URBAN ETHNIC MOSAICS: AN ANALYSIS OF

COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE IN THIRD WARD,

HOUSTON, TEXAS

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While many sociological and geographical studies have used specific quantitative methodologies to understand the process and development of segregation in urban communities, relatively little attention has been paid to the importance of the resident's perspectives in those communities. Additionally, urban, black communities are often burdened by ghetto connotations—the stigmatization of the built environment, and even the residents themselves, with stereotypes concerning socioeconomic status and perceived racial characteristics. This work is a study of community and non-community perspectives in the urban, ethnic neighborhood of Third Ward, Houston, Texas. This study of the Third Ward provides insight into the importance of historical and temporal differences in the establishment and continuation of ghettos. The use of both quantitative and qualitative strategies to study urban residential neighborhoods proves to be vital as the methodologies allow for the analysis of internal and external perspectives on neighborhood life in Third Ward.

Research Questions

Traditionally geographic research has approached the study of ethnic urban environments by locating specific characteristics such as income, housing type, educational attainment, and employment type within the urban area. Such

a demographically driven perspective has led to a characterization of African-American urban neighborhoods as "ghetto" spaces – a word that connotes urban blight, places rife with crime, project housing, and gang wars. Demographic analysis certainly has brought to light many of the racial barriers that exist in African American neighborhoods: redlining, mortgage rate discrimination, segregation, poor policing policies, and exploitive labor practices. Unfortunately as each barrier was revealed it became linked with a specific space, the urban inner city, and with a specific ethnicity, African-American.

Thus "ghetto spaces" are inherently negative, as is the word "ghetto" itself, for neither describes a location but rather a set of stereotypes. While the use of the word "ghetto" may connote a physical location, the inner-city, it cannot do so without stigmatizing those who live in that space. A statistical analysis of the study area, Third Ward, reveals the multiple barriers the neighborhood peoples face, and almost certainly the method will reveal several connections to "ghetto" stereotypes—higher levels of crime and poverty, and lower levels of home ownership and median income. But the importance does not lie in what the method does find but rather in what it does not and cannot find, such as the contributions of the people to the construction, functioning, and future development of their neighborhood space.

Urban ethnic spaces appear in every major metropolis as mosaics – cultural islands, imprinted upon the landscape. Many sociologists and geographers have studied these areas from theoretical and demographic perspectives (Freeman 2000). Such research has discovered where these

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places are and what socio-economic disadvantages are present within them, but the research has not recently looked at who the residents are, defined beyond their ethnicities, nor has it considered what the residents' perspectives are of their own communities. It has been argued by sociologists Michael O. Emerson, George Yancey, and Karen J. Chai (2001) that these mosaics of ethnicity exist as "ghettos" in the urban inner cities as a response in large part to white preference. Ultimately the preference of white Americans, as shown in two studies, is not to live near black Americans no matter their class or economic standing (Emerson, Yancey, and Chai 2001; Fischer 2003). The processes contributing to urban segregation have been made relatively clear, along with correlations with poverty, crime, and lower socioeconomic status, but there have been few attempts to understand the lasting cultural and community value of living in an urban ethnic neighborhood.

Exploring residential opinion in an inner-city ethnic space can only be accomplished through the use of experiential research and through direct contact with the people in these areas (Bunge 1971). "Ghetto" connotations and characterizations can work to limit understanding of the unique nature of these spaces, while lack of awareness of the cultural roles these neighborhoods play can lead to misunderstandings concerning redevelopment efforts. Residential involvement is often not given priority by city planners and redevelopment firms and as such, rapid change can be communally disruptive and is therefore less able to address neighborhood concerns such as structural blight, poverty, unemployment, or crime (Cuff 1989). Residential input can work to alleviate

these problems without dismantling cultural and community cohesiveness; it is not necessary to completely alter the physical landscape in order to bring about positive community changes. Investigating an urban, ethnic neighborhood from a local, community perspective reveals valuable residential opinions that could aid in the development of long-term community sustainability strategies. Additionally, the cultural value of these communities needs to be investigated and a more complete analysis of internal neighborhood dynamics should be accomplished before attempting redevelopment and permanent, positive change.

The discipline of geography has all too often failed to address race at a neighborhood scale and while recently geographers have sought to grapple with critical race theory and the effects of persistent segregation, little has been done to illustrate how space becomes racialized. The ethnicity of the people of Third Ward should matter to geographic research and the processes of racialization that create segregated, inner-city spaces should always be realized. A neighborhood study that cannot grapple coherently with race, a study that strives to be color-blind, is in fact perpetuating "ghetto" neighborhood characterizations by failing to acknowledge a blatantly obvious fact of American society—race matters. Geographic investigations that fail to acknowledge the importance of race in American society are denying the existence of structural and societal pressures that shape space, that form racialized places.

Purpose and Objectives

The intent of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of segregation through a fine-scale neighborhood investigation, and to gain firsthand knowledge of residential perspectives on community life. My case study involves the predominantly African-American neighborhood of Third Ward in Houston, Texas. Dual methodologies are employed to gain a deeper understanding of both community and non-community perspectives. The socioeconomic status of communities, particularly urban, ethnic communities, is often characterized by socioeconomic standing as obtained from census data. To analyze the effect of socioeconomic status on community ethnic composition, a quantitative analysis was undertaken that included multiple regression analysis. The resulting model allowed for the evaluation of the predictive value of socioeconomic variables in ascertaining the percent nonwhite within the study area. The qualitative analysis for this examination involved experiential fieldwork: surveys, questionnaires, and personal interviews administered to residents of the study area. Urban ethnic neighborhoods are particularly at risk to be characterized as "ghettos" and while the socio-economic connotations that follow may indeed be found using census information concerning the Third Ward, it is believed that experiential research will show that communities and the inherent cultural value of such places cannot be expressed or determined without resident participation.

Often redevelopment concerns are to structurally improve the neighborhood which without neighborhood consideration can dismantle what is culturally and historically valuable to the community. This occurred in the

adjacent, predominantly black neighborhood of Fourth Ward. There, redevelopment and the lack of interest on the part of city planners to include resident opinion in decision-making led to the gentrification of the neighborhood ensued (Cuff 1989). Segregated ethnic neighborhoods should not be characterized by statistical or demographic data alone, and problems associated with ethnic spaces, so-called "ghettos," cannot be addressed adequately without knowledge of residential perspectives. Labeling certain spaces "ghettos" can work to hinder neighborhood evaluations by city planners and developers and can lead to uninformed decision-making with respect to public policy.

The regression analysis, quantitatively examines the neighborhood through the use of census data to gauge socio-economic status and to deepen understanding of the connection, if any, between segregation and socio-economic status. Additionally, the census information will be employed as a benchmark to use as comparison for the results gained from the experiential research. The highly segregated area of Third Ward demographically proves to be of low socioeconomic status overall, but ultimately the regression model shows such status cannot be predicted by high levels of segregation. The quality of life in Third Ward, and other urban ethnic neighborhoods throughout the country, should not be evaluated solely by its level of segregation or socio-economic status as such demographic characterizations prove to be misleading.

Analysis of segregation at the neighborhood scale reveals the systemic and structural effects of racism in the urban, physical environment. The continuation of black-white segregation, the proliferation of "ghetto" spaces, and

the failure of suburban integration for many African-Americans, are signs of the continuing importance of the study of race and space. Currently academic work that illuminates the causative agents for segregation or the determining factors in life chances fails to involve individuals and communities in the search for specific, quantifiable answers. While causative elements remain elusive and difficult to decipher, the effects of racism and segregation are as clear now as they were prior to the Civil Rights Era. The persistence of social and residential segregation is a key indicator of systemic racism that affects every American individual and community and therefore should be of primary importance in any investigation of race, space, and place.

Study Area

As a case study involving urban ethnic areas, the historically and predominantly black area of Third Ward in Houston, Texas has been chosen for this research. The boundaries of the Third Ward neighborhood have officially changed multiple times since the inception of the ward-based plan in 1860 (Wintz 1982). Currently the city of Houston shows the original area known as Third Ward to be divided into three distinct "superneighborhoods," which were developed to function as smaller city council entities for each sub-community (see Figures 1 and 2). The Third, Fourth, and Fifth wards have all functioned as predominately black neighborhoods but Fourth Ward was the location for the historical black business district in the 1950s and contains Freedman's Town, which in the 1860s was the only area legalized by the city government of

Houston for the location of freed black slaves (Wintz 1982). During the 1980s

the Fourth Ward area underwent a neighborhood dismantling due to

gentrification and many of the residents of this area were forced to relocate (Cuff

1989). The Third Ward now stands as the oldest continuously historically black

neighborhood in Houston, and currently has the highest percent black ethnicity in

the city (Social Compact 2001).

The study area for this research is shown in Figure 3, and this area

includes the three superneighborhoods of Greater Third Ward, MacGregor, and

Old Spanish Trail (OST). The physical boundaries are US Highway 90 Alternate

Route, State Highway 288, US Highway 59, and Interstate 45. This area will be

referenced as simply the Third Ward in this study and includes the historically

black Texas Southern University and the University of Houston. By using the

largest possible boundary area for the experiential research it is hoped all of the

people who currently consider themselves, or have at any point considered

themselves part of Third Ward, will have the opportunity be included in the study.
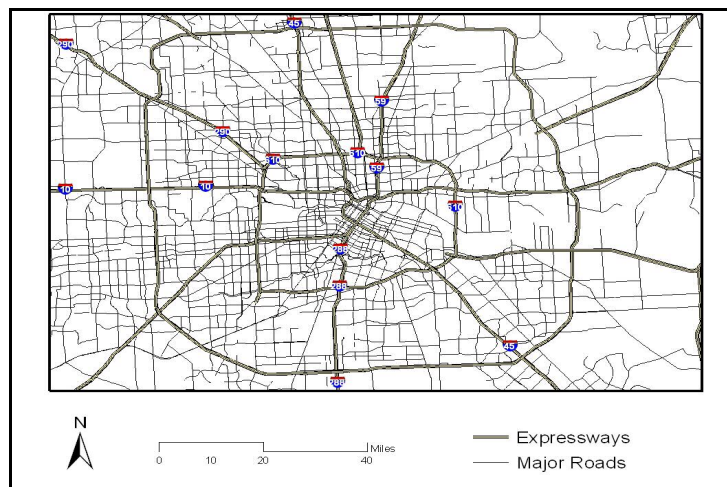
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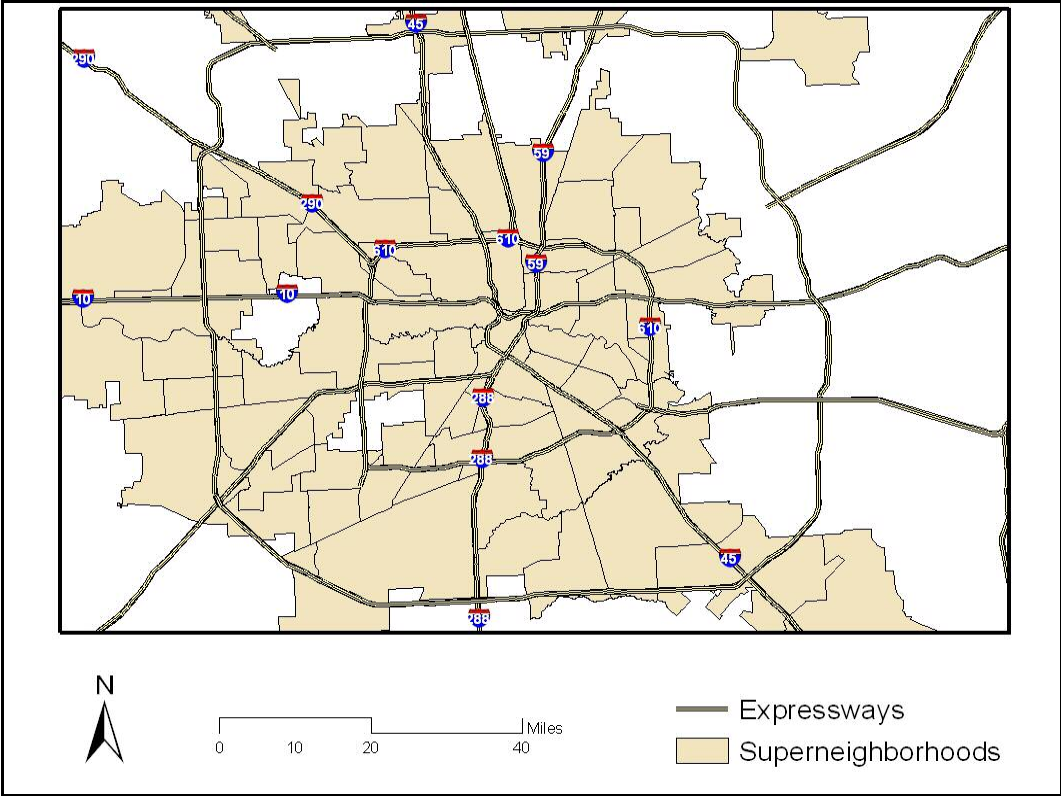
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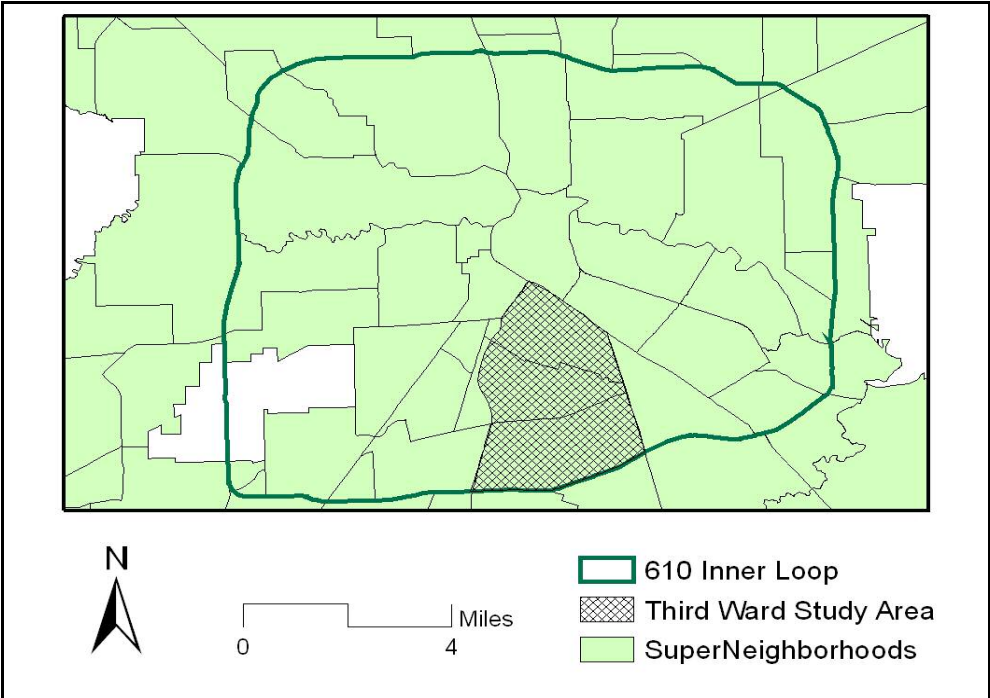
Figure 3. Superneighborhoods with 610 Loop and Third Ward Delineated.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is a geographic investigation of an urban, ethnic neighborhood that falls under the rubric of urban and social geography with a specific emphasis on the neighborhood scale of analysis. There is a sizeable literature that deals with the broad areas of segregation and urban, ethnic neighborhoods within the disciplines of geography and sociology. This literature review is confined to the most salient works. This review very generally places the literature into five sub-sections: segregation, urban ethnic neighborhoods, the South, Houston, and Third Ward. My discussion of the literature moves from an examination of national and regional patterns to a local, neighborhood scale. It was not easy or necessarily appropriate to limit a given work to a single category, but this approach was useful in organizing and digesting the literature.

Segregation

Ultimately the ownership of space based on ethnic identities in many cities, both northern and southern, has created a system of urban neighborhood mosaics. These segregated areas call into question the root cause of urban segregation, particularly with respect to the black-white binary. The geographer Joe T. Darden, in "Blacks and Other Racial Minorities: The Significance of Color in Inequality" addresses the significant difference in the process of cultural

assimilation for black Americans as compared to other racial minorities (Darden 1989). He concludes that "blacks cannot expect that future improvements in the social and economic status of blacks will necessarily lead to residential integration" and certainly the persistence of segregated neighborhoods in cities across the U.S. lends a great deal of credence to this observation (Darden 1989, 562). British geographers Ron Johnston, Michael Poulsen and James Forrest declare, "Understanding segregation involves understanding its geography," and in conclusion they state "the geography of segregation reflects the timing of urban developments relative to the changes in the law regarding racial discrimination" (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2004, 567).

While there have been very few historically comprehensive investigations into residential segregation, the sociological research conducted by Karl and Alma Taeuber in the 1960s clearly underlines significance of research in this particular area (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). The authors conclude that residential segregation plays a key role in understanding U.S. cities since the "clientele of schools, hospitals, libraries, parks, and stores is determined in large part by the racial composition of the neighborhood in which they are located" (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, 1). This remains much the same case today. Chris Hamnett, a British geographer, recently echoed this point in a book chapter titled "Social Segregation and Social Polarization," a work in which he also elucidated the danger of tying connotations of race to connotations of class through the use of terminology such as "ghetto" and "underclass" (Hamnett 2001, 164). Joe Darden's chapter in the same book, titled "Race Relations in the City," ties the

racial attitudes of the white majority in the United States to the "patterns of racial residential segregation in cities and occupational segregation in the workplace" (Darden 2001, 191).

Recent geographic and sociological researchers have developed multiple strategies to understand the role of racial stereotyping, housing market segregation, insurance redlining, and neighborhood preference by race in the formation of segregated neighborhoods. Such investigations are crucial because residential location exerts powerful influences on life-chances and opportunities. A key factor found by sociologist Gregory D. Squires involves persistent racial discrimination in the housing and insurance industries which has led to the de facto continuation of urban segregation (Squires 2003). Frequently cited factors such as the out-migration of middle class black Americans from inner-city neighborhoods and the movement of poor black Americans into previously established poor neighborhoods were determined not to be important causes of urban segregation (Massey, Gross, Shibuya 1994). Instead Massey, Gross, and Shibuya posit residential segregation and the geographic concentration of black Americans in urban neighborhoods to be predominantly due to racially segregated housing markets (Massey, Gross, Shibuya 1994).

In a study conducted by sociologist Ingrid Ellen, there are many reasons white Americans choose live at a distance from black Americans: lower school quality, lower property values, and higher crime rates (Ellen 2000). In contrast with these views, the empirical evidence found actually supports race as a stronger factor in predicting neighborhood black-white segregation (Ellen 2000).

Current geographic work by Mark Ellis, Richard Wright, and Virginia Parks observes that increasing integration in the workplace may work to decrease residential segregation as interracial partnering also increases (Ellis, Wright, and Parks 2004). This optimistic examination of race relations underlines the distinct separation of social spheres between black and white Americans that is seldom breached. There seems to be clear difference in social versus institutional, workplace and educational, integration. This implies that when given a choice, when integration is not legally mandated, white Americans chose less integrated environments. Suzanne Bianchi, Reynolds Farley, and Daphne Spain propose not only that "racial inequalities in housing are more plausibly seen as a reflection of *white*, rather than black, tastes," but also that it is "most reasonable to attribute racial inequalities in home ownership to…racial discrimination" (Bianchi, Farley, and Spain 1986, 49). Race-based neighborhood preference plays a large role in the process of segregation as white Americans are the least likely of any racial group to prefer to live near black Americans (Emerson, Yancey, Chai 2001).

Specific methods have been developed by geographers and sociologists in an attempt to quantify residential segregation. Sociologists Massey and Denton isolate five dimensions of residential segregation: evenness, exposure, clustering, centralization, and concentration (Massey and Denton 1988). In order to analyze these dimensions the most commonly used measures are the dissimilarity index (*D*), the isolation index (*P**), and the entropy measure (*H*) (Morrill 1995, 26). All of these are aspatial measures: *D* is simply the proportion of the minority group that would need to relocate to majority areas to create an

"even" racial area, *(P*)* is the average percent of population concentration likely to be residentially experienced by a member of the selected group which expresses the level of isolation of said member, and (*H)* is a measure of diversity calculated for each area observed (Morrill 1995). Taeuber and Taeuber as well as Darden have employed the very commonly used dissimilarity index *D* to describe residential segregation (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, Darden 2000). Geographers have often used these aspatial measures to develop spatial methods of examination such as Reardon and O'Sullivan's spatial exposure/isolation index *P** and the spatial information theory index *H*, which they determined to be the most "mathematically satisfactory" of the proposed solutions (Reardon and O'Sullivan 2004, 122).

In addition to the development of multiple methodologies of analysis for the spatial pattern of residential segregation, several theories seeking to explain the persistence of segregated neighborhoods have been posited. Robert M. Adelman, in his article "The Roles of Race, Class, and Residential Preferences in the Neighborhood Racial Composition of Middle-Class Blacks and Whites" analyzes the spatial assimilation perspective and the place stratification perspective (Adelman 2005). The spatial assimilation perspective contends that socio-economic status, as gauged by income, education, and occupational status, will most strongly affect the life-chances of individuals who are then able to translate such chances into a comparable spatial location (Adelman 2005). Conversely the place stratification model emphasizes limitations such as discrimination which prevent the translation of life-chances into comparably

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better neighborhoods (Adelman 2005). The author finds support for both theories. He concludes "advantaged socio-economic characteristics translate into less segregated neighborhoods," but also that many blacks, regardless of their socio-economic status, "remain in segregated neighborhoods" (Adelman 2005, 219). The exact impact on life-chances of living in a segregated neighborhood is made clear by Michael Howell-Moroney in his work "The Geography of Opportunity and Unemployment: An Integrated Model of Residential Segregation and Spatial Mismatch." He states:

> Whatever the exact constellation of responsible factors, exposure to segregation is thought to influence the life outcomes of blacks negatively by creating concentrated areas of poverty that then cut them off from the opportunity structures and positive socialization necessary to get ahead. (Howell-Moroney 2005, 356)

Urban Ethnic Neighborhoods

Most geographic work concerning urban ethnic neighborhoods, particularly earlier works, falls under the rubric of investigations into the "ghetto" phenomenon. Richard Morrill's, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives" reiterated common assumptions of structural and social inferiority associated with urban, black neighborhoods and primarily sought to model the spatial diffusion of the black population in Seattle, Washington (Morrill 1965). More importantly though, Morrill's work clearly enunciated the problematic and complex issue of segregation in his observation that, "The very fact of residential segregation reinforces other forms of discrimination by preventing the normal contacts through which prejudice may be gradually overcome" (Morrill 1965, 339). Currently, while many efforts have been made and have even been successful in

the realm of education and employment, integration of the social sphere remains as elusive now as it was then. Very astutely Morrill states "housing will be the last and most difficult step in the struggle for equal rights" (Morrill 1965, 339). Unquestioningly, this remains the case for many inner-city black neighborhoods including Third Ward.

In "Concepts of 'Ghetto'; A Geography of Minority Groups," Louis Seig notes the development of a "strong black consciousness" which he describes as the result of societal discrimination. Seig posits the development of segregated black, urban areas is due to the inability of black residents to live elsewhere, but this explanation does not take into account that racial solidarity can be seen in a positive light by the residents of urban, black neighborhoods and black residents may choose to stay when offered a choice (Seig 1971).   Geographic works from this early era rarely seek to understand the residential perspective and thus often portray urban, black residents as powerless and victimized. Harold M. Rose's article, "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas" correlates "ghetto" space with "black social areas" spaces that function as poverty-stricken, structurally poor, and physically unappealing communities (Rose 1976, 42). Additionally Rose notes that there may be some exceptions to the "ghetto" connotations, spaces that are "on par with many nonghetto areas," but states that efforts towards policy change should concentrate on addressing the more typical "ghetto" spaces (Rose 1976, 42). Rose is one of the few researchers who differentiates between Southern and Northern "ghetto" spaces, but this particular work does not seek to understand community or neighborhood

development. Rather, it addresses the process of ghetto formation and posits

causative agents for the spatial pattern of urban, black segregation (Rose 1976).

The Civil Rights Era sparked a keen interest by geographers in race and

place in the 1970s and works such as William Bunge's *Fitzgerald: Geography of

a Revolution* (1971) and Harold M. Rose's *The Black Ghetto: A Spatial

Behavioral Perspective* (1971) established the importance of geographical

perceptions of segregated space. The connotations associated with "ghetto"

spaces such as high poverty, criminality, poor infrastructure and African-

American ethnicity have led to research seeking to understand and track the

processes of ghettoization and to relate those processes to the creation of a

segregated space (Rose 1971). In a more radical vein, Bunge charted the

historical geography of the black neighborhood, Fitzgerald, located in

northwestern Detroit, using experiential fieldwork so as to understand not only

the larger societal structural processes involved in ghetto development but to

also understand the residential effect of segregated space (Bunge 1971). Work

at the national scale concerning the history of the development of the ghetto and

early work on a temporal-spatial model predicting ghetto growth and dispersion

was developed by Morrill during the same time period; his investigations led him

to conclude for the black-white binary a typical path to cultural assimilation would

not be probable (Morrill 1972).

Larry Ford and Ernst Griffin in "The Ghettoization of Paradise" make the

pertinent observation concerning a black, urban area in San Diego that while

"prejudice against blacks as a group has broken down, discrimination against

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black neighborhoods has increased" (1979, 140). This speaks to social rather than institutional integration; an issue that was given voice a decade earlier by Morrill (Morrill 1965). While Ford and Griffin do not seek to gain a neighborhood perspective, they do elucidate the "ghetto" space as a place that can exist as a "distinctive, positive place" and this observation rejects earlier works that portrayed black, urban areas as a passive space tainted by "ghetto" connotations.

While there have been a very small number of geographic investigations into specific black, urban neighborhoods, there has been a renewal of interest in examining the process of segregation and the development of spatial patterns at a national and regional scale. The most current research into black areas at the community scale has been undertaken primarily by sociologists employing experiential and qualitative methodologies in combination with quantitative analyses (Moore 2005; Wilson 1996; Anderson 1992; Wacquant and Wilson 1993). Contrastingly, the development of urban, black areas in the different regions has undoubtedly resulted in different social and life scenarios for residents in these communities but it is a matter that has remained outside of the focus of the sociology community.

Sociologists Loïc Wacquant and William Julius Wilson discuss the troubling consequences of the exclusion and segregation of urban black communities in the chapter "The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in the Inner City" (Wacquant and Wilson 1993). Their investigations into South and Westside neighborhoods in Chicago reveal that not only do black individuals in such

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communities encounter restricted employment, educational, and relocation opportunities, but also that "urban blacks…have been burdened by conditions that have impeded their entry and success in enclave employment" (Wacquant and Wilson 1993, 60). This statement clearly indicates that urban, black enclaves do not provide sufficient economic support for commercial success or employment opportunities. In contrast to the findings of Massey, Gross, and Shibuya (1994), the authors cite middle-class black flight as a causative element in the development of an inner-city "underclass" that is unable to achieve economic success. In *When Work Disappears,* a comprehensive analysis of the Southside of Chicago, Wilson states "the disappearance of work and the consequences of that disappearance for both social and cultural life are the central problems in the inner-city ghetto" (Wilson 1996, xix). This work, through personal interviews with residents, establishes a failing community life as the result of poverty, joblessness, and criminality, which is a central concern to urban, black residents. The focus on northern urban, black neighborhoods is a trend that has perhaps overshadowed the diversity of social and economic situations in other such communities that have developed, and continue to exist, quite differently; neighborhoods with vibrant community lives, high rates of home ownership, and a modicum of middle-class and upper-middle class residents.

Elijah Anderson undertook extensive fieldwork in the neighborhood referred to as Village-Northton in Eastern City, a pseudonymous name for a northern city, in his work *StreetWise* (Anderson 1990). This seminal work is a fourteen-year investigation into residential perspectives and community, race,

and class interactions (Anderson 1990).   Anderson concludes that residents cannot cope with the cycle of poverty which leaves many unemployed and underemployed in low wage earning positions. He observes that "middle-class families who have the resources have left Northton for the suburbs" which leaves a black community behind, one without leadership (Anderson 1990, 241). Interestingly, sociologist Kesha Moore declares "race, class, and space intertwine to limit the housing choices of blacks in all class positions" in her ethnographic study of a Philadelphia neighborhood (Moore 2005, 439). It seems that middle-class black families may achieve enough economic success to relocate into the suburbs, but that they too will face limitations in various social and institutional aspects. Perhaps it is not surprising then that there are some urban, black communities experiencing the relocation of black middle-class families into the city from the suburbs due to what has been termed the "failure of integration" (Axtman 2004, 2).

Moore goes on, in agreement with Anderson, to describe the importance of community to urban, black individuals as "community is an important reflection of identity and status" (Moore 2005, 441). As Moore investigates the impact of efforts of revitalization by middle-class blacks in this neighborhood, she finds their vision of a mixed-class black neighborhood to be the product of an imagined history of a "black community with a nearly self-sufficient black economy, thriving black cultural institutions and innovations and inter-class unity" (Moore 2005, 442). Such skepticism concerning the existence of this kind of neighborhood is perhaps a product of the difference in the regional development of urban, black

communities. While a few geographers have investigated regional disparities of this sort, almost none have undertaken this kind of research at a community scale involving residential perspectives. In spite of the contributions geographers and sociologists have made there exists a dearth of information that combines experiential research at the community scale with spatially relevant research.

The most recent geographic literature that has begun to fill this void is Bobby Wilson's work *Race and Place in Birmingham,* which has moved beyond analyzing spatial patterns of urban, black spaces and discussing "ghetto" connotations and has begun to look to ethnic, neighborhood spaces as "places of resistance, not domination" (Wilson 2000, 191). This geographic examination of racialized space seeks not only to examine the historical context within which ethnic neighborhoods are created but also to study how neighborhood units can become sources of empowerment through ethnic identity (Wilson 2000).

The South

Regional differences in residential segregation have rarely been addressed either in theory or with specific research methodologies by sociologists or geographers. Taeuber and Taeuber reserved a small section in their much-cited work *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* for analysis of regional differences (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, 189). In their analysis of the South inexplicably they included, Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland, two cities distinctly less southern than the other cities used: Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, and Memphis (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). They find that for "every city except Atlanta, Birmingham, and

Memphis, there is a positive relationship between the status of whites and Negroes living in racially mixed tracts" (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, 189). This statement illuminates the situation for many black Americans living in southern cities—class differentiation matters less than race in terms of neighborhood composition. It is possible to see stratified, predominantly black communities located throughout the South, neighborhoods that in a sense would be the compositional reverse of traditional, suburban communities, often homogenous with respect to class and race.

Sociologist Michael O. Emerson conducted a study titled "Is it Different in Dixie? Percent Black and Residential Segregation in the South and non-South" in which he took into account two key historical and developmental differences present in southern cities—firstly that "a significant proportion of the southern population was black," and secondly "blacks had resided in the South for approximately as long as whites" (Emerson 1994, 572). Through a quantitative multivariate analysis, he discovers that in the South, in contrast to other regions, percent black is not the best predictor of the level of segregation (Emerson 1994). His findings indicate that housing built since the 1970s is a moderately better predictor (Emerson 1994). Emerson posits multiple explanations for this disparity including historical differences, a "preference for no contact between the races," and that the "structures and processes of southern segregation are more complex" (Emerson 1994, 578). The author concludes by accurately noting that "current theory is unable to specify how race influences central city housing patterns in the regional context," and he calls for more research in this area, a

common theme among much of the literature concerning residential segregation in general (Emerson 1994, 578).   Other sociologists such as Bianchi, Farley, and Spain have also noted the role of housing in the regional pattern of residential segregation, and they state the "southern pattern of racial inequality in home ownership is distinctive" in that "it lowers blacks' likelihood of home ownership" (Bianchi, Farley, Spain 1986, 49).

In an attempt to understand regional differentiation, a decidedly spatial attribute, a small number of geographers have drawn connections between the historical and cultural differences in urban development throughout the U.S. John Kellogg, in an article published in 1977, undertook an analysis of southern residential segregation in, "Negro Urban Clusters in the Postbellum South," and he concluded that the "expansion of Negro residential communities by the addition of Negro first-occupancy housing to the outer fringes of the core urban clusters" is a distinctly southern process (Kellogg 1977, 310). David Lee notes in his article "Black Districts in Southeastern Florida" that many impediments to the expansion of black residential communities were often "natural features such as lakes and swamps or cultural features such as canals, railroads, and highways" (Lee 1992, 382). These works indicate that differing processes of residential development and the timeframe in which urban, black clusters were established in southern versus northern cities contribute greatly to current regional differentiation in residential segregation.

Houston

Little work has been done to analyze the role of race relations in shaping and forming city neighborhoods in the South and there is even less work concerning Houston specifically. David McComb, author of the seminal work *Houston: A History,* is one of the few historians concerned with documenting the development of city culture, commerce, and society in the decidedly Southern city of Houston (McComb 1981). In addressing the unique situation of blacks in Houston, Robert Bullard, author of "Housing Problems and Prospects in Contemporary Houston," examines the role of discrimination and gentrification in leading to inner-city segregation of black Houstonians (Bullard 1992). In light of the large black population that in 1982, according to Bullard's work, was still 81% segregated, he notes "Discrimination…has reached a level of sophistication that makes it easy to practice but difficult to prove" (Bullard 1992, 251).

Dana Cuff discusses the role of city planners in the construction and reconstruction of urban ethnic neighborhoods, and her case study involves the attempted gentrification of the predominantly black neighborhood known as Fourth Ward in Houston, Texas (Cuff 1989). McDaniel focuses mainly on the historical processes of segregation in the South in general, and uses archival work to document the changing shape and boundaries of segregated black neighborhoods in Houston (McDaniel 1991). Houston as a highly privatized, "modern" city has few regulations prohibiting development and construction, and such a past has led directly to the formation of a city-wide decision making policy that seeks not to involve residents. This lack of desire on the part of planners to

actively involve communities has proven to be detrimental to residents as was the case with the gentrification of space in Fourth Ward (Cuff 1989). Throughout Houston's history waves of black migration have led to the necessity of dealing with the ever increasing black-white binary; historically the white majority has responded with forces aimed to separate and placate Houston's black residents (Pruitt 2001). For many black residents forced segregation during the Jim Crow era led to strengthened efforts at community building within the "black" spaces of Houston, and resulted in the rise of black social and political institutions in the 1940s (Sorelle 1980).

Third Ward

What little work that specifically addresses the community of Third Ward exists mostly in the form of theses, newspaper articles, and planning documents. According to a recent article in the *Houston Chronicle*, in response to the failure of integration in the mostly majority-white, low-diversity suburbs of Houston, some black families are returning to inner-city urban ethnic spaces, in particular to Third Ward (Axtman 2004). Residents are seeking to actively involve themselves in the decision-making process concerning neighborhood development so as to retain valuable cultural spaces and to prevent the detrimental effects that can follow gentrification (Roberta F. Burroughs and Associates 1995). Many social and infrastructure changes have been occurring of late within Third Ward to "revitalize" the commercial and residential sectors. Long-term commercial development in this neighborhood has proven to be

difficult to achieve as black-owned businesses have often been restricted to

"fields that require minimal start-up costs," and black businesses have been

"generally restricted to certain sections of the urban community" (Jenkins 1982,

4-5).

Project Row Houses was created to revive and save twenty-two historic

"row" or "shotgun" style houses (Plocek 2005). Eight of the row houses serve as

an "art house" and canvas where children of the community are welcomed

through outreach programs and after-school curriculums to explore community

history through painting, sculpting, photography, and drawing (Plocek 2005).

Seven of the homes are allocated to the Young Mother's Residential Program

where the mothers and their children receive one years free housing provided the

mothers "pursue educational goals and maintain standards of conduct" (Plocek

2005, 1). The success of Project Row Houses, part historical preservation

project, part residential redevelopment, and part community artistic expression,

can be directly attributed to active residential involvement and participation—the

houses serve as a crucial reminder of the value of such involvement in

redevelopment and community planning.

At this time there are multiple community plans in development for Third

Ward: one plan developed by the city, and another developed by the Third Ward

Community Development Corporation in conjunction with Texas Southern

University, which is located in the Third Ward (Drexel 1996). The Planning and

Development Department for the city of Houston commissioned for various

banking and business interests a "Houston Neighborhood Market Drilldown,"

which is a reinvestigation of socio-economic status and monetary availability in certain economically challenged areas so as to encourage commercial growth (Social Compact 2001). In contrast, the Third Ward Community Development Corporation's proposal mainly focused on community structural and infrastructure improvements (i.e. improvements to parks, bridges, transportations corridors) (Roberta F. Burroughs and Associates 1995). The community-based proposal involved resident opinion and actively involved residents in the gathering of data, while the drilldown data evolved from an expanded quantitative methodology that examined tax records, credit reports, and building permits to reach a convincing monetary availability figure.

The Third Ward Redevelopment Plan proposed by the Houston Planning Office was recently presented to the residents of the community to gauge their reaction to the proposed changes and opinion was varied (Martin 2004). A second planning project, the Third Ward to Main Street Connectivity Project, proposes to improve various "transportation linkages between the Main Street corridor, the light rail system and the neighborhood as they will be the key to unlocking job opportunities within the Main Street Corridor" (Houston Planning and Development Department). While the residents certainly agree their neighborhood needs improvements, as of yet the city planners have not made it clear what role if any resident response will play in the final development plans.

Recent academic research has involved quantifying and defining, statistically and demographically, segregated spaces but the role of resident opinions and concerns in shaping and maintaining such a space has rarely been

addressed, with the notable exception of Bunge's experiential work in Fitzgerald (Bunge 1971). It remains unclear if developers, planners, and researchers will include resident views in their considerations, but undoubtedly all of the residents of Third Ward would agree they should as community space remains a deeply personal and cultural commodity.

The dearth of information that exists concerning investigations of segregation at the neighborhood scale and the lack of scholarly attention paid to the South or Houston in particular clearly indicates the need for research in this area. As understanding community culture is both difficult to quantify and not easily understood, any methodologies undertaken to complete this study will undoubtedly require a diverse approach. While any obtaining precise conclusions may be difficult, the effort to add to the scholarly literature concerned with the spatial implications of social issues remains important.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

Analysis of census demographic data provides a very efficient way to become familiar with a particular community but unfortunately such cursory analysis cannot and does not reveal residential perspectives or community history. Such internal perspectives can provide invaluable contributions to redevelopment and community sustainability efforts. Additionally, socioeconomic status as derived from such data can be used by developers, market analysts, banks, private citizens, the media, and planners to create an environment that is solely characterized by such status (i.e. building halfway houses for parolees in poorer communities). Specific racial binaries, which are deeply affected by socioeconomic status, can result in ethnic or racial mosaics that function as segregated spaces. The labeling of areas as "black," as is the case in many urban environments, leads to the "ghettoization" of physical space. An external perspective like this provides the only perspective on community life in urban, ethnic spaces and the residents bear the social and economic consequences.

To further understand urban racial mosaics from both an external and internal perspective, a dual quantitative and qualitative methodology is proposed. The quantitative analysis will involve a demographic analysis of census data at the block group level and a multiple regression in which the dependent variable will be percent nonwhite in the study area. This analysis will allow for the

exploration of an external perspective by using readily available and generally inexpensive census data, while an internal neighborhood perspective will be investigated with the use of multiple experiential techniques.

Quantitative Methodology

Data Sources and Manipulations

The primary data were derived from the 2000 U.S. Census long form. All data were analyzed at the block group level which allows for a very fine scale of analysis. Additionally, the city of Houston has developed a system of superneighborhoods, which are small, urban sections that display various commonalities and are composed of block groups. Shapefiles containing geographic information concerning the superneighborhoods were obtained from the City of Houston GIS Division of the Planning and Development Office. The study area contains 46 block groups and for each block group information concerning socioeconomic status as determined by four variables was collected. The independent variables used are median household income, median home value, educational attainment level, and number of owner-occupied structures. The dependent variable, percent nonwhite population, quantifies the level of segregation present in each block group so as to compare different levels of socioeconomic status according to segregation levels. These variables will be referenced as %nonwhite, %ownerocc, pcthsgrad, medhhinc, and medhmval due to the limitations of SPSS.

While the variables median household income and median home value required little data manipulation, educational attainment level and number of owner-occupied structures had to be changed from raw numbers to percentages as block groups are not a standard size. Larger block groups would therefore work to skew the data as they would most likely contain more numbers of structures and people so changing them to percentages would alleviate this distortion to some extent. Thus in my analysis owner-occupied becomes percent owner occupied in each block group. Additionally, levels of educational attainment above the high school graduate level contained many substantive outliers which reflected the presence of two universities within the study area, the University of Houston and Texas Southern University. The attainment level of high school graduate was chosen as it showed a more normal distribution than the other levels—thus the variable is percent high school graduate in each block group. Also, this variable is likely to reflect permanent residents of the study area. These four independent variables are all intended to be a cumulative gauge of socioeconomic status in the neighborhood.

Tests and Mapping

These socioeconomic variables were used in an attempt to determine the strength of their relationship with the dependent variable, percent nonwhite per block group. Each variable was tested for normality and robustness so as to gain pre-regression perceptions about the behavior of the data. The variables were examined using the Shapiro-Wilk test, Pearson correlations, and scatterplots—all

derived from SPSS. A model was then constructed from the multiple regression, using both the enter method and stepwise procedures, and a cluster analysis was conducted employing K-means, a non-hierarchical analysis. The residuals developed from the regression model were then joined in ArcGIS 9.1 to the block group shapefile for an analysis of the resulting spatial patterns.

Quantitative Results

The model discussed here quantitatively examines the neighborhood through the use of census data to gauge socioeconomic status and to deepen understanding of the connection, if any, between segregation and socio-economic status. Additionally, the census information is employed as a benchmark to use as comparison for the results gained from the experiential research. The highly segregated area of Third Ward proves demographically to be of low socio-economic status overall, but ultimately the regression model shows that such status cannot be predicted by high levels of segregation. The quality of life in Third Ward, and other urban ethnic neighborhoods throughout the country, should not be evaluated solely by their level of segregation or socio-economic status as revealed by demographic characterizations based on census data because they can prove to be misleading. Experiential research provides invaluable information concerning internal perspectives and new variables, such as the number of commercial businesses in the community. Indeed, concerns expressed by local residents led me to further quantitative examinations. This exploration of community life in such a segregated neighborhood underlines the

importance of qualitative research. It should also serve as a cautionary reminder

to city officials and redevelopment interests that to "economically improve" such

segregated, ethnic, inner-city communities can have drastic and far-reaching

consequences for the people who call these neighborhoods, like Third Ward,

their home (Cuff 1989).

Preliminary Analysis

According to the Kolmogorov-Smimov test of the four independent and

one dependent variables, only percent owner occupied and percent high school

graduate is normally distributed (see Table 1).

Table 1. Exploratory Analysis.

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
%nonwhite	0.181	46	0.001	0.785	46	0.000
%ownerocc	0.100	46	0.200	0.981	46	0.646
Pcthsgrad	0.095	46	0.200	0.985	46	0.791
Medhhinc	0.151	46	0.010	0.809	46	0.000
Medhmval	0.196	46	0.000	0.840	46	0.000

The histogram for the dependent variable, percent nonwhite, shows the data to

be skewed to the left with severe outliers at 60, 70, and 80 percent which could

indicate specific block groups that significantly differ racially from the surrounding

block groups (see Figure 4). The variable percent high school graduate is the

only other variable that is not skewed to the right, as the data follows a relatively

normal curve.

The Pearson correlations indicate that median household income and

median home values do not correlate well with the dependent variable, but do

correlate with one another (see Table 2). One of these variables should perhaps be left out as they may be covering the same data, but as neither correlates highly with the dependent variable with Pearson values of -.006 and .018 respectively, both will be left out of the stepwise regression. With concern to the dependent variable, percent hsgrad has the highest value at .484 and percent owner-occupied has the next highest at -.116.
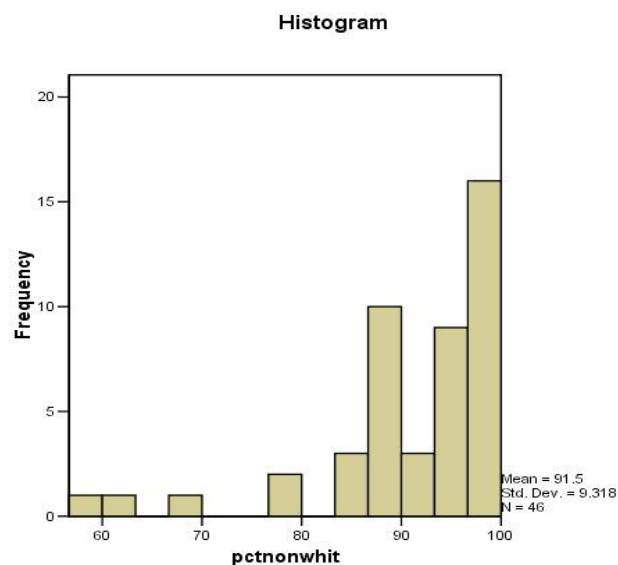
Figure 4. Dependent Variable.

These values are not very large and from this analysis it seems that there is rather low correlation overall between the dependent and independent variables. Median household income and median home value correlate together at .691, and median household income correlates at the next highest Pearson value of .677 with percent owner-occupied.

The scatterplots indicate that there is a negative relationship between percent owner occupied and percent nonwhite. This is one of the two negative relationships among the four independent variables as compared to the

dependent variable, and this seems reasonable as black home ownership, while on the rise recently, lags considerably behind white home ownership rates.

Table 2. Pearson Correlation Values.

		Pctnonwhit	pctownocc	pcthsgrad	Medhhincm	medhmval
Pctnonwhit	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-0.116	0.484	-0.006	0.018
Pctownocc	Pearson Correlation	-0.116	1.000	-0.139	0.677	0.288
Pcthsgrad	Pearson Correlation	0.484	-0.139	1.000	-0.274	-0.412
Medhhincm	Pearson Correlation	-0.006	0.677	-0.274	1.000	0.691
Medhmval	Pearson Correlation	0.018	0.288	-0.412	0.691	1.000

Percent high school graduate and median home value have positive relationships with the dependent variable, although the median home value relationship is very slight and looks almost completely horizontal. There is no discernable relationship between the dependent variable and median household income, as well as no discernable relationship between the dependent variable and median home value.

Tests and Mapping

The regression enter analysis resulted in an adjusted R^2 of .240 with a significance of .004, which is still below the alpha of .05 and is therefore significant to some degree (see Table 3). The low R^2 value meets expectations, and the failure of most of the variables to contribute significantly implies socio-economic data are not a good predictor of nonwhite segregation. The formal regression equation is stated as:

Regression = **(75.79)-.076(pctownocc)+.530(pctHSgrad)+9.29e-05(medHHin)+5.63e-05(medhmval).**

Table 3. Regression Enter Model Summary

Model Summary(b)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.555	0.308	0.240	8.122

a. Predictors: (Constant), medhmval, pctownocc, pcthsgrad, medhhincm
b. Dependent Variable: pctnonwhit

ANOVA(b)

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1,202.811	4	300.703	4.558	0.004
	Residual	2,704.689	41	65.968		
	Total	3,907.500	45			

Coefficients (a)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	75.788	5.096		14.872	0.000		
	Pctownocc	-0.076	0.079	-0.181	-0.966	0.339	0.479	2.087
	Pcthsgrad	0.530	0.129	0.586	4.102	0.000	0.828	1.207
	Medhhincm	0.000	0.000	0.120	0.481	0.633	0.273	3.663
	Medhmval	0.000	0.000	0.228	1.134	0.263	0.416	2.402

From looking at the coefficient parameters only one independent variable, percent high school graduate, is significant at .000, while the other three variables, percent owner occupied, median household income, and median home value, are not significant at .339, .633, and .263 respectively. As expected, median home value and median household income have very small positive values for the B unstandardized coefficients, percent high school graduate has a

slightly more robust positive value at .530, and percent owner occupied has the

only negative value at -.076. Also as expected median household income and

median home value behave very similarly and show no significant value for the B

unstandardized coefficient and thus does not contribute to the regression model.

According to the VIF values there is no strong multi-collinearity among the

variables as they are all less than five, and the covariance matrix does not

indicate any significant covariation.

The scatterplot of the residuals strongly indicates that there may be

another, not included variable, which contributes greatly to the distribution of non-

white segregation (see Figure 5).   From the distribution of the residual data from

the enter method it not only seems that there is another more significant variable

than those included, but also that there is funneling, some linearity, and

heteroscedasticity. The fact that there seem to be other variables contributing to

the process of nonwhite segregation is a significant discovery as further research

will be undertaken that attempts to qualitatively seek out these variables. There

appears to be some autocorrelation in the 90-100 range, but there are many

outliers in the 60-85 percent nonwhite range.
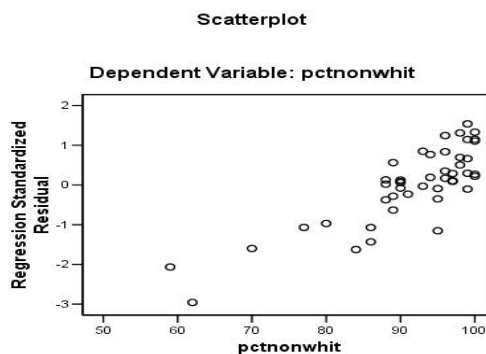
Figure 5. Residuals, Enter Method.

The stepwise model for regression resulted in an R^2 of .217 with a significance of .001, but the model only retained percent high school graduate as a variable (see Table 4).

Table 4. Stepwise Regression Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.484	0.234	0.217	8.247

a. Predictors: (Constant), pcthsgrad
b. Dependent Variable: pctnonwhit

Median home value was the next most significant at .071, but missed making the stepwise regression model. As percent high school graduate was the only significant factor from the enter model, it is very reasonable it is the only included variable in the stepwise model.   Since there is little difference in the results between stepwise and enter, the residuals from the enter method will be used for mapping and clustering analysis so as to include the maximum amount of information about the spatial pattern, if any, that emerges.
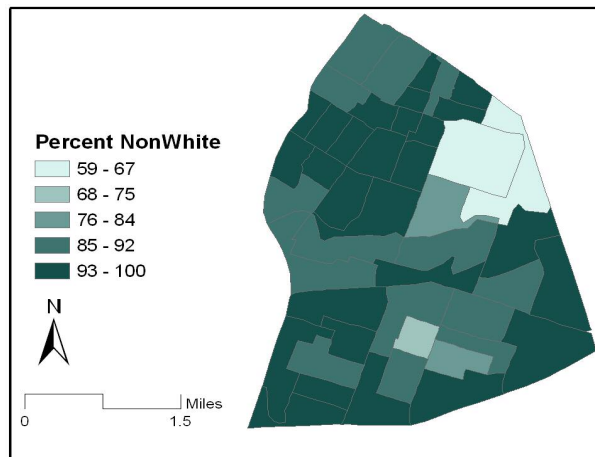
Figure 6. Percent Nonwhite.
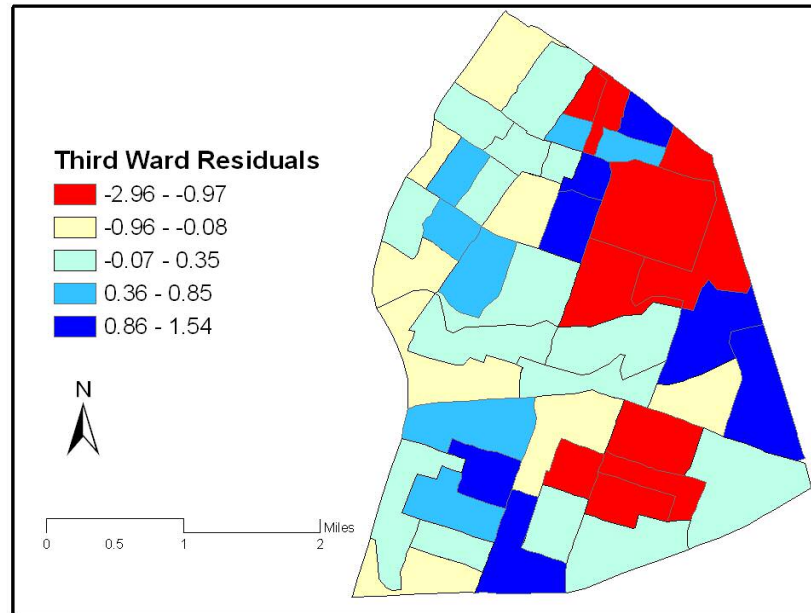
Figure 7. Residuals for Third Ward.

It appears that there is a similar clustering pattern in the residuals map and the percent nonwhite map which indicates autocorrelation among the residuals (see Figure 6 and Figure 7). The neighborhood has a band through the middle around the bayou that is grouped similarly, a cluster in the southeast quadrant, and a third similar cluster in the northeast quadrant. Generally the negative residuals, those block groups below the expected regression line, are falling within the lower percent nonwhite range, and positive residuals are occurring in those block ranges with higher levels of percent nonwhite. As clusters are apparent at this phase in the analysis it seems more helpful to reduce the data through cluster analysis.

Before moving on to data reduction, an attempt is made to improve the R^2 by increasing the number of data points and expanding the study area to the entire inner 610 loop. This would enlarge the total number of data points, which

39

are the block groups, to 373 up from the 46 in the Third Ward neighborhood.
The alteration does little to improve the R^2 value in the enter method as it only
rises to .394 (see Table 5).

Table 5. Expanded Regression Enter Method

Model Summary(b)				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.633	0.400	0.394	22.959

a. Predictors: (Constant), medhmval, %ownerocc, pcthsgrad, medhhinc
b. Dependent Variable: %nonwhite

ANOVA(b)						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	129,413.149	4	32,353.287	61.378	0.000
	Residual	193,977.484	368	527.113		
	Total	323,390.633	372			

The overall significance is good at .000, but the B unstandardized coefficient
shows a positive relationship with all of the variables, whereas the previous
regression showed a negative relationship with percent owner occupied. Two
variables appear to have significance now, median household income and
percent household graduate, but median household income loads positively with
a B coefficient of .000, which indicates that it is contributing to the regression but
only at a different scale as it is not formatted in percents as are the other
variables. Median home value contributes very little as well. There has been
little change in the expanded dataset regression – percent high school graduate
is contributing the most to the model and median household income and median
home value are contributing negligible amounts.

The stepwise regression for the expanded dataset results in an R^2 value of .394 with two variables retained, median household income and percent high school graduate (see Table 6). Median household income contributes an R^2 value of .343, while percent high school graduate brings the final adjusted R^2 value to .394. Thus the stepwise model confirms the lack of predictive

Table 6. Expanded Regression Stepwise Method

Model Summary(c)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.587	0.345	0.343	23.894
2	0.630	0.397	0.394	22.955

a. Predictors: (Constant), medhhinc

b. Predictors: (Constant), medhhinc, pcthsgrad

c. Dependent Variable: %nonwhite

ANOVA(c)

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	111,574.649	1	111,574.649	195.425	0.000
	Residual	211,815.983	371	570.933		
	Total	323,390.633	372			
2	Regression	128,434.269	2	64,217.134	121.875	0.000
	Residual	194,956.364	370	526.909		
	Total	323,390.633	372			

significance of the socioeconomic factors as it appears that for the expanded area and for Third Ward, the independent variables do not contribute significantly to the explanation of nonwhite segregation.

The residuals for the expanded regression show the Third Ward to be rather distinct from the rest of the block groups in the inner loop as shown in Figure 8. It seems that Third Ward is one of the only areas in the inner loop mostly made up of positive residuals and this certainly ties in with what was found in the Third Ward residual analysis. The areas that are most highly

segregated, the more black areas, are made up of positive residuals at the inner

loop level and at the Third Ward level.
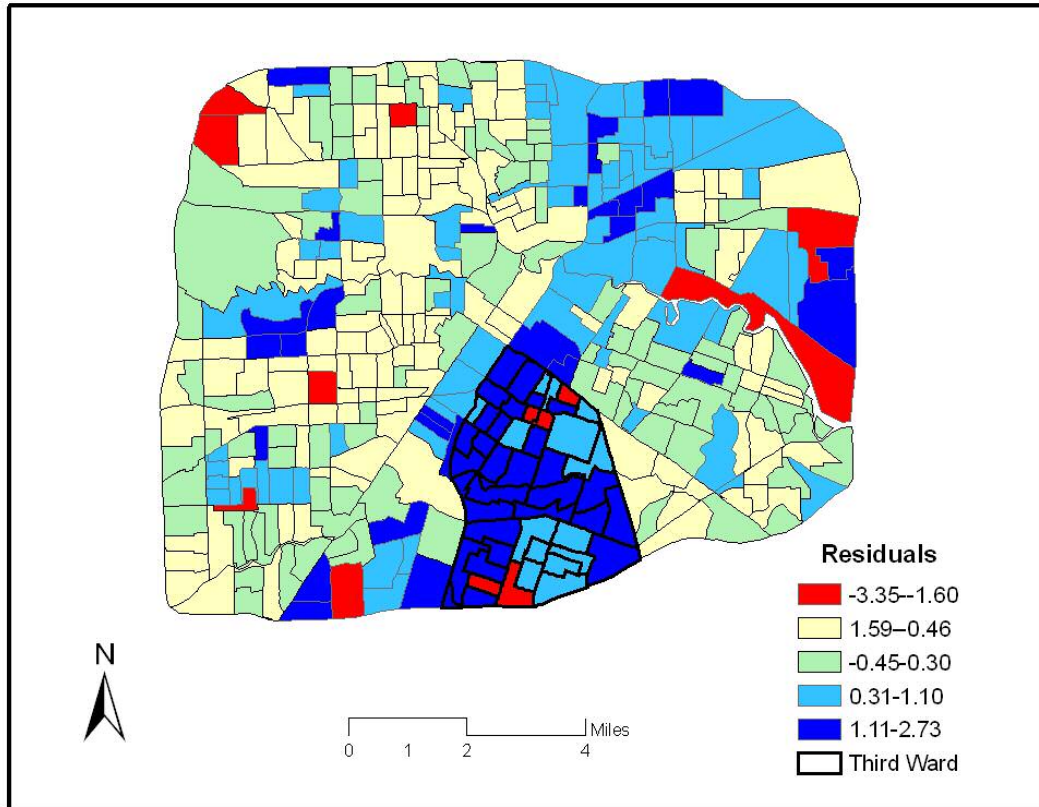
Figure 8. Inner Loop Residuals with Third Ward Delineated.

It seems that Third Ward's uniqueness is due to the high segregation in the

neighborhood, and a cluster analysis of the data could serve to reinforce this

Third Ward distinctness, which seems to correlate with percent black. Thus there

is a high amount of spatial autocorrelation which confirms interest in the study

area as quantitatively significant.

In the cluster analysis the optimal number of clusters for the study area of

Third Ward chosen was derived from the dendogram which was developed as

part of the hierarchical method analysis. Hierarchical analysis employed the

distance metric of squared Euclidean distance as this always results in positive

values, which simplifies interpretation.   The three clusters were then used in the

K-means, non-hierarchical analysis, to derive specific centers. Most beneficial to

this project is the determination of specific centers according to each

independent variable, as the hierarchical method simply arranges data according

to similarity. The partitioning method resulted in three socioeconomic based

clusters. Cluster 1 consists of the lowest levels of percent nonwhite, the highest

Table 7. Partitioning Method Cluster Centers.

Final Cluster Centers

	Cluster		
	1	2	3
pctnonwhit	87	94	92
pctownocc	60	38	39
pcthsgrad	14	23	28
medhhincm	41,956	22,110	17,117
medhmval	143,520	85,570	36,990

level of percent owner occupied, the lowest level of percent high school grad, the

highest level of median household income, and the highest, by far, of median

home value.   The only variable in this group that does not seem to fit with a

socioeconomic pattern is percent high school graduate. It would seem that the

high socioeconomic groupings in cluster one would include the highest levels of

percent high school graduate rather than the lowest. Cluster 2 is the median

socio-economic grouping and Cluster 3 the lower grouping with the exception of

percent high school graduate, and this could certainly be influenced by the

location of the two universities within the neighborhood.
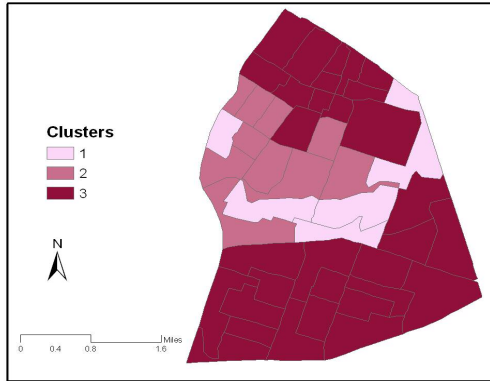
Figure 9. Third Ward Clusters using K-Means Method.

The pattern that appears spatially divides the neighborhood into distinct

areas, but the k-means clusters show areas that differ somewhat from the

percent nonwhite in Third Ward. Both maps show distinctness around the bayou

area in the center of the district, but the cluster map consolidates much of the

upper and lower portions of the neighborhood into cluster three, which is the

lower socio-economic grouping. The nonwhite segregation map, if forced into

only three groupings instead of five, more closely resembles the k-means cluster

map, but more spatial differentiation remains in the percent nonwhite map

(compare Figures 9 and 10). It seems that to at least some degree the

neighborhood can be divided along socioeconomic lines into three main clusters–

the northern cluster, the central bayou cluster, and the southern cluster.
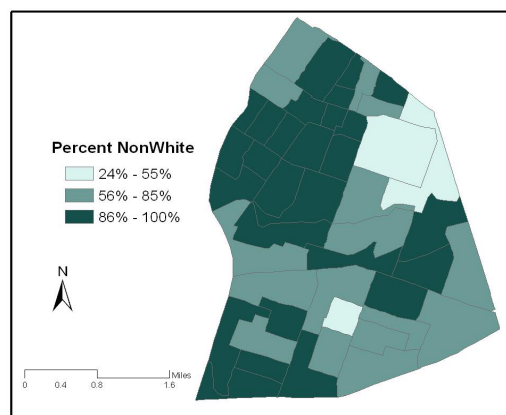
Figure 10. Percent Nonwhite: Three Categories.

The cluster analysis of the entire inner loop area reveals that the cluster partitioning method does not work as well with this larger area. In fact there appear to be massive socioeconomic differences within and between the clusters. Cluster 1 contains the highest percent nonwhite, the median value of percent owner occupied, the median value of percent high school grad, the median value of median household income, and the median value of median home value. Cluster 2 contains those variables highest in value excepting percent nonwhite and percent high school graduate. Cluster 3 holds the lower values, with the noted exceptions. It should be noted that lowest category here includes a median home value of $73,756, while in the lowest category of the Third Ward cluster analysis the median home value is only $39,990.

Table 8. Final Cluster Analysis.

Final Cluster Centers			
	Cluster		
	1	2	3
%nonwhite	85	80	48
%ownerocc	64	79	44
Pcthsgrad	8	5	19
Medhhinc	86,679	161,538	30,918
Medhmval	318,571	804,784	73,756

The differences in the centers in the inner loop clusters are massive, and it seems that the addition of the inner loop area in this clustering analysis only works to show the extreme differences between parts of east Houston and parts of west Houston (see Figure 12). This part of the cluster analysis adds little to the understanding of nonwhite segregation with respect to the distinctness of Third Ward.
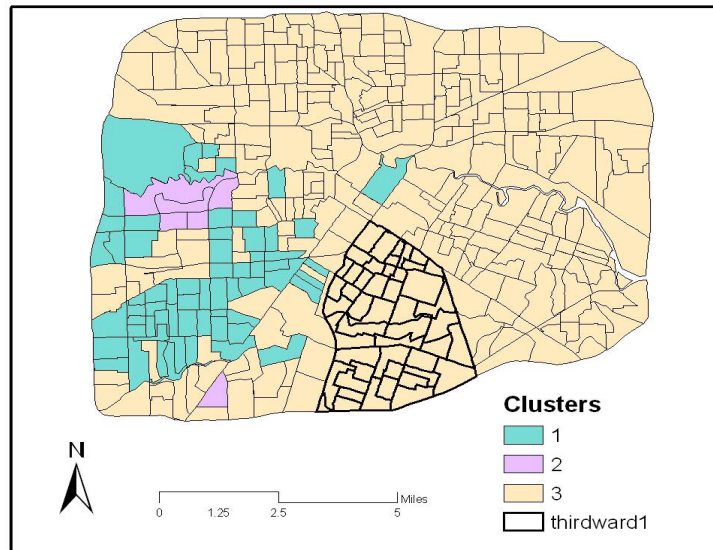
Figure 11. Inner Loop Clusters.

Qualitative Methodology

Description of Fieldwork

The experiential data for this work was based on interviews with residents

and participant observation of community life in the neighborhood of Third Ward

in Houston, Texas. In order to further evaluate community culture and

understand internal dynamics, it was necessary to live within the neighborhood

and experience Third Ward not merely as an observer but also as a resident,

albeit a temporary one. The experiential fieldwork involved the use of

questionnaires, surveys, and personal interviews with residents and community

leaders, many of whom were concerned with the rapid redevelopment plans for

their neighborhood. These documents were provided to residents at church

services, community centers, university campuses, shopping venues, and

through door-to-door contact. Each participant was asked to fill out a short

survey concerning their opinions about the community, and this was followed by

a request to complete the longer questionnaire/interview form (Appendix 2). The

questions address neighborhood perspectives on the quality of life and

community cultural value, and the surveys are structured so that the answers

could be specifically coded and entered into a database.

Description of Questionnaire and Survey Content

The questions asked concerned both internal community dynamics and

residential evaluation of community culture. Discovering residential perspectives

was of primary importance and questions such as "How would you rate the Third

Ward area in general as a place to live?" and "How would you rate the quality of

life in Third Ward?" were an attempt to understand such a private perspective.

It was expected that those residents who had lived in the community longer

would have different opinions concerning quality of life in the area, and also that

those residents who owned their own homes would be more protective of the

community superstructure and therefore would be less likely to approve of

redevelopment plans (Martin 2004). Questions such as, "Are there specific areas

within Third Ward that you are especially fond of or disapproving of?" were a

gauge of internal neighborhood dynamics and played a vital role in evaluating the

neighborhood perspective. Additionally, the longer personal interviews were

crucial in the discovery of the role of these internal neighborhood dynamics in

local political decisions concerning redevelopment plans for the Third Ward

(Roberta F. Burroughs & Associates 1995). In order to account for residents'

desire to speak of their community experiences in a less formal manner, an open-ended question was included to encourage more in-depth conversation.

Tabulation

The overall purpose of the tabulation of qualitative results is to further understand community residential perspectives and to gain insight into the affect of segregation on community life. Each question from the survey included has been formatted so that responses may be entered into a database for further calculation. Generalizations and statistical observations gained from this analysis contributed to the development of other variables that may contribute to neighborhood dynamics. Open-ended questions, other discussions and conversations, and my own experiences from community immersion will be described qualitatively in a general analysis. The purpose of such general analysis was to explore valuable residential opinions that could only be expressed in an informal setting and manner.

Qualitative Results

Description of Fieldwork

Specific techniques such as the use of multiple and varying venues were employed to involve the most diverse number of residents as possible in the surveys and questionnaires, but as some neighborhood blocks were targeted for door-to-door solicitation these blocks may be overrepresented in the tabulation of results. Additionally transitory areas were focused upon in the study as spaces

most convenient to meeting a great diversity of individuals—grocery stores, laundromats, parks, and bus stops. As there are two universities within the area of study, there may also be an overrepresentation of students versus residents but as the timeframe for the study occurred in the summer there is some mitigation for the student overrepresentation. While every attempt was made to encourage full participation by volunteers, it was discovered that five surveys were not fully completed and these surveys were discarded and are not part of the final tabulation.

The experiential fieldwork is made up of two parts: immersion and interviews which include surveys and questionnaires. I lived for eight weeks in Cullen Oaks, a residence hall associated with the University of Houston, which is located on the eastern edge of Third Ward. The immersion in neighborhood life allowed for a firsthand account of community culture and additionally allowed me to participate in daily activities such as shopping at local stores, attending neighborhood churches, walking at parks, visiting community centers, and taking public transportation. This experience was critical in establishing a rapport with residents as many were understandably wary of communicating sensitive cultural information to an unrecognized individual. Once I established the validity of my presence as a student and neighborhood resident, community members were more responsive and willing to be volunteer participants for the survey and questionnaire. Thus immersion in community culture facilitated the interview process. The experiential research worked to deepen understanding of urban

ethnic neighborhood dynamics, and gave voice to the neighborhood perspective, which is not a variable that was obtainable otherwise.

Tabulation and Analysis

The questionnaire provided me with the opportunity to communicate informally with volunteers and the survey allowed for a more brief and focused approach. Both formats focused on two aspects—community perspectives and understanding community in a predominantly African-American life. Survey questions eight, two, and five addressed the culture of a segregated neighborhood, while questions seven and one focus on residential issues and commentary (see Tables 9 and 10). The remaining questions provided further information concerning the residents (homeownership, long-term residents, ethnic background, etc.). The perspectives gained from this analysis contrast with the external, quantitative perspective as was expected and new variables emerged from both the general analysis of the questionnaire and from the more brief survey.

The majority of the responses to survey question two indicated the quality of life in the Third Ward was either good or fair with 21% indicating the quality of life was excellent. In survey question one 74% of respondents indicated Third Ward was an excellent place to live. Of the respondents 65% had lived in Third Ward for at least four years, 62% indicated they were African-American, and 59% were homeowners. It is logical to conclude that many of the residents are culturally connected to their community and they have a vested interest in the

preservation of their neighborhood. In fact, when residents were asked if they would prefer to move or relocate from the Third Ward, 79% indicated they would stay.

Survey question seven asked respondents to indicate the most important issue facing Third Ward, and 56% indicated ethnic relations were their greatest concern. The selection was made from the choices of drugs, gangs, crime, unemployment, and educational opportunities. This seems to show concern on the part of the residents with their sharply differentiated community. Question eight sought to gauge the perceived cultural value of this predominantly African-American community by asking respondents to indicate the cultural importance of Third Ward. Fifty-six percent of the respondents indicated Third Ward was very culturally important. Thus residents seem both highly cognizant of their status as a racially separate community and culturally attached to the physical and structural environment of Third Ward.

The longer and more informal questionnaire presented some difficulties when I first administered it (see Appendix 2). In particular questions four and eleven seemed to make residents uncomfortable and often they tended to stop writing down responses. Both questions allude to the role of ethnicity in community life. I found that it became much more useful if I casually introduced the questions into conversation without writing down the responses in the presence of the residents. All notes for these personal interviews were therefore taken down later, most often once I reached the privacy of my vehicle.

Table 9. Survey Questions and Results

Q1- How would you rate the Third Ward in general as a place to live?

Choice	Response	Percent
excellent	9	28
good	9	28
fair	16	50
poor	0	0

Q2 - How would you rate the quality of life in Third Ward?

Choice	Response	Percent
excellent	7	21
good	12	35
fair	13	38
poor	2	6

Q3- How long have you lived in the Third Ward neighborhood?

Choice	Response	Percent
< 1 year	3	9
1-3 years	3	9
4-10 years	8	24
> 10 years	14	41
non-resident	6	18

Q4 - Do you own your own home?

Choice	Response	Percent
yes	20	59
no	14	41

Q5 - If presented with the opportunity to relocate to another neighborhood would you:

Choice	Response	Percent
move	7	21
stay	27	79

Q6 - Which ethnic group do you identify with?

Choice	Response	Percent
Black	21	62
Hispanic	1	3
White	11	32
Asian	1	3
Other	0	0

Q7 - What is the important issue facing Third Ward residents?

Choice	Response	Percent
Ethnic Relations	19	56
Employment	5	15
Crime, drugs	5	15
Public Education	5	15
Other	0	0

Q8 - How culturally important is Third Ward to you?

Choice	Response	Percent
very	19	56
moderately	8	24
slightly	5	15
not	2	6

Seven questionnaires were completed by residents, five more were completed in part, and 11 casual interviews were undertaken in which only a few of the questions specifically contained in the questionnaire were asked or answered. These interviews shed light on intra-neighborhood politics, further residential concerns, and observations of class stratification and home ownership patterns.

The community directly to the south of University of Houston is known as University Oaks and has been acknowledged to be a part of the Third Ward by two authors of the few academic studies that have been undertaken in this area (Jenkins 1982; Goodwin 1994). This small subdivision is not separate physically from the Third Ward but it is racially separate as this area is predominantly white. In fact, one long-time resident volunteered the information that it was written into the subdivision covenant in the 1950s that no black people could live within the subdivision. Upon being presented with the survey, five of the respondents, all of whom were white and from this subdivision remarked that University Oaks was not part of the Third Ward. The one African-American survey volunteer from this area asserted that University Oaks was indeed part of the Third Ward and furthermore that only the white individuals would seek to differentiate the subdivision from the neighborhood.

Another facet of neighborhood politics is community concern with the rapid redevelopment of Third Ward. Some subdivisions had even taken the action to change covenants so that only single-family homes could be built on a single lot. This would prevent the establishment of condominiums and duplexes amongst tightly-knit community groups. One elderly resident communicated her fear of

neighborhood fragmentation due to the rapid influx of new residents who in her words, "might not want to come out of their house and get involved in the neighborhood." Many residents were concerned about community cohesiveness as Third Ward has been a center for black culture in Houston for decades. Places such as the Eldorado Ballroom, Emancipation Park, and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Community Center are of cultural and historical importance to many of the longtime residents, who are not willing to sell or move. The Eldorado Ballroom, which is directly across the street from Emancipation Park, was a center for jazz music and community dances throughout the 1950s and 1960s. These spaces serve as a crucial generational and cultural connection for the Third Ward youth of today to their grandparents and parents. Often these sentiments are indicated by black and white signs which say "Third Ward is Our Home and It is NOT for Sale" (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Third Ward Residence with Sign.

An often enunciated concern on the part of the residents is the lack of places to shop either for groceries or clothes. Commercial businesses are rare in

this area and I had difficulty finding restaurants, especially any restaurant chains such as Chili's or the Olive Garden. The Montrose area directly to the west of Third Ward contained a plethora of eateries including multiple grocery stores while Third Ward has a single grocery store to serve the entire community. In addition, what few businesses are located in Third Ward are small and family-owned; thus, employment opportunities are fewer as well.

I also observed that contrary to the block group quantitative data, there was quite a range in socioeconomic status in the neighborhood. In a single block a very large gated home was located next to a Washateria, both of which faced an older, structurally-damaged apartment complex. The center of the study area contains a bayou along which several gated mansions are built (Figure 13), while directly surrounding the mansions are more middle-class subdivision homes with

Figure 13. Affluent Third Ward Residence along Bayou.

many lower-income homes and apartments dispersed throughout. It seems that while racially the community is almost completely homogeneous, Third Ward is very much class stratified. Racial segregation of the community has mandated stratification based on class. This contrasts sharply with the community make-up

55

in typical suburban communities, which often contain residents that are often homogenous in terms of both race and income.

From these qualitative results various community internal dynamics emerged that revealed a much more complex cultural and community environment than was revealed through the quantitative analysis. Additionally, with respect to understanding segregated, ethnic communities two new variables were discovered for further analysis – lack of commercial venues, and more class stratification. These variables materialized due to observation, interviews, and immersion without which this study would be incomplete.

CHAPTER IV

FINAL RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to understand how segregation affects communities and to gain a deeper understanding of the culture of such a neighborhood. In an attempt to further employ knowledge gained from the qualitative analysis the two new variables that emerged from the personal interviews and survey results, class stratification and commercial businesses, are analyzed using various tests and mapping. It was found that multiple residents were concerned with the scarcity of commercial venues for shopping and as places to attain employment. Additionally, it was observed that there seemed to be much class stratification within the neighborhood. These variables are investigated during a final analysis in an effort to further understand the urban, ethnic neighborhood of Third Ward. While neither variable was able to provide a definitive or complete answer, the tests and mapping provided deeper insight into the culture of the study area and allowed me to further fulfill the purpose of the study. Furthermore, the data collection process and tests and mapping provided invaluable information for future investigations of segregated communities.

Final Analysis Methodology

Data Sources

Analysis was undertaken for the two variables—the commercial variable and the class stratification variable. For the commercial variable the data to analyze the number of retail businesses within the community, was derived primarily from the 2002 Economic Census at the finest scale available, which was at the zip code scale. As the zip code was quite a broad scale for a finer analysis, it was decided that I would focus on gaining specific addresses of grocery stores for display in the mapping process. Additional resources utilized to gain this finer scale data were online yellow pages, hardcopy yellow pages for 2005, and individual grocery store websites. The data for analysis of the class stratification variable were derived from 2000 Census data, using household income as the defining factor for displaying the variable. Further comparative analysis included racial data, percent white, derived from the 2000 Census as well.

The spatial scale for this analysis will be at the finest scale available, the block group. The data for both of these variables include the entirety of Harris County, but a focus will be on the inner city loop, 610, and the study area, Third Ward. The shapefiles were derived from TIGER files found at the Census.gov website and the shapefiles displaying the superneighborhoods of Houston were provided by the City of Houston GIS Department.

Tests and Mapping

The commercial variable was mapped using ArcGIS 9.1 which is a vital tool for this comparative analysis as it allows for the ability to compare information that is at various spatial and temporal scales. First the data were arranged in ArcCatalog in a geodatabase and the commercial data were assigned to two subtypes of retail businesses—ethnic grocery stores and general grocery stores. The ethnic grocery store subtype was chosen on the basis of business name, while the general grocery store subtype was limited to six chains: Krogers, Fiesta, Wal-Mart Supercenter, HEB, Central Market, and Randalls (see Appendix 3). The street network was established from the TIGER shapefiles for Harris County and then specific addresses of grocery stores were geocoded to display in ArcMap according to the specific location. The superneighborhood shapefile could then overlay the grocery store data to provide a spatial framework for analysis of the spatial pattern of grocery store distribution. For a broader scale analysis the zip code areas are displayed in a choropleth map according to the raw number of commercial businesses per zip code normalized by the population. Third Ward is roughly included in the area of two zip codes, 77004 and 77021.

For analysis of the class stratification variable median household income per block group was displayed in a choropleth using quantiles, as this configuaration splits the data into a more even representation of each division. Percent white per block is also displayed for comparative analysis with the class stratification variable. The superneighborhood shapefile was then superimposed

on both of the layers, percent white and class stratification to provide a spatial framework.

Using ArcObjects and VBA programming the display in ArcGIS 9.1 was customized so that the two variables could be manipulated and compared more easily. A specific toolbar was created for use in this project and each variable, commercial and class, had a specific set of layers that would display according to my needs. The commercial set of layers included the zip code choropleth map, the geocoded grocery store addresses, and the superneighborhood outline map. The class set of layers included the median household income choropleth map, the superneighborhood outline map, and the Third Ward outline map. The table of contents remained open so that other layers such as percent white could be included according to the needs of the analysis.

Final Analysis Results

Tests and Mapping

The commercial variable, when mapped at the broader scale of the zip code, using quantiles as the classification scheme, showed moderate differentiation between the neighborhood of Third Ward and the larger area of Houston. The zip code map displayed the number of commercial businesses per 1000 people. It was spatially apparent that the western portion of the inner 610 loop contains more retail areas than the eastern portion, where Third Ward is located. There was also clustering of retail areas around a bayou which travels through the central downtown corridor and then extends across the 610 loop to

the eastern portion of the city (see Figure 14). While it is apparent the community of Third Ward is not a member of the highest level of retail businesses, there is not a clear pattern for analysis. Thus the finer scale data provided key evidence of the lack of commercial service in the segregated area of Third Ward.

The geocoded grocery store locations throughout Houston show clear clustering in western Houston. When compared with the percent white and median household income it seems there is a spatial correlation of higher income areas and areas of lower percent nonwhite with higher numbers of grocery store
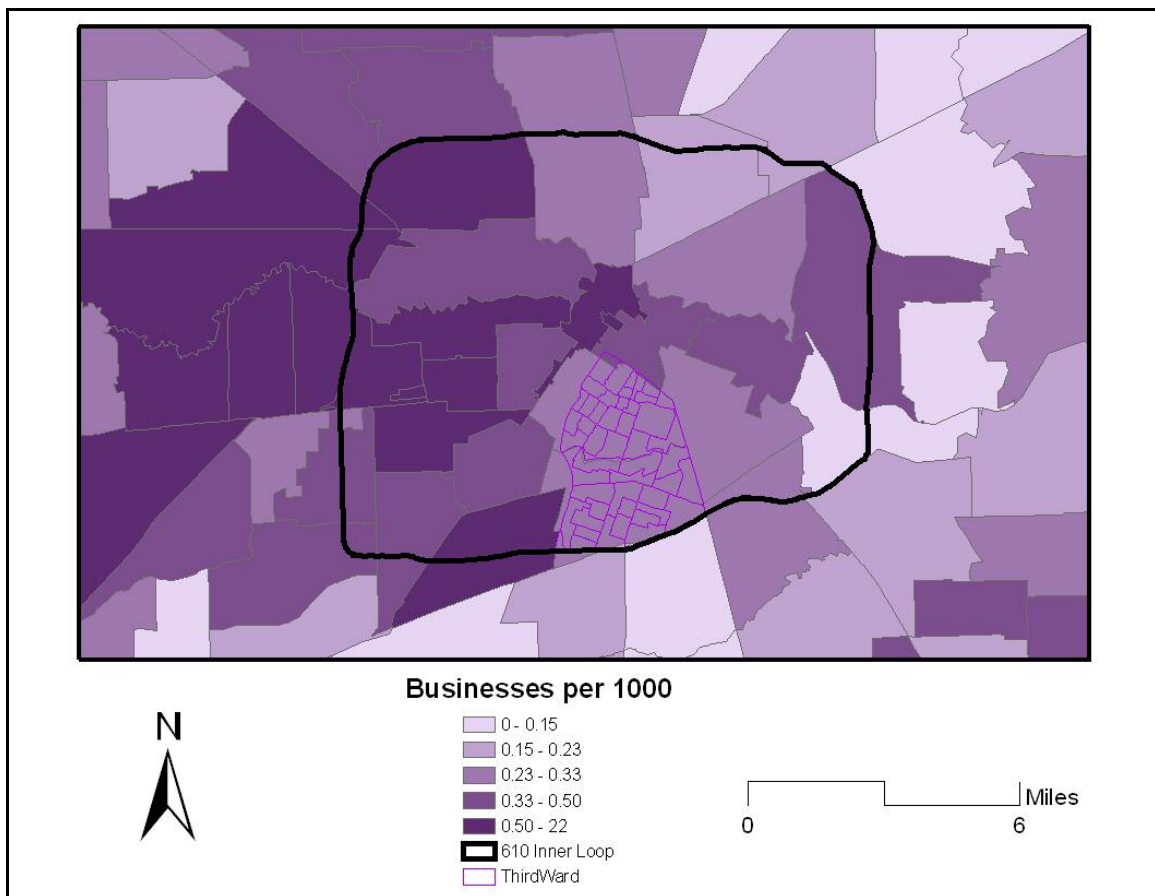
Figure 14. Commercial Analysis at Zip Code Scale.

establishments (see Figure 15). In the area of Third Ward there is a single HEB centrally located and there are two Fiestas that are located in the neighborhoods just to the north and to the west. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that as compared to higher income areas or areas with lower percents of nonwhite residents, Third Ward is indeed underserved at least in terms of grocery store representation.

As for the variable of class stratification western Houston clearly has more areas of higher median income than does eastern Houston, which includes the study area. In fact the median household income map contrasts most sharply with the percent white map—each map displays the highest representation in opposite areas (Figure 16, Figure 17).
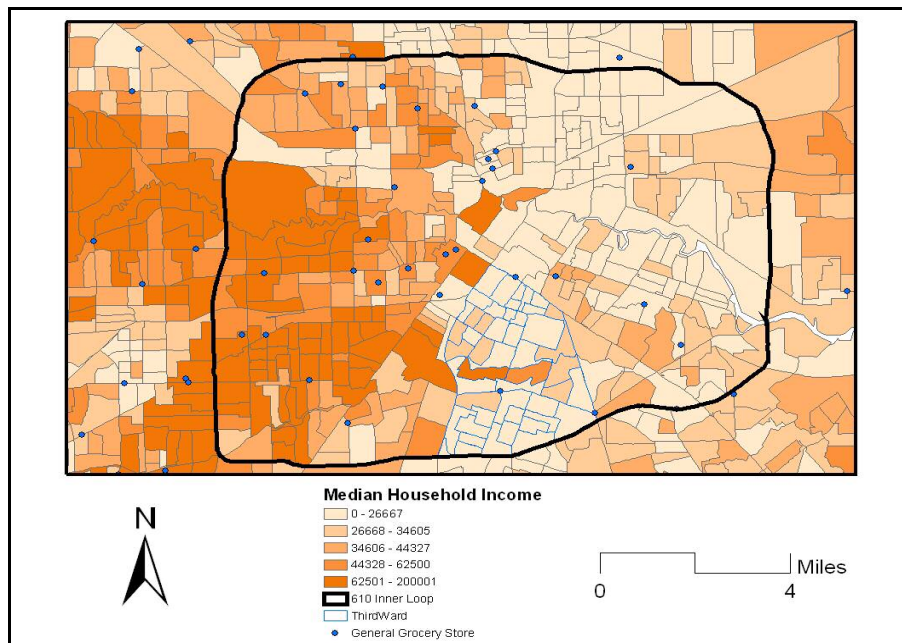

Figure 15. Median Household Income and Geocoded Grocery Stores.

Block groups with the highest percent white spatially correlate with block groups with the highest levels of median income. Within the neighborhood of Third Ward it was expected there would be a greater class differentiation among

block groups than occurred in areas with higher percent white. While along the center of Third Ward there is a band of the highest level of median household income, the remainder and largest portion of the neighborhood is homogeneously represented by the lower level of income. As my fieldwork visually confirms the contrast in wealth and class, I conclude that the spatial scale of the block group is simply too broad of a scale to employ in order to
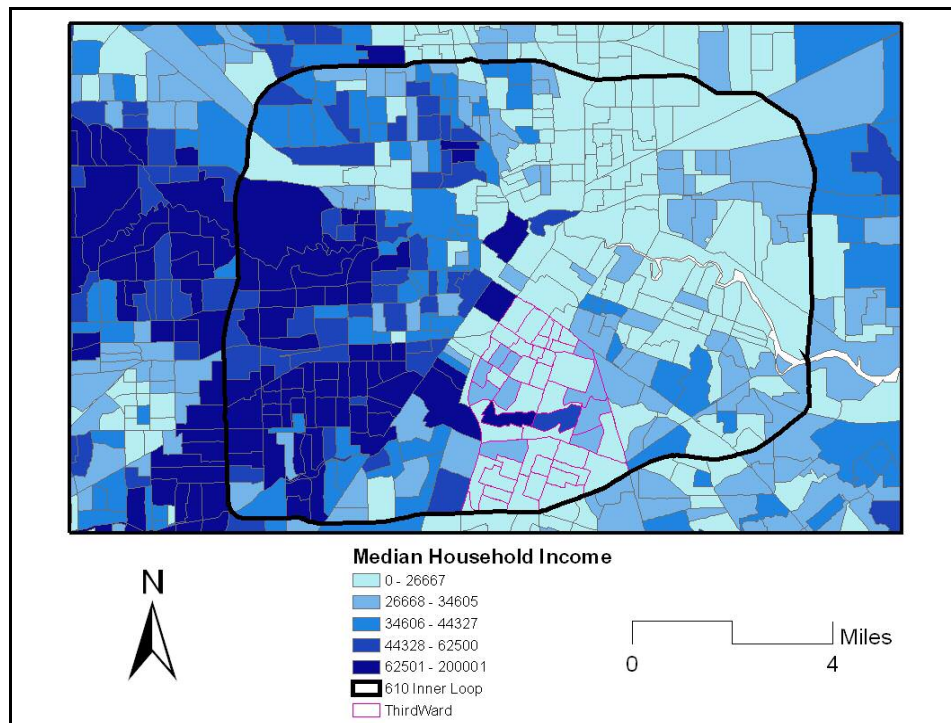
Figure 16. Household Median Income by Block Group.
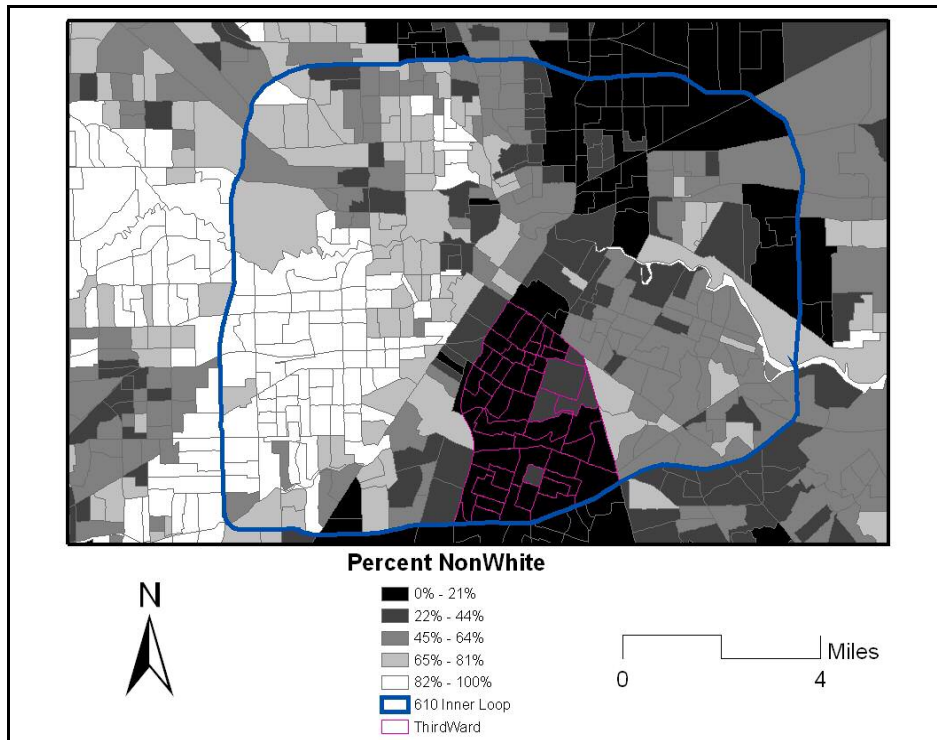
Figure 17. Percent Nonwhite by Block Group.

determine class stratification. In conclusion, the data obtainable certainly

reinforced the idea of class and race segregation within the inner loop of

Houston, but hypothesis of greater class stratification within specific

neighborhoods was unable to be confirmed with the available data.

Conclusion

Revisiting the Objectives

The purpose of the study was to understand neighborhood effects of

segregation and to understand the internal culture of such a neighborhood. The

use of statistical data allowed me to gain an external perspective before

undertaking interviews and immersion in community life in the search for

residential perspectives. This experiential research was critical as it brought to

light two new variables for further analysis. The detrimental effects of segregation are written into the structural and physical environments of many urban landscapes, but cultural cohesiveness and residential concern with neighborhood sustainability are also part of neighborhood life in Third Ward. One of the older male residents who had lived in the community for over forty years remarked, "we love our homes, and we take care of all the kids on the street, and keep our yards right." No longer does it seem that "ghetto" connotations encompass the complexity and diversity of urban, ethnic community concerns. A characterization of Third Ward, using only an external perspective, can limit understanding of the residents, their race, class, and community culture.

Future Research and Recommendations

There has been little geographic research that has focused on the specific role of segregation in the urban environment. Additionally, very little research in general has focused on the South or urban areas within the South. Future research within the discipline of geography that seeks to address the social ramifications of segregation, and that tries to deepen academic understandings of race relations in the United States can not only directly affect individual populations and communities, but will make significant contribution to race and place studies within geography.

Future work within urban, ethnic communities throughout the South would benefit from the use of qualitative as well as quantitative methodologies. The dual approach can reveal contrasting and often conflicting information that could

be of great importance. With respect to the Third Ward, much of the community is undergoing rapid change due not only to gentrification and redevelopment by the city but also most recently due to the influx of new residents from New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. For example, several large African-American churches within the community were involved in aiding evacuees in finding places of residence, some of whom remained in the neighborhood.

Of particular interest to residents is the development of neighborhood historical and cultural preservation efforts. Project Row Houses, which seeks to involve philanthropists and business groups in the rehabilitation and preservation of row houses within the community, has been very successful by involving children in after school art programs. A Bike Center sponsored and run by graduates from Oberlin College in Oregon has been established on the first floor of the historic Eldorado Ballroom. It is not clear how affected Third Ward will be by these changes, but the social and cultural landscape will undoubtedly undergo transformation in the foreseeable future.

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APPENDIX 1

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Tuesday, May 17, 2005

IRB Application No   AS0584

Proposal Title: Race and Segregation: A Neighborhood Perspective of Third Ward, Houston, Texas

Reviewed and   Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved   Protocol Expires: 5/16/2006

Principal
Investigator(s

Chandra Carrasco   Alyson Greiner
245 N. Univ. Place #306   225 Scott Hall
Stillwater, OK 74075   Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, emct@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX 2

Survey Form
1) How would you rate the Third Ward area in general as a place to live? (please check one)
1 excellent
2 good
3 fair
4 poor

2) How would you rate the quality of life in Third Ward? (please check one)
1 excellent
2 good
3 fair
4 poor

3) How long have you lived in the Third Ward neighborhood? (please check one)
1 < 1 year
2 1-3 years
3 4-10 years
4 > 10 years
5 not currently a resident

4) Do you own your own home? (please check one)
1 yes
2 no

5) If presented with the opportunity to relocate to another neighborhood outside Third Ward would you:
1 move
2 stay

6) Which ethnic group do you identify with? (please check one)
1 African-American
2 Hispanic
3 White
4 Asian
5 Other

7) What is the most important issue facing Third Ward residents? (please check only one)
1 Ethnic Relations, Conflicts
2 Economy, Employment Opportunities
3 Crime, drugs, gangs
4 Public Education
5 Other (please specify)_____

8) How culturally important is Third Ward to you?
1 very important
2 moderately important
3 slightly important
4 not important

Questionnaire/Interview Form

1) Describe for me your history and experiences with the Third Ward.

2) What are some positive and negative changes you seen in this community?
Positive Changes   Negative Changes

3) What is most culturally valuable about living in Third Ward?

4) Do you think the ethnic composition of the neighborhood matters to the quality of life in this neighborhood? (yes or no) Briefly explain.

5) Are there specific areas within Third Ward you are especially fond of or especially disapproving of?

6) Do you think City of Houston officials or redevelopment organizations listen to neighborhood opinion concerning the Third Ward? Why or why not?

7) Do you think this community will be better in five years, worse, or about the same?

8) What parts of community life here do you not want changed?

9) Are you concerned about new resident's impact on the community?

10) What do you think this impact will be?

11) Do you think the ethnic make-up of this neighborhood makes the Third Ward a better place to live, a worse place to live, or does not matter?

Explanatory Form I

Chandra L. Carrasco
chandra.carrasco@okstate.edu
245 N University Pl #306
Stillwater, OK 74075

My name is Chandra Carrasco and I am a geography graduate student from Oklahoma State University. To complete work on my Master's thesis I have chosen to research residential perceptions of community life in the neighborhood of Third Ward. I am looking for volunteers to fill out a 3-4 minute survey that asks questions concerning residential opinion of Third Ward community life. To complete the survey you must be over the age of 18, but no contact information of any kind will be requested, and the survey form is completely confidential. It is expected that the information gathered will If you have any questions or concerns involving my research or if you are interested in discussing your opinions about community life further, you are welcome to speak with me at any time. Refusal to participate in this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits and you may discontinue participation at any point. I thank you sincerely for your time today.

Explanatory Form II

Chandra Carrasco
chandra.carrasco@okstate.edu
245 N University Pl #306
Stillwater, OK 74075

My name is Chandra Carrasco and I am a geography graduate student from Oklahoma State University. To complete work on my Master's thesis I have chosen to research residential perceptions of community life in the neighborhood of Third Ward. I am looking for volunteers to fill out a 20-30 minute questionnaire/interview that asks questions concerning residential opinion of Third Ward community life. To complete the survey you must be over the age of 18, but no contact information of any kind will be requested, and the questionnaire/interview form is completely confidential. If any information obtained is used for completion of my work you will be referenced only by a pseudonym. If you have any questions or concerns involving my research or if you are interested in discussing your opinions about community life further, you are welcome to speak with me at any time. Refusal to participate in this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits and you may discontinue participation at any point. I thank you sincerely for your time today.

APPENDIX 3

GROCERY STORE LISTING
"NAME" , "ADDRESS"

HEB,6102 SCOTT ST
HEB,1511 W 18TH ST
HEB,5450 AIRLINE DR
HEB,3111 WOODRIDGE
HEB,5130 CEDAR
HEB,2660 FOUNTAIN VIEW DR
HEB,12900 ALDINE WESTFIELD
HEB,5417 S BRAESWOOD
HEB,435 UVALDE
HEB,2211 E SOUTHMORE
HEB,10251 KEMPWOOD
HEB,10100 BEECHNUT
HEB,11616 BEAMER RD
HEB,11815 WESTHEIMER
HEB,14540 MEMORIAL DR
HEB,6210 FIRMONT PKWY
HEB,3601 CENTER
HEB,22618 ALDINE WESTFIELD
HEB,4724 HWY 6
HEB,14498 BELLAIRE BLVD
HEB,4975 N HWY 6
HEB,7310 LOUETTA
HEB,7405 FM 1960 EAST
HEB,701 WEST PARKWOOD
HEB,4303 KINGWOOD DR
HEB,6960 BARKER CYPRESS
HEB,1550 FRY RD
HEB,19900 SOUTHWEST FWY
HEB,130 SAWDUST RD
HEB,207 E SOUTH
HEB,1621 S MASON RD
HEB,2200 N MAIN
HEB,2955 SOUTH GULD FREEWAY
HEB,28520 TOMBALL PKY
HEB,9595 SIX PINES ROAD
HEB,10777 KUYKENDAHL ROAD
HEB,4206 WARPATH
HEB,918 21ST ST
HEB,2108 NORTH FRAZIER
HEB,1239 E MULBERRY

HEB,100 TRULY PLAZA
HEB,1021 N MAIN
HEB,110 W BRAZOS ST
HEB,6013 STEWART
HEB,410 PLANTATION
FIESTA,1020 Quitman
FIESTA,2300 N Shepherd
FIESTA,800 S Wayside
FIESTA,1603 Spencer Hwy
FIESTA,5600 Mykawa
FIESTA,3707 Ave H
FIESTA,6200 Bellaire
FIESTA,2323 Wirt Rd
FIESTA,10401 Jensen
FIESTA,12201 East Fwy
FIESTA,4711 Airline
FIESTA,5800 Lyons
FIESTA,14315 Bellaire
FIESTA,4200 San Jacinto
FIESTA,8130 Kirby
FIESTA,1005 Blalock
FIESTA,8320 FM 1960
FIESTA,12355 Main
FIESTA,9419 Mesa
FIESTA,11240 Fondren
FIESTA,11006 Airline
FIESTA,1175 Edgebrook
FIESTA,1407 Studewood
FIESTA,7061 Lawndale
FIESTA,7510 Bellfort
FIESTA,3803 Dunlavy
FIESTA,8710 Bellaire
FIESTA,1728 W Mt Houston
FIESTA,8650 S Braeswood
FIESTA,1530 Independence Blvd
FIESTA,4114 Fulton
FIESTA,5815 Lockwood
FIESTA,9420 Cullen
FIESTA,4330 Hwy 6 North
KROGER,4000 POLK
KROGER,3300 MONTROSE BLVD
KROGER,1938 W GRAY
KROGER,1035 N SHEPHERD
KROGER,239 W 20TH ST
CENTRAL MARKET,3815 WESTHEIMER
RANDALLS,2225 LOUISIANA
RANDALLS,2075 WESTHEIMER
RANDALLS,5586 WESLAYAN ST
RANDALLS,3131 W HOLBOMBE RD

RANDALLS,5161 SAN FELIPE
RANDALLS,5346 W 34TH ST
RANDALLS,5131 BELLAIRE BLVD
RANDALLS,1407 S VOSS
RANDALLS,4800 W BELLFORT
RANDALLS,1302 BLALOCK DR
RANDALLS,12850 MEMORIAL DR
RANDALLS,9503 JONES RD
RANDALLS,9660 WESTHEIMER
RANDALLS,7320 ANTOINE
RANDALLS,11041 WESTHEIMER
RANDALLS,4802 FAIRMONT PKWY
RANDALLS,11021 FUQUA
RANDALLS,10228 WEST BROADWAY
RANDALLS,2800 E BROADWAY ST
RANDALLS,2323 CLEAR LAKE CITY BLVD
RANDALLS,570 EL DORADO BLVD
RANDALLS,4540 KINGWOOD DR
RANDALLS,7098 BISSONET
RANDALLS,13350 JONES RD
RANDALLS,5219 FM 1960
RANDALLS,16616 CHAMPIONS FOREST
RANDALLS,7055 HWY 6 N
RANDALLS,13140 LOUETTA
RANDALLS,12220 BARKER CYPRESS
RANDALLS,12312 BARKER CYPRESS RD
RANDALLS,600 KINGWOOD DR
Walmart,9555 S POST OAK RD
Walmart,7960 LONG POINT RD
Walmart,2727 DUNVALE RD
Walmart,9700 HILLCROFT STREET
Walmart,1107 S SHAVER ST
Walmart,13484 NORTHWEST FREEWAY
Walmart,13750 I10 EAST
Walmart,10411 N FREEWAY 45
Walmart,2740 GESSNER RD
Walmart,11242 S GESSNER RD
Walmart,10750 WESTVIEW RD
Walmart,5655 EAST SAM HOUSTON PKWY N
Walmart,1919 N MAIN
Walmart,2700 S KIRKWOOD DR
Walmart,10505 BROADWAY
Walmart,11755 BEECHNUT ST
Walmart,5200 FAIRMONT PKWY
Walmart,11210 W AIRPORT BLVD
Walmart,1710 BROADWAY ST
Walmart,7075 FM 1960 RD W
Walmart,150 W EL DORADO BLVD
Walmart,155 LOUETTA CROSSING
Walmart,4900 GARTH ROAD

BALI-HALI FOOD MARKET,2305 SAKOWITZ ST
BANGLA BAZAR,11107 BELLAIRE BLVD
AMIGO FOOD MARKET,3800 IRVINGTON BLVD
BAZAAR CHEH INC,5692 HILLCROFT ST
AMIGO MART,5410 CHIMINEY ROCK RD
ASIAN CENTER,2133 W ALABAMA ST
ASIATIC IMPORT CO,909 CHARTRES ST
AKUNNA AFRICAN GROCERIES,9715 TELEPHONE RD
EL RANCHO SUPERMARKET,11132 ALDINE WESTFIELD RD
EL GUERO SUPER MERCADOS,1820 N MAIN ST
FYZA'S GROCERIES,12325 VETERANS MEMORIAL DR
GLORY OF GOD AFRICAN CARRIBEAN,12719 BISSONET ST
HONG KONG SUPERMARKET,5708 S GESSNER DR
HONG KONG SUPERMARKET,13400 VETERANS MEMORIAL DR
HONG KONG SUPERMARKET,9750 BELLAIRE BLVD
HUNG DONG SUPERMARKET,10625 VETERANS MEMORIAL DR
HUNG'S GROCERY,4702 LYONS AVE
HOA BINH SUPERMARKET,2800 TRAVIS ST
INDIA GROCERS,6606 SOUTHWEST FWY
INDIA MART,5604 HILLCROFT ST
INDO-PAK GROVERY,10760 FM 1960 RD W
JIN MI SUPERMARKET,9501 LONG POINT RD
KOWLOON SUPER MARKET,4402 CRANE ST
KOH ONG FOOD STORE,1419 PATTERSON ST
LATINO FOOD STORE,11 E NAVIGATION BLVD
LA FAVORITA MEAT MARKET,11214 VETERANS MEMORIAL DR
LEE'S ASIAN MARKET,8795 ANTOINE DR
LONG SING SUPERMARKET,2017 WALKER ST
LEE'S FOOD MARKET,3200 YALE ST
LA PALMA LATIN MARKET,6530 BRITTMOORE RD
LA PLACITE,9006 BEECHNUT ST
LA PLACITA FARMER'S MARKET,6219 BELLAIRE BLVD
LAS PIRAMIDES GROCERY,9802 BAUMAN RD
LUM'S GROVERY,3801 LIBERTY RD
LA SULTANA GROCERY,6715 BISSONET RD
LA TAPATIA TAQUERIA,3965 S GESSNER RD
MAI CHI MARKET,1016 ALABAMA ST
M&M CARIBBEAN GROCERY AND SPICES,14603 MAIN ST
MERCADO ESTRELLA,7211 HARRISBURG BLVD
MI CHARRITO RESTAURANT AND FOOD STORE,14613 S POST OAK RD
MAJID FOOD MARKET, 7050 SHERMAN ST
MY QUANG MARKET INC, 12790 SCARSDALE BLVD
NEW ASIA FOOD MARKET, 7844 AVENUE E
NEW AGE DONG SUPERMARKET, 1700 WEBSTER ST
NAJMA INDIAN PAKISTANI GROCERY & VIDEO CENTER, 12090 VETERANS MEMORIAL
OMAR'S, 247 KRESS ST
O-LAN O SUPERMARKET, 6806 W MONTGOMERY RD
PATEL BROTHERS, 5815 HILLCROFT ST
PUEBLO MARKET, 8510 HAMMERLY BLVD
POLISH FOOD AND DELI, 1900 BLALOCK RD

TAAZA MKT, 5901 HILLCROFT ST
TAN BIHN MARKET, 11360 BELLAIRE BLVD
TARASCAS GROCERY, 9226 RICHMOND AVE
TELOLAOPAN MEAT MARKET, 159 ALDINE BENDER RD
THANG HUNG, 11240 VETERNAS MEMORIAL DR
TIENDA FOOD STORE, 5650 ANTOINE DR
TIENDA JARAGUA, 2000 WIRT RD
TIENDA SALVADOVENA, 232 E CROSSTIMBERS ST
VARIEDADES BLANCAS, 7217 HILLCROFT ST
VARIEDADES PUEBLA, 1833 RICHMOND AVE
VIET HOA INTERNANTIONAL FOODS, 8300 W SAM HOUSTON PKWY S
VY FOOD STORE, 2104 WARDMONT ST
WONG FOOD MARKET, 1707 HARDY ST

Appendix 4

Records	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
1	2	3	2	2	5	1	4	1
2	3	3	3	2	2	1	5	3
3	1	2	4	1	2	1	2	1
4	3	3	4	1	2	1	2	2
5	1	1	4	2	2	1	4	1
6	3	3	1	2	2	3	3	3
7	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	2
8	1	1	4	1	2	1	5	3
9	3	3	4	1	1	2	4	2
10	2	1	4	1	2	3	2	1
11	2	2	5	1	2	3	5	3
12	3	3	3	2	1	4	3	4
13	3	3	3	1	2	3	5	4
14	3	4	1	2	2	3	2	1
15	1	1	4	1	2	3	4	1
16	3	3	4	1	2	3	2	2
17	1	1	4	1	2	3	2	1
18	2	2	3	1	2	3	4	2
19	3	2	5	2	1	1	2	2
20	3	3	5	2	1	1	2	1
21	3	3	5	2	1	1	3	3
22	1	2	4	1	2	1	5	1
23	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	1
24	3	2	4	2	2	1	2	1
25	3	2	3	2	2	1	2	1
26	1	3	4	1	2	1	2	1
27	3	4	3	2	1	1	2	2
28	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	1
29	2	2	4	1	2	1	2	1
30	1	2	5	1	2	1	3	1
31	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1
32	3	3	5	1	2	1	2	1
33	2	1	4	1	2	1	2	1
34	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	2

VITA

Chandra Leaha Carrasco

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: URBAN ETHNIC MOSAICS: AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY
PERSPECTIVE IN THIRD WARD, HOUSTON, TEXAS

Major Field: Geography

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Paris, Texas, February 26, 1980.

Education: Graduated from Clarksville High School, Clarksville, Texas,
May 1998; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Geography
from The University of Texas at Austin in May 2003;
completed requirements for the Master of Science degree in
Geography at Oklahoma State University in May 2006.

Experience: Employed by First American Flood Data Services as a map
analyst, July 2003 to July 2004; employed by Oklahoma
State University, Department of Geography as a teaching
assistant August 2004 to May 2006.

ABSTRACT

Name: Chandra Leaha Carrasco   Date of Degree: May 2006

Institution: Oklahoma State University   Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: URBAN ETHNIC MOSAICS: AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY
                PERSPECTIVE IN THIRD WARD, HOUSTON, TEXAS

Pages in Study: 81   Candidate for the Degree of Master of Science

Major Field: Geography

Findings and Conclusions:

While many sociological and geographical studies have focused on specific quantitative
methodologies to understand the process and development of segregation, relatively little
attention has been paid to the role of residential perspectives in urban communities. Additionally,
urban, black communities are often burdened by ghetto connotations—the stigmatization of the
built environment, and even the residents themselves, with stereotypes concerning socioeconomic
status and perceived racial characteristics. This thesis is a study of community and non-
community perspectives in the urban, ethnic neighborhood of Third Ward, Houston,
Texas. This study Third Ward provides insight into the importance of historical and temporal
differences in the continuation and establishment of ghettos. The use of both quantitative and
qualitative strategies proves to be vital as the methodologies allow for the analysis of internal and
external perspectives on neighborhood life in Third Ward. Due to the experiential research
conducted, it was revealed that residents were deeply invested in improving their community but
were also leery of gentrification and neighborhood fragmentation due to rapid redevelopment.
Additionally, many residents expressed concern with the lack of availability of commercial
businesses and retail establishments. Investigating an urban, ethnic neighborhood from a local,
community perspective reveals valuable residential opinions that could aid in the development of
long-term community sustainability strategies.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Alyson Greiner