study to determine if any changes to the demographic makeup of BG1T8 indicate either that the area is at risk of gentrification, or is currently experiencing gentrification. The variables included in the demographic findings of this research were selected with the intent to analyze relationships occurring between the populations of this study and urban change issues related to gentrification.

Population and Density

The analysis of data collected for this study begins with a basic observation of population size and density in the selected research locations of BG1T8 and the COF. This data was analyzed in order to determine the rate at which residents are relocating to the selected research locations. This data represents an important foundation for confirming or denying the existence of substantial population movement into the Southside.

POPULATION	BG1T8 2010	BG1T8 2014	COF 2010	COF 2014
TOTAL	962	1,249	63,909	67,419
DENSITY (per sq. mile)	6,312.1	8,195.2	1,000.6	1,055.5

Table 1: Population and Density Chart

The ACS data collected for BG1T8 shows a population of 962 within the 2010 findings, and a population of 1,249 within the 2014 findings. The population density (per square mile) within BG1T8 was 6,312.1 according to the 2010 ACS, and 8,195.2 according to the 2014 ACS. This represents a population and density increase of 29.83% in BG1T8 between the survey year estimates. The ACS data collected for the COF shows a total population of 63,909 within the 2010 findings, and a total population of 67,419 within the 2014 findings. The population density (per square mile) in the COF was 1,000.6 according to the 2010 ACS, and 1,055.5 according to the 2014 ACS. These numbers indicate a 5.49% increase in population and density within the COF between the survey year estimates.

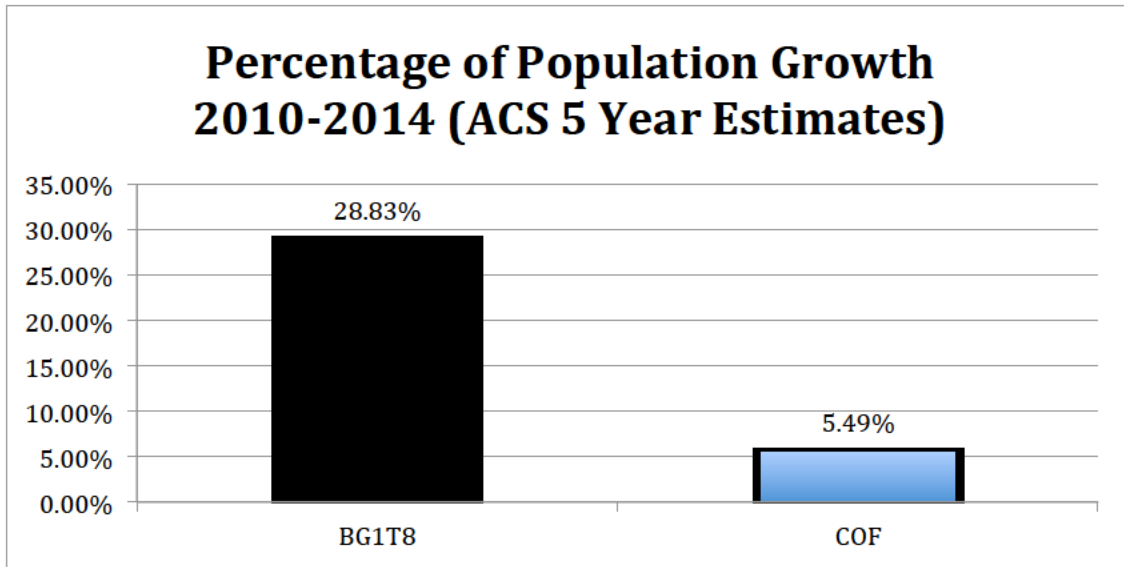


Table 2: Percentage of Population Growth

The observed population and density data for BG1T8 and the COF show significant differences in rates of increase occurring. With BG1T8 experiencing increasing population and density at a rate of 29.83%, compared to the COF rate of 5.49%, it is apparent that the Southside is experiencing a period of disproportionate growth. This data objectively shows that new residents are entering BG1T8 at a greater rate than they are in the greater COF. The dramatic increase in the population within BG1T8 between the 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates provides a foundational confirmation that the basic component of gentrification involving a large population change within an area is present. Additional demographic and residential factors must be analyzed in relation to this statistical change in order to understand the impact that the new residents to BG1T8 may be having on the community.

Income

Statistical data on levels of income within BG1T8 and the COF are used in this study to determine if economic growth is occurring at a different rate within the selected research locations. Levels of income represent a crucial aspect of gentrification analysis, as they provide insight into the financial security and opportunity of residents. Additionally, levels of income were analyzed in relation to family and non-family households in order to determine which of these groups within the population are having a greater influence on the overall economic standings of the research locations.

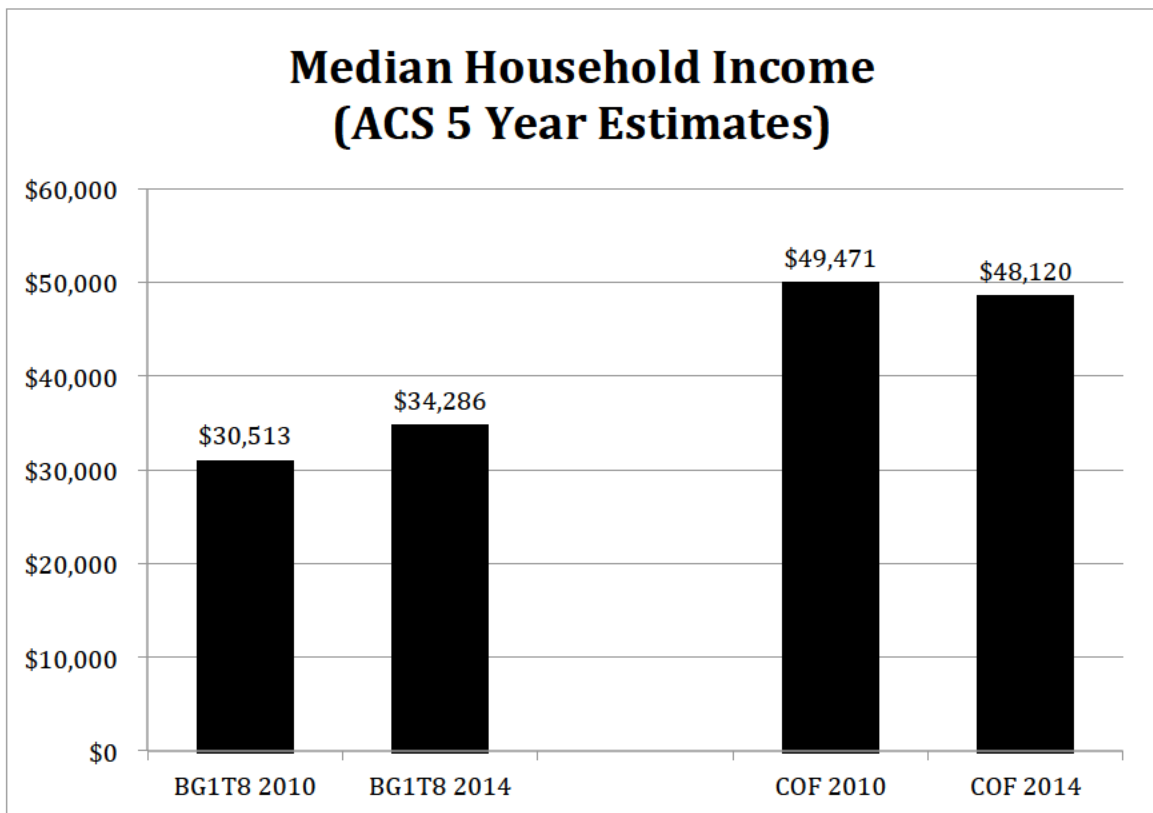


Table 3: Median Household Income

Within BG1T8, the 2010 ACS estimates show a median household income of \$30,513, while the 2014 ACS estimates show a median household income of \$34,286. This indicates that the median household income in BG1T8 increased by 12.37% between the surveys. The median family household income in BG1T8 was \$34,582 according to the 2010 ACS estimates, and \$41,900 according to the 2014 ACS estimates. This shows a 21.16% increase in family household income within BG1T8. The median non-family household income in BG1T8 was \$28,304 according to the 2010 ACS estimates and \$28,382 according to the 2014 ACS estimates. This indicates a 0.28% increase in median non-family household income.

The median household income for the COF was \$49,471 according to the 2010 ACS estimates, and \$48,120 according to the 2014 ACS estimates. This indicates that median household income in the COF decreased by 2.73%. The median family household income in the COF was \$64,414 according to the 2010 ACS estimates, and \$64,207 according to the 2014 ACS estimates. This indicates a small decrease (-0.32%) in median family household incomes in the COF. The 2010 ACS estimates show a median non-family household income in the COF of \$30,827, and the 2014 ACS estimates show a median non-family household income in the COF of \$32,880. This shows a 6.66% increase in median non-family household incomes in the COF.

The analysis of this data provides powerful insight into the potential for gentrification occurrences within BG1T8. Primarily, the ACS estimates indicate that the median household income increased in BG1T8 (+12.37%) while it decreased in the COF (-2.73%). This data indicates a very real concern for potential gentrification

within BG1T8 due to the fact that levels of income in the neighborhood are increasing significantly while the levels of income in the COF are experiencing a slight decrease. When viewed in conjunction with the population increase occurring within BG1T8, one can conclude that the increase in levels of income is likely a result of wealthier residents moving into the neighborhood and driving up the median household income. Economic influence brought on by newcomers in an urban area is very common during gentrification, raising concerns for the Southside.

Observations and analysis regarding how family and non-family households are influencing levels of income are important for this study, as they offer insight into the type of population in the area that is influencing any changes to the levels of income within the area. The most significant occurrence shown in this data lies in the statistics showing that median family household incomes increased by 21.16% compared to a 0.28% increase in median non-family household incomes in the Southside area. This indicates that family households are largely responsible for the overall increase in median household incomes in the Southside area. While the overall median household income increase in the area raises concerns about gentrification occurring, the data on family households provides an explanation of which part of the population is holding the economic influence to cause this type of change.

Race

The use of racial statistics in this study is designed to examine how urban change occurring in the selected research locations may impact specific racial

groups in different ways. Observation of changes to the racial makeup of a community is essential when studying potential gentrification due to the disproportionate impacts often felt by racial minority populations. Although gentrification can occur without having notable impacts to the racial makeup of a community, the literature on gentrification makes it clear that this factor should be taken into account during analysis of a potentially gentrifying community.

In the United States, gentrifying populations are typically, though not exclusively, associated with whiteness due to our nation's history of racial inequality and stratification. This study begins its analysis of racial demography within the selected research locations by focusing on ACS statistical estimates related to white populations. The 2010 ACS estimates for BG1T8 show 751 (75.1%) residents as identifying as "white alone" in the broader category of "Not Hispanic or Latino". The 2014 ACS estimates show a nearly unchanged percentage of non-Hispanic white residents in BG1T8, with 935 (74.9%) residents selecting this identity. This indicates that the non-Hispanic white population in BG1T8 changed by only 0.2% during the survey periods. The ACS estimates for 2010 and 2014 in the COF show non-Hispanic white populations make up 63% and 63.1% of the population, respectively. This data shows that the non-Hispanic white populations in both BG1T8 and the COF remained essentially statistically unchanged during the survey period. This is particularly notable when examining demographic statistics within BG1T8 in relation to potential gentrification. While the initial analysis of racial demography in the area indicates that white populations are not increasing in

percentage, it is also important to analyze how racial minority populations may be changing.

Following non-Hispanic white populations, Hispanic or Latino white populations make up the second largest racial group in both of the selected research locations of BG1T8 and the COF. In BG1T8, the 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates indicate that Hispanic or Latino white residents made up 21.9% and 18.7% of the block group, respectively. While these numbers do show a slight drop in the percent of Hispanic or Latino white residents living in the area, the statistic appears to be influenced by slight increases in other racial minority populations numbers, rather than an increase in non-Hispanic white populations numbers. The statistics on Hispanic or Latino white residents in the COF show little change during the survey periods in relation to BG1T8.

American Indian and Alaskan Native residents represent a significant percentage of the COF population, making up 11.6% of the population in the 2010 ACS, and 10.4% in the 2014 ACS. Within BG1T8 a notable discrepancy can be seen between the percentage of American Indian and Alaskan Native populations in relation to the COF. The 2010 ACS estimates show BG1T8 as being made up of 1.0% American Indian and Alaskan Native populations, and the 2014 estimates show 1.7% of the population identifying this way. While these numbers do not indicate a dramatic change in the percentage of this racial minority population residing in BG1T8, they do indicate a significant difference between the presence of this group in BG1T8 compared to the COF.

Although other racial minority populations experienced slight changes during the survey periods, most of them were found to be statistically insignificant changes (particularly when taking into account the sampling nature of the collected data). When analyzing the racial demographic data collected for this study, there are no apparent links between race and gentrification occurring in BG1T8. This is not to say that these numbers rule out the possibility of gentrification occurring, but rather it shows that during the research period of this study, the demography does not appear to be changing in a way that is consistent with racial invasion and displacement.

Age

Statistical analysis of the age of residents in the selected research locations allows for an increased understanding of the types of changes occurring to the populations within them. Specifically, age is a powerful tool for determining if young people (18-35) make up a large portion of the population in the Southside area due to its shared border with Northern Arizona University. This is particularly helpful when used in conjunction with data on levels of educational attainment within the area. Additionally, given that BG1T8 shows an increase in population during the research period, this data can be used to determine the age of newcomers to the area.

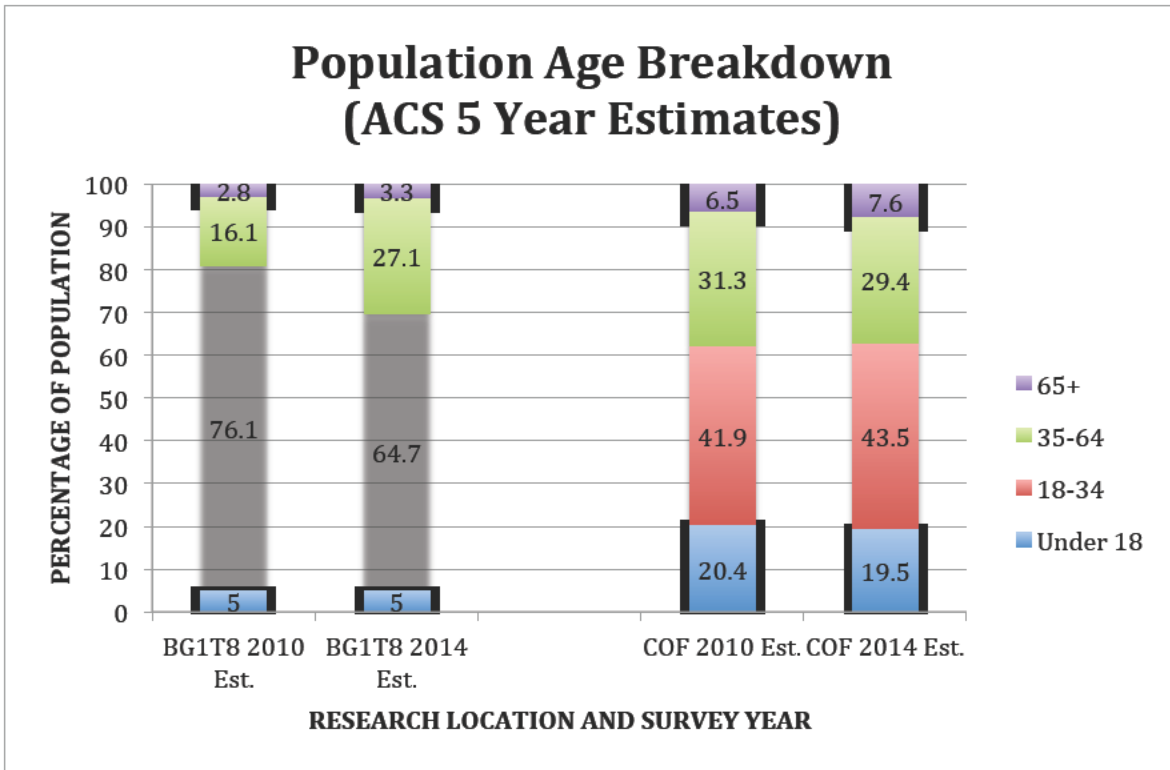


Table 4: Population Age Breakdown

The ACS estimates in 2010 and 2014 for BG1T8 both show the area as being predominantly occupied by residents aged 18-35 (76.1% in 2010 and 64.7% in 2014). Comparatively, ACS estimates show 18-35 year-old residents making up less than half of the COF population in both survey periods (41.9% in 2010 and 43.5% in 2014). This is likely due to the close proximity of BG1T8 to the campus of Northern Arizona University, making homes in the neighborhood desirable to many students. While the 18-35 year old demographic makes up a significant percent of the COF population, the data indicates that an increased percentage of residents within this age bracket are living in BG1T8.

The decrease in percentage of residents aged 18-35 years old in BG1T8 between the two survey periods is explained by the observed 11% increase in residents aged 35-64 within the area. Because residents of the 35-64 age bracket are

likely to have higher levels of income, this data relates to the increasing levels of income apparent in the area. Additionally, it is possible that the increasing levels of family household income in BG1T8 are representative of this higher age group.

Within the observed data related to age in BG1T8 and the COF, there are two primary points to be found. First, BG1T8 has a population (in both survey periods) that is made up of a majority of residents in the 18-34 age bracket. This is likely related to the desirability of the neighborhood for NAU students. Additionally, the number of residents in the 35-64 age bracket is increasing in BG1T8. This is significant due to the economic influence that this group is likely to hold.

Education

Developing an understanding of educational attainment in the Southside area is useful to this study for two primary reasons. First, levels of educational attainment often correlate with levels of income. As residents attain a higher educational status, they often increase their earning potential and thus their economic influence on an area. Second, due to the close proximity of the Southside to NAU, statistics on the educational attainment levels of the population can be used to better understand the amount of the residents who are college students. Analysis of educational attainment data allows for insight into impact that the college student as well as the degree-holding populations may be having on potential gentrification within the area.

An initial analysis of education in Flagstaff shows very high levels of attainment among residents. The ACS 2014 estimates for COF show that 74.7% of

residents 25 years or older highest level of educational attainment is some college or more. The same data set shows that 42.8% of COF residents hold a bachelor's degree or more. Additionally, 6.7% of Flagstaff residents hold a professional degree or higher. Statistics showing the COF levels of educational attainment as being this high are very important to consider during comparison of the COF, to BG1T8.

According to both 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates BG1T8 is predominantly made up of residents with either some college experience or a bachelor's degree. The 2010 ACS estimates show 56% of residents aged 25 years or older in BG1T8 as having some college experience or more. In 2014, the ACS estimates show 41% of BG1T8 residents aged 25 years or older as having some college experience or more. This indicates that a large portion of the population of BG1T8 are either currently college students, or have been in the past. These numbers confirm the presence of a large college student population living within the area.

While the percentage of BG1T8 residents with some college experience decreased between the survey periods of 2010 and 2014, the percentage of residents holding a professional or doctoral degree increased. Furthermore, the increase of BG1T8 residents holding a professional degree or more increased from 0% to 1.8%. This percentage is still relatively low when compared to the 2014 ACS estimates showing the COF as having 6.7% of residents holding a professional degree or more.

An important finding in the educational attainment data for the selected research locations shows that overall levels of educational attainment in BG1T8 are significantly lower than those seen within the COF. This represents aspects of

vulnerability existing within BG1T8 in relation to the surrounding areas of Flagstaff. Due to the lower levels of educational attainment (and lower median household incomes) in BG1T8, residents living outside of the area hold a greater socioeconomic status that may enable them to influence the neighborhood should they choose to relocate.

Poverty Ratio

The income-to-poverty ratio used by the U.S. Census Bureau is useful for determining where residents of an area stand in relation to the poverty line. This study examines the statistical estimates provided by the ACS for income-to-poverty ratios of residents in BG1T8 and the COF. The income-to-poverty ratio acts as an important tool for understanding the overall financial wellbeing and stability of residents within the selected research locations.

“Income-to-poverty ratios represent the ratio of family or unrelated individual income to their appropriate poverty threshold. Ratios below 1.00 indicate that the income for the respective family or unrelated individual is below the official definition of poverty, while a ratio of 1.00 or greater indicates income above the poverty level. A ratio of 1.25, for example, indicates that income was 125 percent above the appropriate poverty threshold” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

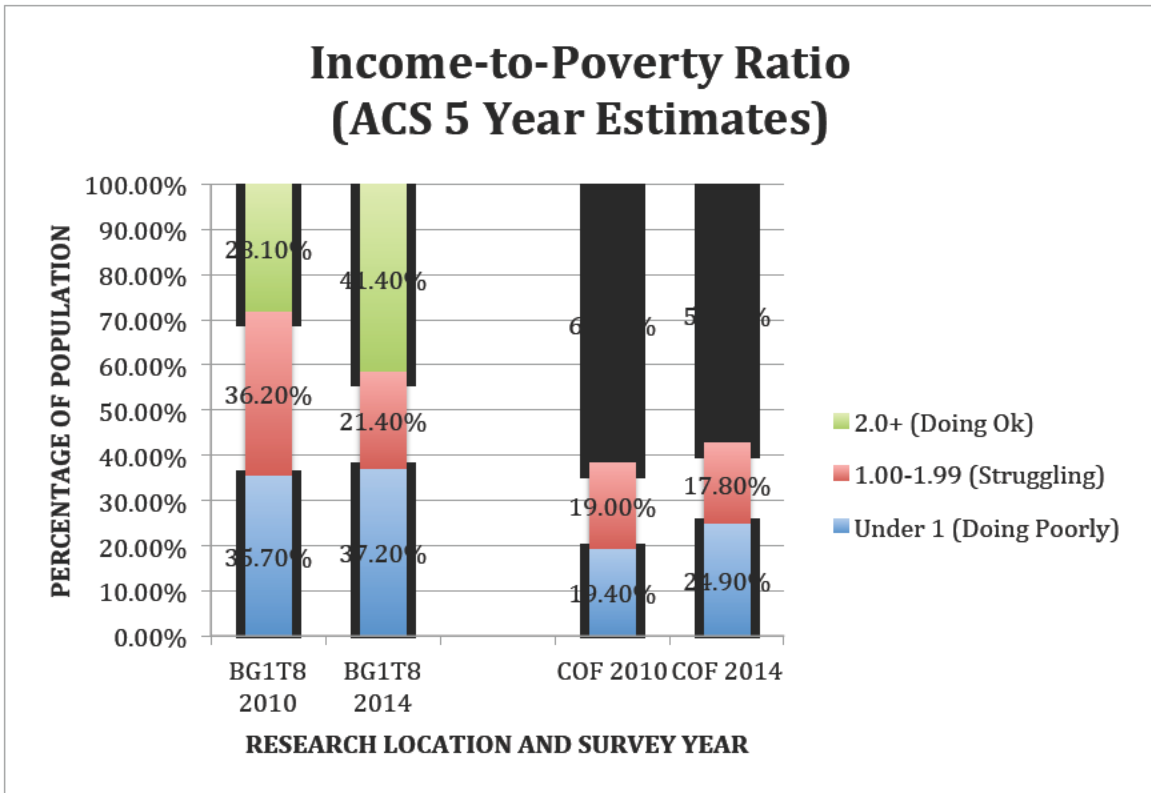


Table 5: Income-to-Poverty Ratio

In the ACS, the U.S. Census Bureau defines the poverty scale as follows: Under 1= doing poorly, 1.00-1.99= struggling, under 2.00 = doing poorly and/or struggling, and above 2.00 as being doing ok. The 2010 ACS shows 28.1% of residents in BG1T8 as ranking at 2.00 or above (doing ok) on the income-to-poverty ratio. The 2014 ACS shows 41.4% of BG1T8 residents as ranking at 2.00 or above. This indicates a significant increase in the amount of residents considered to be at little risk of falling below the poverty line. While fewer residents in an area being at risk of poverty is a positive occurrence, it is important to consider why this increase is occurring. Due to the increase in median household income within BG1T8 (most likely caused by wealthier residents moving into the area) it is possible that the percentage of residents with little risk of falling below the poverty line is increasing

due to outside influence rather than improving economic conditions for longtime residents.

The ACS data also indicates that overall residents of BG1T8 are at a significantly higher risk of falling below the poverty line than residents of the COF. The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates show 61.6% and 57.3% (respectively) of residents of the COF as ranking above 2.00 on the income-to-poverty ratio. The significance of this comparison can be seen in the conclusion that poverty represents a serious risk for a disproportionate amount of BG1T8 residents in relation to the COF. Regardless of if gentrification is determined to be occurring in BG1T8 at this time, this data suggests that should it occur now or in the future, residents of this area will be vulnerable to potential negative impacts.

RESIDENTIAL FINDINGS

In addition to the collection and analysis of demographic variables related to gentrification, this study includes a focus on the residential factors involved in this process of urban change. Consistent with the approach used in the collection of demographic data, the residential findings of this study are based on ACS 5 year estimates collected in BG1T8 and the COF using the 5-year estimates of the 2010 and 2014 ACS surveys.

Household Conditions

Statistical estimates providing information regarding the conditions of the housing market within BG1T8 and the COF are used in this study in order to

determine the physical characteristics of the residential areas being studied. The ACS offers data from a range of variables relating to housing conditions. This study focuses specifically on ACS estimates showing the number of housing units, the year homes were built, and the household size within the selected research locations.

In both BG1T8 and in the COF, ACS estimates indicate a small increase in the amount of housing units existing between the survey periods. The amount of housing units in BG1T8 increased by 4%, and the number of housing units in the COF increased by 5.4% during the survey periods. While these numbers indicate slight growth in housing development in both areas, the median year of housing units built in both areas remained more-or-less unchanged. This is likely due to the short time period of this data set.

The average household size (occupants per household) was found to be very similar in BG1T8 and the COF. The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates show average household size in BG1T8 at 2.7 and 2.5 respectively. The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates show average household size in the COF at 2.6 and 2.5 respectively. This similarity indicates that residents in BG1T8 are not occupying homes in a denser fashion than residents in surrounding neighborhoods. In an effort to reduce individual cost of rent, residents may occupy a home in greater numbers than is approved by the property manager. However, this does not appear to a course of action taken by residents in BG1T8 according to the data.

Home Values

Property values represent a crucial force in the process of potential gentrification. This study examines how home values in the selected research locations have changed during the survey periods. Typically during gentrification rising property values are observed, thus increasing home values in the area at hand. This study uses ACS statistical estimates showing median home values in BG1T8 and the COF.

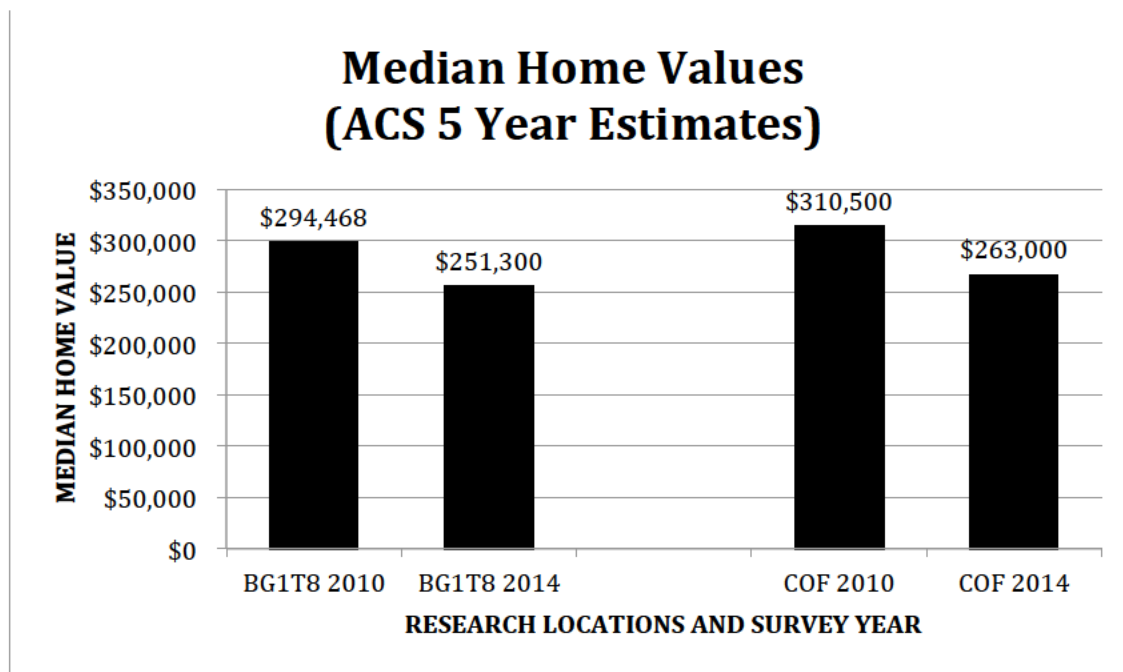


Table 6: Median Home Values

The 2010 ACS estimates for BG1T8 indicate a median home value of \$294,468. The 2014 estimates for BG1T8 show a significant decrease in home values, dropping down to \$251,300. The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates for the COF show median home values of \$310,500 and \$263,000 respectively. This data shows that both BG1T8 and the COF experienced significant decreases in median home values during the survey periods used.

The changes in median home values for the selected research locations are not representative of what typically occurs in the housing market of gentrifying areas. In gentrifying communities one would expect to see significant increases in home values due to newcomers moving in and driving up the desirability and value of the available housing. This data raises questions that must be asked in relation to other variables that indicate potential gentrification occurring. While rising home values are expected during gentrification, the literature on this subject makes it clear that this process can occur on a wide range of other fronts.

Renters and Owners

As established by the available literature focusing on gentrification, homeowners and home-renters experience gentrification in very different ways. Specifically, renters tend to be much more vulnerable to the negative impacts of gentrification, including displacement. This is due to the potential rent hikes that may occur during gentrification as a result of rising property values. For this study, ACS data estimating the number of home renters and owners in the research locations were collected and analyzed. The primary purpose of this data is to determine how many residents in BG1T8 may be vulnerable to rent hikes should gentrification occur.

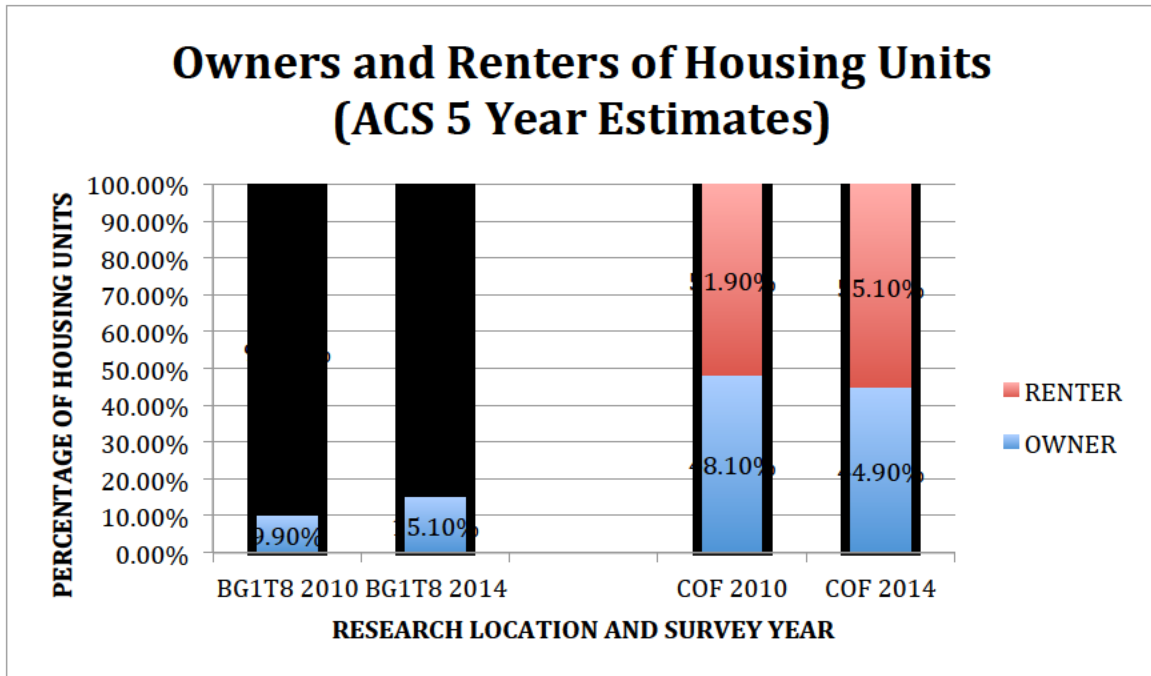


Table 7: Owners and Renters of Housing Units

The 2010 and 2014 ACS statistical estimates for BG1T8 overwhelmingly indicate that the area is predominantly occupied by home-renters. The 2010 estimates show 90.1% of BG1T8 residents as being renters, and the 2014 estimates show 85.0% as being renters. Despite seeing a decrease in the percentage of renters between the survey periods, BG1T8 remains occupied by a vast majority of renters. This is particularly notable when compared to the ratio of homeowners to home-renters in the COF. The 2010 ACS estimates show 51.9% of the COF as being occupied by renters, and 2014 estimates show 55.1% as being occupied by renters.

These numbers indicate a dramatic difference between these areas in regard to the vulnerability of residents to rent hikes should gentrification occur. In the event of severe rent-hikes occurring in BG1T8 and the COF, about 5 in 10 COF residents would be at risk of displacement, while about 9 in 10 BG1T8 residents would be at risk of displacement. These findings are extremely important for

residents in BG1T8 regardless of if gentrification is found to be occurring at this time, primarily due to the fact that many of these residents exist in a vulnerable state should this process occur and result in future rising costs of rent. An additional aspect of BG1T8 that deserves attention during this analysis involves the likelihood of NAU students to be home-renters rather than homeowners. Due to previous analysis indicating that a high percentage of BG1T8 residents are likely NAU students, it follows that this demographic may be influencing the high percentage of home-renting residents in the area.

Cost of Rent

The presence of a large population of home-renters in BG1T8 raises concerns about changes in cost of rent experienced by these residents should gentrification occur in the area. The literature on gentrification indicates that increasing rent can play a major role in contributing to the displacement of residents who are unable to cope with these changes. The ACS provides particularly useful data for studying this issue by producing estimates showing the percent of an individual's income that goes toward paying rent. This proves useful for studying potential gentrification because it allows one to determine the degree of vulnerability faced by residents should rent hikes occur.

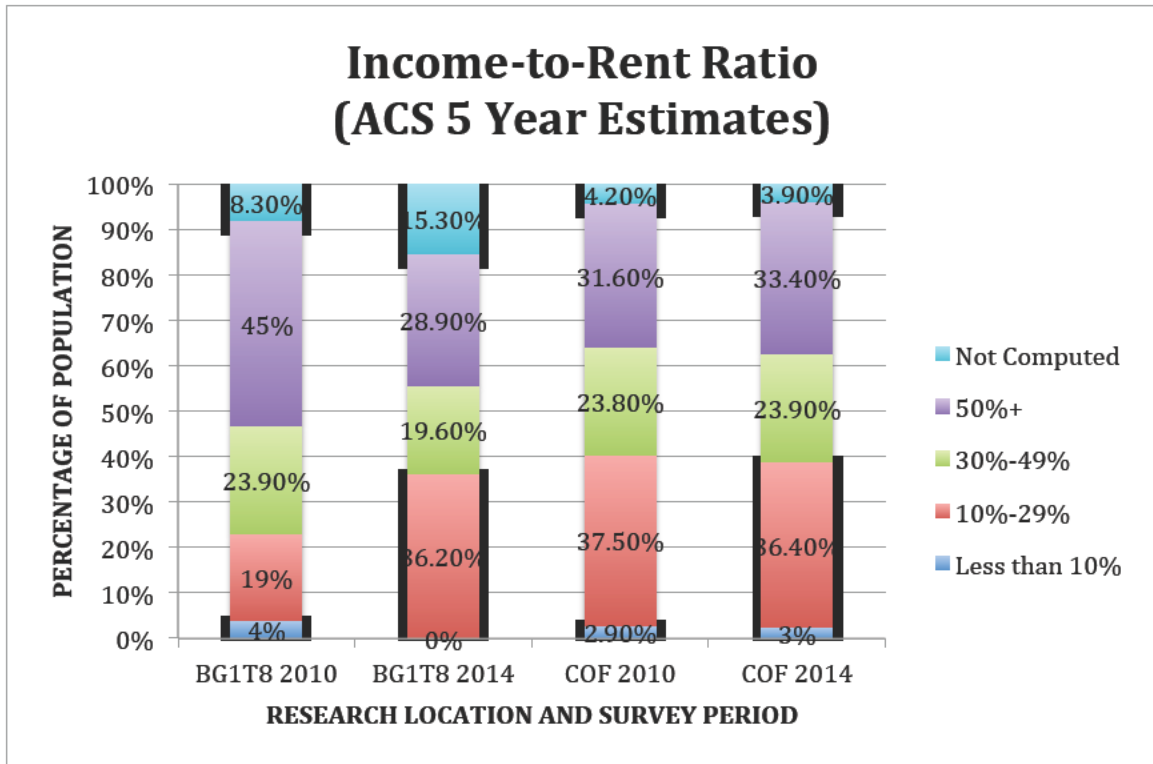


Table 8: Income-to-Rent Ratio

Statistical estimates provided by the ACS indicate an interesting change occurring in the income-to-rent ratio of BG1T8 residents. The 2010 estimates show 45% of BG1T8 residents as spending over 50% of their income on rent. The 2014 data shows a significant drop in this statistic, showing 28.9% of residents spending 50% or more of their income on rent. This dramatic drop in the income-to-rent ratio within BG1T8 shows that residents are overall spending less of their earnings on paying rent.

The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates for the COF show 31.6% and 33.4% of residents spending 50% or more of their income on rent. While the change in percentage of residents meeting this level of spending did not change greatly between the survey periods, it is notable that it did increase, while the percentage of residents meeting the same criteria in BG1T8 decreased significantly. This data is

supported by the demographic ACS estimates showing that the median household income in BG1T8 increased significantly, while the median household income in the COF decreased slightly during the survey periods.

Family and Non-family Households

An important overlap of demographic and residential data can be found in ACS statistical estimates showing family and non-family households within an area. This data can help provide insight into the type of residents living in an area, as well as insight into home structures existing in an area. Family and non-family housing percentages are particularly important to research on BG1T8 due to the likelihood of a large college student population. This data is used in conjunction with other demographic variables to gain an understanding of the population within BG1T8.

The ACS estimates for BG1T8 indicate increasing amounts of non-family households in the area. The survey estimates for 2010 and 2014 show non-family households in BG1T8 rising from 58.5% to 73.5%. This represents a dramatically higher percentage of non-family households in BG1T8 than in the COF. The 2010 and 2014 ACS estimates show non-family households as making up 36.4% and 37.2% of households within the community. Even at the lower points of these data, BG1T8 has almost twice the percentage of non-family households than the COF.

This data supports arguments suggesting that BG1T8 is home to a large college student population. While the status of non-family household does not directly indicate that a home is occupied by college students, one can assume that most college students in this area are living in non-family households. These

numbers also raise an interesting overlap with household incomes in BG1T8. Median household income was found to be increasing in BG1T8 primarily as a result of higher incomes from family households. The combination of these variables suggests that although family households are driving up income in the area, an increasing amount of homes in the area are becoming occupied by non-family residents.

CONCLUSION

The observed data used in this study shows a range of variables and factors related to gentrification. The analysis of ACS statistical estimates provides a great deal of insight into the demographic and residential conditions of BG1T8 and the COF. In regard to gentrification and BG1T8, some findings support arguments that this process is occurring in the area, while other findings dispute these arguments. The analysis of collected data must take a holistic approach to factoring in all of the variables that may potentially provide an objective conclusion on the state of gentrification and gentrification vulnerability in BG1T8. An overall analysis and discussion will be made in the following chapter in order to tie the findings together and reach a scientifically based conclusion.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH SIDE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter provides discussion of the overarching patterns and conclusions observed in the data for this study. The conclusions are divided into sections of demographic and residential variables, followed by a discussion and analysis of the intersections that exist between these two areas of interest. This chapter, and thesis as a whole, concludes with a section focusing on the future implications of the findings produced by this research.

DEMOGRAPHIC CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the demographic data collected for this study provides a range of insights into potential gentrification occurring in the Southside. In the previous chapter, individual variables were analyzed in an effort to understand connections between the demographic characteristics of the Southside and processes of gentrification. This section seeks to explain the overall implications that exist when the selected demographic variables used in this study are viewed in conjunction with one another.

Demographic Support for Occurrence of Gentrification

The findings of this study demonstrate significant support for arguments suggesting that demographic forms of gentrification are occurring within the Southside. This chapter addresses findings both in support of and in opposition to these arguments. Findings in support of arguments for the occurrence of

gentrification with the Southside involve variables related to population growth, rising levels of income, disproportionate levels of educational attainment, and uneven income-to-poverty ratios in the community.

The population growth seen during the research period in BG1T8 provides objective proof that the foundational component of gentrification involving the relocation of a population to an area is present. While this relocation certainly does not necessarily imply gentrification is occurring, it creates the groundwork for other variables to be viewed in conjunction with it. The data shows that the population growth in BG1T8 during the research period was +29.83% while the growth in the COF was +5.49%. This data confirms that the Southside area is seeing a relocation of residents into the area at a far greater rate than the City of Flagstaff as a whole.

Rising levels of household income in BG1T8 also support arguments that the Southside is experiencing gentrification on a demographic level. The disproportionately high increase in median household income observed within BG1T8 suggests that new money is coming into the Southside at a rate not seen in the surrounding areas of Flagstaff. This data also provides foundational confirmation showing that conditions necessary for gentrification to occur are present in the Southside. Additionally notable are the findings of this study that indicate that the Southside has a significantly lower median household income than the greater Flagstaff area. This data suggests that the population within the Southside would be more vulnerable to displacement and negative impacts of gentrification than surrounding populations due to their lower economic status. The findings relating to income in this study support arguments that the Southside is

home to residents who are comparatively economically vulnerable, and additionally that levels of income are rising in a way that is consistent with processes of gentrification.

Findings and analysis regarding educational attainment in the Southside also support arguments for the vulnerability of residents in the area should gentrification occur. The data shows that levels of educational attainment are significantly higher in the COF than they are in BG1T8. Because higher levels of educational attainment often lead to higher earning potential, this variable contributes to the perspective that residents of the surrounding areas have more power and influence regarding urban change than the residents within the Southside neighborhood. Additionally, the data suggests that a large percentage of residents in BG1T8 are college students. This argument is strengthened when viewed in conjunction with findings indicating that many residents of the Southside who live in non-family households are between the ages of 18 and 34.

Perhaps the most striking argument in support of gentrification occurring in the Southside comes from the income-to-poverty ratio established by the U.S. Bureau for the area. The findings indicate that residents living within BG1T8 face a significantly higher risk of falling below the poverty line than residents living in the COF. The increase in percentage of BG1T8 residents who are above a 2.00 (doing ok) on the income-to-poverty ratio is likely a result of increasing levels of income due to wealthier newcomers relocating into the area. These variables suggest that while overall levels of wellbeing in relation to poverty are going up in the area, it is the newcomer population that is driving these numbers up. Longtime residents remain

lower on the income-to-poverty scale and do not share the economic stability of their wealthier neighbors who are relocating to the area.

Additional Demographic Conclusions

The racial conditions of a community are often a major focus of studies of gentrifying areas. Although the racial dimensions observed within this study did not indicate any significant changes, it is important to address these variables in relation to the selected research locations. BG1T8 was found to be made up of about 75% non-Hispanic white residents in both ACS survey periods. This data shows a non-Hispanic white population concentration in BG1T8 that is about 12% higher than the surrounding areas of the COF. Due to the historical roots of black and Hispanic populations living in the Southside, it is likely that the racial makeup of this community shifted to a white majority population prior to the research period observed in this study. The significance of the data used in this study regarding race in the Southside lies in the fact that it confirms a stable period of racial dimensions in the area during the research period. The data observed in this research period regarding race does not indicate racial gentrification occurring, however the high percentage of white residents in the area suggests that the process of racial displacement likely occurred in years prior.

Demographic data analyzed in this study was also used in order to raise questions about the college student population's presence in the neighborhood. By viewing data related to levels of educational attainment, age, and residency choices, it is reasonable to conclude that a majority of residents living in the Southside

during the research periods are likely college students. While this information provides valuable insight into the demographic makeup of the community, it does not provide a complete understanding of the role that college students living in the Southside are playing in relation to gentrification. In fact, the college student population in the neighborhood raises potential limitations for this study. Although college students typically have very low levels of income, many are financially supported by family members. This creates the potential for misinterpretation of demographic data related to displacement due to the fact that many of the low-income residents within the area likely have a financial “safety net” from parental support that would protect them from displacement.

The Demographic State of Gentrification in the Southside

The analysis of demographic conditions within the Southside provides two substantial conclusions for this study. First, the Southside is indeed home to many residents who show signs of vulnerability for displacement should gentrification occur. The comparatively low levels of income and educational attainment seen within the Southside indicate that the population in this area are of a lower socioeconomic status overall than the residents of surrounding neighborhoods. In the event of gentrification, these residents would not have the economic power to cope with dramatic changes to the neighborhood structure. Second, the Southside is showing multiple statistical occurrences that are consistent with changes that occur during gentrification. The drastic population growth in conjunction with levels of income significantly increasing in the Southside support arguments that wealthier

populations are relocating into this area and will have the economic to influence its future.

It is important to note that gentrification processes are often unique to different communities, and not all variables will play out in an identical fashion. For example, the Southside is not showing signs of racial displacement during the research period despite population and income increasing dramatically. In many gentrifying communities, racial displacement is seen in direct correlation with these variables. As previously stated, however, it is likely that any racial displacement due to gentrification within the Southside may have already occurred prior to the research periods.

The demographic data used in this study provides sufficient evidence to support the claims that the Southside is home to many residents who are vulnerable to displacement, and that the Southside is experiencing urban change that is consistent with processes of gentrification. Later sections in this chapter will address the future implications of these demographic findings in relation to the state of gentrification and the future of the Southside.

RESIDENTIAL CONCLUSIONS

The residential data analyzed in this study was used to provide insight into the housing market and conditions within the Southside and the greater Flagstaff area. This data offers important information regarding gentrification due to the variable connections with potential displacement of residents. This section

discusses findings and analysis of residential data in order to establish the objective conditions of gentrification in the Southside in relation to these variables.

Residential Support for Occurrence of Gentrification

The analysis of residential data in this study provides interesting conclusions that deserve multiple perspectives of discussion. This section will address the findings in the data related to claims that the Southside is both home to a population that is vulnerable to displacement, and that the neighborhood shows signs of residential gentrification occurring during the research periods.

Due to the vulnerability often experienced by renters in gentrifying communities in relation to rent-hikes, statistics showing the percentage of home-renters in BG1T8 play a crucial role in this study. The data indicates that a disproportionately high percentage of residents in BG1T8 are renters compared to the COF. Data shows that between 85% and 90% of residents in BG1T8 rent homes. Should property values increase in the future and drive up the cost of rent in this area, a vast majority of residents would be vulnerable to the consequences, including potential displacement. The fact that the COF shows a fairly even split between renters and owners indicates that this is a condition unique to the Southside for the purposes of this study.

In addition to a high percentage of renters occupying the Southside area, we also see many residents spending a high percentage of their income on paying rent. The data shows between 28.9% and 45% of BG1T8 residents spending over half of their income on rent. In the COF the data shows this statistic remaining between

31.6% and 33.4% of residents spending more than half of their income on rent. These findings are concerning for several reasons. Primarily, if the cost of rent increases in the Southside area, many residents are guaranteed to have less than half of their income to put toward other necessary expenses. Additionally, if commercial gentrification occurs in the Southside area and drives up the overall cost of living, many residents may struggle to cope with these changes while maintaining their proportionately high rent payments.

Additional Residential Conclusions

Multiple findings in this study support arguments that the Southside is not experiencing residential forms of gentrification. However, it is important to note that simply because some residential changes associated with gentrification did not occur during the research period, they may have occurred prior to the research period and/or may occur in the future. Additionally, residential data that does not support the occurrence of gentrification during the research period does not necessarily contradict other variables that do support this argument. Gentrification can occur on a range of levels and should not be viewed with an “everything or nothing” perspective regarding the different variables that may be factors in the urban change experienced by a community.

During residential gentrification it is common to see housing development and redevelopment projects occurring in order to accommodate the tastes of newcomers. The data shows only a minor increase in the amount of housing units existing within BG1T8 during the research periods. The rate of growth for housing

units in BG1T8 was found to be 4% during the research periods. This does not suggest that large-scale housing development projects are underway in the area. However, development plans to build large-scale apartment complexes within the Southside area have been put forward since the research period of this study. These types of development and redevelopment should be monitored closely due to the established vulnerability to displacement felt by many residents of the Southside.

Increasing costs of rent during gentrification can often force residents to alter their living situations in order to avoid displacement. A common strategy used by residents to cope with high costs of rent is to increase the number of rent-paying roommates living in a housing unit. This approach may include multiple residents sharing one bedroom, or repurposing other rooms in a housing unit into living space. The household size in BG1T8 did not see any significant changes during the research period. However, a potential limitation exists in the data due to the possibility of residents in this type of arrangement doing so under the table without signing leases and providing full documentation of their residency. Based on the data, evidence of residents in the Southside increasing housing density in order to cope with costs of rent does not exist.

Both demographic and residential data indicate that the vast majority of households within BG1T8 are occupied by non-family residents. The data also shows that the percentage of non-family households in BG1T8 is increasing. The significance of these findings lies in the fact that the increasing levels of household income within BG1T8 can be primarily attributed to family households. This suggests that despite non-family households being home to a significant percentage

of new residents in BG1T8, they had less of a gentrifying impact on the neighborhood than the smaller percentage of newcomers occupying family households.

The strongest argument against gentrification occurring in the Southside during the research period can be found in the data focusing on home values. The data shows a significant drop in median home values within BG1T8 during the research period. The ACS statistical estimates showing median home values in BG1T8 dropping from \$294,468 to \$251,300 are very inconsistent with expected housing market patterns in gentrifying communities. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from these findings. First, it is possible that home values experienced a boom during the survey period leading up to the 2010 ACS and have since settled at overall lower values. Alternatively, and most probable, is the possibility that the significant increase in the number of housing units within the COF during the research period influenced home values in BG1T8. During the research period an estimated 1,351 new housing units were constructed in the greater Flagstaff area. The data shows a decrease in median home values in both BG1T8 and the COF during this time period. Despite these findings, one would expect the median home values in BG1T8 to either increase or only experience a slight decrease if residential gentrification was occurring.

The Residential State of Gentrification in the Southside

The primary conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of residential data in this study is that the residential conditions within the Southside indicate

vulnerability to displacement and other consequences of gentrification for the population of the area. The extremely high percentage of home-renters in BG1T8 shows that the Southside is predominantly occupied by residents who would be susceptible to rent-hikes if property values increase in the future. These concerns are exacerbated by the high percentage of BG1T8 residents who spend over half of their income on rent.

Additionally, the lack of data suggesting residential gentrification occurring during the research period of this study should be taken as evidence that residential gentrification has not occurred in this area in the past and/or will not occur in the future. Residential gentrification can and often does occur very rapidly. The development of large-scale housing projects in the Southside has the potential to dramatically impact the residential conditions of the neighborhood. However, the data indicating declining property values in BG1T8 offers promising evidence that the risk of residential displacement has declined in recent years.

In sum, the residential data observed in this study leads to the conclusion that the housing market in the Southside creates vulnerable conditions for many residents, but residential gentrification does not appear to be occurring in any significant way during the research period. These findings offer a mixed perspective regarding the future of the residential conditions within the neighborhood. While factors that indicate residential gentrification occurring are declining in the area, the current conditions under which residents of the Southside are living leave them in a vulnerable state as the community moves forward and faces urban change in the future.

THE STATE OF GENTRIFICATION IN THE SOUTHSIDE

In order to reach an objective and comprehensive conclusion regarding gentrification in the Southside, the findings of this study must be analyzed in conjunction with one another. The summation of the findings in this study reveal that conditions within the Southside are contributing to residents being vulnerable to displacement. Furthermore, the findings of this study confirm that some forms of gentrification have objectively occurred within the Southside. The conclusion that residents are living in a vulnerable state regarding displacement is fairly straightforward and heavily supported by the data showing BG1T8 residents as earning a relatively low income, having lower levels of education attainment, showing higher risks of falling below the poverty line, primarily being home-renters, and spending large percentages of their income on rent, when compared to surrounding areas.

The conclusion that the Southside is experiencing gentrification in some forms, however, raises questions that remain to be answered. Although the Southside is experiencing urban change that fits the definition of gentrification, in the form of new residents moving in and influencing the local economy, the impact that this will have on longtime residents remains to be seen. Despite significant findings that support claims suggesting that the Southside is experiencing gentrification, findings that oppose this viewpoint should not be overlooked. The declining home values observed in this study represent a strong argument against gentrification occurring in the Southside. If one concludes that wealthier

populations moving into the Southside will contribute to gentrification, then accordingly one must conclude that declining home values will detract from gentrification occurring in the neighborhood.

Ultimately, this study concludes that gentrification represents a legitimate threat to the residents of the Southside. The findings indicating the vulnerability to displacement felt by residents of the Southside confirm that negative impacts associated with gentrification would not surpass the residents of this community should this process occur. Additionally, the confirmation that the foundational aspects of gentrification involving a relocation of a wealthier population into a community are present, suggests that negative impacts of gentrification may follow. This major change to the demography of the Southside has the potential to influence conditions within the community on economic, social, and cultural levels. From a residential standpoint, successful development of high-cost housing units in the Southside may draw attention to the potential for increased profits to be made by property owners. A future increase in property values that could result in rent-hikes exists as the primary threat to the residents of the Southside in regard to displacement.

Considering the findings of this study, efforts must be made in order to prevent displacement and other negative impacts of gentrification from occurring within the Southside. Although some of the foundations of gentrification can already be seen within the neighborhood, the findings of this study also suggest that the Southside has not surpassed a tipping point of total gentrification. Additional research focusing on how to protect and stabilize the Southside is necessary in

order to minimize the consequences of urban change in this community. Despite some concerning conditions already in place within the Southside that may be irreversible, efforts to prevent the acceleration of gentrification are worthwhile and effective. The findings of this study may raise concerns for the future of this neighborhood, but more importantly, they offer valuable information that can be used to benefit the delicately balanced community that is the Southside.

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APPENDIX A: COMPLETE LIST OF COLLECTED VARIABLES

1. Total Population
2. Population Density (per sq. mile)
3. Area (land)
4. Sex
5. Sex By Age
6. Sex By Age (Collapsed Version)
7. Age
8. Age (Short Version)
9. Median Age By Sex
10. Race
11. Hispanic or Latino By Race
12. Households By Household Type
13. Households By Race of Householder
14. Average Household Size
15. Educational Attainment For Population 25 Years And Over
16. Highest Educational Attainment For Population 25 Years and Over
17. Occupation For Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over
18. Employment Sector For Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over
19. Household Income
20. Median Household Income
21. Median Household Income By Race
22. Average Household Income
23. Median Family Income
24. Average Family Income
25. Median Nonfamily Household Income
26. Average Nonfamily Income
27. Housing Units
28. Tenure
29. Occupancy Status
30. Vacancy Status By Type Of Vacancy
31. Housing Units In Structure
32. Median Year Structure Built
33. House Value For All Owner-Occupied Housing Units
34. Median House Value For All Owner-Occupied Housing Units
35. Gross Rent (Housing Units With Cash Rent)
36. Gross Rent As A Percentage Of Household Income
37. Ratio of Income To Poverty Level
38. Family Households
39. Nonfamily Households
40. Owner-Occupied Housing Units