

HOLLMAN v. CISNEROS

Deconcentrating Poverty in Minneapolis

**Report No. 3:
Baseline Data Analysis for
North Side Redevelopment**

by Edward G. Goetz

Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
University of Minnesota



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Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA)
University of Minnesota
330 HHH Center
301—19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Phone: (612) 625-1551

Fax: (612) 626-0273

E-mail: cura@umn.edu

Web site: <http://www.cura.umn.edu>

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INTRODUCTION

The consent decree in *Hollman v. Cisneros*, signed in 1995, committed the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and their co-defendants to a series of dramatic policy changes. First, four north side public housing projects and dozens of scattered-site public housing units would be reviewed for possible demolition or disposition. Second, the defendants would create up to 770 units of replacement public housing in nonimpacted areas of the city and suburbs. Third, the displaced residents of the demolished scattered-site and north side public housing were to be relocated with public assistance. Fourth, the 73-acre north side site was to be redeveloped. Fifth, hundreds of tenant-based housing subsidies would be made available to Minneapolis public housing residents to enable them to move out of areas of race and poverty concentration. Sixth, changes in the operation of the Minneapolis Section 8 program would occur to make it easier for participants to exercise geographic choice. Finally, an affordable housing clearinghouse would be created to provide low-income families a centralized source of information about housing options in the metropolitan area.

The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) at the University of Minnesota was contracted by the Family Housing Fund of Minneapolis–St. Paul and by the State of Minnesota in 1998 to conduct an evaluation of the implementation of the consent decree. This is the third in a series of eight reports generated by the consent decree.

This report serves as the baseline study for conditions on the north side of Minneapolis prior to the redevelopment of the 73-acre project site. The report considers empirical data concerning the economic, social, and physical conditions on the north side, as well as resident perceptions of the neighborhood. It is intended that the analyses conducted in this report will be duplicated in the future to help determine the impact of the redevelopment on the neighborhood.

BASELINE DATA ANALYSIS FOR NORTH SIDE REDEVELOPMENT

This report presents the findings of the baseline data analysis for the 73-acre north side redevelopment site. Although there are some findings that are of intrinsic interest in the description of the conditions existing on the north side prior to its redevelopment, these data are more intended to serve as a point of comparison to conditions that are created in the community as a result of the redevelopment. Several aspects of the north side community are examined, including the prevailing economic conditions, land-use patterns, the physical stock of the neighborhood, and the perceptions and attitudes of residents living within a one-mile radius of the redevelopment site.

Because this analysis relies on a range of data sources, and these sources provide information according to slightly different boundaries, it is necessary to define three different areas of study. The first area is the **project site**—the 73-acre redevelopment site. This is the area directly subject to the agreements in the *Hollman v. Cisneros* consent decree. The second area of study is what shall be referred to as the **neighborhood**. This is an area encompassing a one-mile radius from the center of the project site (Eighth Street and Emerson Avenue North). The last area of study is the **community**, which includes all of the census tracts that are at least partially within the neighborhood boundary (as described above). The community is thus defined as census tracts 21 through 23, 27 through 29, 32, 33, 35, 41, 43 through 45, and 51. All three study areas are shown in Figure 1. Note that the neighborhood and therefore the community boundaries are truncated on the east and south sides. This is because of the significant boundaries that exist—Interstate 94 (eight lanes of freeway) to the east, and Interstate 394 and the railroad tracks to the south. These create buffers that effectively cut off the Near North from its adjacent southern and eastern areas.

Finally, at times in this report we are restricted by the data to using the City of Minneapolis' neighborhood boundaries. In such cases, neighborhood names such as *Near North* and *Sumner-Glenwood* will be used.

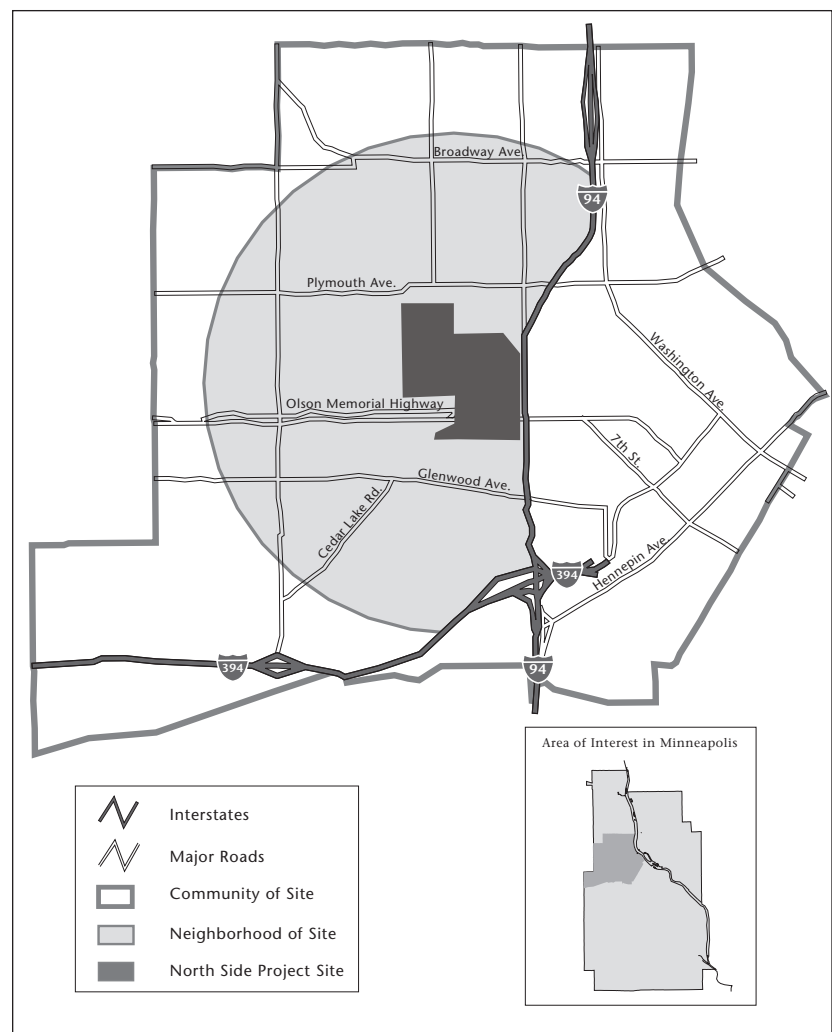


Figure 1. North Side Project Site, Neighborhood, and Surrounding Community

PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Economic Activity and Employment

The project site is bordered by industrial land uses on two sides. The commercial areas in the community are located along Broadway Avenue on the north and, to a lesser extent, along Glenwood Avenue on the south. There has been extensive new commercial and industrial development in the area in the past two decades. Broadway, the northern boundary of the area and the main commercial strip, has received considerable public investment to create a new shopping mall, including the construction of a Target store to anchor the strip. Extensive public funds were used for clearance and land assembly to complete the commercial redevelopment along Broadway. Plymouth Avenue is the site of the 22-acre Northgate Industrial Park to the northeast of the project site. The land, initially purchased by the Minnesota Department of Transportation during the 1960s for the development of a crosstown freeway, was sold to the city, which converted it into an industrial park during the 1980s. Most of this project was accomplished through public funding as well (industrial revenue bonds with some support from the Community Development Block Grant, or CDBG). The commercial and industrial area along Glenwood Avenue has not received as much attention from the public sector. It is, nevertheless, a thriving industrial center that extends from the southern edge of the project site to the railroad tracks and Interstate 394. Along with the tracks and the freeway, this industrial belt creates a large and virtually impenetrable buffer between the project site and the residential areas of the Kenwood community to the south.

The commercial and industrial businesses along Broadway, Plymouth, and Glenwood constitute a sizable concentration of employment opportunities in the community. In addition, of course, the central business district—with its wide range of commercial, retail, office, and service jobs—is only one mile from the project site. The physical proximity of job centers does not guarantee that employment opportunities will go to area residents, however. Table 1 presents data on the employment of community residents in 1998.

The first column of numbers is the average weekly wage rates for each Standard Industrial Code (SIC) classification. The second and third columns show the number (and percentage) of residents employed in each category for the project-site area and for the larger community. The data show that project-site residents were concentrated in non-durable manufacturing, retail trade, and health and repair services. Those SIC categories in which project-site residents are most highly represented tend to be among the lower paying classifications. The employment profile of community members is generally similar to that of project-site residents, with a few minor exceptions.

The inventory of businesses in the neighborhood in 1999 shows a significant amount of economic activity occurring near the site. There are three grocery stores within a half-mile of the site, and more along Broadway and Penn Avenue North roughly one mile from Eighth and Emerson. Plymouth, Glenwood, and Broadway represent the locations of most of the nearby retail opportunities for project-site residents. But retail opportunities represent a small portion of the businesses located in proximity to the site. Market Square, to the southeast of the project area, is home to dozens of graphic and design businesses. Industries along Plymouth and Glenwood also operate very close to the project site. There is only one bank located within one mile of the project-site center, at Seventh Street and Olson Memorial Highway. Despite its proximity, it cannot be regarded as a neighborhood branch because it is situated across Lyndale and the freeway (I-94) from the north side, and thus is separated from the community by two sizable physical barriers. Another bank exists on Broadway and Fremont, just outside of the one-mile radius.

Institutions

In addition to the inventory of businesses, a computerized inventory was conducted of community and governmental institutions in the neighborhood. The north side community is home to a number of educational institutions. There are two high schools in the community, Harrison Secondary School at 1510 Glenwood Avenue, and North High School, located at 1500 James Avenue North. Several elementary and middle schools exist in the neighborhood as well, including Bethune, Seed Academy, West Central Academy, Hall Community School, Franklin Middle School, Lincoln Community School, and Ascension School.

The Minnesota Literacy Council, Dunwoody Institute, Summit Academy, and other institutions provide a range of community educational opportunities within a mile of the site. There are also a large number of religious institutions located in the community, including 42 separate places of worship within a one-mile radius of Eighth and Emerson.

The area is served by Bethune Park (immediately west of the project site and north of Olson Memorial Highway) and Harrison Park (west of the site on the south side of Olson Highway). The neighborhood area (one-mile radius) also encompasses North Commons and the playground that straddles Lyndale Avenue at Sixteenth Avenue North.

Table 1. Employment of North Side Community Residents

Standard Industrial Code	Avg. weekly wages (for Minneapolis)	Number of project site residents employed	Number of community residents employed
Agricultural, Forestry, and Fisheries		0 (0)	41 (1)
Mining		0 (0)	0 (0)
Construction	\$912.48	0 (0)	267 (3)
Manufacturing	894.44	126 (25)	1,557 (18)
Durable Goods	873.58	36 (7)	595 (7)
Non-durable Goods	913.74	90 (18)	962 (11)
Transportation	877.34*	44 (9)	475 (5)
Communications and Other Public Utilities	877.34*	15 (3)	140 (2)
Wholesale Trade	899.26	5 (1)	499 (6)
Retail Trade	479.35	87 (17)	1,458 (17)
Services	712.86	321 (45)	4,319 (49)
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	—	18 (4)	773 (9)
Business and Repair Services	—	60 (12)	720 (8)
Personal Services	487.09	29 (6)	397 (4)
Entertainment and Recreational Services	690.21	0 (0)	201 (2)
Health Services	746.09	85 (17)	1,042 (12)
Educational Services	487.09	9 (2)	832 (9)
Other Professional and Related Services	—	20 (4)	1,054 (12)
Public Administration	—	0 (0)	400 (5)
Average Time of Journey to Work		13.8	—

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

*This figure is an average for the combined categories of *Transportation* and *Communications and Other Public Utilities*.

Sources: State Department of Economic Security 1998; Minnesota Department of Economic Security 2000

Residential and Social Profile

Table 2 summarizes census data on the social and economic characteristics of residents of the project site and the community. The project area is the 73-acre site that primarily was home to public housing residents. The data document the extreme concentration of poverty and disadvantage in the project area. A total of 73% of the residents of the project area and 80% of the children living there were below the poverty level in 1990, compared to 18% of residents citywide and 29% of children

Table 2. Profile of North Side Residents

	Project area	Community	Minneapolis
Total number of households	1,484	9,468	160,531
Median household annual income	\$8,015	\$20,928	\$24,324
Poverty			
Total population below the poverty level	3,490 (73)	8,136 (34)	65,556 (18)
Children below the poverty level 0-17	1,919 (80)	3,938 (46)	13,524 (29)
Annual income (households)	1,484	9,456	160,531
Less than \$15,000	1,130 (76)	3,764 (40)	47,570 (30)
\$15,000 to 24,999	250 (17)	1,591 (17)	31,739 (20)
\$25,000 to 34,999	68 (5)	1,464 (16)	25,313 (16)
\$35,000 to 49,999	28 (2)	1,308 (14)	26,006 (16)
\$50,000 to 74,999	8 (.5)	891 (9)	19,060 (12)
\$75,000 or more	0 (0)	438 (5)	10,843 (7)
Members of the workforce employed	498 (62)	9,891 (89)	192,508 (93)
Persons on public assistance	906 (61)	2,053 (22)	16,933 (11)
Female-headed households	606 (41)	2,175 (23)	20,455 (26)
Education level (persons aged 25 and over)	1,951	14,758	243,676
Less than high school	684 (35)	1,663 (11)	15,931 (7)
Some high school	513 (26)	2,301 (16)	26,517 (11)
High school degree	453 (23)	4,055 (28)	62,004 (25)
Some college	201 (10)	2,899 (20)	65,396 (27)
College degree	20 (1)	2,269 (15)	50,121 (21)
Post-graduate degree	12 (.6)	891 (6)	23,707 (10)
Percentage high school graduate or higher	38.6%	73.1%	82.6%
Percentage bachelor's degree or higher	1.6%	21.4%	30.3%
Age (total population)	4,900	24,591	363,383
Below 18	2,414 (49)	7,556 (31)	87,138 (24)
18-24	535 (11)	2,277 (9)	38,598 (10)
25-34	696 (14)	4,928 (20)	85,827 (23)
35-54	827 (17)	5,823 (24)	86,358 (25)
55 and older	428 (9)	4,007 (16)	70,462 (19)
Race			
White	289 (6)	11,275 (46)	285,409 (77)
Black	2,257 (46)	11,092 (45)	47,170 (13)
American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut	34 (.7)	631 (3)	11,807 (3)
Hispanic	18 (.4)	717 (3)	7900 (2)
Asian/Pacific Islander	2,295 (47)	1,300 (5)	15,373 (4)

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census

citywide. The income distribution was skewed strongly to the bottom end, with 93% of project-site households having incomes less than \$25,000. By comparison, only 50% of households citywide had incomes that low. Predictably, the site had much lower rates of employment compared to the surrounding community and the city as a whole, and much higher rates of public assistance income. The site also had a concentration of female-headed households (41%), much higher than the citywide figure of 26%.

In contrast, the larger north side community in which the project site is located is roughly in line with the city as a whole in household income, labor force participation, and rate of female-headed households. The community surrounding the project site was characterized by relatively high poverty rates, with 34% of the residents and 46% of children living in poverty.

The project site also had significantly more children living there than the surrounding community and the city as a whole (49% of the population, compared to 31% and 24%, respectively). Finally, the project area was home to a largely African American and Southeast Asian population. Together, these groups made up 93% of the population in a city in which, in 1990, they constituted only 17% of the population. The surrounding community was evenly balanced between Black and White residents in 1990.

Housing Market and Conditions

Three methods were used to document the state of the housing market and the conditions of the housing stock on the north side prior to the redevelopment. First, census data from 1990 on the characteristics of the housing stock were used. These data are shown in Table 3. Second, interviews

Table 3. Housing Stock for Project Area and Community, 1990

	Project Site	Community	Minneapolis
Number of housing units	1,734	10,827	172,666
Owner-occupied units	50 (3)	3,255 (30)	79,845 (46)
Median value of single-family homes	\$48,900	\$42,642	\$71,500
Less than \$75,000	50 (100)	2,286 (70)	41,337 (64)
From \$75,000 to \$125,000	0 (0)	797 (25)	19,334 (30)
From \$125,000 to \$200,000	0 (0)	157 (5)	2,884 (4)
More than \$200,000	0 (0)	15 (.5)	2,101 (3)
Year of construction			
Before 1940	237 (14)	5,608 (52)	91,816 (53)
Between 1940 and 1979	1,102 (64)	4,401 (41)	70,835 (41)
Since 1980	395 (23)	818 (8)	10,463 (6)
Unit size			
0-1 bedroom	884 (51)	3,514 (33)	57,638 (33)
2 bedrooms	600 (35)	3,218 (30)	54,433 (32)
3 or more bedrooms	250 (14)	2,746 (25)	60,595 (35)
Rental costs for rental units (per month)	1,428	5,018	80,699
Less than \$300	1,131 (79)	1,616 (32)	16,458 (20)
Between \$300 and \$499	230 (16)	1,686 (34)	31,394 (38.9)
Between \$500 and \$749	40 (3)	1,343 (27)	20,619 (26)
More than \$750	0 (0)	310 (6)	4,892 (6)

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census

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were conducted with realtors and other housing professionals to get their perceptions about the state of the housing market and trends occurring in the late 1990s. Finally, a windshield survey of the entire neighborhood (one-mile radius from Eighth Street and Emerson Avenue North) was conducted to document the nature and quality of the housing stock (see Appendix 1).

The housing stock on the north side is relatively new by city standards. Using the City of Minneapolis neighborhood definition of the Near North neighborhood, one finds that by 1990, only 30% of the neighborhood's housing stock had been built prior to 1940, compared to 53% for the entire city of Minneapolis. The median year of construction for homes in Near North is 1963, compared to 1940 for the city as a whole. Most of the new housing, however, is rental housing. Less than 40% of the rental units are pre-1940, compared to more than 60% of the owner-occupied units.

As the second poorest community in Minneapolis, and as the center of the African American community, the Near North neighborhood has not been well served by the real estate industry during the past several decades. At the time of the consent decree signing, the community had the image of one racked by extreme and concentrated poverty, and high levels of gang and drug activity. Consequently, real estate activity in the area was minimal. Obtaining conventional financing for mortgages or for home improvements was difficult. Sales prices and home values were very low, far below the city and regional averages, and they were stagnant and in some cases declining.

Real estate companies generally did not do business in Near North. As one realtor told us, "it would be absolutely suicidal for an office to open to just serve north Minneapolis, because they just wouldn't make it." Camden Realty and Twin Cities Realty, companies that specialize in north Minneapolis real estate, are the two exceptions. Otherwise, the area was typically ignored by realtors and lenders. According to a 1988 study, less than 30% of all home loans in Near North were made by banks and thrift institutions, putting the neighborhood, along with eight others, in the lowest ranking category in the city (Klauda and St. Anthony 1990). Contract-for-deed mortgages were common in the area, as were both conversions of single-family homes to rental occupancy, and property abandonment and demolition. In 1993, clusters of boarded-up buildings existed just west of the project site extending to Penn Avenue, and north of the project site to Broadway. Even greater concentrations of boarded buildings existed west of Penn and north of Broadway (Leyden 1993). Overcrowded housing conditions stood at a level far above the city's figure. In 1980, 7% of rental units had an occupancy of more than one person per room. In 1990, 13% of rental units were overcrowded in Near North, compared to the citywide figure of 5.5%.

Shortly after the signing of the *Hollman* consent decree, the housing market in Minneapolis and on the north side began to change dramatically. Vacancy rates for rental housing decreased to around 1%, driving up rents and creating a shortage of available affordable housing. In addition, sales prices and property values began to increase significantly. Between June 1999 and July 2000, the median sales price of homes in the Twin Cities set record highs six times (Gendler 2000).

At first, these price and value changes were seen only in the more traditionally attractive neighborhoods in the city. But as those micromarkets tightened, the price increases and quick market-times began to move into the city's north side. The realtors that were interviewed agreed that in 1998, conditions on the north side began to resemble those in the most coveted markets in the city. According to one realtor, between 1998 and 1999 the increase in average prices in the area was around \$15,000, with prices averaging \$75,000 to \$90,000 for existing homes, and well more than \$100,000 for newly constructed homes in the neighborhood. On the north side, the median price rose from less than \$30,000 in 1994 (the lowest in the city) to \$85,000 in 1999, a 185% increase in five years (Brandt 2000a).

A study by the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* shows that according to data from the Multiple Listing Service (MLS), home prices "exploded inside the borders of Minneapolis" between 1997 and 1998. In the entire western metropolitan area, including suburban districts, the north side of Minneapolis

recorded the seventh largest percentage increase in home prices (out of 34 districts). Four of the six districts that exceeded the north side were also areas within Minneapolis. Although price appreciation is almost universal throughout the region, north Minneapolis is among the areas with the highest percentage increases.

Since 1998, as one realtor put it, “as soon as I list something, it’s gone. In years past, I’ve always had about a dozen-and-a-half homes listed this time of year. Now, I can’t keep a listing. There is so much demand that other agents are calling to show the listing before I have a chance to sell it myself.”

The market squeeze on families with low or moderate income is especially tight. This same realtor stated that, for his lower income clients, “there are virtually no vacancies and they feel really desperate to get anything, to find anything they can.... I almost have to look for miracles to help the average person who needs housing.” The director of a group that specializes in lower income housing stated that they no longer list homes the way they used to; they simply “put the houses up for bid because people see them and are trying to get into them.” On one house, they received 30 bids and resorted to a lottery system to sell the home.

The environment of rapidly rising home prices itself has attracted more investment and speculation in the area. The city, and especially the north side, experienced a number of illegal real estate transactions called “flips” in which investors purchase properties and immediately resell them (sometimes within hours) for several times the amount they paid. Such activity requires the collusion of lenders and appraisers, and depends upon the inexperience of lower income, often first-time homebuyers (Brandt 2000b). The north side, an area that had been starved for real estate capital for many years and inhabited by many lower income people, was a perfect environment for flipping. The significance of the practice, for our purposes, is the degree to which it reflects a rapid escalation in home prices in the neighborhood. Flipping does not occur in stagnant or slow markets.

Although realtor informants who were interviewed agreed that the north side market was extremely strong in 1999, they also agreed that some submarkets are stronger than other areas. Areas away from the major transportation arteries tend to be stronger than those on busy thoroughfares. Thus, properties on Penn, Emerson, Fremont, and Lyndale Avenues tend to be less attractive than those a few blocks in. As one leaves the community (as defined in this report) and heads west of Penn Avenue, the area becomes more desirable and the market stronger. The Willard-Hay neighborhood to the west of Penn Avenue is a strong submarket, including the area around North High School (which straddles the border of the Near North neighborhood and Willard-Hay). In addition, the area known as Old Highland, located between Bryant and Girard Avenues north of Plymouth, is also one of the more stable and desirable neighborhoods in the study area, according to interviewees.

It is also clear from the home price data, and from the comments of informants who were interviewed, that although the near north side market is significantly stronger than it has been in the past, relative to most other parts of the city it is still a depressed market. Housing prices are lower on the near north side than elsewhere in the city, and there is still a greater percentage of vacant properties and abandoned homes.

Finally, it is important to note that none of our informants attributed the real estate upswing in the neighborhood to the *Hollman* agreement. That is, none interpreted the current hot market, and even the influx of new capital into the neighborhood, as the result of speculative market activity on the part of those anticipating positive changes due to the *Hollman* redevelopment. At most, one informant saw the *Hollman* redevelopment as reinforcing or complementing the changes taking place in the market, serving as yet another signal to middle-income (primarily African American) families that the neighborhood is changing in positive ways. Thus, the real estate upswing is seen by most as coincidental to the the *Hollman* redevelopment process, not the result of that process. The fact that the entire metropolitan region is experiencing a dramatic upswing in real estate reinforces this conclusion.

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On the other hand, although the increase on the north side is part of a larger market boost occurring throughout the region and the city, the increase in the Near North neighborhood is greater than that of its immediate neighbors. The 185% increase in prices since 1994 is more than twice that seen in the Harrison, Willard-Hay, and Jordan neighborhoods, and more than three times the increase seen in the Hawthorne neighborhood, just across Broadway to the north of the community. Thus, it appears that there are some extenuating factors explaining the dramatic price increases on the near north side. They could include the removal and demolition of older and problem properties in the neighborhood, the drop in crime rate, and the highly publicized demolition of hundreds of units of public housing along Olson Memorial Highway and the promise of significant redevelopment on that site (Brandt 2000a).

There is reason to be cautious about this interpretation, however. The percentage increase in housing prices in the Near North neighborhood was so dramatic, in part, because the starting point, or base, was so low to begin with (the neighborhood had the lowest housing prices in the city in the early 1990s). In the end, it seems that the *Hollman* case has probably had some impact on the nearby housing market, but that most of the increase in prices is part of a larger regional boom taking place.

Development

The north side has been the location of several large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment projects. The public housing that was created on the project site itself was the result of extensive land clearance and redevelopment. Figures 2, 3, and 4 show the dramatic changes in land use that have occurred in and around the project site during the past four decades. Much of the residential and commercial land uses that surrounded the site have given way to industrial uses and freeways that have cut off and isolated the site over time.

North of the site along Plymouth and Broadway Avenues, more large-scale redevelopment has occurred in the past few decades. The neighborhood was the site of extensive riot-related damage during the 1960s. Most of the structures on Plymouth Avenue were burned down during the riots, leaving a substantial amount of vacant or blighted land in the middle of the neighborhood. Broadway, the northern boundary of the neighborhood and the main commercial strip, has received considerable public investment to create a new shopping mall. Plymouth Avenue is the site of the 22-acre Northgate Industrial Park. Just to the southeast of the project site, an old factory was redeveloped into the International Market Square Design Center that is home to a variety of art and design businesses.

The neighborhood has seen significant change by way of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Section 236 and Section 115, some of which has undergone second-generation rehabilitation in recent years. In the eastern part of the neighborhood is Lyn Park, a 50-acre, 20-block development of 300 units within

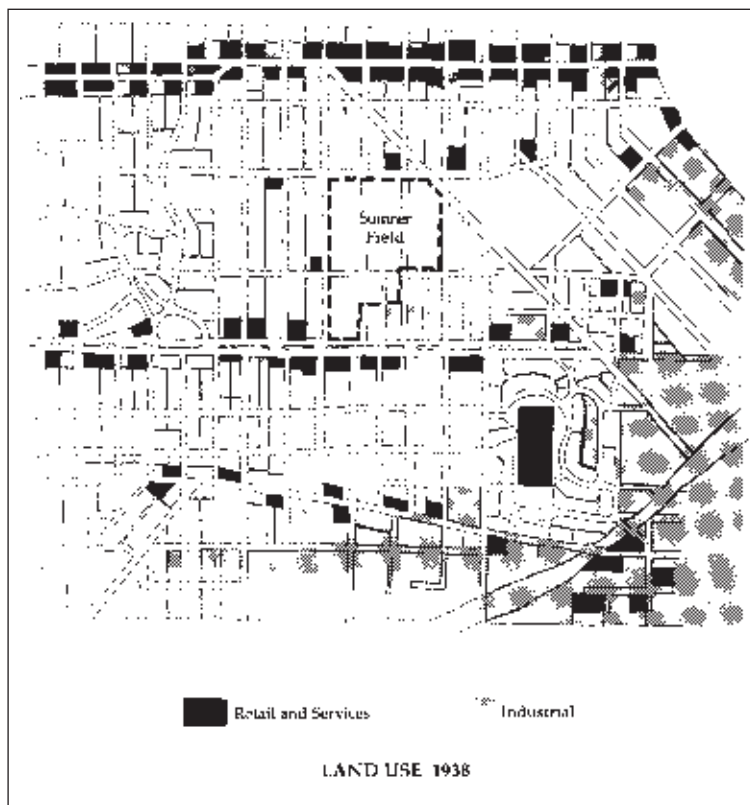


Figure 2. Land Use around the *Hollman* Project Site, 1938

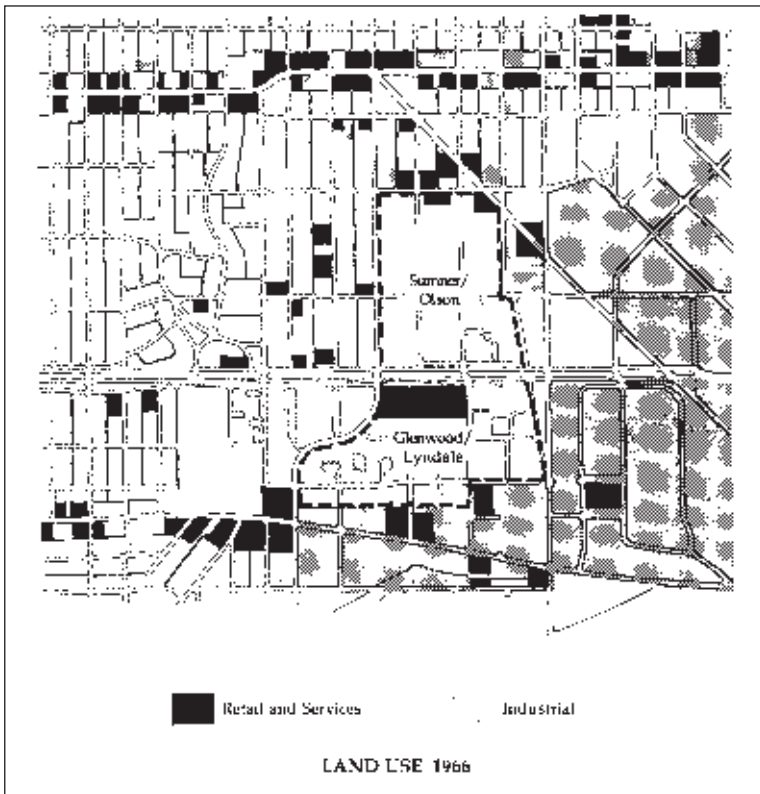


Figure 3. Land Use around the *Hollman* Project Site, 1966

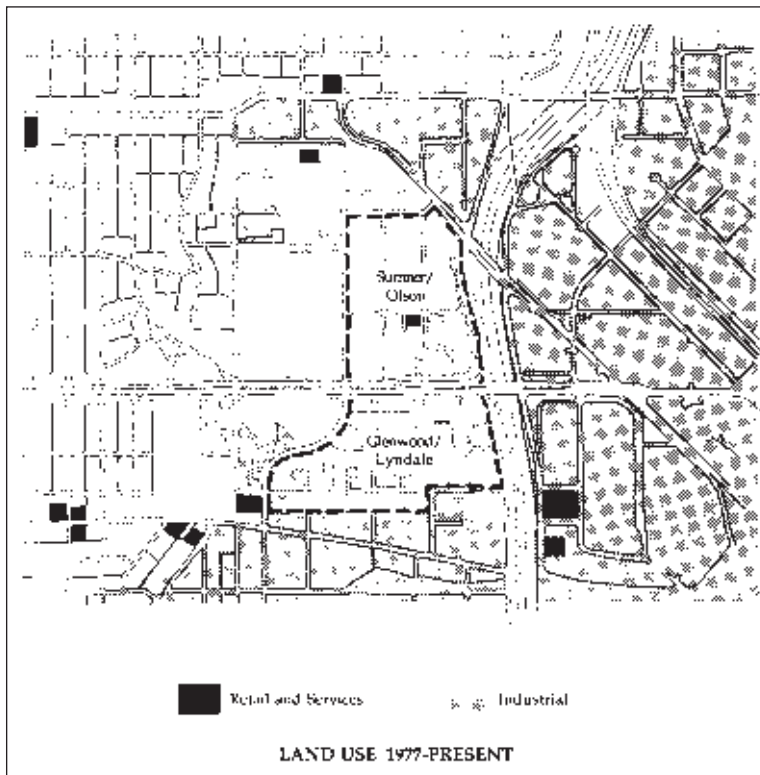


Figure 4. Land Use around the *Hollman* Project Site, 1977 to Present

one mile of downtown. Lyn Park is a total-clearance, suburban-style subdivision with winding roads and single-family housing. Community Development Block Grant funds were used as second mortgages for the sale of the new homes built in Lyn Park. Plymouth Avenue is the location of a large Section 236 apartment complex that has undergone recent rehabilitation.

The concentrated clearance and new construction has created an almost entirely new physical environment in many parts of the near north side. The Lyn Park, Broadway commercial, and Northgate Industrial Park developments are fairly recent, and enjoy a successful reputation.

There is important new development occurring near the project site. For example, the Seed Academy/Harvest Preparatory School broke ground for a \$4.8 million expansion in November 1998, and completed construction in the summer of 1999. School officials maintain that the expansion and the investment in physical structure just down the street from the Sumner site was unrelated to the public housing redevelopment plans. Plans for expansion had been several years in the making.

Building and Demolition Trends

Table 4 shows the number of demolition permits allowed in the north side neighborhood in the last half of the 1990s. Nine neighborhoods are shown to provide a context for demolition activity in the Near North area. This analysis used the neighborhood as defined by the City of Minneapolis (see Figure 1). The Sumner-Glenwood neighborhood corresponds to the project site, while the Near North and Harrison neighborhoods most closely approximate the surrounding areas focused on in this report.

Table 4. Demolitions in North Side Neighborhoods, 1995–1998

	Sumner-Glenwood	Near North	Harrison	Hawthorne	Jordan	Willard-Hay	Cleveland	Folwell	McKinley
1995	0	15	5	32	43	19	2	3	10
1996	0	21	9	31	39	23	3	2	3
1997	16	12	3	6	22	12	6	7	12
1998	51	1	8	12	45	12	1	2	42

The data show that the amount of demolition occurring in the Near North and Harrison neighborhoods surrounding the project site is in the midrange for north Minneapolis neighborhoods. It is less than that which occurred in the neighborhoods just to the north and west (Hawthorne, Jordan, and Willard-Hay), but more than occurred in the mostly residential neighborhoods one step farther north. The exception is the McKinley neighborhood in 1998, where demolition of an entire residential block occurred to make way for the construction of City View Elementary School.

The construction permit data are slightly different. For this, a standard definition of the neighborhood (the one-mile radius from the center of the project site) was used. In Figure 5, new construction trends in this neighborhood are compared to the level of new construction going on in the city as a whole. Unfortunately, data for the last quarter of 1995 and all of 1996 are unavailable.

Nevertheless, the data shown in Figure 5 reveal that construction trends in the early part of the decade mirrored that of the city as a whole, while in the last few years it has not. There have been virtually no new construction permits for the north side neighborhood in the past three years, while permits citywide have been up over previous years.

Bassett Creek Valley Master Plan

In January 1999, the Minneapolis City Council initiated the development of a master plan for the Bassett Creek Valley area. This is the area directly to the south and southwest of the project site, from Glenwood Avenue to Cedar Lake Road and the Bryn Mawr Meadows Park area on the west, south to Interstate 394, and east to Interstate 94. The plan anticipates that the Bassett Creek Valley area will receive some pressure for further development from artists and businesses due to the

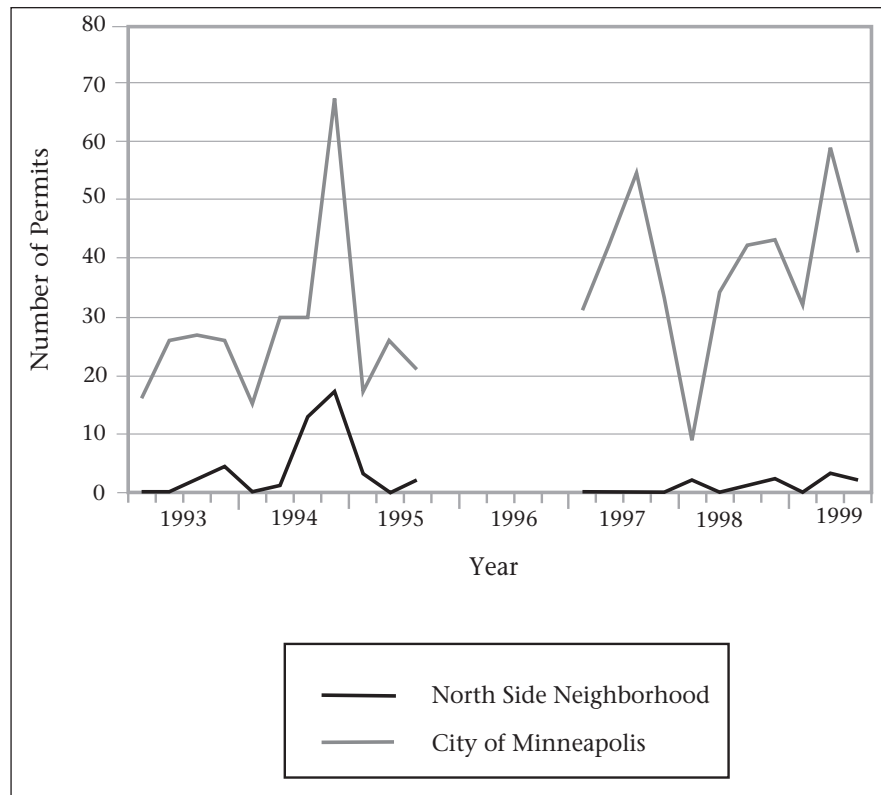


Figure 5. Construction Permits for North Side Neighborhood and City of Minneapolis, 1993–1999

Note: Data were unavailable for the last quarter of 1995, all of 1996, and the last quarter of 1999.

expansion of the Warehouse District to the east. The plan envisions the Bassett Creek Valley providing “one of the grandest entrances to the City of Minneapolis. The new meandering waters of the Bassett Creek Valley, its open spaces and delightful streets will once again integrate a diverse community into the full fabric of the City” (City of Minneapolis Planning Department 2001). This vision will require a significant alteration of current land uses, the cleanup of polluted soils, the restoration of the creek itself, and the revitalization of Glenwood Avenue.

Land-Use Survey

Figure 6 shows the land-use patterns in the study area prior to the redevelopment of the project site. The figure indicates the predominantly residential character of the project site and the surrounding neighborhood. It also reveals how the project site is ringed by industrial uses to the north and south, and how it is separated from residential areas to the west by a combination of industrial and institutional land uses. The map is truncated on the east and south where the interstates and the railroad tracks serve as boundaries to the neighborhood.

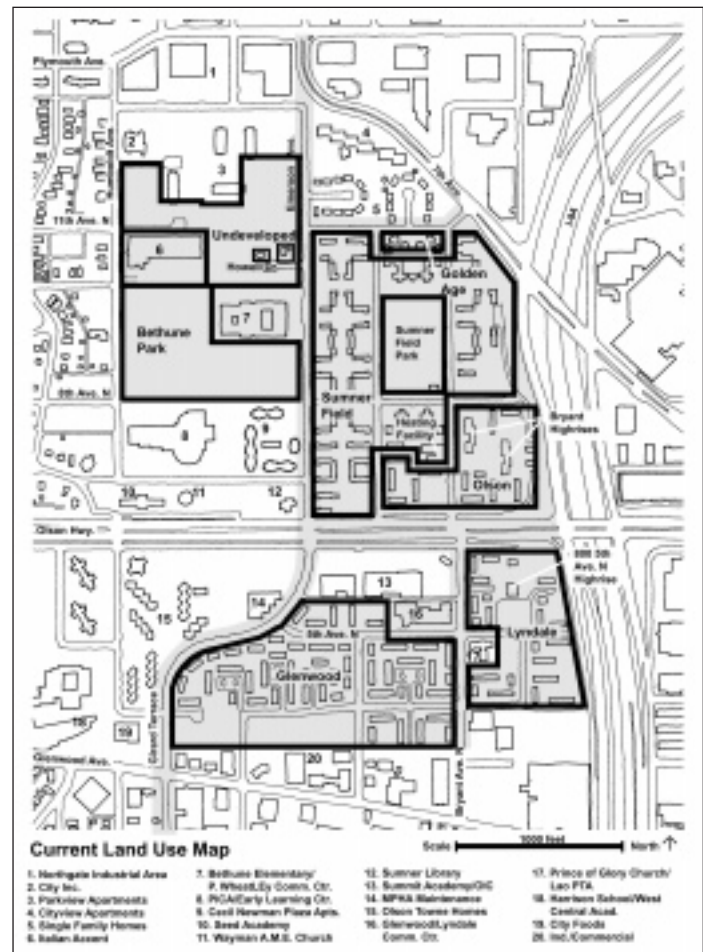


Figure 6. Land-Use Map of North Side Neighborhood, 1995

Windshield Survey

In the summer of 1999, the neighborhood (one-mile radius) around the *Hollman* project site was examined using a windshield survey of the built environment. The rationale behind the windshield survey was to establish the baseline for the study of housing stock in the community prior to redevelopment. The survey will be repeated in subsequent years to draw a comparison with the earlier figures. The boundaries of the survey are roughly Golden Valley Road and Broadway Avenue to the north, Thomas Avenue on the west, Chestnut Avenue on the south, and Interstate 94 on the east (see Appendix 1 for a full explanation of methods for the survey).

For each block in each ring and quadrant, data were collected on residential and land-use characteristics (see Table 5). For example, the data show that in the first ring there is an average of .91 multifamily buildings per block. In other words, there is a multifamily building every 1.1 blocks in ring 1. Because this is the more intuitive way of understanding the distribution of building types, the following discussion uses the figures shown in parentheses in the table. Thus, the occurrence of multifamily buildings in ring 1 can be compared to ring 2, where there is a multifamily building every one-and-a-half blocks, and ring 3, where there is one every 3.6 blocks.

The windshield survey reveals a number of patterns. The ring immediately surrounding the project site has relatively fewer residential blocks than the rest of the neighborhood (see Table 5). This reflects the presence of the industrial centers on Plymouth and Glenwood Avenues, which border the site on the north and south. The area immediately surrounding the site also has lower concentrations of multifamily buildings compared with the outer ring of the neighborhood, a lower concentration of

Table 5. Building Stock Characteristics by Ring

	Ring 1	Ring 2	Ring 3
Residential blocks	45 (75%)	103 (90%)	94 (90%)
Multifamily buildings	.91 (1.1)	.65 (1.5)	.28 (3.6)
Duplexes	.44 (2.3)	1.03 (1.0)	.62 (1.6)
Evidence of rehabilitation	.33 (3.0)	.71 (1.4)	.62 (1.6)
Boarded homes	.16 (6.25)	.26 (3.8)	.32 (3.1)
Side lots	.09 (11.1)	.21 (4.8)	.17 (5.9)
For sale	.09 (11.1)	.13 (7.7)	.09 (11.1)
Mean rating for residential buildings	1.89	1.82	1.62
Total number of blocks	60	114	104
Parks	.05 (20)	.05 (20)	.07 (14.3)
Schools	.10 (10)	.07 (14.3)	.04 (25)
Daycare facilities	.02 (50)	.06 (16.7)	.02 (50)
Churches	.05 (20)	.15 (6.7)	.11 (9.1)
Commercial properties	.58 (1.7)	.36 (2.8)	.58 (1.7)
Parking facilities	.10 (10)	.14 (7.1)	.11 (9.1)
Vacant lots	.92 (1.1)	.95 (1.1)	.51 (2)
Corner lots	.07 (14.3)	.25 (4)	.13 (7.7)

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers are mean-per-block rates. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of blocks per item.

Table 6. Building Stock Characteristics by Quadrant

	Quadrant 1 (northeast of project site)	Quadrant 2 (northwest of project site)	Quadrant 3 (southwest of project site)	Quadrant 4 (southeast of project site)
Residential blocks	35 (76%)	111 (95%)	90 (90%)	3 (7%)
Multifamily buildings	.31 (3.2)	.59 (1.7)	.63 (1.6)	1.0 (1.0)
Duplexes	.60 (1.7)	.89 (1.1)	.72 (1.4)	.00 (0)
Evidence of rehabilitation	.49 (2.0)	.65 (1.5)	.67 (1.5)	.00 (0)
Boarded homes	.23 (4.3)	.29 (3.4)	.29 (3.4)	.33 (3.0)
Side lots	.06 (16.7)	.16 (6.25)	.23 (4.3)	.00 (0)
For sale	.00 (0)	.12 (8.3)	.14 (7.1)	.00 (0)
Mean rating for residential buildings	2.11	1.88	1.78	2.00
Total number of blocks	46	117	99	13
Parks	.06 (16.7)	.09 (11.1)	.06 (16.7)	.00 (0)
Schools	.11 (9.1)	.07 (14.3)	.05 (20)	.00 (0)
Daycare facilities	.02 (50)	.05 (20)	.04 (25)	.00 (0)
Churches	.04 (25)	.13 (7.7)	.14 (7.1)	.08 (12.5)
Commercial properties	1.35 (.74)	.41 (2.4)	.29 (3.4)	.08 (12.5)
Parking facilities	.20 (5.0)	.15 (6.7)	.05 (20)	.15 (6.7)
Vacant lots	.33 (3.0)	1.08 (.92)	.64 (1.6)	.23 (4.3)
Corner lots	.06 (16.7)	.43 (2.3)	.15 (6.7)	.00 (0)

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers are mean-per-block. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of blocks per item.

existing housing rehabilitation, and relatively fewer boarded homes than the rest of the neighborhood. The quality of the housing stock actually declines a bit as one moves away from the project site; the mean rating for residential buildings in the first ring is 1.89, while the mean rating for homes farthest away (ring 3) is 1.62.

There are a few significant differences in land use nearer the project site compared to the rest of the neighborhood. Churches are less common (one every twenty blocks compared to one every nine blocks in the outermost part of the neighborhood), and schools are more common (one every ten blocks compared to one every twenty-five blocks in the outlying part of the neighborhood). But the concentration of commercial and parking facilities does not vary much by distance from the project site. Throughout the entire neighborhood, however, there are many vacant lots; they occur at a rate of more than one every two blocks.

Table 6 shows the patterns by quadrant. The western part of the neighborhood is almost exclusively residential, with 95% of the blocks in the northwestern quadrant and 90% of the blocks in the southwestern quadrant predominantly residential. The southeastern quadrant is virtually all nonresidential. The northeastern part of the neighborhood has relatively fewer multifamily buildings than other parts of the neighborhood, and the housing stock is slightly better, receiving a mean rating of 2.11, compared to ratings of 1.88 and 1.78 for the two western quadrants. The heavily residential areas to the west of the site also have a higher incidence of vacant lots, boarded homes, and open corner lots compared to the area northeast of the site.

SURVEY OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS

In April 1999, questionnaires were sent to randomly selected residents living within a one-mile radius of the center of the project site (see Appendix 2). Respondents answered questions about their overall satisfaction with their neighborhood, its general appearance, and their feelings of safety, and rated their neighborhood as a place to live. Respondents were also asked about the importance of several recent developments or events affecting the north side, including the recent demolition of more than 300 public housing units at the project site. (At the time the survey was conducted, demolition of the Glenwood and Lyndale public housing units south of Olson Memorial Highway had not begun.) Mailing and data collection were conducted from April 2 to August 30, 1999. Questionnaires were completed and returned by 207 north side residents, for a response rate of 37%. Survey responses were geo-coded for proximity to the project site, allowing us to measure how close to the project each respondent lived.

Sampling Design

The objective of this survey was to determine the impact of the north side redevelopment on people's satisfaction, sense of safety, and confidence in the neighborhood. A stratified random sample of household addresses was selected from among residents living within a one-mile radius of the project site. Equal numbers of households were selected for three concentric rings within the one-mile radius: those living within one-quarter mile, between one-quarter mile and one-half mile, and more than one-half mile. Because of the stratified sample, the responses analyzed here were weighted. Although equal numbers were sampled from each ring, there are more households in the second ring compared to the first, and in the third ring compared to the first two. Therefore, weighting the responses was necessary to get a comprehensive and accurate accounting of all residents within the neighborhood.

Because the project site itself is so large (73 acres), a one-quarter-mile radius from the center of the site did not produce a large number of addresses or respondents. Thus, for this analysis, the first two rings are combined, thereby dividing the sample into those living within one-half mile of the site center and those living between one-half mile and one mile away. When possible, actual distance from the corner of Eighth Street and Emerson Avenue North was used.

Demographics

According to the survey, 70% of the respondents were people of color, with African Americans being the largest single group (see Table 7). Just under one-half of the respondents considered themselves African American, 30% White, 13% Asian, 1% Hispanic/Latino, 5% Mixed (no dominant racial identification), and 1% Other.

More than half (57%) of the respondents were female, and homeowners comprised 59% of the group. The average term of residency for the respondents was nine years, although just more than one-third reported tenures of three years or less. The average is driven upward by a small group of respondents who have lived in their current homes for very long periods (12% of respondents have lived in their homes for more than 20 years, 5% for more than 30 years). The average length of residence was 11 years for homeowners and 5 years for renters, a difference that is statistically significant ($t = 4.01, p < .001$).

Table 8 lists the marital status of respondents. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents were single, 38% married, 13% divorced, 4% separated, and 4% widowed. With respect to household size, nearly half of the respondents (49%) lived in small households of only one or two people (see Table 9). At the other end of the spectrum, one in four respondent households (24%) consisted of five or more people. Two-person households were the single largest group among respondents (29%). Just under half of the responding households reported having no children (47%), and another third had one or two children.

The average age of the respondents was 45 years, with 22% of the respondents younger than 34 and 22% older than 55 (see Table 10). More than one-half (54%) of the respondents had some college education or higher, while 13% had not finished high school. One-third of the households had an annual income of less than \$20,000, and another third earned between \$20,000 and \$39,999 per year (Tables 10, 11, and 12).

The question arises, of course, as to how closely the sample of respondents reflects the entire population of the north side area. A comparison of the demographics of the survey respondents to the figures from the census for the entire community is problematic, however, primarily because the census data are almost 10 years old. Furthermore, because of the random selection of the sample,

Table 7. Racial Makeup of Respondents

What race do you consider yourself?	
African American	72 (49%)
White/Caucasian	43 (30%)
Asian	19 (13%)
Mixed	7 (5%)
Hispanic/Latino	2 (1%)
Other	2 (1%)
American Indian	0 (0%)

Table 8. Marital Status of Respondents

What is your marital status?	
Single	57 (39%)
Married	55 (38%)
Separated	6 (4%)
Divorced	14 (13%)
Widowed	6 (4%)
Other	3 (2%)

Table 9. Respondents' Household Size and Number of Children Under Age 19

Household size		Number of children	
1	29 (20%)	0	65 (47%)
2	42 (29%)	1	22 (16%)
3	22 (15%)	2	23 (17%)
4	20 (14%)	3 or more	29 (20%)
5	14 (10%)		
6 or more	19 (14%)		

Table 10. Age of Respondents

Respondent's Age	
0-24	5 (3%)
25-34	34 (22%)
35-54	72 (53%)
55 and older	30 (22%)

Table 11. Education Levels of Respondents

Education completed	
Less than high school	6 (5%)
Some high school	12 (8%)
High school graduate	23 (17%)
Some technical school	12 (8%)
Some college	36 (26%)
College graduate	19 (14%)
Postgraduate	15 (11%)
Other	5 (3%)

Table 12. Household Income Levels of Respondents

Income before taxes	
Less than \$10,000	21 (15%)
\$10,000 to \$19,999	25 (18%)
\$20,000 to \$29,999	28 (20%)
\$30,000 to \$39,999	17 (13%)
\$40,000 to \$49,999	14 (10%)
More than \$50,000	32 (23%)

survey respondents should closely resemble the makeup of the entire area from which they were selected. However, the relatively low response rate (37%) introduces the possibility of nonresponse bias—that is, those who did not respond to the questionnaire were systematically different from those who did. One way of estimating nonresponse bias is to examine the speed with which respondents returned questionnaires. It can be assumed that those who took a long time to respond (those who were reluctant to mail back the questionnaire) are similar to those who did not respond at all. If the length of time it took respondents to return the questionnaire is significantly related to any of the demographic variables collected, then it is possible that nonresponse also was related to that trait.

Tests were done to determine whether the length of time taken to respond to the survey was related to any of the demographic traits measured in the questionnaire. For age,

income, education, length of residency, homeownership, household size, and sex, no relationships were found. There was one variable, however, that was related to the length of time taken to respond. African American respondents took significantly longer to return surveys than did White respondents. (There were no statistically significant differences between African American and Asian respondents, or between Asian and White respondents.) Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that our sample of survey respondents may include a smaller percentage of African American relative to White respondents than actually exists in the area’s population. If any of the answers to substantive questions differ between African American and White respondents, then our estimates of those answers for the entire neighborhood may also be somewhat biased.

Respondents’ Attitudes and Beliefs about the North Side

The objective of this initial survey was to establish a baseline of residents’ attitudes against which to compare later findings drawn from a study after redevelopment of the project site. It was hypothesized that the redevelopment could potentially have an impact on five dimensions of neighborhood living: (1) the level of neighborhood satisfaction reported by residents, (2) residents’ sense of safety, (3) residents’ confidence in the future direction of the neighborhood, (4) the psychological sense of community felt by residents, and (5) the level of social capital in the community. In addition, it was hypothesized that if there are changes in the neighborhood on any of these five dimensions and these changes are indeed the result of the *Hollman* redevelopment, then the magnitude of the changes should be greater for respondents who reside closer to the project site. Thus, in addition to collecting information on the items described above, this analysis will consider the degree to which they are correlated with distance from the project site.

Neighborhood Satisfaction

One series of questions asked of north side residents related to their sense of satisfaction with the neighborhood as a place to live, with the general appearance of the neighborhood, and with services

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in the neighborhood. Table 13 shows the respondents' overall satisfaction with the neighborhood. Just more than half reported being either somewhat or very satisfied with the neighborhood. Twelve percent chose a neutral response (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied), and just more than one-third answered that they were dissatisfied.

The general appearance of the neighborhood was most frequently reported by the respondents as good (46%) and poor (39%). Again, just more than half (52%) of the respondents rated the appearance of the neighborhood as very good or good, while 48% regarded it as poor or very poor (see Table 14).

Respondents were also asked to rate their neighborhood as a place to live. Only 10% rated the neighborhood as a very good place to live, 52% rated it good, 31% poor, and 7% rated it a very poor place to live.

Table 15 shows the responses to questions related to respondents' satisfaction with specific services available in the neighborhood, or with other specific aspects of their neighborhoods. The items showing the highest level of satisfaction are public transportation (71% either satisfied or very satisfied) and items related to size, cost, and quality of the homes of the respondents (more than two-thirds of respondents indicated satisfaction with each of these items). The lowest levels of satisfaction are for the number of jobs (only 18% satisfied or very satisfied), the variety of shops and services in the neighborhood (25% satisfied or very satisfied), and the number of grocery stores and childcare facilities (both with 31% satisfied or very satisfied).

Table 13. Respondents' Level of Satisfaction with the Neighborhood

Overall, how satisfied are you with the neighborhood?	
Very satisfied	20 (14%)
Somewhat satisfied	56 (38%)
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	17 (12%)
Somewhat dissatisfied	32 (22%)
Very dissatisfied	20 (14%)

Table 14. Respondents' Rating of Neighborhood's General Appearance

How would you rate the general appearance of your neighborhood?	
Very good	9 (6%)
Good	67 (46%)
Poor	57 (39%)
Very poor	13 (9%)

Table 15. Respondents' Level of Satisfaction with Neighborhood Characteristics

Rate your level of satisfaction with the following aspects of your neighborhood:	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Mean
Public transportation	31 (22)	70 (49)	30 (21)	7 (5)	5 (4)	2.20
Schools	13 (9)	59 (42)	51 (36)	11 (8)	7 (5)	2.57
Safety	4 (3)	44 (30)	30 (21)	47 (33)	19 (13)	3.24
Racial makeup	13 (9)	69 (48)	44 (31)	15 (10)	8 (6)	2.59
Number of jobs	4 (3)	21 (15)	50 (35)	41 (29)	32 (22)	3.46
Variety of shops and services	7 (5)	28 (20)	27 (19)	49 (34)	32 (22)	3.5
Hospitals or clinics	12 (9)	41 (29)	38 (28)	30 (21)	17 (12)	2.99
How near you live to your friends	14 (10)	46 (32)	53 (37)	23 (16)	8 (6)	2.77
Available childcare	13 (9)	31 (22)	74 (53)	11 (7)	12 (9)	2.85
Grocery stores	6 (9)	32 (22)	21 (15)	43 (30)	40 (28)	3.56
Playgrounds and parks	13 (9)	59 (38)	40 (28)	21 (14)	15 (10)	2.79
Size of home/apartment	32 (22)	75 (52)	14 (10)	13 (9)	10 (7)	2.25
Cost of home/apartment	38 (26)	65 (45)	20 (14)	13 (9)	8 (6)	2.23
Quality of home/apartment	30 (20)	68 (47)	21 (15)	15 (11)	10 (7)	2.36

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages. The lower the mean response, the greater the level of satisfaction.

Table 16. Respondents' Level of Satisfaction with Neighborhood Services

How satisfied are you with how close you live to...	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Mean
nearest supermarket or grocery store?	18 (12)	47 (33)	26 (18)	28 (19)	26 (18)	2.97
nearest hospital or clinic?	19 (14)	62 (43)	27 (19)	21 (15)	13 (9)	2.62
your friends?	15 (11)	54 (38)	43 (30)	21 (15)	8 (6)	2.67
your church?	28 (21)	51 (37)	42 (31)	8 (6)	8 (6)	2.39
nearest playground or park?	28 (20)	66 (47)	25 (18)	15 (10)	9 (6)	2.33
your bank?	20 (14)	68 (48)	30 (21)	15 (10)	9 (6)	2.46
nearest bus route?	53 (37)	69 (49)	16 (11)	2 (1)	2 (1)	1.80
school?	25 (18)	62 (44)	45 (32)	4 (3)	5 (3)	2.30
community center?	19 (13)	56 (39)	50 (35)	10 (7)	6 (4)	2.49
social services?	10 (7)	56 (39)	58 (41)	11 (8)	6 (4)	2.63

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages. The lower the mean response, the greater the level of satisfaction.

The mean response rates listed at the far right of the table provide a shorthand way of comparing the relative degree of satisfaction across items. The higher the mean response, the less satisfaction indicated by the respondents. A value of 3.00 represents the neutral “neither satisfied nor dissatisfied” category. If the mean is below 3.00, it indicates that the average response was toward satisfaction; when the mean is above 3.00, it indicates the average was toward dissatisfaction. Only four items averaged a “dissatisfied” response: number of jobs, grocery stores, variety of shops and services, and safety of neighborhood.

Respondents were also asked how satisfied they were with the proximity of each item to their place of residence. This question gets at the locational advantages and disadvantages of the north side. For example, when asked about their satisfaction with the location of the nearest grocery store, respondents gave a mean response of 2.97 (see Table 16). But when asked to evaluate their satisfaction with the grocery store(s) in their community, respondents gave a mean response of 3.56 (see Table 15). This means that respondents were less concerned about the location of grocery stores in the neighborhood than they were with the quality of those stores (difference in means is significant at $p < .001$). This pattern is repeated for three other items—schools, hospitals and clinics, and parks. In each case, respondents indicated significantly greater satisfaction with the proximity of those services and amenities than they did with the quality of those items.

In general, there is a fairly high level of satisfaction with residents' proximity to the items listed in Table 16. The only items listed for which less than half of the respondents expressed satisfaction are proximity to grocery store, friends, and social services. For all other issues, more than half of the respondents indicated they were very satisfied or satisfied. The highest dissatisfaction was for grocery stores (37%), hospitals/clinics (24%), and friends (21%).

Safety

A second important indicator of how residents feel about their communities is their reported sense of safety. Several questions asked residents about their general feelings of safety, safety in specific areas, and how strongly they felt about certain crime problems.

Although a majority of respondents reported they feel safe (52%) or very safe (7%) in their neighborhood, more than two out of every five respondents reported feeling unsafe in the Near North community. This represents a high level of concern about crime and personal safety (see Table 17).

When asked in greater detail, almost two-thirds (61%) of the respondents said they feel very safe, and more than half indicated feeling safe about the streets during the day (Table 18). For the streets

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near their home at night, 16% reported feeling very safe and 54% safe. According to the survey, people feel even less safe about the streets near the neighborhood school, with 13% of the respondents choosing “very safe” and 54% “safe.”

There are several other issues about which residents expressed a high level of concern (see

Table 19). More than one-third of the respondents felt that drug dealers and litter/garbage on the streets were “major problems” in the neighborhood. Just under one-third of respondents cited run-down properties and neglected yards as major problems. Racial intolerance and graffiti were regarded as less of a problem compared to the other issues listed. The higher the mean response to a given item, the less of a problem the respondents felt it to be. The data show that on average, respondents considered drug dealing and litter and garbage to be the most problematic neighborhood conditions.

Confidence

The third set of beliefs and behaviors examined were those related to respondents’ sense of confidence in the neighborhood (Table 20). In answer to the direct question, the majority of respondents reported being very confident or somewhat confident that their neighborhood will be a nice place to live in the next five years. About 17% were very confident and 45% were somewhat confident. However, a significant number of respondents indicated that they were either not very confident (27%) or not at all confident (11%).

Table 17. Degree of Safety in Neighborhood

Overall, how safe do you feel in your neighborhood?	
Very safe	10 (7%)
Safe	74 (52%)
Unsafe	45 (31%)
Very unsafe	15 (10%)

Table 18. Other Questions about Neighborhood Safety

Where you live now, how safe are the streets...	Very safe	Safe	Neither safe nor unsafe	Unsafe	Very unsafe	Mean
near your home during the day?	15 (11)	70 (50)	33 (23)	19 (13)	6 (4)	2.52
near your home at night?	7 (5)	36 (25)	37 (26)	35 (25)	27 (19)	3.28
near your neighborhood school?	6 (4)	39 (29)	56 (40)	29 (21)	10 (7)	2.98

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages. The lower the mean response, the greater the feeling of safety.

Table 19. Degrees of Neighborhood Problems

In your neighborhood, how much of a problem are the following:	Major problem	Moderate problem	Minor problem	Not a problem	Mean
Graffiti or writing on the walls	9 (6)	44 (31)	61 (43)	26 (19)	2.75
People drinking alcohol in public	30 (21)	43 (30)	48 (33)	23 (16)	2.45
Drug dealers or users	50 (35)	44 (31)	31 (22)	17 (12)	2.10
Abandoned buildings	32 (23)	51 (36)	31 (22)	26 (19)	2.36
Litter and garbage on streets	60 (42)	36 (25)	35 (24)	13 (9)	2.00
Vandalism	28 (20)	46 (33)	44 (32)	20 (14)	2.41
Yards not taken care of	44 (30)	36 (25)	40 (27)	24 (17)	2.31
Run-down properties	45 (31)	32 (22)	45 (31)	22 (15)	2.30
Noisy neighbors	37 (26)	31 (22)	37 (26)	38 (27)	2.54
Racial intolerance or discrimination	21 (15)	27 (19)	42 (30)	51 (36)	2.87

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages. The lower the mean response, the greater the perceived problem.

Just under half of the respondents felt that property values are increasing a lot (15%) or a little (33%). This shows awareness of the market trends that were discussed earlier in the report, but may also be part of the respondents' sense of confidence in the area. Only 13% felt that values were decreasing (see Table 21).

Of the residents who responded, 16% thought the neighborhood was getting to be a much better place to live, 32% thought it was becoming somewhat better, 35% felt it was staying the same, and 17% thought it was getting somewhat worse or much worse (see Table 22).

An alternative way of measuring residents' sense of confidence in the neighborhood is to measure the degree to which they have made improvements in their own properties in recent years. Among all of the homeowner respondents, 55% reported having made major improvements to their house during the last two years, and 64% plan to do so in the next two years. This suggests a fairly high level of commitment to the neighborhood.

Despite the generally confident feeling about their neighborhood, one-quarter (26%) of the respondents reported that they planned to move in the next year, and an additional 22% were not sure if they would stay. The high level of planned mobility is related to the high number of renters in the neighborhood. Among renters, almost 50% plan to move in the next year, compared to only 10% of homeowners.

Sense of Community

The psychological sense of community felt by neighborhood residents has been studied extensively, and has been recognized as having an extraordinary impact on neighborhood changes. The concept has been measured in various ways. Nasar and Julian (1995) developed a method of testing the sense of community based on a simplification of previous methods. They argue that by asking a set of 11 specific questions, one is able to get a valid and reliable estimate of sense of community. Those questions were incorporated into the survey given to north side residents. Table 23 shows the answers to the 11 questions. It will be most useful to examine whether the scores differ by proximity to the project site, whether they vary according to demographic attributes, or whether (after the post-test survey is completed) they change over time.

Based on the answers summarized in Table 23, a sense-of-community scale was created by taking the average response to the 11 questions. This variable can be thought of as a summary measure of a respondent's sense of community. In this particular case, a lower score represents a stronger sense of community.

Table 20. Respondents' Level of Confidence about Neighborhood

How confident are you that your neighborhood will be a nice place to live in the next five years?	
Very confident	25 (17%)
Somewhat confident	66 (45%)
Not very confident	40 (27%)
Not at all confident	16 (11%)

Table 21. Respondents' Feelings about Neighborhood Property Values

How much are property values changing in your neighborhood?	
Increasing a lot	21 (15%)
Increasing a little	46 (33%)
Staying about the same	29 (20%)
Decreasing a little	10 (7%)
Decreasing a lot	9 (6%)
Don't know	28 (19%)

Table 22. Respondents' Feelings about Neighborhood Change

Is your neighborhood getting to be a better or worse place to live?	
Getting much better	24 (16%)
Getting somewhat better	47 (32%)
Staying about the same	51 (35%)
Getting somewhat worse	13 (9%)
Getting much worse	12 (8%)

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The distribution of scale scores for sense of community approximates a normal distribution. The average score on the scale is 2.85, the median score (the number that half of the scores fall above and half fall below) is 2.82, and the mode (the most frequent score) is 2.55.

The sense-of-community index is negatively correlated with whether respondents own their homes or not ($t = -3.50$, $p = .001$). This indicates that homeowners have a stronger sense of community than renters. The sense of community is also stronger when general feeling of satisfaction ($p < .001$), general feeling of safety ($p < .001$), and confidence that the neighborhood will be a good place to live in five years ($p < .001$) are greater. The sense-of-community index is not correlated with the gender or racial characteristics of respondents. It is also unrelated to the distance variable (which measures how far away the respondent lives from Eighth Street and Emerson Avenue North).

Table 23. Measures of Social Capital in Neighborhood and for Residents

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your neighborhood?	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean
I am quite similar to most people who live in this neighborhood.	6 (4)	42 (29)	41 (29)	37 (26)	17 (12)	3.13
If I feel like talking, I can generally find someone in this neighborhood to talk to right away.	11 (8)	52 (36)	23 (16)	36 (25)	22 (15)	3.04
I care whether this neighborhood does well.*	71 (50)	37 (26)	21 (15)	6 (4)	8 (5)	1.89
The police in this neighborhood are generally friendly.	9 (7)	52 (36)	48 (33)	15 (10)	20 (14)	2.89
People here know they can get help from others in the neighborhood if they are in trouble.	8 (6)	34 (24)	52 (36)	34 (23)	16 (11)	3.10
My friends in this neighborhood are part of my everyday activities.	2 (1)	26 (18)	28 (19)	60 (41)	29 (20)	3.61
If I am upset about something personal, there is someone in this neighborhood to whom I can turn.*	13 (9)	42 (29)	27 (19)	36 (25)	28 (19)	3.16
I have friends in this neighborhood on whom I can depend.*	21 (15)	45 (31)	26 (18)	28 (19)	24 (16)	2.91
If there were a serious problem in this neighborhood, the people here could get together and solve it.	8 (6)	49 (34)	37 (26)	33 (23)	17 (12)	3.01
If someone does something good for this neighborhood, it makes me feel good.	50 (35)	73 (50)	19 (13)	1 (1)	2 (1)	1.83
If I had an emergency, even people I don't know in this neighborhood would be willing to help.	10 (7)	47 (33)	50 (34)	24 (16)	14 (10)	2.89

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages.

*These questions were asked in the negative in the original survey to minimize patterned-response bias. The questions were reworded for this table, and answers were recoded to match the format for the rest of the items in the table.

Social Capital

The sense-of-community index measures the degree to which residents identify with the neighborhood, and the degree to which they sense a network of informal support among neighbors. To many, this is one form of social capital that can be built in neighborhoods, a form focused on the internal relationships among residents. Analysts have also measured social capital by examining the degree to which people “join” civic organizations or participate in civic duties. This survey adopted four questions to examine this dimension of social capital (see Table 24).

Table 24. Measures of Social Capital

	Responded yes
Did you vote in the last election?	89 (64%)
Are you a member of the local neighborhood association?	27 (18%)
Do you belong to a church, synagogue, mosque, or other place of worship that is located in your neighborhood?	52 (36%)
In the past six months, have you volunteered for any neighborhood event?	39 (27%)

Note: Numbers are the number of respondents reporting each of the items. Figures in parentheses indicate percentage of all respondents.

From the answers in Table 24, a summary measure of social capital was created by adding together the number of “yes” answers for each respondent. The distribution of this measure is shown in Figure 7. The most common value is a score of 1.0, and the average score is 1.4. The distribution shows most respondents scored 1.0 or less on the index.

To determine what type of people exhibit higher levels of social capital, the relationships were tested between social capital and distance, length of residency, ownership status, race, income, age, household size, and education. Statistically, the social capital index is positively correlated with status of owning a home (t-test, $t = 3.6$, significance = 0.022), the length of residency (correlation, significance = .002), the highest level of education (correlation, significance = 0.032), total 1998 household income (correlation, significance = 0.000), and the age of the resident (correlation, significance = 0.042). The social capital index is negatively correlated with the number of people in the household (significance = 0.006). When broken down into different racial groups, Asian respondents have significantly lower levels of social capital compared to other races ($t = -3.43$). One possible explanation for this result is the significant influx of Southeast Asian immigrants into the north side in the last few years who may be less politically active, and who, in fact, are ineligible to vote, which is one of the indicators of social capital in the index. In addition, compared to other racial groups, Asian respondents also have much shorter terms of residency ($t = -2.7$).

Importance of Hollman Redevelopment to Neighborhood Improvement

The questionnaire also asked respondents to indicate how important three recent events were to the improvement of the neighborhood (see Table 25). The three events listed were (1) a new set of stores added to the

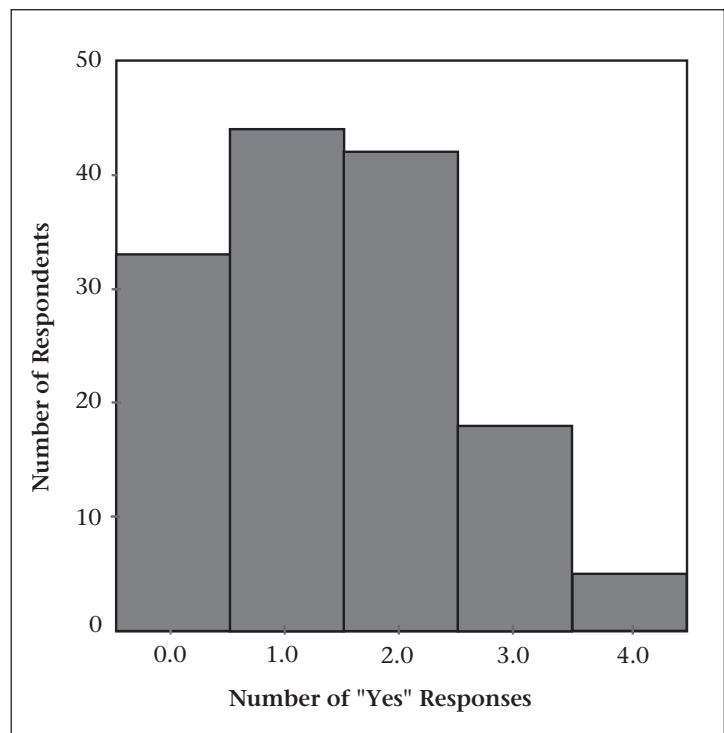


Figure 7. Social Capital Index

Std. Dev. = 1.08
 Mean = 1.4
 N = 143

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commercial area at Broadway and Dupont Avenues, (2) the demolition of more than 300 units of public housing at Olson Memorial Highway and Bryant Avenue, and (3) the police policy of zero tolerance in dealing with suspected gang crime. Respondents were asked to rate how important each of these factors was to the improvement of their neighborhood.

The data show that north side respondents regarded the anticrime initiative as the most important of the three in improving conditions in the neighborhood. It is notable, however, that close to three-quarters of the respondents indicated that the demolition of public housing at the project site is important for the improvement of the neighborhood. The least amount of enthusiasm (at least with respect to its importance in improving the neighborhood) was expressed for the commercial upgrading on Broadway Avenue.

Importance of Distance from the *Hollman* Site

This section considers whether any of the attitudes and behaviors examined in the previous section vary by how far the respondents live from the redevelopment site. This is important to establish a baseline for examining the impact of redevelopment in future years.

Of the demographic characteristics measured in the survey, only one is related to distance from the site. Compared to other races, White respondents on average live farther away from the *Hollman* site ($t = 3.72$, significance = 0.000). No other demographic characteristics—including marital status, income, education, household size, length of residency, age, gender, and homeownership status—are statistically correlated with distance.

Neither the question that asked about overall satisfaction with the neighborhood, nor any of the other 26 questions related to satisfaction with the quality or location of neighborhood services and amenities, are statistically correlated with distance from the *Hollman* site. Similarly, none of the questions about respondents' sense of safety is statistically related to their distance from the *Hollman* site.

Respondents were also asked several questions about their sense of confidence in the future prospects of the neighborhood, and whether they have made or plan to make improvements in their homes. None of the answers to these questions was related to the distance of respondents from the *Hollman* site.

Respondents' psychological sense of community and their scores on the social capital index were examined to see whether they were related to distance from the redevelopment site. They were not.

Finally, a respondent's tendency to regard the demolition of public housing on site as important to the neighborhood was tested to see whether it was correlated with proximity to the site. As with all

Table 25. Importance of Recent Events to Improvement of North Side

How important to the improvement of the north side is...	Very important or important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant or very unimportant	Mean
demolition of Sumner Field public housing*	102 (72)	24 (17)	15 (11)	2.01
police policy of zero tolerance for gang activity [†]	128 (89)	9 (7)	6 (4)	1.52
recent commercial development on Broadway [‡]	91 (63)	35 (25)	17 (12)	2.22

Note: Figures in parentheses are row percentages. The differences in means across all comparisons are statistically significant at $p = .05$ or below. The lower the mean response, the more important the item as reported by respondent.

*“In the past three years, the city has torn down over 300 units of public housing at Olson Highway and Bryant Avenue. How important is that to the improvement of the neighborhood?”

[†]“Recently, the police department has instituted a policy of ‘zero tolerance’ in dealing with suspected gang crime. How important is that to the improvement of the neighborhood?”

[‡]“Recently, a new set of stores has been added at Broadway and Dupont. How important is that to the improvement of the neighborhood?”

of the other substantive questions examined, no statistical relationship was found between the answers to that question and distance from the site.

Multivariate Analysis

The following analysis attempts to determine whether any of the demographic attributes of respondents is related to satisfaction, sense of safety, neighborhood confidence, psychological sense of community, or social capital. Multivariate analysis was used to test for the impact of one attribute on, for example, sense of satisfaction, while controlling for all other attributes. This approach makes it possible to determine whether older respondents are more or less satisfied than younger ones, controlling for sex, race, housing tenure, etc. In the following analysis, the **dependent variables** are (1) the answer to the question about overall neighborhood satisfaction, (2) the answer to the question about overall sense of safety, (3) the answer to the question about what kind of place to live the neighborhood will be in the future, (4) the respondents' scores on the sense-of-community index, (5) the respondents' scores on the social capital index, and (6) respondents' answers to the question about the importance of the north side public housing demolition. The analysis attempts to explain the variation in those dependent variables by including the following **independent variables** in the models: age, marital status, length of residency in the neighborhood, race, education, household income, whether respondents have children, household size, whether the respondent is a homeowner, and finally, the distance the respondent lives from the project site.

Homeownership was the only variable that was significantly correlated with neighborhood satisfaction. The relationship indicates that homeowners have a higher level of satisfaction about the neighborhood (adjusted R-square = .03).

The equation predicting respondents' sense of safety produced a few more relationships. Again, homeownership status was associated with sense of safety ($p < .01$), but so were total household income ($p < .05$) and whether the respondent was Black ($p < .05$, adjusted R-square = .14). The data show that homeowners, higher income residents, and African American respondents felt safer in the neighborhood.

The multivariate analysis of neighborhood confidence showed that only homeownership was statistically correlated with the general feeling of confidence ($p < .001$, adjusted R-square = .03).

This pattern is repeated for respondents' sense of community. Only homeownership was significantly associated with a higher sense of community ($p < .001$, adjusted R-square = .07). Homeowners in general felt a stronger sense of community than did other respondents.

The social capital equation shows three variables significantly associated with higher levels of social capital: household income ($p < .01$), sex of the respondent ($p < .05$), and homeownership ($p < .05$). Higher income respondents, female respondents, and homeowners scored higher on the social capital index (adjusted-R square = .21).

Finally, none of the independent variables tested were significantly related to the respondents' attitudes about the importance of the public housing demolition (adjusted R-square = .10). This means that for any of the attributes examined, one cannot distinguish between those who feel the demolition is very important to the neighborhood and those who feel it is less important.

In summary, two general findings from the multivariate analysis are worth noting. The first is that homeownership is an important variable for this analysis. Homeowners rated higher their overall degree of neighborhood satisfaction, sense of safety, neighborhood confidence, sense of community, and level of social capital. It is consistently important across all of the substantive items studied. The second finding worth emphasizing is that, as in the bivariate analysis reported earlier, the distance a respondent resides from the redevelopment site makes no difference for any of the items studied. Those who live farther away from the site are no more or less satisfied than those who live closer to the site, they feel no more or less safe, they are no more or less confident in the neighborhood, and they show no greater or lesser levels of sense of community and social capital.

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This may be due to one of two factors. First, it is possible that the concentration of public housing on the project site did not have negative spillover effects on nearby residents, or that if there were such effects, they were no greater than the negative effects felt by more far-flung residents from other more generalized neighborhood problems (such as crime, gang activity, and housing abandonment). The second possibility is that by spring and summer of 1999, word of the impending redevelopment of the site was so widespread among nearby residents that they had already adjusted their feelings about satisfaction, safety, and confidence to incorporate their expectations about the neighborhood. Because of the timing of the survey and the announcements about the site, this survey cannot be regarded as a true pretest in the sense of providing reliable estimates of neighborhood attitudes under pre-*Hollman* conditions (before people knew of the redevelopment). It can, however, still provide a baseline against which to estimate the effects of the new development that takes place on the site. At the time this survey was taken, the site was half-demolished. Close to 300 units of public housing still stood south of Olson Memorial Highway, and the northern part of the site was a fenced-off expanse of rubble and vacant property. By duplicating this survey in the future it is still possible to determine what benefits, if any, are derived from the new development that will occur.

Intercorrelation between Satisfaction, Sense of Safety, Confidence, Sense of Community, and Social Capital

Table 26 presents the correlation matrix for the five substantive dimensions of neighborhood attitudes that we have examined in this report. Many of the attitudes measured in this questionnaire are related. Neighborhood satisfaction, confidence in the neighborhood, and sense of safety are all highly interrelated. These attitudes are also highly correlated with respondents' sense of community, as one would expect. What is perhaps contrary to expectations is that these attitudes are not highly correlated with social capital. Furthermore, they are not related at all to the importance the respondents gave to the north side redevelopment.

There is only a low to moderate correlation between respondents' sense of community, level of social capital, and the importance with which they regard the redevelopment of the north side site.

CONCLUSION

This report provides a snapshot of conditions on the north side public housing site and its surrounding area prior to redevelopment. The data show that residents of the project site were concentrated in service industry jobs, particularly health service and business and repair service classifications. The project site was home to a very high concentration of poor residents. The median income for the site in 1990 was one-third that of the city of Minneapolis as a whole. Only 62% of adults in the

Table 26. Intercorrelation among Attitudinal Questions

	Importance of demolition	Social capital	Sense of community	Neighborhood confidence	Sense of safety
Satisfaction	.00	.13	.61 ***	.68 ***	.67 ***
Sense of safety	.04	.19 *	.51 ***	.59 ***	
Confidence	.04	.18 *	.66 ***		
Sense of community	.17 *	.26 **			
Social capital	.19 *				

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

workforce were employed at the time of the 1990 census, 41% of the households were headed by a single woman, 49% of the population consisted of children under the age of 18, and 61% of households received public assistance. All of these figures indicate that the project site was a neighborhood that was significantly different than all others in the city.

The surrounding neighborhood was also a lower income neighborhood, although less dramatically so than the project site. The community had almost twice the poverty rate of the city as a whole, a higher unemployment rate, twice the rate of public assistance, and 30% more children as a percentage of the total population. The employment profile of community area members is generally similar to that of project-site residents. The majority were employed in service industries, although they were more likely to work in professional services and less likely to work in health services than project-site residents.

The neighborhood surrounding the north side site is flanked by industrial uses to the south and northeast. Retail opportunities are scarce within a one-mile radius of the site. The area has experienced a significant surge in residential property values, part of a larger phenomenon that has affected the entire Twin Cities region during the last half of the 1990s. Home prices are increasing rapidly, and sales are brisk, a contrast to conditions in the neighborhood during the 1980s.

A survey of residents within a one-mile radius of the project site indicates that only a small majority (52%) reported overall satisfaction with the neighborhood. In general, survey respondents felt less satisfied with the quality of key services and amenities in the neighborhood (including grocery stores, schools, hospitals, and parks) than they did with the location of those services. The lowest levels of satisfaction were registered for the number of jobs, the variety of shops and services, grocery stores, and childcare in the neighborhood. A majority of respondents reported feeling safe in the neighborhood, although that number fell dramatically when they rated their feelings of safety at night. Specifically, the problems of drugs and litter were rated as most troublesome by respondents. In general, respondents were moderately confident in the future of the neighborhood. Finally, close to three-quarters of respondents (72%) indicated that they felt the demolition of Sumner Field public housing was very important or important to the neighborhood.

Homeownership was the only individual attribute that was consistently associated with the attitudinal responses provided by residents. Homeowners had higher levels of neighborhood satisfaction, sense of safety, neighborhood confidence, and sense of community. None of the attitudinal responses reported by survey participants varied by their locations within the neighborhood. More specifically, those residing nearer to the project site were no different in their assessment of the neighborhood than those residing farther away.

This report serves as the baseline study for conditions on the north side of Minneapolis prior to the redevelopment of the 73-acre project site. The land uses described in this report—along with the neighborhood demographics, survey responses, physical condition of the built environment, and market trends—will be compared to those that prevail some years after the redevelopment of the *Hollman* site. Such an analysis will constitute an attempt to document the range of impacts that the redevelopment of the north side site might produce.

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APPENDIX 1

WINDSHIELD SURVEY METHOD

The windshield survey consisted of a comprehensive evaluation of the physical stock of all neighborhood blocks within a one-mile radius of the project center during the summer of 1999. The boundaries consisted of Golden Valley Road and Broadway Avenue to the north, Thomas Avenue on the west, Chestnut Avenue on the south, and Interstate 94 on the east.

Evaluators were asked to note several aspects of building conditions on each block. Each block was assigned a different number to avoid duplication and to delineate blocks to which corner lots were assigned. In some cases, half-block regions were designated using A and B. To make the survey more manageable, evaluators surveyed north-south streets first, and later went back to survey the east-west streets.

The information below was recorded for each block in the study area.

Housing Code: An overall housing condition code was given to each block. The codes (relative to the same neighborhood, not compared to other neighborhoods) were on a scale of 1 to 3. A 1 was used to indicate generally poor housing conditions, including boarded homes or homes in clear need of significant repair. A 2 was used to indicate blocks with homes of modest quality. A 3 was used to indicate blocks where the majority of homes were new or recently rehabilitated, and where homes were generally larger, better maintained, and of higher quality.

Specific homes were noted (for example, “three rehabilitated homes on the west”), and an overall housing code for the block was given. For example, if a block had mostly homes in category 2, but also a few homes in category 3, the overall rating for the block would be a 2. Most of the blocks on the north side were in the 2 category.

House Size: House size was coded for the entire block to capture the size of the typical home on the block. House size was rated in half-story increments on a scale from 1 story to 4 stories.

Number of Duplexes: Evaluators coded the actual number of these buildings on each side of the block.

Number of Multifamily Homes: Evaluators coded the actual number of such buildings on each side of the block.

Vacant Lots: Vacant lots were defined as land unoccupied by buildings. In some cases, if there was a large parcel of land left vacant, an estimate was made as to how many separate parcels were involved. Evaluators coded the number of such vacant lots for each side of the block.

Corner Lots: Corner lots were defined as unused land at the intersection of two or more streets. Evaluators coded the number of such lots on the block.

Side Lots: Side lots were defined as vacant lots attached to homes. Usually such lots were fenced in. Evaluators coded the number of such lots on each block.

Handicapped Units: These units were indicated by handicapped parking signs. Evaluators coded the number of such units on each block.

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Boarded Units: Only homes that were completely boarded up were included in this category; the occasional home with one or two windows boarded was not counted. Evaluators coded the number of boarded units on each block.

Rehabbed Units: The number of units that were undergoing, or had very recently undergone, renovation that was noticeable from the street (e.g., new roofing, new siding, exterior paint job, etc.). Evaluators coded the number of rehabilitated units on each block.

For Sale Properties: Lots with “for sale” signs. Evaluators coded the number of for sale properties on each block.

Parking Lots: Evaluators coded the number of parking lots on each block. Parking lots that abutted multiple blocks were counted only once (i.e., attributed to only one block).

Parks: This category included public parks and playgrounds. Evaluators coded the number of parks and playgrounds on each block. Parks or playgrounds that abutted multiple blocks were counted only once (i.e., attributed to only one block).

Schools: Evaluators coded the number of schools on each block. Schools that abutted multiple blocks were counted only once (i.e., attributed to only one block).

Daycare: Included structures that displayed signs advertising daycare. Evaluators coded the number of such structures on each block.

Commercial: Evaluators coded the number of commercial establishments on each block.

Churches: Evaluators coded the number of churches on each block. Churches that abutted multiple blocks were counted only once (i.e., attributed to only one block).

Notes: Each block included a notes section, which listed names of commercial properties and nonprofit organizations, miscellaneous descriptions of the block, names of schools, and so on.

APPENDIX 2

NORTH SIDE RESIDENT SURVEY METHOD

The survey of north side residents was conducted as a mail survey by the Minnesota Center for Survey Research (MCSR) at the University of Minnesota. A total of 598 surveys were mailed during the initial phase. Because of ineligible addresses, an additional 116 surveys were mailed to replacement households. Household addresses were selected because they were within a one-mile radius of Eighth Street and Emerson Avenue North, the center of the redevelopment site. Equal numbers of households were selected for three concentric rings within the one-mile radius: those living within one-quarter mile, those between one-quarter mile and one-half mile, and those more than one-half mile. The list of names and addresses for the survey was purchased from AccuData America, a commercial database company.

The procedures used by MCSR for this mail survey were based on the methods described in *Mail and Telephone Surveys*, by Don A. Dillman (1978). The first mailing was sent to the initial sample of north side residents on April 6, 1999, and included a cover letter inviting participation in the study, the questionnaire, and a stamped self-addressed return envelope. The second mailing, which was sent to the entire sample on April 13, 1999, consisted of a reminder postcard. The postcard thanked individuals if they had already filled out and returned the questionnaire, and asked them to take the time to complete and return the survey if they had not already done so. On April 27, 1999, a third mailing was sent to all individuals who had not yet returned their surveys. This mailing was identical procedurally to the first mailing, and included a reminder cover letter, a copy of the questionnaire, and a stamped self-addressed return envelope. Because a large number of the initial surveys were returned by the U.S. Postal Service as undeliverable, new addresses were identified and added to the sample as replacements. The three mailings for the replacement households were conducted on May 7, May 14, and May 28, 1999.