The Impacts of Historic Preservation in Chicago:

An Analysis of Chicago Landmark Districts

BY

ARIN RUBACI UYGUR
B.Arch., Middle East Technical University, 2000

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Urban Planning and Policy
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2017

Chicago,Illinois

Defence Committee:

Curtis Winkle, Chair and Advisor
Kazuya Kawamura, College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
Janet Smith, College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and my sister who supported me in every step of the way with their boundless love, and to my husband who have taken care of everything else for me while I was working on my thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the outstanding guidance of my advisor and chair, Curtis Winkle. I am extremely grateful for his positive attitude and constant support as well as his comments and contributions. Thank you for helping me through my drafts and encouraging me to do more. A special thank you is extended to Professor Kazuya Kawamura from whom I have learned a lot during my graduate studies including but not limited to statistical methods some of which I have used in my thesis. I am also grateful that he was always there whenever I knocked on his door with questions. I also would like to thank Professor Janet Smith for our discussions on historic preservation and the insights she has provided.

Recognition and thanks go to all my peers and friends at the Master of Urban Planning and Policy program. I am inspired by each and every one of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SUMMARY

Historic preservation has frequently been utilized for urban revitalization and economic development. A growing number of studies have identified historic preservation as an economic development tool that is vital for the revitalization of under used urban cores as it touches a wide range of areas that affect the local economy. However, the distribution of the economic benefits of historic preservation is often questioned, and criticism has often arisen that it can lead to gentrification and displacement, accelerating property values and rents. The majority of the impact studies dealing with neighborhood change focuses on property values, most finding out increases in property values, while some found negative, mixed or inconclusive results. A relatively limited number of studies looked at the other indicators of neighborhood change and still more limited number of studies try to find out whether different types of neighborhoods are affected by historic preservation differently.

Whether the impacts of historic preservation vary for different neighborhoods is a topic still ripe for further investigation. This thesis, in order to make a contribution to the existing literature, analyzed the impacts of historic district designation in Chicago and how the designation impacts vary for neighborhoods with different socioeconomic characteristics. The research looks at the socioeconomic changes that took place in and around the 59 Landmark Districts after their designation and focuses on two research questions: (1) What kind of socioeconomic changes occur in historic landmark districts, if any, that can be attributed to historic district designation? (2) Do socioeconomic changes attributable to historic preservation vary for neighborhoods that had different socioeconomic characteristics before historic district designation?

SUMMARY (continued)

The study identifies the census tracts containing the landmark district areas, finds a matching control census tract for each according to pre-designation socioeconomic characteristics, and conducts a matched-pair analysis to find whether the changes in socioeconomic characteristics are significantly different than control census tracts which are non-landmark census tracts. After conducting matched-pair analysis for all, typologies are created looking at the racial composition and the income level of landmark census tracts and matched-pair analysis is replicated for each different typology.

The result of the analysis revealed that even though the changes that occurred in landmark district census tracts seem not to differ significantly from non-landmark census tracts when analyzed in total, each typology showed significant differences when analyzed separately. The most important finding of the analysis is how the impacts of historic designation differ for white middle-high income and non-white low income neighborhoods. In white middle and high income neighborhoods the historic district designation does not lead to a considerable change other than limiting new developments, whereas, in non-white low income neighborhoods, it is clear from the significant increases in median house values and median household income that it brings about gentrification and displacement of low-income residents.

According to the findings of matched-pair analysis two case studies are selected to further investigate how both the outcomes and the reasons for historic district designation differ for different neighborhoods. In Washington Square Park District, which is in a white middle income neighborhood in the Near North side of Chicago, historic preservation served the purpose of protecting historically significant structures from the threat of new development without

SUMMARY (continued)

leading to any other substantial changes in the socioeconomic structure of the neighborhood. On the other hand, for Black Metropolis- Bronzeville District, which is in a predominantly black neighborhood in the South side of Chicago, both the aim and the outcome of historic district designation is different. The historic designation derived from the neighborhood organizations' intention to maintain the racial composition of the neighborhood and preserve the African American cultural heritage. Even though the intent to preserve the racial composition has been successful, the rising average income and median house value indicate that some low income households are being displaced as a result of "Black gentrification," pointing that gentrification is less about race but is a class issue. Supporting the findings of the matched-pair analysis, the case study shows that gentrification is not limited to the displacement of racial and ethnic minorities by white middle class. As in the case of Bronzeville, it is also possible that they are displaced by the same racial group. Acknowledging and preserving the cultural heritage of minorities do not necessarily mean that low income households in the community will be cared for.

The findings of this study point out that historic district designation does not bring about the same outcomes for each neighborhood. Low income neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable when profit motives govern the urban revitalization process, and it is crucial to make sure proactive interventions are in place so that low income residents will not be displaced.

1. INTRODUCTION

Historic preservation is a highly-debated topic. On the one hand, various researchers and scholars have identified historic preservation as an economic development tool that is vital for the revitalization of urban cores as it touches a wide range of areas that affect the local economy (Wojno, 1991; Minner, 2016; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014; Mason, 2005; Rypkema, 1994). On the other hand, criticism has often arisen that it can lead to gentrification and displacement, accelerating property values and rents, and cause an increase in tax assessments (Smith, 1996; Swaim, 2003; Newsom, 1971; Hurley, 2010). Since historic preservation has increasingly been used as a strategy for urban revitalization, it is important to identify and try to eliminate its negative impacts. Preservationist Ned Kaufman, in his book *Place, Race, and Story*, states that the goal of preservation is not saving old buildings but creating places where people can live well while connecting to "meaningful narratives about history, culture, and identity" (Kaufman, 2009). This thesis intends to contribute to the discussions revolving around historic preservation by using a case study of Chicago to lay out how historic district designation has affected the cityscape.

Historic preservation has had an important role in the resurgence of the cities in the United States. By the 1960s, American cities were suffering from abandonment as white affluent families fled to the suburbs leaving the urban core to racial minorities and the poor. With the fall of manufacturing, not only did the working class lose their decent-paying jobs but also the local governments lost tax revenue which led to a cut in basic services (Hurley, 2010). The decline of American cities had led to a series of laws that made federal resources available for urban reconstruction. With the Housing Act of 1949, along with subsequent

housing acts, billions of federal resources were provided to local authorities to acquire blighted properties, demolish and sell them to private developers. Between 1950 and 1974, an estimated 2,500 neighborhoods were demolished in 993 cities (Hyra, 2012). Furthermore, the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 added another wave of destruction to the urban renewal program. As the destructive impact of both programs became evident, the opposition grew. Comprehending the growing opposition against demolitions, the United States Conference of Mayors published *With Heritage So Rich* in 1965, an accumulation of essays, poetry, photography, and policy recommendations which laid the foundation for the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (Nevitt, 2014).

The NPHA made the federal government a full partner and a leader in historic preservation. Federal agencies establish preservation programs and designate officers to coordinate their historic preservation activities. The state governments are also given the authority to establish historic preservation ordinances for their jurisdictions and assist local governments in establishing their own preservation programs (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2014). States further the protection of historic properties through their laws and programs by keeping registers, preserving public buildings, protecting private properties from potential harmful actions and adopting state laws that authorize the adoption of local preservation ordinances, easement programs, and rehabilitation tax incentive programs (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2016). State historic preservation officers administer the national historic preservation program at the state level and work with the federal agencies in identifying historic properties and evaluating the effects of an undertaking on historic properties (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2014).

Local historic preservation ordinances offer the greatest protection for historic resources. These laws protect historic buildings and districts through a permitting process that requires an advance review of proposed projects by the administrative body. In Chicago, the City Council adopted the landmarks ordinance in 1968 giving the Commission on Chicago Landmarks the responsibility of recommending to the City Council which specific landmarks should be protected by law (The City of Chicago, 2014). Procedurally, all preservation proposals are first submitted to Department of Planning and Development's Historic Preservation Division. After the research reports prepared by the division are presented, the Commission holds public hearings and votes on designation to be passed on to the City Council (Zhang Y. , 2011). The Commission also oversees a variety of economic incentives for landmark owners. In the case of rehabilitation, residences are eligible for a 12-year freeze on property taxes and waivers of building permit fees. Commercial and industrial buildings, similarly, are eligible for a reduction on property taxes and waivers of building permit fees (The City of Chicago, 2014).

The landmarks ordinance came at a time of disinvestment and job loss in Chicago, and originally, sought to stop the increasing blight and to preserve the middle-income fabric (Wilson, 2004). The purpose of the ordinance was stated as to preserve, protect and encourage utilization and rehabilitation of districts, buildings, and structures "having a special historical, community, architectural, or aesthetic interest or value," prevent urban blight, and to promote economic development through rehabilitation (The City of Chicago, 2014). Thus, the historic designation was introduced and has been utilized not only as a tool to protect buildings but also for community preservation and economic development.

Economic incentives encourage reuse and rehabilitation of buildings revitalizing underused urban areas. The projects which are funded by rehabilitation tax credits are found out to be a key factor in the reinvestment of declining cities (Ryberg-Webster, 2013). Rehabilitation work, which is labor intensive and depends mostly on local materials and other supplies, creates jobs and have economic effects that are less likely to "leak out" of the local economy (Rypkema, 1994; Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998). Historic preservation also offers a unique opportunity for communities to boost their tourism potential and attracts small businesses (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011). In the age of globalization where urban areas become more and more standardized, authenticity has become the foremost attribute that is sought after and historical places, with their uniqueness, has begun to attract attention. As an attraction site for tourism, residential living, and investment, historic preservation proved to be a useful strategy for revitalization, nevertheless, has not been successful in preserving communities in all cases (Hurley, 2010).

Several studies indicated the socioeconomics changes that occurred in historic neighborhoods after revitalization (Schill, Nathan, & Persaud, 1983; Newsom, 1971; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012; Gilderbloom, Matthew J. Hanka, & Ambrosius, 2009)). Most of those studies focus on property values and sales price. However, several other studies have investigated whether there is a causal relationship between historic designation and gentrification and stated that the findings were inconclusive (Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; Gale, 1991; Allison, 2005; Noonan, 2007; Noonan & Krupka, 2011).

Another important criticism was raised by critical urban theorists David Harvey and Sharon Zukin, who view historic preservation as a component of the postmodern (Harvey,

1989) or symbolic (Zukin, 1995) economy that commercializes urban spaces and promotes entertainment and tourism. Harvey, thinking over postmodernism's reassessment of culture and consumption, states that capitalism gets culture to be consumption-oriented (Harvey, 1989). In the age of late capitalism, he notes, the cities turn to "the idea of culture" to earn monopoly rents claiming the uniqueness of the location (Harvey, 2000). Zukin also argues that cultural consumption became a new way of accumulating capital. With the decline of manufacturing and periodic economic crises, culture turned out to be a business for cities as their unique, competitive edge and reflected inequalities (Zukin, 1995).

Cultural identity and its reclamation of public landscapes, on the other hand, was an important part of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, which also brought about the questioning of traditional hierarchies and authorities, and reevaluation of history. The new understanding of urban space through the perspectives of racial minorities, working class, women, and gays created an alternative preservation agenda (Hurley, 2010). Dolores Hayden, in her highly influential book *The Power of Place,* emphasized that historic preservation can fight for the acknowledgment of diverse histories (Hayden, 1995). She argues that the spatial history of diverse racial and ethnic communities and their everyday lives should also be acknowledged and celebrated to nurture social memory. Kaufman, in *Race, Place, and Story,* also advocates for equitable preservation noting that history is not a declaration but an argument and preservation could do more to "harness its persuasive power on behalf of communities and peoples" (Kaufman, 2009, p. 402).

This thesis, as a contribution to the literature and discussions revolving around historic preservation, is interested in finding out (a) the impacts of historic preservation efforts, in

particular, the historic district designation in Chicago, and (b) how the designation impacts vary for neighborhoods that have different socioeconomic characteristics. The research looks at the socioeconomic changes that occurred in and around the 59 Landmark Districts subsequent to their designation. The city's landmark districts are spread throughout the city and have different socioeconomic characteristics. Therefore, Chicago, as segregated as it is, provides a good case study to see if there is a relationship between the demographic structure of neighborhoods and the results of historic preservation efforts. A comprehensive analysis of the impacts of historic district designation in Chicago has not been done before and offers an interesting case for comparison to findings in the existing literature.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the United States, the first district to be designated as a historic district was in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1931. The ordinance subjected façade modification within the defined district to review by a board of local citizens. Charleston's board just had an "advisory" power, but the cities which adopted Charleston's approach in historic district designation yielded stronger powers to their commissions (Hurley, 2010). Historic district designations signified a shift in preservation: from saving individual landmarks to having a role in shaping the urban spaces (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). By the end of the 1960s, as the demolition and clearance policy of urban renewal program met with stiff opposition, historic preservation became a new strategy used for urban redevelopment (Birch & Douglas, 1984). In 1976, the federal tax incentives for historic preservation and in 1978, an investment tax credit for rehabilitation were adopted. By 1986, the historic tax credits were established with its structure today which is a 20 percent credit for rehabilitation expenditures of qualified historic structures and a 10 percent credit for non-historic structure built before 1936 (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). States, to further incentivize preservation, offer state-level tax credits, property tax reliefs, and building permit waivers. Federal and state-level economic incentives directed private-sector developers to historic rehabilitation and adaptive reuse projects creating a new cycle of investment in the inner city. Properties were cheaply purchased, renovated, repurposed and resold yielding handsome returns (Hurley, 2010). Thus, historic preservation has turned into an important strategy in revitalizing urban cores. Countless federal and state organizations, local preservation groups, and preservation

professionals praise preservation as a key driver of revitalization (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014).

Scholarly research on historic preservation focuses on a number of issues related to its role in urban revitalization and the impacts and implications of historic designations. The topics most frequently addressed and are crucial for this study can be listed as the economic impacts of historic preservation (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011; Wojno, 1991; Mason, 2005; Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998), property values and neighborhood change (Leichenko, Coulson, & Listokin, 2001; Noonan & Krupka, 2011; Noonan, 2007; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012; Gilderbloom, Matthew J. Hanka, & Ambrosius, 2009), and implications for race and diversity (Hayden, 1995; Kaufman, 2009; Lee, 2004).

2.1 The Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation

Historic preservation touches a wide range of areas that affect the local economy. A growing number of studies and research has been done to identify the economic benefits of preservation efforts (Mason, 2005). Quantifying the economic value of historic preservation has recently become a research subject as the focus of the preservation has turned from heritage and architectural values to urban revitalization. A considerable number of economic impact studies have shown that historic preservation yields significant benefits to the economy, therefore, it is considered to be an effective economic development tool (Rypkema, 1994; Mason, 2005; Wojno, 1991; Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998). Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr compared the measurable economic impacts of $1 million investment in historic preservation versus equal investments in book publishing, pharmaceutical production, and electrical component production. Almost in every aspect of the evaluation –generation of

jobs, income, state and local tax revenues- historic preservation exceeds other sectors (Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998).

A statewide study of historic preservation in Florida states that every dollar generated in Florida's historic preservation grants, brought two dollars in return to the state in direct revenues. Annual economic activities in the state ascribable to historic preservation equaled $6.6 billion annually, which translated to 111,509 jobs and $2.9 billion in income. This includes all economic activities related to historic preservation like historic rehabilitation, heritage tourism, Main Streets programs and historical museum operation (McLendon, Klein, Listokin, & Lahr, 2010).

Similar results came from a study that was carried out for Maryland. In the two years covered by the study, the tax credit program spurred rehabilitation investment by the private sector of $155.5 million, an estimated 2,454 jobs were created, total output in the Maryland economy was increased by $260.5 million, and wages were increased by $81.6 million. For every dollar of state tax credit, $4 in construction spending and $.80 in federal tax credits was leveraged, and public revenues were increased by a value of $1.3 to $5.2 (Lipman Frizzell & Mitchell LLC, 2003).

Another study focused on heritage tourism in Pennsylvania found direct annual impacts of $12.2 million and indirect impacts of $5.6 million with an annual job support of 337 (Strauss, Lord, & Powell, 2002).

National Main Street program, which was launched by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1977, is also acclaimed to be one of the most powerful economic revitalization tools in the nation. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, concerned about

9

economically declining downtowns across the United States, introduced the Main Street project for downtown revitalization. Since 1980, over 2,000 communities have been part of Main Street program and seen a cumulative new investment of $71.35 billion. More than 130,000 net new businesses and 583,000 net new jobs have been created. Each dollar spent on operating the local program has generated $39.91 of new investment (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2017).

Today, historic preservation is an array of laws, incentives, and policies. It is supported by advocacy groups at the national, state and local level, and actively participated by the public, private and nonprofit sectors (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011). It is increasingly seen as a fundamental tool for revitalization by local governments as the research and studies show that it yields positive results in terms of downtown revitalization, attracting businesses, job creation and boosting heritage tourism.

Downtown Revitalization

As historic preservation attracts businesses and enables and encourages new uses in underused, old buildings at the urban cores, it has a major role in downtown revitalization. In recent decades, the population has been increasing in U.S. downtowns due to demographic and generational changes and growing interest in high-density, transit-friendly living (Birch, 2002). Federal rehabilitation tax credits have an important role in the continuing transformation of U.S. downtowns. The projects which are funded by rehabilitation tax credits are a key factor in the reinvestment of declining cities. Rehabilitation projects are adaptively reusing vacant or underused buildings which have lost their purpose as a result of deindustrialization and bring about new uses and opportunities. A study that explores

rehabilitation tax credit supported projects completed from 2001 to 2010 in 10 downtowns showed that in six of those cities the most, and in the remaining four cities 40 percent of the rehabilitation projects included the conversion of commercial or office buildings to residential or mixed-use (Ryberg-Webster, 2013). With the help of rehabilitation tax credits, the buildings that sat unoccupied for years are now serving new uses.

Well-functioning urban neighborhoods are considered to be dense, dynamic and diverse places that accommodate a mix of uses. A number of urban scholars agree that what makes a city attractive is its uniqueness and that a city should compete for economic development by offering amenities that attract new residents (Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002; Rypkema D. D., 2003; Carr & Servon, 2009). The uniqueness of a city often comes from its heritage which is manifested in its built environment. Therefore, investing in historical buildings, sites or districts offers a competitive advantage and frequently results in the rebirth of the downtowns.

National Main Street program, grew out of this recognition and it has earned the reputation of being one of the most powerful economic revitalization tools in the nation. Over the past 35 years, having understood that as a place's distinctive characteristics, the older and historic buildings are its greatest assets, the National Main Street Center has led the development of a national network of over 2,000 historic downtowns and neighborhood commercial districts (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2017).

Attracting Businesses

The adaptable quality of older buildings and their relatively lower acquisition prices make these structures more hospitable for new and small businesses (Powe, Mabry, Talen, &

Mahmoudi, 2016). Jane Jacobs, in her renowned book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, states that old buildings and new buildings require different levels of economic yield and that new businesses often emerge in old buildings (Jacobs, 1961). Historic commercial buildings typically provide a diverse supply of office and retail spaces that attract small businesses. In addition, high-end small businesses are also attracted to historic districts because of the character of the neighborhood (Douthat, 1994).

A recent research on how social and economic activity relates to building characteristics takes Seattle (WA), San Francisco (CA), Tucson (AZ) and Washington, DC, as case studies and finds out that in all four cities older, smaller vintage blocks have higher proportions of small businesses (Powe, Mabry, Talen, & Mahmoudi, 2016).

Old, historic buildings are also frequently chosen to serve as incubator spaces for the start-up of many businesses. The acquisition price of historic buildings is generally less than the cost of land and construction of a new building. For incubator use, the amount of rehabilitation required is often moderate, so the cost of renovated incubator building is far less than a new building. In the early years of operation the costs are critically important for new businesses, therefore settling in a historic business is advantageous. Another advantage is the central location of most historic buildings. This way new businesses are close to their bankers, attorneys, accountants, city hall and other offices with which they have to interact frequently (Rypkema, 1994).

Job Creation

One of the most frequently cited indicators of the economic impact of historic preservation is the number of jobs created. Historic preservation is extremely labor intensive.

Labor demand for historic rehabilitation projects is often local as historic renovations try to specify regional materials and employ local craftsmen. The general contractor might not buy the building material for new construction from a local supplier, but it is where he or she will go for a regional material or architectural detail elements. Hence, it has a greater impact on the local economy than new construction.

In a typical historic preservation project, about 60 to 70 percent of the total cost goes to labor, and it has a significant effect on the local economy as labor is almost always hired locally (Rypkema, 1994). A great degree of craftsmanship is required not only for the rehabilitation work but also in the production of the materials that are used in the rehabilitation work. A greater degree of craftsmanship means that in rehabilitation, labor intensive activities substitute for materials and other supplies. Because labor for a rehabilitation work is almost exclusively local and because capital (materials and other supplies) can be imported, economic effects of rehabilitation are less likely to "leak out" of the local economy. Consequently, greater multiplier effects are achieved with rehabilitation (Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998).

Because of the labor intensity of the rehabilitation and because the jobs related to rehabilitation are generally well-paid, the local economic impact is not only significant but also greater per amount of output. In a number of studies, the scholars at Rutgers University's Center for Urban Policy Research have evaluated the impacts of $1 million investment in historic preservation and stated the fact that it yields significantly better effects on employment and income compared to a wide range of sectors including highway construction, electronic component production, pharmaceutical production, telecommunication (Listokin,

Lahr, Heydt, & Stanek, 2011; Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998). Similarly, Rypkema observes that a $1 million investment in rehabilitation creates 12 more jobs than a similar-sized investment in car manufacturing and 20 more jobs than mining (Rypkema, 1995).

Job creation and a probable increase in household income are not only limited to the rehabilitation phase of historic preservation. Preservation-based revitalization efforts, like The Main Street program, create new businesses and new jobs in underused areas at the urban cores. Since 1980, more than 20,000 net jobs are gained annually through the Main Street programs reaching to a total of 528,557 net new jobs by the end of 2014 (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2016).

Boosting Heritage Tourism

Tourism is a growth industry worldwide, and in the United States, many states report that tourism is one of their largest industries, particularly when measured by the number of employees (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011). Heritage tourism is a major part of that industry. The National Trust for Historic Preservation defines heritage tourism as "traveling to experience the places, artifacts, and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past" (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2016). The Cultural and Heritage Tourism Position Paper prepared for 2005 U.S. Cultural & Heritage Tourism Summit states that 81 percent of the U.S. adults traveling included a visit to a cultural heritage site or event (President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, 2005). In addition to that, several comparative analyses show that heritage tourists tend to stay longer, visit more places and spend more per day than tourists in general, thereby, have a greater economic impact (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011).

Besides the scale, the focus of heritage tourism makes it important to the community and economic development. The heritage of a city is its built environment, and heritage travelers seek travel experiences where the destination's buildings and surroundings have retained their historical character. Therefore, historic preservation offers a unique opportunity for communities to turn their historic buildings and districts into a comparative advantage.

A report on Florida Heritage Tourism states that even in Florida, where heritage tourism is a smaller portion of general tourism activities, in 2007, it generated 75,528 jobs, $1.5 billion in income and $813 million in total taxes. In May 2008, 46.7 percent of the U.S. residents who took a vacation in Florida reported that they visited a historic site, and a majority of them said they did not preplan the visits to historic sites, suggesting that a stronger marketing effort could result in greater participation (McLendon, Klein, Listokin, & Lahr, 2010).

Another report commissioned by the Utah Heritage Foundation in 2013 states that even though heritage visitors are estimated at only 15 percent of Utah tourism, just the heritage portion of Utah's tourism industry created 7,313 jobs annually directly or indirectly and generated approximately $ 384.6 million in direct visitor spending (PlaceEconomics, 2013).

Several scholars and experts in preservation have stated the multiple benefits historic preservation has on the economy. As a result of the realization of its economic benefits, historic preservation, for the last few decades, has become a strategy used not only for maintaining cultural identity and community but for economic development. Most important economic benefits that make historic preservation a valuable economic development tool are

listed as 1) downtown revitalization, 2) attracting businesses, 3) job creation, and 4) boosting heritage tourism. However, it is important to take into consideration the distribution of those benefits. As Andrew Hurley states in his book *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities,* this entrepreneurial version of historic preservation placed a greater emphasis on the economic potential of historic buildings than fostering a shared sense of belonging (Hurley, 2010). The economic benefit oriented historic preservation efforts seem to reinforce and aggravate social inequities. However successful from a financial point of view, it is frequently criticized for not promoting or preserving the structure of the community.

2.2 Neighborhood Change and Property Values

The literature review showed that the majority of the studies evaluating the impacts of historic designation focus on property values. The results of the most research indicate that historic designation increases property values (Leichenko, Coulson, & Listokin, 2001; Gilderbloom, Matthew J. Hanka, & Ambrosius, 2009; Clark & Herrin, 1997; Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; Thompson, Rosenbaum, & Schmitz, 2011; Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012), while some others found negative, mixed or inconclusive results (Schaeffer & Millerick, 1991; Allison, 2005; Noonan, 2007; Noonan & Krupka, 2011; Heintzelman & Altieri, 2013). However, the methodological approaches and the timeframe considered widely vary between the studies. Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan noted on the issue that identifying appropriate control groups is an ongoing challenge (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014).

In a 1991 journal article, Dennis E. Gale criticized some of the previous studies for comparing historic district designation with some sections of the city or the city as a whole without looking at the other factors that might be effective such as neighborhood structure or

enhanced city services. For his analysis of the property values in three historic districts in Washington, D.C., he selected three similar old non-landmark neighborhoods that were experiencing gentrification and private investment as controls to isolate the impact of historic designation (Gale, 1991). The analysis that looked at the growth rates four years before and after district designation showed that while the property values growth rate declined in all three historic districts, they showed less of a decline than the city as a whole. The control neighborhoods, on the other hand, suffered greater declines than the city.

Another study in Chicago covered a more substantial period of time and compared the changes in property values in two landmark districts and one National Register district which was not designated as a landmark district between 1960 to 1986 (Schaeffer & Millerick, 1991). The authors found that the increase in property values was statistically significant only in the national district, not in the two landmark districts. The explanation of this finding was speculated to be the restrictions imposed on landmark districts by the authors, whereas in National Register district there are no control or restrictions which might have ended up encouraging investors.

Leichenko, Coulson, and Listokin developed hedonic regression models to estimate the housing prices in historic districts and comparable neighborhoods in nine Texas cities. Results suggested that historic district designation was associated with 5 to 20 percent increases in average property value (Leichenko, Coulson, & Listokin, 2001). The research paper also reviews fourteen previous empirical studies done between 1975 and 2001 using either difference-on-difference or hedonic methods. The impact of the designation on property

values was found out to be positive in seven of the studies. Four of them delivered neutral results, two negative and one mixed.

A more recent study evaluated the effects of historic designation on residential property values in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The historic designation was associated with average property value increases ranging between 5 to 8 percent of mean house value (Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012). Their results also showed that the properties that had lower values gained the most value from historic preservation. Upon the finding, the authors noted that "appreciation of property values may displace less-affluent residents of historic districts after designation takes place" (Zahirovic-Herbert & Chatterjee, 2012, p. 369).

Scholars that took into consideration and addressed endogeneity bias[1] found mixed results. Noonan and Krupka, focusing on single-family attached home sales in Chicago between 1990-1999, find a premium for houses in historic districts (Noonan & Krupka, 2011). However, after controlling for endogeneity, the results show mostly negative price impacts depending on the specification of houses in the historic districts. Heintzelman and Altieri, on the other hand, analyzed the single-family home sales in the Boston-Cambridge-Quincy metropolitan statistical area (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2013). The results, again after controlling for endogeneity, indicate that when a house is designated as part of a historic district, its value decreases by between 11.6 to 15.5 percent.

The studies on property values in historic districts provide useful information; however, they offer a limited portray of neighborhood change. There are not many studies

---

[1] The endogeneity problem is defined as the likelihood of preserved historic buildings' attracting designations rather than designations leading to preservation (Noonan & Krupka, 2011) and the likelihood of higher value houses to be picked to be a part of a historic district (Heintzelman & Altieri, 2013).

that take a more comprehensive approach to evaluate neighborhood change that occurs in the historic districts subsequent to their designation. One such study explores the effects of historic preservation in Fort Worth, Texas between 1990 and 2000 looking at demographics and housing characteristics (Coulson & Leichenko, 2004). The overall results of this study show that historic designation had no significant effect on the demographic composition of the tracts and the authors concluded that "historic designation does not lead to gentrification or any other kind of neighborhood turnover." However, the same study also finds that the tracts with historically designated homes had a significantly higher increase in property values. Hence, it might be the case that the neighborhood change has begun but is not detectable yet, and might be observed in the future.

In a more recent study, McCabe and Ellen examined the impact of historic district designation on neighborhood characteristics in New York City by observing each tract that has a part of a historic district five times for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. The results from the regression analysis of the study show an increase in the median income and the share of college-educated residents following historic district designation indicating that historic district designation in New York City has provided relative increases in socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods they are in by attracting higher-income and more educated people (McCabe & Ellen, 2016). Another important finding of the study is the substantial increase in the share of owner-occupied units in the neighborhoods with historic districts. As low income households are known to usually rent their housing units, it means that they are being pushed out of those neighborhoods. Interestingly, the study finds no evidence of a change in racial composition.

Two recent dissertations on the neighborhood change after historic district designation tackle with the question of how different neighborhoods got affected by historic district designation. Gorska, looking at Historic Preservation Overlay Zones in Los Angeles, examined their impact on neighborhood change (Gorska, 2015). The findings of the dissertation reveal that the impacts of designation differ by socioeconomic differences of the historic districts. Over five decades studied (1970-2010), 55 percent of the historic neighborhoods remained in the same typology they were in prior to designation, and 45 percent went through some sort of a socioeconomic change. The study also shows that most of the neighborhoods that saw an increase in the socioeconomic status were already going through gentrification before historic designation.

Kinahan, on the other hand, looks at the patterns of federal historic rehabilitation tax credit activity in five legacy cities and explores the effects of rehabilitation tax credit activities on socioeconomic characteristics across the city neighborhood types from 2000 to 2010 (Kinahan, 2016). The study reveals that the tracts which received rehabilitation tax credit investments are coupled with very small changes in socioeconomic and housing composition and no changes in racial characteristics. However, it also shows that the projects and investments are concentrated in the stable neighborhoods that already had higher property values with highly educated singles and higher than average income. In some cases, the neighborhoods also had some low-income renters, but high property values indicate that the gentrification began before the designation. In the light of these findings, the author emphasized that a better coordination and strategic targeting of rehabilitation tax credit projects could "create better neighborhood outcomes such as maintaining affordable housing options, encouraging mixed-use and mixed-income developments in stable areas, and

supporting a strong sense of place rooted in the preserved historic urban fabric" (Kinahan, 2016, p. 125)

The studies discussed suggest that more research on who benefits from preservation, how resources for preservation are distributed, and how decisions for preservation are made are needed. An equity agenda for preservation, after a series of careful analysis of the current policy tools and their impacts, would provide a more just distribution of costs and benefits.

2.3 Implications for Race and Diversity

The civil rights movement in U.S., which reached its peak in the 1960s, brought about the questioning of traditional hierarchies and authorities. The history began to be reevaluated as racial minorities, women, gays, and lesbians demanded to be acknowledged and tell the stories of their own. Class, race, gender, and ethnicity became lenses through which historical processes were understood (Hurley, 2010). Social justice became a pivotal concept that required basic rights for all regardless of race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. For a social justice definition that relates to urban planning, June Manning Thomas suggests that we should turn to David Harvey and Susan Fainstein (Thomas, 2012). Harvey states that the plans and policies that support social justice should empower the oppressed, avoid marginalization, eliminate cultural imperialism, minimize the exploitation of labor, seek out a non-exclusionary and non-militarized form of social control, and consider ecological consequences (Harvey, 1992). Similarly, Fainstein notes that a theory of just city realizes the importance of participation in decision making by powerless groups and equity of outcomes (Fainstein, 2000). Hence, "Who dominates?" and "Who benefits?" are the key questions to be asked for historic preservation policies as for any planning intervention.

From the 1950s through the 1970s both the urban renewal and the construction of interstate highway system in the search for revitalizing urban cores resulted in a large-scale demolition of neighborhoods which were disproportionately low income minority neighborhoods as a result of mass suburbanization of white population. As the impacts on racial minorities and massive displacement of residents and small businesses became evident, the urban renewal program was laid aside giving way to historic preservation as a new strategy for urban revitalization (Saito, 2009). Historic preservation has received much criticism that it emerged as an elitist practice and become a market-driven strategy. Many critics, such as Smith and Werwath, have expressed concerns that historic preservation is likely to result in neighborhood turnover by making housing unaffordable to existing residents (as cited in McCabe & Ellen, 2016, p. 137).

Schill and Nathan (1983) examined a number of historic neighborhoods such as Society Hill in Philadelphia and Georgetown in Washington, DC and found out that both historic areas went through a racial composition change from significantly non-white to almost entirely white. Socioeconomic changes also occurred such as an increase in the median family income, the number of owner occupied units and the median house value. Another significant change was in occupational profile. The neighborhoods changed from being inhabited by blue-collar to managerial-professional. These changes show that many of the non-white, low income, less-educated residents in the historic neighborhoods left, or were forced to leave, as these areas became desirable. After those early instances, the economic hardship and displacement of low income residents multiplied, especially in the historic neighborhoods which received a renewed interest and where the housing market was saturated (Hurley, 2010).

Besides the disproportionate impacts it has on racial and ethnic minorities, historic preservation is also criticized because of the considerations of what is "historically significant" and the tendency to overlook the history of minorities. Saito notes that even with the passage of NHPA in 1966, which expanded the criteria historical significance to include the social history of structures, "activists face a ghettoization of history in which events and history in ethnic communities are seen as isolated and insular and not important to others outside of those communities" (Saito, 2009, p. 172). In his analysis, he found out that in San Diego, out of 192 sites that were listed in Historical Landmarks list in 2000 and 2001, almost all of the sites were associated with whites. There was only one site which did not refer to whites. There were also two neighborhoods added to the list, both of which were built in an era when they were restrictive covenants to make them open to only white residents (Saito, 2009).

Historian and preservationist Raymond Rast recently stated that the preservation movement continues to do what it did for most of the 20th century, which is to designate and protect mostly the buildings associated with prominent, white, male architects and their wealthy clients (as cited in Buckley & Graves, 2016, p. 153). As Dolores Hayden mentions preserving the spatial history of ordinary working men, especially of diverse racial and ethnic communities and their everyday lives is never cared for (Hayden, 1995). She reminds us the famous quote from Kevin Lynch, "Choosing a past helps us to construct a future," and argues that choosing a past is a political act (Hayden, 1988). A politically conscious approach to historic preservation should find innovative ways to interpret modest buildings to nurture shared memories and celebrate diversity (Hayden, 2003).

The literature review reveals that historic preservation is frequently utilized as an economic development tool as it provides multiple benefits that help revitalize underused urban cores. A number of studies some of which are discussed here explored how historic preservation plays a role in urban revitalization by attracting businesses, job creation, and boosting heritage tourism. Historic preservation might have established itself as an effective strategy for economic development, but it should also fulfill its potential to nurture stable and diverse communities. The distribution of the economic benefits of historic preservation is often questioned, and it received criticism for leading to neighborhood change and gentrification. However, the results of the studies which look at neighborhood change after historic designation vary. The majority of the impact studies focus on property values, most indicating increases in property values while some found negative, mixed or inconclusive results. A relatively limited number of research studies looked at the other indicators of neighborhood change and even more limited number of studies try to find out whether different types of neighborhoods are affected by historic preservation differently.

The impacts of historic preservation on different neighborhoods is a topic ripe for further investigation. Chicago, in this sense, provides an ideal case study as it contains both diverse and segregated neighborhoods. This thesis, by providing an impact analysis in one of the most segregated cities in the U.S., aims to find out whether the effects of historic preservation vary by type of neighborhood to identify better any negative impacts that should be addressed in order to reach more equitable outcomes.

3. METHODS AND DATA

3.1 Research Question

This study is quasi-experimental in that it aims to provide an insight with regard to the effects of historic preservation on neighborhood change by comparing landmark district areas with non-landmark areas. To this end, it explores the socioeconomic impacts of historic district designations in the City of Chicago by conducting an analysis of Chicago Landmark Districts, both before and after their designation, and comparing them with non-landmark areas that are similar in terms of pre-designation socioeconomic characteristic. The research questions of the thesis are: (1) What kind of socioeconomic changes occur in historic landmark districts, if any, that can be attributed to historic district designation? (2) Do socioeconomic changes attributable to historic preservation vary for neighborhoods that had different socioeconomic characteristics before historic district designation?

Racial diversity has been on the rise in metropolitan areas in the United States since 1980. More than a third of predominantly white metropolitan areas became more diverse by 2010 and nearly a quarter of white and black areas became multiracial (Zhang & Logan, 2016). However, this larger trend varies on local level. At this point, it is also important to acknowledge that a diverse city, with a somewhat even distribution of racial composition overall, may or may not be segregated depending on the spatial composition of racial/ethnic groups. A study looking at the change in diversity and segregation measures for places in 50 metropolitan areas from 1980 to 2000 found that racial/ethnic diversity has risen in U.S. metropolitan areas (Fowler, Lee, & Matthews, 2016). While principal cities become relatively less, the places that are outside the principal cities such as suburbs have grown more diverse.

Chicago is found to be fitting the general profile but it also shows high levels of segregation. The places that were defined as Black Majority in 1980 persisted in remaining black over 30 years (Fowler, Lee, & Matthews, 2016). Chicago was also one of the few metropolises together with Detroit and a number of smaller Midwestern and Northeastern cities that continued the development of white suburbs. The high levels of segregation in Chicago, as it presents a variety of neighborhoods that differ both in racial composition and in socioeconomic status, offers an opportunity for exploration of the effects the historic preservation has on different type of neighborhoods.

3.2 Research Methods and Data

The research, in order to answer the research question one, first identifies the census tracts containing the landmark district areas, finds a matching control census tract for each according to pre-designation socioeconomic characteristics, and conducts a matched-pair analysis to find whether the changes in socioeconomic characteristics are significantly different from control census tracts which are non-landmark census tracts. After conducting matched-pair analysis for all, typologies are created looking at the racial composition and the income level of landmark census tracts and matched-pair analysis is replicated for each different typology. This analysis reveals how different typologies are affected by historic designation.

The use of quasi-experimental research design in regional studies and urban planning have increased substantially over the last thirty years (Feser, 2013). One of the first major contributions to quasi-experimental design in regional studies was made by Isserman and Merrifield as they introduced the use of control groups for evaluating regional policies

(Isserman & Merrifield, 1982). The approach includes the selection of control regions based on their similarities to treatment regions before the policy intervention and calculating the policy effects by looking at the difference in outcomes between treatment and control regions. The assumption is that since the treatment and control regions were similar before the policy intervention, the differences may be attributed to the policy itself. Quasi-experimental design is widely used in policy evaluation studies but it should be kept in mind that it also has some limitations such as the possible effect of other events occurring at the same time with policy intervention, the endogeneity bias meaning that the effects might be depending on the uniqueness of the conditions in the region rather than the policy itself, and the difficulty of finding a proper control group.

For the analysis, the list and boundary shapefiles provided by the City of Chicago is used. The list of landmark districts contains all the historic districts designated from 1971 to 2009. In order to be able to analyze the change in the socioeconomic characteristics of each landmark district, first a geographic area for which the data is available is identified. I started my research in geographic information systems (GIS) and selected census tracts that contain landmark districts by using "Select by Location" tool and choosing all census tracts that intersect with the landmark districts. This enabled me to capture the surrounding area that might also be affected by the landmark district designation. The selection is made twice for both before and after 2010 because the census tracts were changed in 2010. In order to define a uniform Landmark District area for each and analyze the changes that occurred within that area, it is important to make sure that exactly the same area is selected for each case as shown in Figure 1.
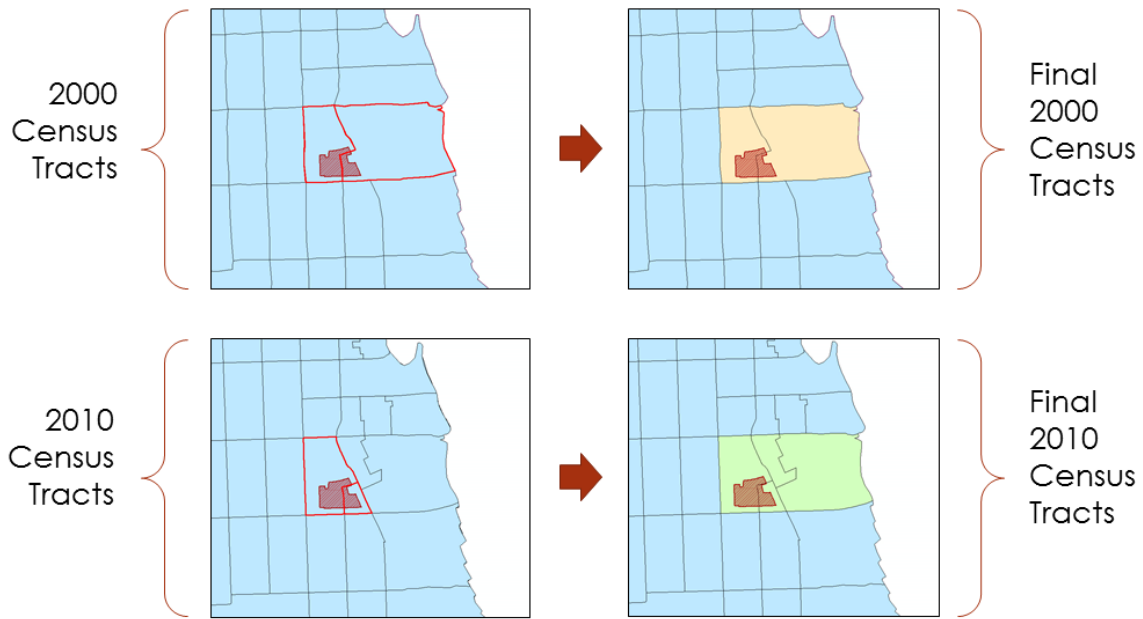
Figure 1. Identification of Landmark District Census Tracts considering the boundary changes

After identifying the census tracts, the landmark districts are divided into four sets according to their designation dates as shown in Figure 2. For the districts designated in the 1970s, 1970 U.S. Census data is used for pre-designation characteristics and compared with most recent data available at the time, which is 2015 the American Community Survey (ACS) census tract data. So, for four sets of landmark districts, four decennial census data are used. In total, the datasets are 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 U.S. Census and 2015 American Community Survey (ACS) census tract data.
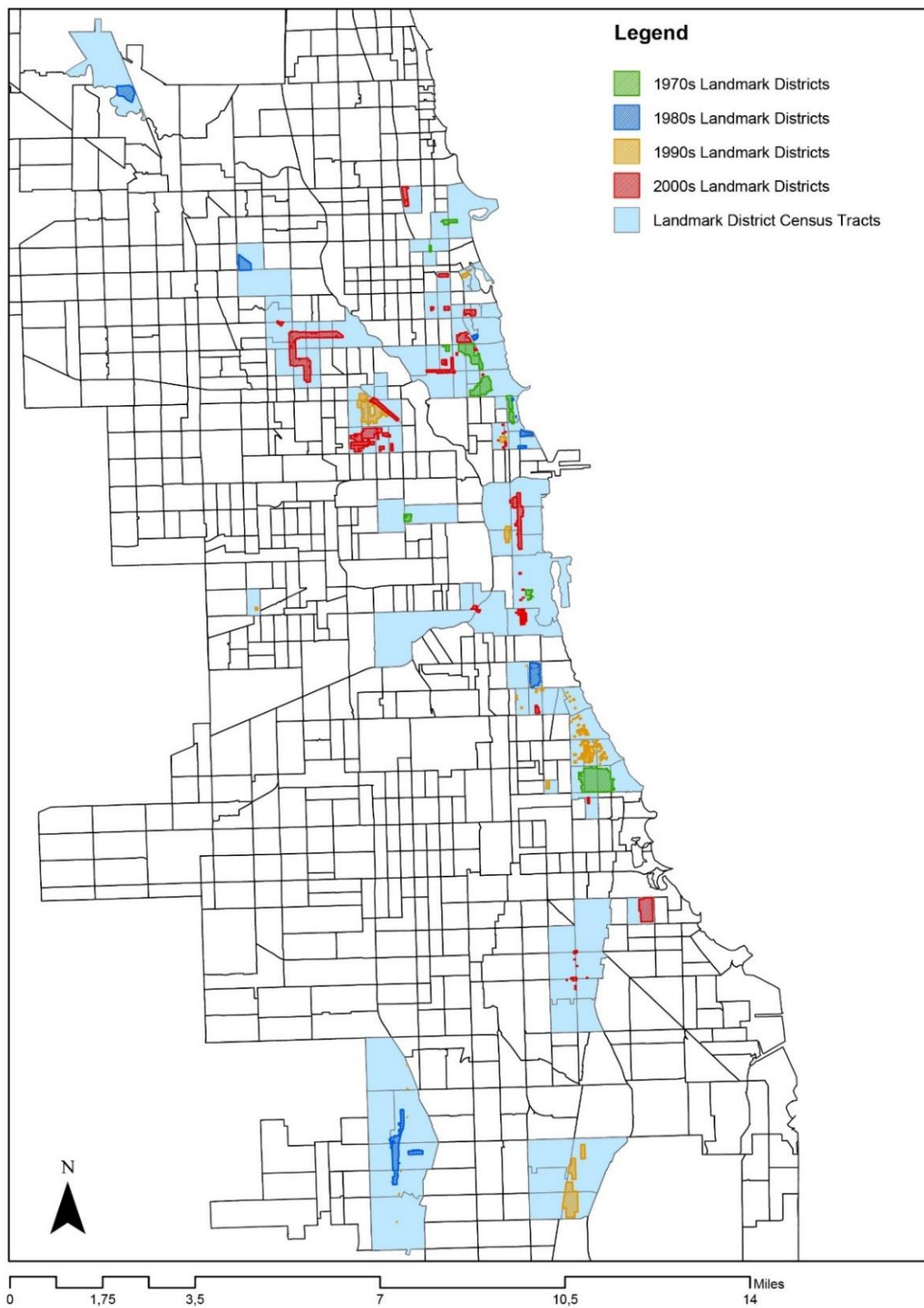
Figure 2. Chicago Landmark Districts and Landmark District Census Tracts

Historical census data gathered from Social Explorer are used to identify the pre-designation socioeconomic characteristics of landmark district census tracts. The studies exploring the effect of historic designation on neighborhoods use a number of socioeconomic indicators such as population, educational attainment, racial composition, poverty rate, household income level, number of housing unit, median year built, vacancy rate, tenure, owner-occupied house value, and median rent (Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; Schill & Nathan, 1983; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Gorska, 2015; Kinahan, 2016). Since the direction of neighborhood change is directly related to people who live there as well as the number, availability and value of the housing, this study, similar to previous ones, looks at the racial composition, educational attainment, unemployment rate, median household income, tenure, vacancy, and median house value to identify the socioeconomic status and the change of neighborhoods (Table I).

TABLE I

PRE-DESIGNATION SOCIOECONOMIC INDICATORS OF LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS
TRACTS FOR MATCHING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

1	Racial Composition
2	Educational Attainment
3	Unemployment Rate
4	Median Household Income
5	Tenure
6	Vacancy
7	Median House Value

To check whether the socioeconomic changes in census tracts that have landmark districts can be attributed to the historic designation, a control group of census tracts that have similar socioeconomic characteristics in the decade of the landmark district designation is selected. A control census tract for each landmark district census tract is identified by looking at the census data before the designation date. Since the socioeconomic changes such as median house value depend mostly on the geographic place, it was also important to make sure that the control census tracts are geographically as close as possible to the corresponding landmark census tracts. The selection was made in GIS one-by-one by looking at the variables that are used to identify the pre-designation socioeconomic characteristics of landmark census tracts. For each landmark district census tract, a control tract is selected from the surrounding tracts, as close as possible, with almost the same racial composition, close median income, and as close as possible shares of educational attainment, and unemployment, owner-occupied units, and vacancy rates.

As the landmark districts are close to each other at the city center as well as near north and near south sides and along the shoreline, in some cases only one census tract was found having the same socioeconomic characteristics that can be defined as a control census tract for multiple landmark census tracts. As a result, some census tracts are used multiple times as control census tracts for the analysis. This could introduce bias as, if all similar census tracts in the area have landmark district designation except the control census tract, there may be a systematical difference. Even though this seems to be a limitation of the study, in the absence of alternative control census tracts there was no other way to conduct the analysis.

After selecting all the census tracts, I ended up with 125 census tracts in each of landmark and control groups, which are listed in the Appendix. As the aim of the research is to isolate the possible effects of landmark district designation, a matched-pair analysis is conducted to compare the socioeconomic changes that occurred in landmark and control census tracts within the timeframe before the historic designation and 2015. The change in each socioeconomic indicator is calculated by taking the difference between the most recent Census data prior to the designation and the 2015 ACS data. As the vacancy rate is incomparable between the 2015 ACS and Census Tables (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017), it was just used for matching the control census tract but eliminated from the variable list for socioeconomic changes. All other socioeconomic indicators are integrated into the analysis to effectively portray the changes that occur in Landmark District areas and how they differ from similar non-landmark areas (Table II).

TABLE II

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES USED IN MATCHED-PAIR ANALYSIS

1	Total population percent change
2	White population percent change
3	Black population percent change
4	Less than high school education percent change
5	Higher education percent change
6	Unemployment percent change
7	Median household income percent change*
8	Total occupied units percent change
9	Renter occupied units percent change
10	Median house value percent change*

* The median income and house values are all converted into 2015 dollars

A matched-pair analysis is conducted for all landmark and control group census tracts in order to address research question one. In order to address research question two, typologies are created for landmark census tracts and analysis explores how different types of neighborhoods may be affected from historic preservation efforts. Typologies are created prior to the second matched-pair analysis depending on the pre-designation racial composition and income levels of census tracts and are as follows[2]:

1. *White Affluent:* White Population Percentage > 60%; Median Income > Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

2. *White Low Income:* White Population Percentage > 60%; Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

3. *White Middle Income:* White Population Percentage > 60%; Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade < Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

4. *Black Affluent:* Black Population Percentage > 60%; Median Income > Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

5. *Black Low Income:* Black Population Percentage > 60%; Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

6. *Black Middle Income:* Black Population Percentage > 60%; Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade < Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

7. *Multiracial Affluent:* Both White and Black Population < 60%; Median Income > Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

---

[2] As the share of the other races such as Hispanic could not be found in the historical census data, the typologies are based on the share of white and black populations.

8. *Multiracial Low Income:* Both White and Black Population Percentage < 60%; Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

9. *Multiracial Middle Income:* Both White and Black Population Percentage < 60%; Twice the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade < Median Income < 80% of the median income for the City of Chicago for that decade.

The pre-designation characteristics of landmark district census tracts showed that there are no census tracts that belong to the Black or Multiracial Affluent groups. This finding in itself is interesting and might be a subject of future research. It may be the case that there are a very limited number or no census tracts that might be defined as Black or Multiracial Affluent within the City of Chicago.

According to the definitions above, 52 of the landmark census tracts are found out to be *White Middle Income*, 24 *Black Low Income*, 17 *Multiracial Middle Income*, 12 *White Affluent*, 10 *Multiracial Low Income*, 8 *Black Middle Income* and 2 *White Low Income* (Table III).

TABLE III

CHICAGO LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS BY DECADE OF DESIGNATION AND
TYPOLOGY

The Decade of Landmark District Designation	Census Tract Typology						
	White			Black		Multiracial	
	Low Income	Middle Income	Affluent	Low Income	Middle Income	Low Income	Middle Income
1970s	2	14	3	2	2	1	1
1980s	-	10	1	1	-	1	1
1990s	-	6	1	14	2	3	4
2000s	-	22	7	7	4	5	11
TOTAL	**2**	**52**	**12**	**24**	**8**	**10**	**17**

The maps for each decade showing the typology of the landmark census tracts and their control tracts are in Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6. For each decade the landmark district census tracts are shown color-coded according to their typology. The control census tracts that are matched one-by-one with landmark census tracts as explained earlier are shown in grey linked to their corresponding landmark census tracts with red dotted lines.
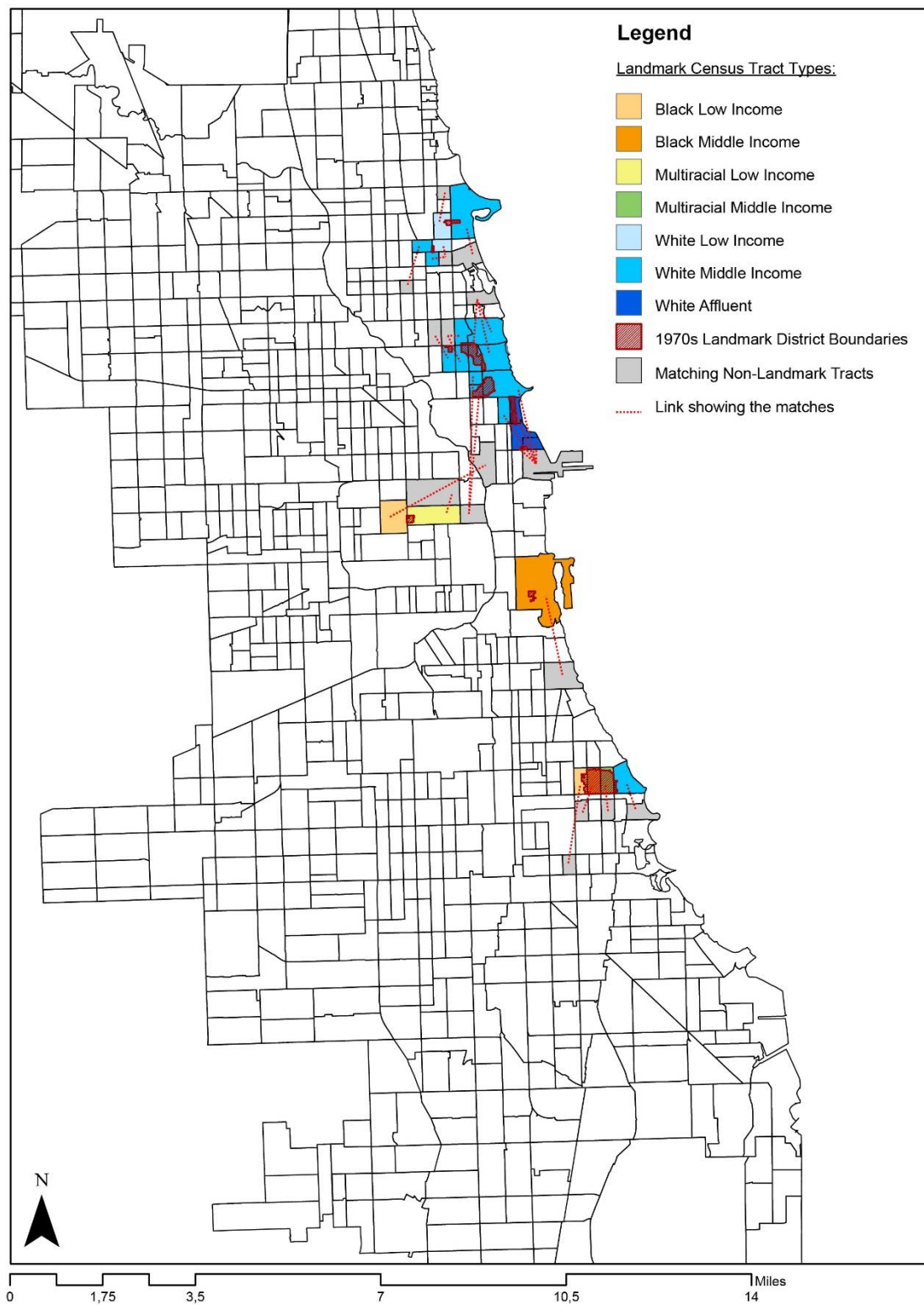
Figure 3. 1970s Chicago Landmark District Census Tracts by Typology
and the Matched Control Census Tracts
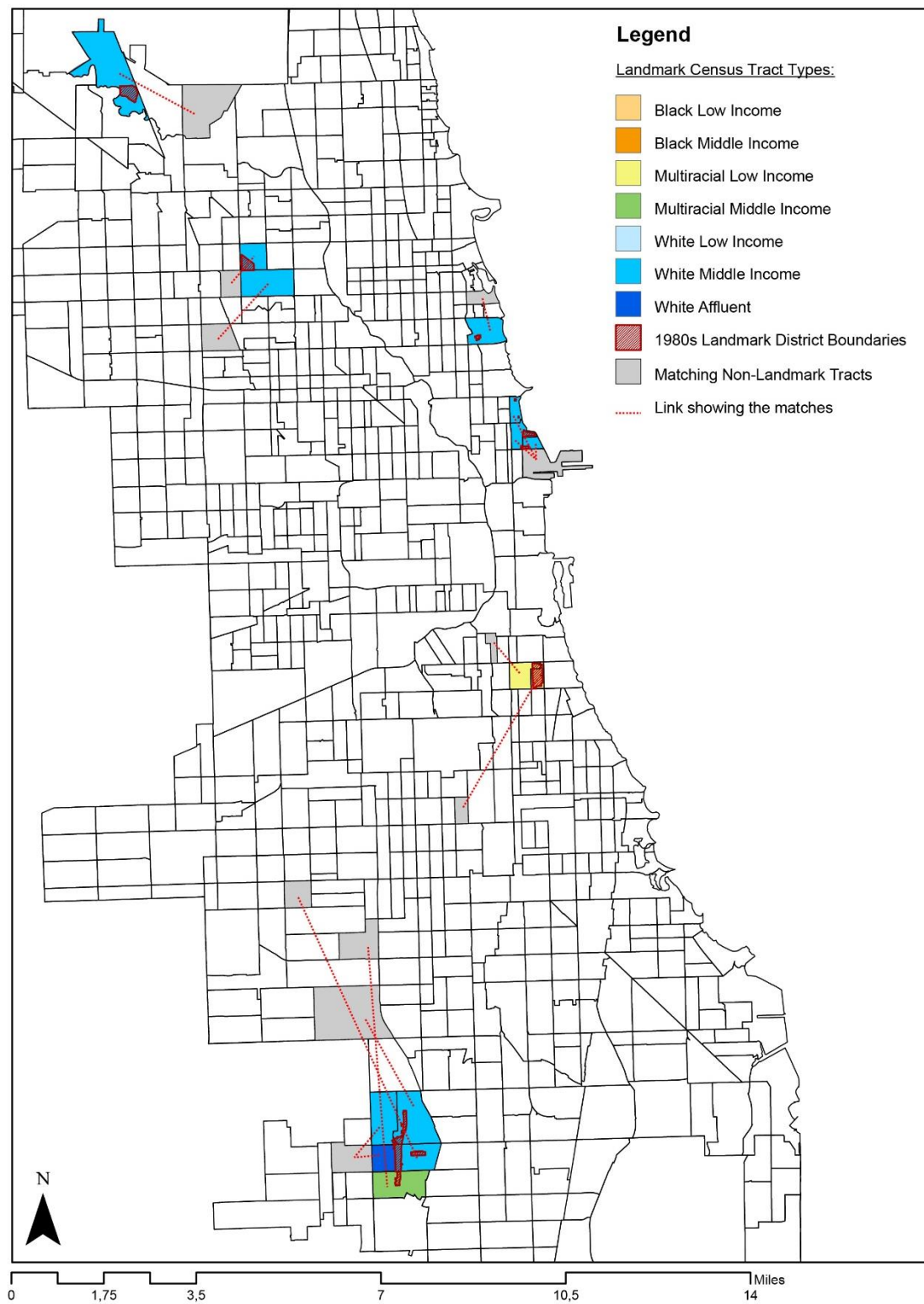
Figure 4. 1980s Chicago Landmark District Census Tracts by Typology
and the Matched Control Census Tracts

Legend

Landmark Census Tract Types:

- Black Low Income
- Black Middle Income
- Multiracial Low Income
- Multiracial Middle Income
- White Low Income
- White Middle Income
- White Affluent
- 1990s Landmark District Boundaries
- Matching Non-Landmark Tracts
- Link showing the matches
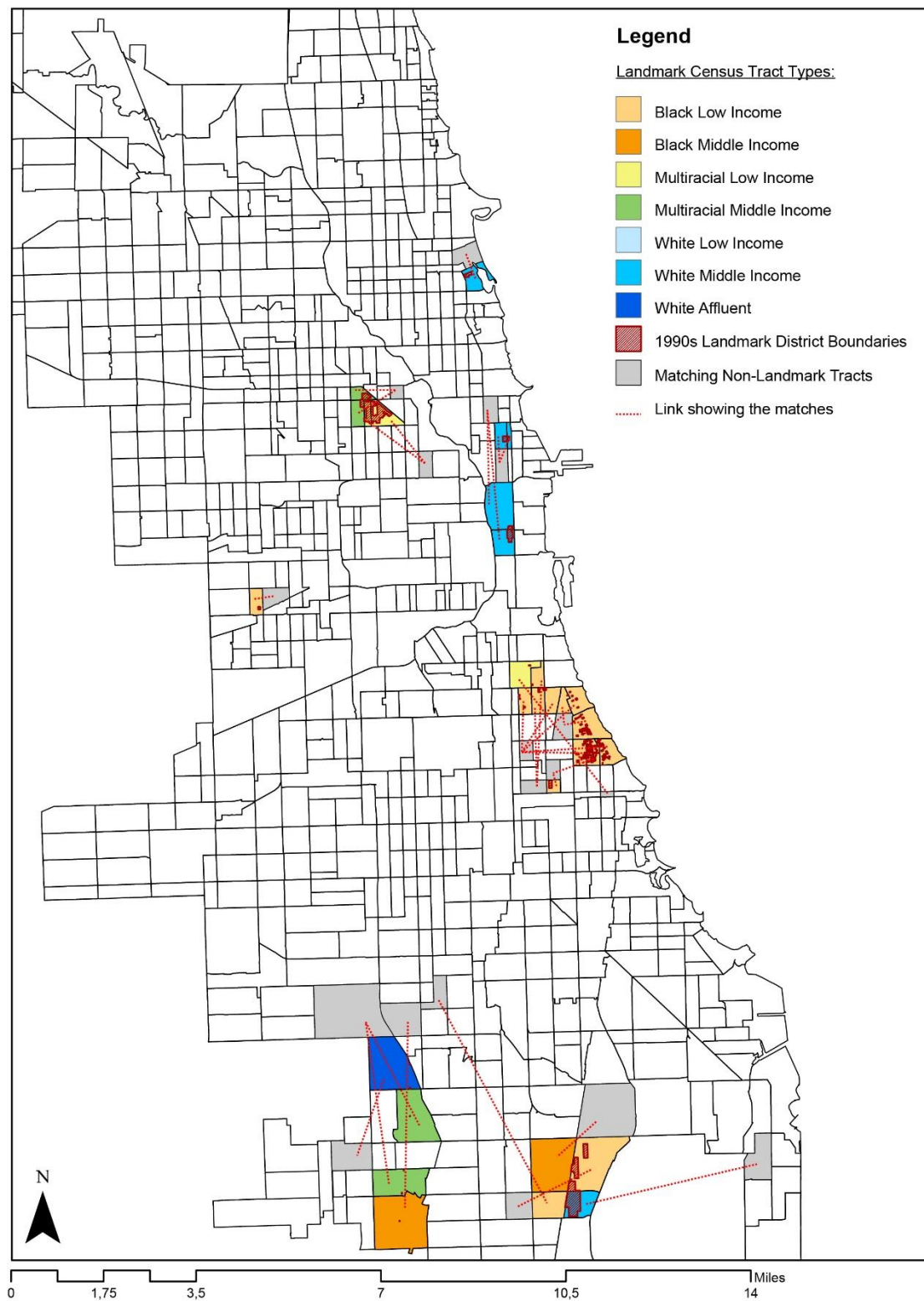
Figure 5. 1990s Chicago Landmark District Census Tracts by Typology
and the Matched Control Census Tracts

Legend

Landmark Census Tract Types:

- Black Low Income
- Black Middle Income
- Multiracial Low Income
- Multiracial Middle Income
- White Low Income
- White Middle Income
- White Affluent
- 2000s Landmark District Boundaries
- Matching Non-Landmark Tracts
- Link showing the matches
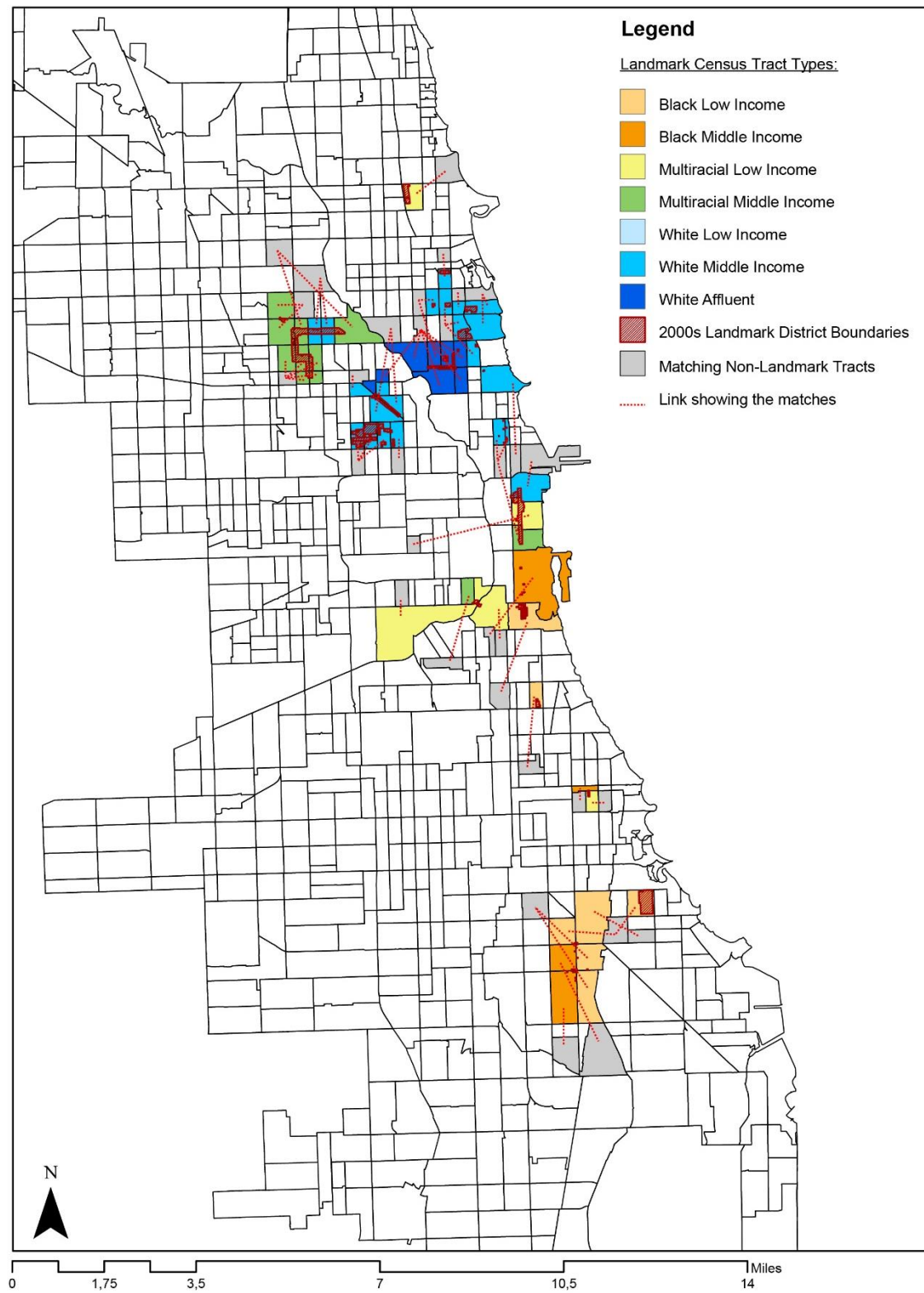
Figure 6. 2000s Chicago Landmark District Census Tracts by Typology and the Matched Control Census Tracts

After adding the typology information to the dataset and splitting the file based on the typologies, the matched-pair analysis was replicated to identify how different typologies get affected by the historic district designation. The matched-pair analysis for different typologies reveals that the effects of historic district designation differ for typologies. According to the findings, case studies are selected to further investigate the effects and delve deeper into the relationship between historic designation and neighborhood change. As the findings indicate that the socioeconomic impacts of historic preservation are completely different for white middle income and non-white low income landmark district census tracts, the case studies are selected from those typologies. In order to determine which landmark district area are to be chosen among the ones with the same typology, the following criteria are used:

1) Both landmark districts are selected from the same designation decade so that the timeframe for the analysis will be the same for both.

2) The cases are selected among those which the percent changes in the socioeconomic characteristics analyzed are close to the mean changes of their typological subsets so that they are not selected from potential outliers.

The cases selected according to those criteria are Black Metropolis – Bronzeville and Washington Square Landmark Districts.

Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District, which was designated in 1998, is on the South Side of Chicago, two and a half miles away from the city's central business district. It is composed of nine structures which are the remains of "one of the nation's most significant landmarks of African-American urban history" (The City of Chicago, 2010). The

landmark district is located within five census tracts four of which is *Black Low Income* and one *Multiracial Low Income* census tracts according to their pre-designation characteristics.

Washington Square Landmark District was designated in 1990, and extended in 2002 and again in 2005. The district includes Washington Square Park, a library, a church and a rare collection of elaborate masonry dwellings built in the late 19th century. Both the first designation boundaries and extensions are located within the same two White Middle Income census tracts according to their pre-designation characteristics.

Each case study looks at the history of the landmark district area, and investigates the conditions before and the changes after the historic district designation with a sensitivity to geographic conditions. For each case study, data from 1990, 2000, 2010 U.S. Census and 2015 ACS are used to investigate the changes each landmark district area went through each decade after the landmark district designation.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Matched-Pair Analysis for All Landmark District Census Tracts

The aim of the research is to find out socioeconomic changes that occurred in landmark districts that are attributable to historic district designation. To control the effects of landmark district designation, a control group of census tracts is selected, socioeconomic changes for both groups are calculated, and matched-pair analysis is used (Table IV).

In the matched-pair analysis, percent changes in non-landmark census tracts are subtracted from percent changes in landmark census tracts. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in mean percent changes:

H_0: $\mu_D = 0$ There is no difference in mean percent changes

H_a: $\mu_D > 0$ Percent change in landmark district census tracts is higher

According to the matched-pair samples test, none of the variables showed any significance at .05 significance level which means that for the variables analyzed there is no statistically significant difference between landmark district and non-landmark census tracts. Hence, the answer to the research question one is that the changes that occur in the landmark district census tracts cannot be attributed to the historic district designation. Only white population change is significant at .10 significance level, but the difference is small. The white population change in landmark district census tracts is 2.38 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts. Non-landmark census tracts on average lost 0.31 percent of their white population whereas in landmark districts white population increased by 2.07 percent.

TABLE IV

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR ALL CHICAGO LANDMARK
AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

| | | Mean (%) | N | Std. Deviation (%) | Paired Differences | | | t | Sig. (2-tailed) |
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	10.77	125	77.55	-12.36	116.31	10.40	-1.19	0.24
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	23.13	125	88.30					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	2.07	125	16.22	2.38	15.18	1.36	1.75	0.08
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	-0.31	125	23.12					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	-2.08	125	11.96	-0.33	14.15	1.27	-0.26	0.80
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	-1.75	125	16.30					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-15.47	125	12.92	1.35	12.23	1.09	1.24	0.22
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-16.82	125	15.85					
Variable 5	LD_ EDHIGH_Pch	26.22	125	22.82	0.36	16.10	1.44	0.24	0.81
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	25.86	125	24.53					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	-0.20	125	7.07	-0.89	8.27	0.74	-1.20	0.23
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	0.69	125	7.33					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	19.30	117	61.78	0.28	62.78	5.80	0.05	0.96
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	19.02	117	55.53					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	22.32	125	125.62	-21.25	213.73	19.12	-1.11	0.27
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	43.57	125	169.48					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-10.46	125	16.28	-0.98	17.61	1.58	-0.62	0.53
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-9.48	125	14.02					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	61.61	109	111.46	11.31	86.62	8.30	1.36	0.18
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	50.30	109	104.58					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

The descriptive statistics show that the mean increase in the total population is 12 percent higher in non-landmark census tracts than landmark district census tracts, which is probably related to the increase in the total occupied units which are 44 percent in non-landmark and only 22 percent in landmark district tracts. This might be an expected outcome of landmark district designation as the designation regulations put a limit on the size and height of new developments in those areas. As a result, the number of occupied units does not increase as much, and the population growth is modest compared against non-landmark tracts. However, the matched pair analysis reveals that those changes are not statistically significant as P values are much greater than 0.05. This means that the change in total population and the number of occupied units vary a lot across tracts. Similarly, the mean increase in the median house value in landmark district census tracts increased 11 percent more than non-landmark district tracts, but again the matched-pair analysis shows that it is not statistically significant. Only white population percent change is statistically significant at .10 significance level and 2.38 percent higher in landmark district census tracts. For all other variables, there is a very small or almost no difference between the mean changes in landmark district and non-landmark census tracts.

Nevertheless, from observations and literature review, we know that in some cases historic preservation districts attract businesses and new residents, and receive more rehabilitation activity accelerating the increase in property values which leads to gentrification and displacement. Whereas in some others, designation might on the contrary lead to a decrease in property and land values as the regulations put a limit on the size and height of new developments. Since the research question two aims to find out whether different types of

districts get affected from historic preservation efforts differently, as a next step, the matched-pair analysis is replicated splitting the dataset according to the typologies created for census tracts.

4.2 Matched-Pair Analysis for Different Typologies of Landmark District Census Tracts

Typologies for landmark district census tracts are created depending on the pre-designation racial composition and income levels. Out of a total of 125 landmark census tracts, there are 52 *White Middle Income*, 24 *Black Low Income*, 17 *Multiracial Middle Income*, 12 *White Affluent*, 10 *Multiracial Low Income*, 8 *Black Middle Income* and 2 *White Low Income* tracts. White Low Income tracts, as they are only 2 in number, are excluded from the analysis. For each subset of landmark district census tracts, the matched-pair analysis is conducted with control census tracts to identify how each typology is affected by historic district designation.

For *White Affluent* landmark census tracts, the total population and total occupied units' percent change turn out to be significantly smaller than non-landmark census tracts (Table V). This might be a result of the regulations that are set for historic preservation in landmark districts which forbids the destruction of existing buildings and sets height and mass limitations for new developments. The *White Affluent* non-landmark districts, on the other hand, attract new developments and become relatively denser as they are in the desirable neighborhoods of the city. The other significant variable for *White Affluent* landmark census tracts is about educational attainment. The mean change in population that has less than high

school education in landmark district census tracts is 3.59 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts.

TABLE V

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR WHITE AFFLUENT LANDMARK AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	-1.29	12	15.27	-59.94	85.87	24.79	-2.42	0.03
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	58.66	12	86.10					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	-7.09	12	7.15	-0.15	7.50	2.16	-0.07	0.95
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	-6.94	12	10.08					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	2.63	12	5.03	0.61	4.59	1.33	0.46	0.66
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	2.02	12	1.34					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-4.05	12	3.59	3.59	3.22	0.93	3.87	0.003
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-7.64	12	2.79					
Variable 5	LD_ EDHIGH_Pch	21.44	12	26.30	-1.11	8.89	2.57	-0.43	0.67
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	22.56	12	28.32					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	1.01	12	5.02	-0.94	4.62	1.33	-0.70	0.50
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	1.95	12	2.47					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	-7.35	9	19.09	-8.34	18.24	6.08	-1.37	0.21
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	0.99	9	7.01					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	-7.52	12	14.80	-77.57	118.26	34.14	-2.27	0.04
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	70.05	12	125.37					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-12.93	12	18.34	1.73	8.28	2.39	0.72	0.48
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-14.66	12	13.69					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	18.25	9	30.73	-6.90	14.54	4.85	-1.42	0.19
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	25.14	9	20.59					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

This finding which at first seems interesting turns out to be depending again on the total population and occupied unit change when a closer attention is paid to the analysis. Both non-landmark and landmark census tracts saw a decrease in the share of the population that has less high school education. However, the decrease was higher in non-landmark tracts, so the difference between the percent changes is positive. It appears that new developments in non-landmark tracts were attracting higher educated to *White Affluent* non-landmark tracts decreasing the share of the population with less than high school education.

For *White Middle Income* census tracts, again the total population and total occupied units percent changes are significantly smaller than non-landmark census tracts (Table VI). Similar to *White Affluent*, *White Middle Income* non-landmark tracts most of which are in downtown and near north side saw new developments, and as a result, there has been an increase in the number of unit and population. Another significant variable at a .05 significance level is the share of the population that has higher education[3]. In non-landmark districts, the mean percent change is 4 percent higher than landmark districts which again depend most probably on the higher percent change in occupied units and a related higher increase in total population. Furthermore, the change in the share of population with less than high school education, which is a variable that is significant again also for *White Affluent* census tracts, is also significant for *White Middle Income* typology not at .05 but at .10 significance level. Just like in *White Affluent*, both landmark and non-landmark census tracts saw a decrease, but the decrease in non-landmark tracts was higher.

---

[3] As 1970 Census data for educational attainment does not have the same classification for higher than college degree, all degrees higher than college are aggregated for analysis and named as higher education.

TABLE VI

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR WHITE MIDDLE INCOME
LANDMARK AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	**LD_TOTPOPch**	**9.60**	52	41.30	**-36.71**	104.80	14.53	-2.53	**0.01**
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	**46.31**	52	100.32					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	-4.93	52	14.17	3.59	14.88	2.06	1.74	0.09
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	-8.53	52	20.53					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	2.73	52	9.48	2.38	10.56	1.46	1.62	0.11
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	0.35	52	13.38					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-9.93	52	9.27	2.27	9.28	1.29	1.76	0.08
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-12.20	52	14.72					
Variable 5	**LD_ EDHIGH_Pch**	**29.97**	52	24.39	**-3.99**	13.87	1.92	-2.07	**0.04**
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	**33.96**	52	26.36					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	1.24	52	3.22	0.51	4.00	0.55	0.92	0.36
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	0.73	52	3.55					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	9.13	48	27.90	-8.75	38.40	5.54	-1.58	0.12
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	17.87	48	41.07					
Variable 8	**LD_TOTOCC_Pch**	**9.55**	52	42.80	**-55.33**	177.96	24.68	-2.24	**0.03**
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	**64.88**	52	175.80					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-11.76	52	13.58	0.62	11.09	1.54	0.40	0.69
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-12.39	52	12.49					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	56.54	44	127.01	-4.89	81.72	12.32	-0.40	0.69
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	61.43	44	147.57					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

The matched-pair analysis shows a similar trend for both *White Affluent* and *White Middle Income* census tracts. Conversely, non-white low income census tracts follow an entirely different trend. The only variable that shows significant difference between *Black Low Income* landmark and non-landmark census tracts is the change in median house value and the significance is at a .01 significance level. The mean percent increase in the median house value in landmark district census tracts is 72 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts (Table VII).

A similar big and statistically significant difference is seen between landmark and non-landmark census tracts of *Multiracial Low Income* group for median income. The mean of *Multiracial Low Income* landmark census tracts' median income percent change is 83 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts (Table VIII). It is most likely that a higher income group of residents have moved into the landmark district areas raising the median income level.

For *Black Middle Income* census tracts, the change in unemployment rate shows significance, and the mean increase in the unemployment rate in non-landmark tracts is 6.35 percent higher than landmark district census tracts (Table IX). This might show that landmark district designation has a positive effect on employment opportunities.

TABLE VII

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR BLACK LOW INCOME
LANDMARK DISTRICT AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	-18.75	24	29.38	-11.97	119.33	24.36	-0.49	0.63
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	-6.78	24	105.89					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	5.79	24	5.86	-1.71	12.22	2.50	-0.68	0.50
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	7.50	24	12.90					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	-10.13	24	12.20	0.91	15.42	3.15	0.29	0.78
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	-11.04	24	14.59					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-25.17	24	11.89	3.33	18.58	3.79	0.88	0.39
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-28.50	24	18.07					
Variable 5	LD_ EDHIGH_Pch	19.25	24	15.92	4.21	20.50	4.18	1.01	0.32
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	15.04	24	16.84					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	-1.96	24	12.23	0.54	13.91	2.84	0.19	0.85
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	-2.50	24	13.08					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	29.48	24	91.65	-15.12	88.90	18.15	-0.83	0.41
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	44.60	24	85.82					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	-8.34	24	27.80	-43.31	281.88	57.54	-0.75	0.46
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	34.97	24	271.65					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-6.51	24	13.80	2.71	17.32	3.54	0.77	0.45
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-9.21	24	12.51					
Variable 10	**LD_MEDHV_Pch**	**114.70**	**22**	**132.97**	**71.77**	120.24	25.64	2.80	**0.01**
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	**42.93**	**22**	**68.72**					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

TABLE VIII

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR MULTIRACIAL LOW
INCOME LANDMARK AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	59.78	10	133.93	50.40	131.78	41.67	1.21	0.26
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	9.37	10	35.78					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	6.36	10	8.84	1.49	15.88	5.02	0.30	0.77
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	4.87	10	20.68					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	-6.65	10	10.26	-0.03	13.32	4.21	-0.01	0.99
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	-6.62	10	18.68					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-25.22	10	16.61	-6.14	17.32	5.48	-1.12	0.29
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-19.07	10	20.84					
Variable 5	LD_ EDHIGH_Pch	25.00	10	31.12	1.85	21.65	6.85	0.27	0.79
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	23.14	10	26.63					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	-2.73	10	10.45	-4.82	11.53	3.65	-1.32	0.22
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	2.09	10	4.66					
Variable 7	**LD_MEDINC_Pch**	**98.08**	9	110.56	**83.46**	100.96	33.65	2.48	**0.04**
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	**14.62**	9	50.49					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	133.53	10	333.32	111.22	335.83	106.20	1.05	0.32
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	22.31	10	51.79					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-23.05	10	26.09	-19.75	38.85	12.29	-1.61	0.14
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-3.30	10	22.62					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	56.88	8	120.20	-25.42	109.94	38.87	-0.65	0.53
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	82.30	8	80.64					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

TABLE IX

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR BLACK MIDDLE INCOME
LANDMARK AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	94.62	8	222.23	112.73	210.45	74.40	1.52	0.17
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	-18.11	8	14.20					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	6.24	8	11.43	3.37	18.02	6.37	0.53	0.61
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	2.88	8	11.36					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	-13.53	8	19.20	-4.03	22.26	7.87	-0.51	0.62
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	-9.50	8	15.30					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-10.20	8	8.30	1.80	13.58	4.80	0.37	0.72
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-12.00	8	7.23					
Variable 5	LD_ EDHIGH_Pch	20.06	8	24.23	3.06	20.01	7.08	0.43	0.68
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	17.00	8	23.21					
Variable 6	**LD_UNEMP_Pch**	**0.90**	**8**	**4.07**	**-6.35**	**7.02**	**2.48**	**-2.56**	**0.04**
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	**7.25**	**8**	**3.96**					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	-2.38	8	40.83	26.65	50.08	17.71	1.51	0.18
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	-29.03	8	21.94					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	122.03	8	282.46	131.26	278.90	98.61	1.33	0.22
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	-9.23	8	6.83					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	6.43	8	20.78	4.18	24.01	8.49	0.49	0.64
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	2.25	8	14.21					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	29.57	7	42.55	0.69	29.71	11.23	0.06	0.95
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	28.88	7	21.54					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

For *Multiracial Middle Income* typology, the percent change in the population with higher education in landmark district census tracts is significantly higher than non-landmark tracts (Table X). It seems to be the case that people with higher education preferred landmark census tracts to non-landmark districts to live, and as *Multiracial Middle Income* census tracts tend to be away from city center, control census tracts may not be particularly preferable as the *White Middle Income* control census tracts which are mostly in the central parts of the city so as to lead to an increase in the share of population with higher education.

Even though the sample sizes are limited, matched-pair analysis indicates that different typologies get affected by designation differently. Probably the most important finding of the analysis is how white districts differ from both black and multiracial districts. For both middle income and high income predominantly white landmark census tracts, the total population and total occupied units percent change were significantly smaller than for non-landmark census tracts (Table XI). This might be a result of the regulations that are set for historic preservation in landmark districts which forbids the destruction of existing buildings and sets height and mass limitations for new developments. Other than limiting new development, historic designation seems not to lead to a change in the socioeconomic characteristics in white neighborhoods. However, in *Black Low Income* neighborhoods the designation leads to a significant increase in median house value, and in *Multiracial Low Income* neighborhoods it leads to a similar increase in median income. These results reveal that landmark designation leads to displacement and gentrification in non-white low income neighborhoods.

TABLE X

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND MATCHED-PAIR T-TEST FOR MULTIRACIAL MIDDLE
INCOME LANDMARK AND NON-LANDMARK DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS

		Mean (%)	N	Std. Deviation (%)	Paired Differences			t	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Difference of means (%)	Std. Deviation (%)	Std. Error Mean (%)		
Variable 1	LD_TOTPOPch	0.47	17	36.77	-2.88	32.87	7.97	-0.36	0.72
	nonLD_TOTPOPch	3.35	17	22.86					
Variable 2	LD_WHITE_Pch	21.76	17	22.71	5.62	20.42	4.95	1.14	0.27
	nonLD_WHITE_Pch	16.13	17	37.98					
Variable 3	LD_BLACK_Pch	-2.33	17	8.43	-8.90	18.67	4.53	-1.96	0.07
	nonLD_BLACK_Pch	6.57	17	23.24					
Variable 4	LD_EDLESS_Pch	-21.58	17	11.61	-1.60	8.55	2.07	-0.77	0.45
	nonLD_EDLESS_Pch	-19.97	17	10.77					
Variable 5	**LD_ EDHIGH_Pch**	**27.19**	**17**	**13.04**	**6.40**	**10.22**	**2.48**	**2.58**	**0.02**
	nonLD_ EDHIGH_Pch	**20.79**	**17**	**14.65**					
Variable 6	LD_UNEMP_Pch	-1.96	17	5.52	-2.03	7.31	1.77	-1.15	0.27
	nonLD_UNEMP_Pch	0.07	17	7.95					
Variable 7	LD_MEDINC_Pch	17.34	17	40.98	-2.45	30.44	7.38	-0.33	0.74
	nonLD_MEDINC_Pch	19.79	17	47.95					
Variable 8	LD_TOTOCC_Pch	16.61	17	48.56	0.33	40.98	9.94	0.03	0.97
	nonLD_TOTOCC_Pch	16.28	17	25.44					
Variable 9	LD_RENTER_Pch	-9.82	17	10.16	-3.77	12.19	2.96	-1.28	0.22
	nonLD_RENTER_Pch	-6.05	17	11.84					
Variable 10	LD_MEDHV_Pch	35.28	17	39.81	7.39	33.15	8.04	0.92	0.37
	nonLD_MEDHV_Pch	27.89	17	19.26					

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

TOTPOPch = Total Population Percent Change; WHITE_Pch = White Population Percent Change; BLACK_Pch = Black Population Percent Change; EDLESS_Pch = Less than High School Education Percent Change; EDHIGH_Pch = Higher Education Percent Change; UNEMP_Pch = Unemployment Percent Change; MEDINC_Pch = Median Household Income Percent Change; TOTOCC_Pch = Total Occupied Units Percent Change; RENTER_Pch = Renter Occupied Units Percent Change; MEDHV_Pch = Median House Value Percent Change

TABLE XI

THE VARIABLES WITH SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE OF MEANS AT .05 SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL FOR EACH TYPOLOGY

	White Affluent				White Middle Income				Black Low Income				Black Middle Income				Multiracial Low Income				Multiracial Middle Income			
	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)	Mean (%)		N	Difference of means (%)
	LD	non-LD			LD	non-LD			LD	non-LD			LD	non-LD			LD	non-LD			LD	non-LD		
Variable 1 Total Population	-1.29	58.7	12	-59.94	9.60	46.3	52	-36.71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 2 White Population	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 3 Black Population	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 4 Less than High School Education	-4.05	-7.64	12	3.59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 5 Higher Education	-	-	-	-	30	34	52	-3.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.2	20.8	17	6.40
Variable 6 Unemployment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.90	7.25	8	-6.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 7 Median Household Income	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98.1	14.6	10	83.46	-	-	-	-
Variable 8 Total Occupied Units	-7.52	70.1	12	-77.57	9.55	64.9	52	-55.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 9 Renter-Occupied Units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variable 10 Median House Value	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	114.70	42.9	24	71.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

LD= Landmark District, nonLD= Non-Landmark District

N= Number of tracts

Interestingly, *Multiracial Low Income* census tracts did not show any significance for Median House Value just as *Black Low Income* census tracts for Median Income in the matched-pair analysis. Normally, it might be expected that the demand from higher income group would increase median house value and higher house values would result in a change in the income level of the area. The insignificance of those variables might be depending on the limited number of samples.

In the first part of the study where all landmark district tracts regardless of their socioeconomic status were included in the analysis, the percent changes in landmark district census tracts were not significantly different from the non-landmark tracts. When the dataset is split according to the typologies, percent changes in some variables turned out to be significant even for a much more limited number of samples. It is most probable that in the initial analysis, the percent changes in different types of census tracts were canceling each other out.

4.3 The Findings of Matched-Pair Analysis

The first part of the thesis utilized U.S. Census data to identify whether the socioeconomic changes that occurred in neighborhoods are attributable to historic district designation. Then, typologies for landmark district census tracts are created based on their racial composition and socioeconomic status to find out whether the effects attributable to historic designation differs for diverse typologies. The result of the analysis revealed that even though the changes that occurred in landmark district census tracts seem not to differ significantly from non-landmark census tracts when analyzed in total, each typology showed significant differences when analyzed separately. The most important finding is that the

socioeconomic impacts of historic district designation are different for white and non-white neighborhoods. In white middle and high income neighborhoods, historic district designation limits new development, keeping the changes in the total population and the number of total occupied units smaller than for non-landmark census tracts, but it does not seem to lead to a change in the socioeconomic characteristics. Conversely, in non-white low income neighborhoods the designation leads in some cases to a significant increase in median house value, and in some to a similar increase in median income. These results reveal that landmark designation leads to displacement and gentrification in non-white low income neighborhoods.

5. CASE STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

The matched-pair analysis revealed how different neighborhoods were affected by historic district designation, and according to the findings of the analysis, the case studies are selected to provide a deeper look at the changes that are occurring. Since the most important finding of the analysis is how white and non-white districts differ in terms of the effects of historic designation, two landmark district areas, one composed of white middle income census tracts and the other composed of non-white low income census tracts are selected to further investigate the characteristics of the areas and how changes occur. Each case study describes the conditions under which the district designation took place, looks at the conditions before and the changes after the historic district designation with a sensitivity to geographic conditions of each case study.

The first case study, Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District, which was designated in 1998, is on the South Side of Chicago, two and a half miles away from the central business district. It is located within four *Black Low Income* and one *Multiracial Low Income* census tracts.

The second case study, Washington Square Landmark District, on the other hand, is located on the Near North Side, within two *White Middle Income* census tracts according to their pre-designation characteristics. It was designated in 1990, and extended in 2002 and again in 2005.

5.2 Black Metropolis - Bronzeville

"Black Metropolis" is a term that has been used by scholars to refer to the large, urban black communities of the United States. In the early twentieth century, in time of the mass migration of blacks to cities, those urban black communities were considered to provide opportunities that would socially and economically uplift them (Boyd R. L., 2015). Especially, Harlem in New York and Bronzeville in Chicago were the largest black communities of the urban North. Harlem was known to be "the birthplace of the black cultural renaissance," and Bronzeville was acclaimed as the center of black entrepreneurship as it had a robust commercial life and was home to black-owned life insurance companies and the biggest and best-known black newspaper, the *Chicago Defender* (Boyd R. L., 2015, p. 131). A study found out that out of the 15 largest black communities in U.S. in 1930, Chicago had the most representation of blacks in most of the entrepreneurial occupation and the professions (Boyd R. L., 2015).

However, by the mid-twentieth century Bronzville was going through a steep decline as a result of economic hardship, deindustrialization and urban renewal program (Hyra, 2008; Anderson & Sternberg, 2012; Boyd M., 2008). Most of the community's banks, insurance companies, and other businesses could not survive after the Great Depression of 1929 and the urban renewal program was the final blow for Bronzeville. For the construction of public housing and the campus of the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), entire blocks along State Street were destroyed (The City of Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). Public housing projects led to the institutionalization of the inner city ghetto and got associated with poverty and crime (Hyra, 2012). After decades of neglect, in the 1980s, a

coalition of black middle income homeowners and activists began to get mobilized to attract resources to Bronzville emphasizing the area's historical and cultural significance (Anderson & Sternberg, 2012). After IIT was given a grant to plan for a campus expansion which required community input, neighborhood activists formed a coalition of neighborhood organizations, the Mid-South Planning and Development Corporation (MSPDC) in 1990 (Boyd M., 2000).

In 1993, MSPDC prepared the *Restoring Bronzeville* land-use plan, which suggested that the city and neighborhood institutions should develop the area to be an African-American Heritage tourism destination (Boyd M., 2008). The proposal to develop the area as a heritage tourism destination was a deliberate attempt to maintain the racial composition of the neighborhood. MSPDC also sought to emphasize the identity of the neighborhood by sponsoring the creation and exhibition of neighborhood related cultural products such as public murals, sculptures, and photography. In addition to developing preservation and rehabilitation projects, MSPDC also fought for historic district designation to increase the visibility and reputation of the neighborhood. They argued that tourism would encourage small business development and provide job opportunities to low income residents.

However, as Bronzeville was the one of the city's most disinvested and demonized neighborhoods, it was hard to attract developers to the area during the early 1990s. It was only after the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE-VI) grants, which were awarded to the Chicago Housing Authority to demolish the city's distressed public housing complexes, that the redevelopment efforts started to gain momentum (Sternberg & Anderson, 2014). The city and the developers began to see Bronzeville as a site suitable for

redevelopment, and Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District was established in 1998. Unfortunately, some of the significant buildings of the Black Metropolis had already been demolished for the construction of the public housing projects and the campus of the IIT or collapsed as a result of deterioration. Among those structures were the Jordan building, first major commercial structure built in Bronzeville, and National Phythian Temple, the largest and highest office building of the district (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997).

The district includes the remaining eight individual buildings and one public monument that have a historical significance and symbolic value that represent an era and "the determination of African-American urban pioneers" (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997)(Figure 7).
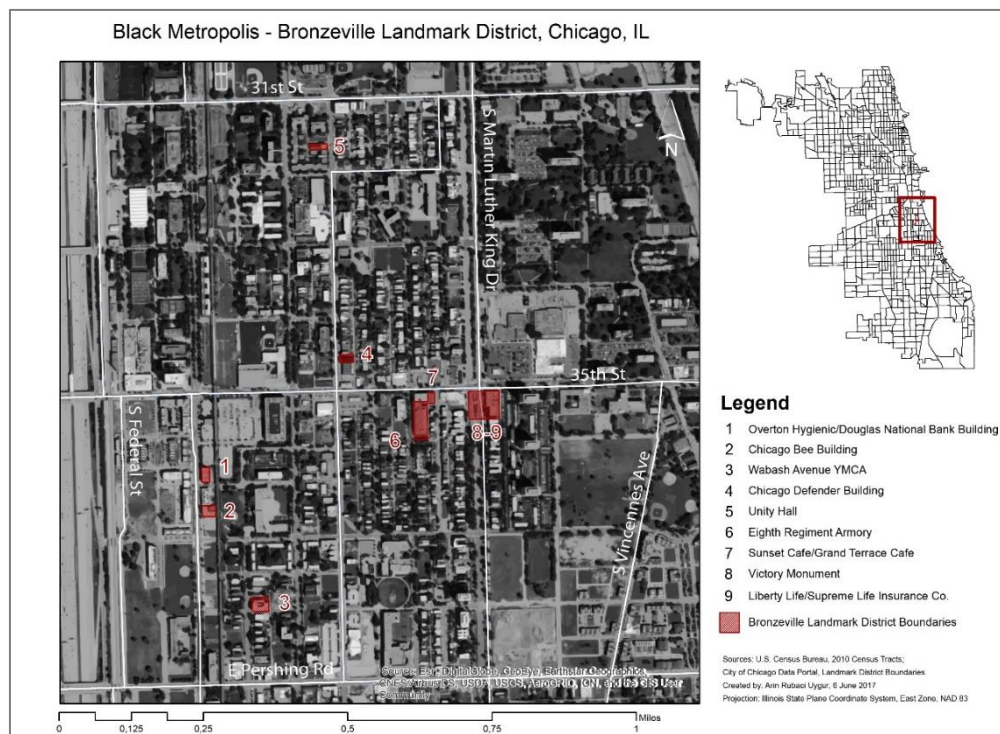
Figure 7. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District with 31st St to north, E Pershing Rd to south, S Vincennes Ave and S Martin Luther King Dr to east and S Federal St to west

The public monument in the district was erected in 1928 to honor achievements of the Eighth Regiment of the Illinois National Guard during the World War I (Figure 8). The Eighth Regiment Armory, which is also included in the Bronzeville Landmark District, was the only armory in the United States built for an African-American regiment, and was commanded entirely by African-Americans (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). The building, after sitting vacant since the 1950s, was renovated by the Public Building Commission of Chicago and opened its doors as the nation's first public college-prep military school in 1999. It is now the Chicago Military Academy-Bronzeville, and is not open to the public.

Photo: Rogers, Eric Allix (Photographer). (2007, September 23). *Victory Monument* [digital image]. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/reallyboring/3240459058/in/photolist-5Wh2PV-5WmczL-5WmjTm-5Wh2uP-5Wmjmy/

Figure 8. Victory Monument

All other seven structures in the district were home to nationally prominent, black-owned businesses and cultural institutions. Overton Hygienic Building was one of the most important buildings of the Black Metropolis era. It was contracted by African-American entrepreneur Anthony Overton for his numerous enterprises, including cosmetics, banking, and publishing. The building not just housed Overton's numerous companies including Douglass National Bank but also provided the first rental space for other black professionals (National Park Service, 1997). After the failure of the Douglass National Bank in 1932, Overton's other companies were forced to move out of the building. The upper floors remained vacant with retail stores on the first floor for a long time and got seriously deteriorated (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). It is currently owned by the MSPDC, which intend to use the space as an incubator for small business and social enterprise development (Figure 9).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Overton Hygienic Building." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 9. Overton Hygienic Building

Anthony Overton commissioned his second building for the offices of the *Chicago Bee*, an African American newspaper he founded in 1926. The building which is also one of the structures included in the district is in the Art Deco style of the late 1920s, and is one of the most picturesque buildings of the district. In addition to the newspaper, the building also housed the offices of the Overton Hygienic Company, after the failure of Douglass National Bank. After the newspaper went out of business in the early 1940s, the cosmetics firm stayed in the building (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). The building was purchased by the City of Chicago in the early 1980s and now operates as a branch of the Chicago Public Library (Figure 10).

Photo: Vernon, Antonio (Photographer). (2007, June 1). Chicago Bee Building [digital image].
Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20070601_Chicago_Bee_Building_(3).JPG

Figure 10. Chicago Bee Building

In the Black Metropolis, the Wabash Avenue YMCA building was an important social and educational center. It offered comprehensive programs for finding housing and employment to the African-Americans coming from the South during the Great Migration (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). Its assembly hall was also used for civic meetings and was an important part of the community life in Bronzeville. In the late 1970s, with the decline of the neighborhood, the Wabash Avenue YMCA was closed. By the end of 1990s, the renovation project was undertaken by the Renaissance Collaborative, a community development corporation incorporated by four ecumenical historic churches located in the Bronzeville. Today, the building is known as the Renaissance Center Apartments and Fitness for Life Center serving low income residents (Figure 11).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Wabash Avenue YMCA Building." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 11. Wabash Avenue YMCA Building

Another building in the district was home to one of the most influential African-American newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*. Founded by Robert S. Abbott in 1905, the newspaper became nationally known for its outspoken editorial policies in support of civil rights issues (The City of Chicago, 2010). The building was originally built as a Jewish synagogue and was turned into a warehouse in 1915 (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). It later served as the headquarters of the *Chicago Defender* from 1920 to 1960. After the *Chicago Defender* moved out to its new headquarters, it sat vacant for many years and has just recently been renovated (Figure 12).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Chicago Defender Building." 2017. JPEG file.
Figure 12. Chicago Defender Building

Unity Hall was originally built as a Jewish social club in 1887, and then became the headquarters of the Peoples Movement Club, a political organization headed by Oscar

DePriest, Chicago's first black alderman and the nation's first black congressman (Figure 13). Sometime after World War II, the building was turned into a church and from then on was occupied by various churches (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). After sitting vacant and for sale for a period of time, it recently went through an extensive restoration and transformed into multi-unit residential use (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 2016).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Unity Hall." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 13. Unity Hall

In the 1920s and 30s, the nightclubs in Bronzville established Chicago's reputation as a jazz center. The Sunset Café, also known as the Grand Terrace Café, was one of the most important jazz clubs in the United States. The building was built as a one-story car repair and

storage garage in 1909. A second story was later added when it was remodeled to become a jazz club, the Sunset Café, in 1921. In 1937, it again went through a remodeling and opened as the Grand Terrace Café. The club operated until 1950 (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 1997). After housing the office of the Second Ward Regular Democratic Organization in the 1950s, it was turned into a hardware store, and has just recently been sold (Figure 14).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Sunset Cafe" 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 14. Sunset Café

One of the most significant businesses of the Black Metropolis era was the Liberty Life Insurance Company. It was established in 1919 and was the first African-American insurance company of the northern United States (Chicago Department of Planning and

Development, 1997). The Liberty Life Insurance Company was located within the Roosevelt

State Bank Building; however, it grew so rapidly that it bought the building in 1924. In 1950,

the building was remodeled, and the classical stone façade was stripped off and replaced with

porcelain-coated metal panels, almost completely changing the original look of the building.

The building was returned back to its original state with a renovation project in 2005, which

was undertaken by Black Metropolis Convention and Tourism Council, which is a not-for-

profit organization that focuses on civic engagement, service learning, and cultural heritage

tourism development. The building is now a multi-use structure that includes multiple

businesses, professional office space and a Bronzeville visitors' center (Figure 15).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Liberty Life Insurance Company Building" 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 15. Liberty Life Insurance Company Building

All designated structures in the Black Metropolis- Bronzville Landmark District are located within five census tracts. According to their pre-designation characteristics, four of them were *Black Low Income* and one was *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tracts (Figure 16).
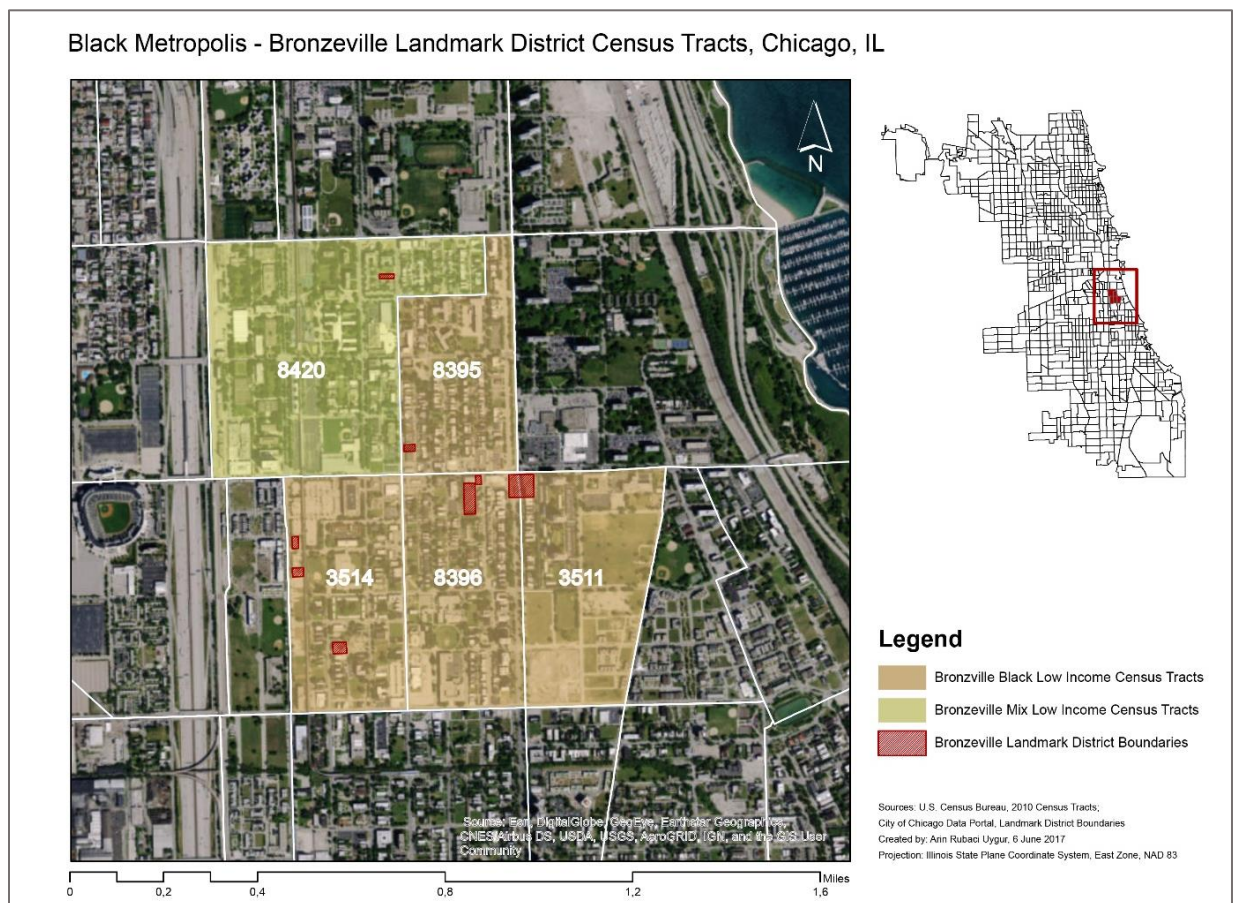
Figure 16. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Census Tracts by Type

The total population of the Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District area, which includes those five census tracts, decreased by 26 percent from 1990 to 2015. The

population of the *Black Low Income* Census Tracts decreased from 10,142 to 6,663, whereas in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract there had been a sudden increase in the population from 1990 to 2000, and then it decreased to pre-designation levels (Figure 17). This sudden increase seems to be unlikely when the total population in 1970 and 1980 were also taken into consideration, which are 2585 and 3010 respectively. The research I have done on the area also did not result in a finding that might indicate an explanation to such an increase and decrease in the total population.

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Multiracial Low Income Census Tract	2,928	4,499	2,744	2,999
Black Low Income Census Tracts	10,142	9,630	6,894	6,663
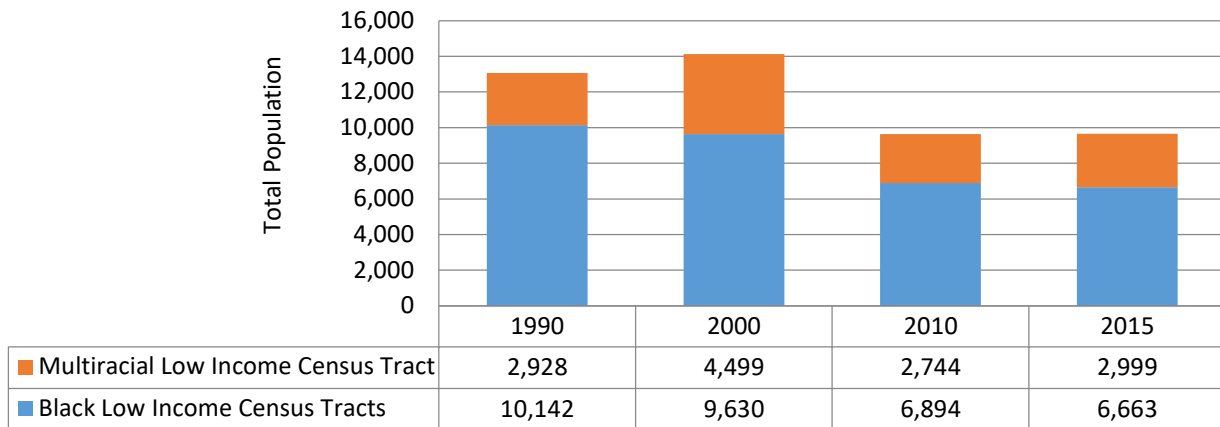
Figure 17. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Census Tracts
Total Population, 1990-2015

The decrease in total population in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts depends on the demolition of public housing projects. The HOPE-VI Program was developed by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development as a result of recommendations by

National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, which proposed a National Action Plan to eradicate distressed public housing (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). The program began in 1992, and the Chicago Housing Authority was granted 83.4 million dollars for the demolition of 31 housing projects from 1998 to 2003 (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2004). One of those projects, the Ida B. Wells Homes, was within the Bronzeville Landmark District area.

The Ida B. Wells Homes was the fourth public housing project built after the federal Housing Act of 1937 for African Americans from 1939 to 1941. It was located in Tract 3511, and consisted of row houses and mid- and high-rise apartment buildings housing 1,662 families (Choldin, 2005). With HOPE-VI grants that were awarded to the Chicago Housing Authority, the demolition began in 2002 and ended in 2011.

When we look at the racial composition change, we see that the decrease was mostly in black population. Before landmark district designation, the black population was 98 percent of the total population in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts, whereas by 2015 it decreased to 87 percent (Figure 18). The populations of whites and other races, on the other hand, increased gradually.

In the *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract, there has been a 5 percent increase in the black population from 1990 to 2000, but it decreased after 2000 by 13 percent. From 2000 to 2015, the white population increased by 11 percent (Figure 19).
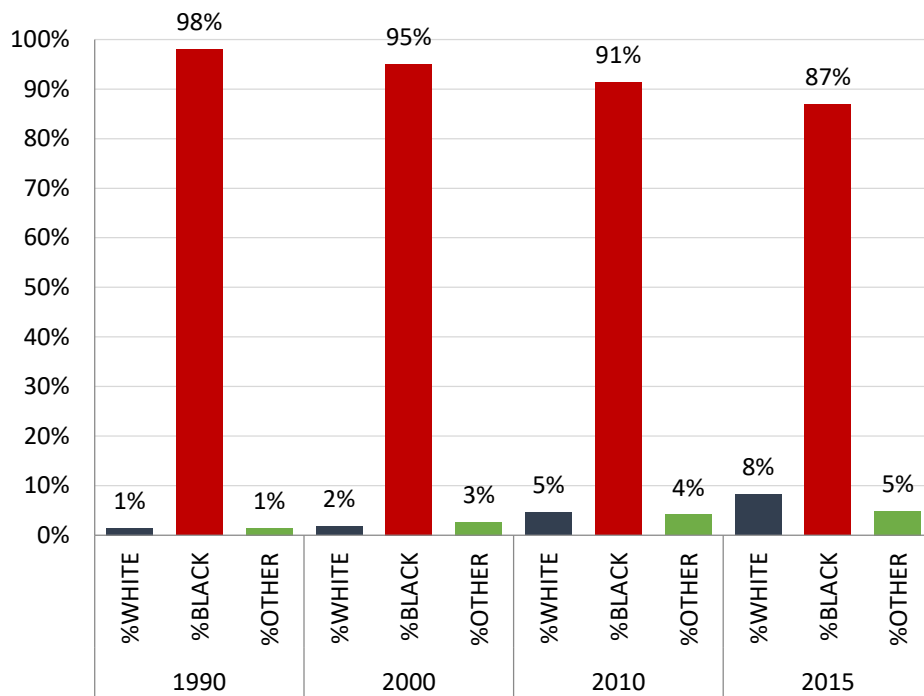
Figure 18. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income Census Tracts
Racial Composition, 1990-2015
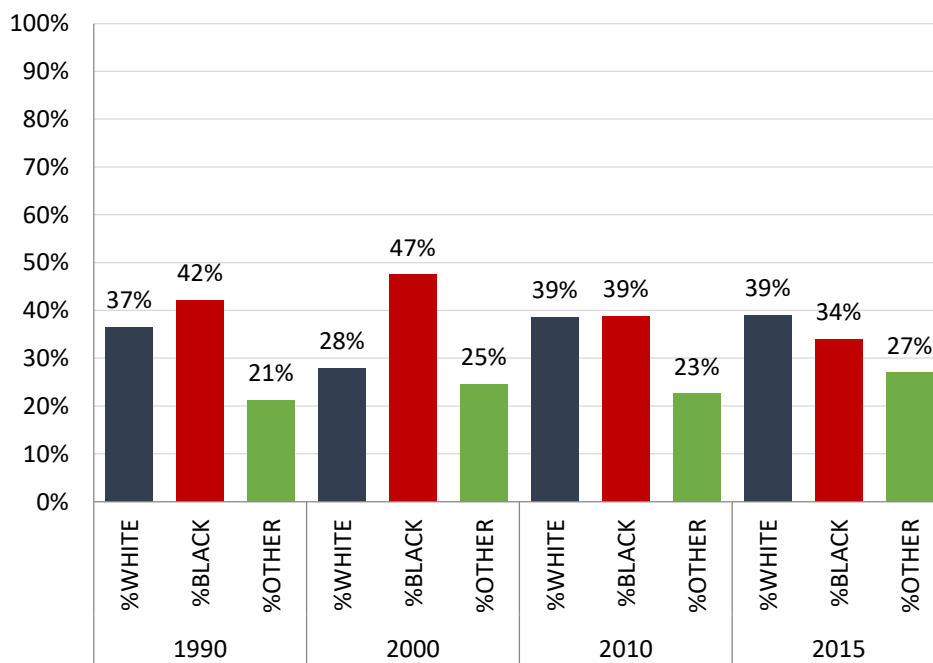
Figure 19. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income Census Tracts
Racial Composition, 1990-2015

The educational attainment in the area changed considerably in the *Black Low Income Census Tracts*. The share of the population that has more than college degree increased from 9 percent to 29 percent, and conversely, the share of the population that has less than high school education decreased from 49 percent to 21 percent (Figure 20). This means the lower educated population was gradually replaced by the higher educated. However, the change in the educational attainment in the *Multiracial Low Income* Tracts does not follow a linear trend, both the shares of the population that has more than college degree and less than high school degree decreased from 1990 to 2015 (Figure 21).

	1990	2000	2010	2015
%HIGHER_E	9%	14%	19%	29%
%COLLEGE	20%	24%	26%	26%
%HIGH	22%	25%	29%	24%
%LESS_HIGH	49%	37%	26%	21%
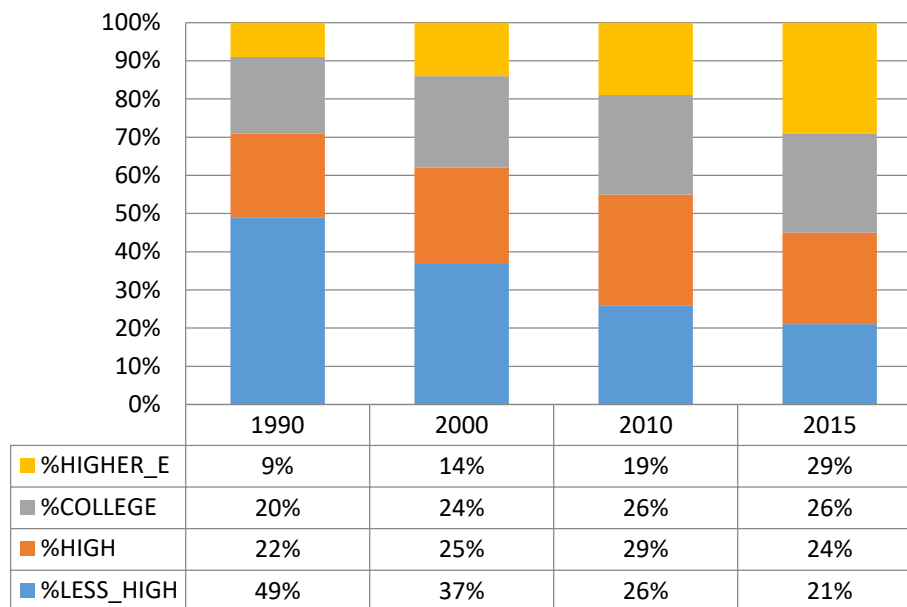
Figure 20. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income Census Tracts Educational Attainment, 1990-2015

	1990	2000	2010	2015
■ %HIGHER_E	41%	41%	38%	28%
■ %COLLEGE	9%	24%	17%	25%
■ %HIGH	9%	14%	16%	28%
■ %LESS_HIGH	41%	21%	29%	19%
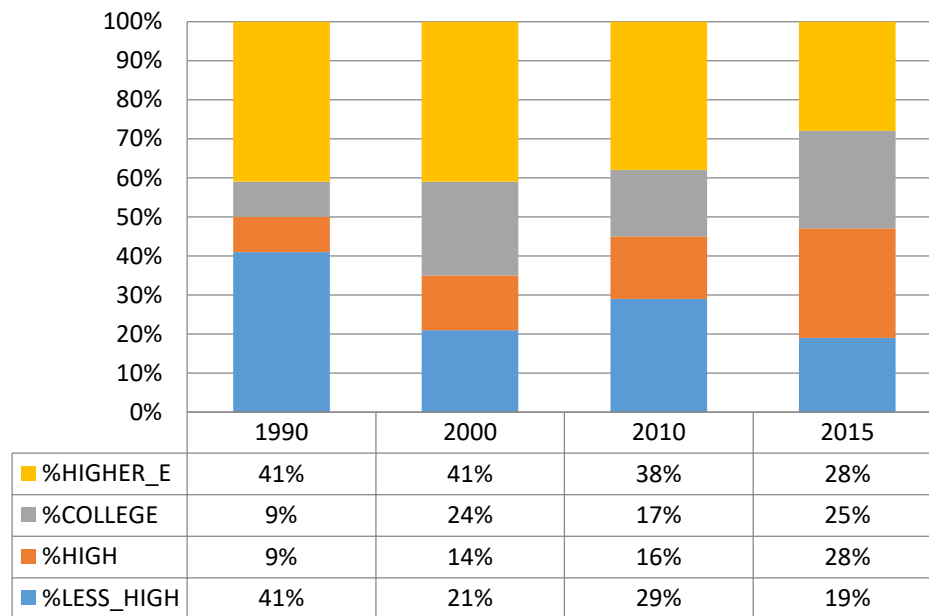
Figure 21. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income Census Tracts Educational Attainment, 1990-2015

The unemployment rate in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts, paralleling the change in educational attainment gradually decreased from the pre-designation rate 27 percent to 22 percent (Figure 22). *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract had a much smaller unemployment rate than *Black Low Income* Census Tracts even before historic district designation. However, there seems to be a substantial increase from 1990 to 2000. Similar to the increase in the total population in 2000, this increase also seems unusual when we look back at the previous census data. The unemployment rate was 5 percent in 1970, and 9 percent in 1980. Except 2000 U.S. Census, the unemployment rate of the *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract was in a range between 5 and 10 percent.
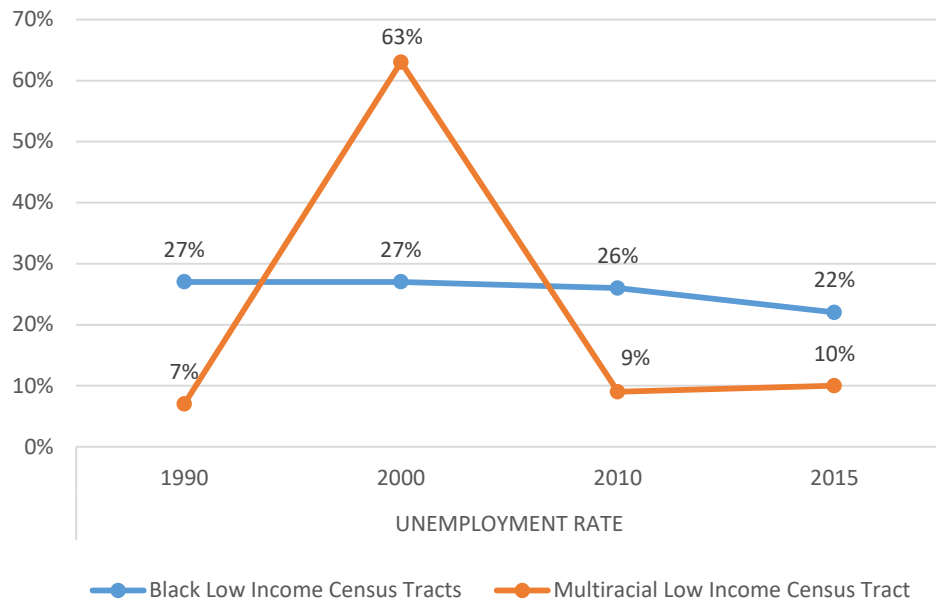
Figure 22. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Census Tracts Unemployment Rate, 1990-2015

In *Black Low Income* Census Tracts, the median income did not change substantially from pre-designation to 2015 (Figure 23). Even though there has been a decrease in the total population, median income did not increase which shows low income residents were not completely displaced. However, when we compare it with the change in the average income, it is seen that there has been substantial increases, especially in two of the census tracts. This comparison reveals that there has been an influx of high income households to those census tracts but not yet enough in number to increase the median income. The average income seems to have decreased a little after 2010, which might indicate either a slow-down or decline in the influx of high income households.

Bronzeville Black Low Income Census Tracts Median Household Income, 1990-2015

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 3511	$14,194	$14,620	$12,496	$11,518
Tract 3514	$17,777	$16,496	$13,258	$9,845
Tract 8395	$17,024	$26,360	$20,833	$19,884
Tract 8396	$19,137	$39,491	$46,512	$23,116

Bronzeville Black Low Income Census Tracts Average Household Income, 1990-2015

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 3511	$14,194	$24,382	$22,859	$19,479
Tract 3514	$26,401	$29,341	$23,267	$30,163
Tract 8395	$34,599	$53,472	$60,019	$51,954
Tract 8396	$30,013	$58,767	$69,194	$58,513

Figure 23. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income Census Tracts Median and Average Household Income, 1990-2015

The *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract's median and average income change follow a similar trend indicating that there has been an income status change which can be interpreted as a clear sign of displacement (Figure 24). The matched-pair analysis for the *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tracts have already shown that the change in the income level is statistically significant which means that the change is attributable to historic district designation. The comparison of median household income change for multiracial low income landmark district census tract in Bronzeville and its control tract also shows this substantial difference (Figure 26).

Figure 24. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income Census Tracts Median and Average Household Income, 1990-2015
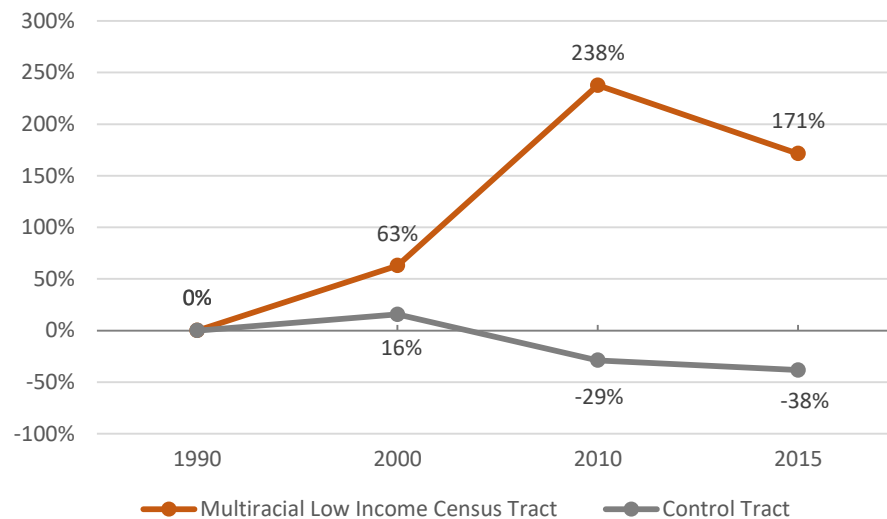
Figure 25. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income and Control Census Tracts Percent Change in Median Household Income, 1990-2015

From 1990 to 2015, the total number of occupied units in the Bronzeville Landmark District area decreased from 4892 to 3323 (Figure 25). The units in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tracts decreased by half and the units in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts decreased 27 percent. The data reveals that there has not been a significant increase in the number of new developments or the rate of occupancy in the area after historic district designation. Furthermore, according to the City of Chicago Data Portal there are still 90 vacant properties, 384,646 square feet in the aggregate that are owned and managed by the City of Chicago Department of Planning and Development in Bronzeville Landmark District area (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 2016).

	1990	2000	2010	2015
■ Multiracial Low Income Census Tract	677	1065	319	345
■ Black Low Income Census Tracts	4215	3763	3139	3078
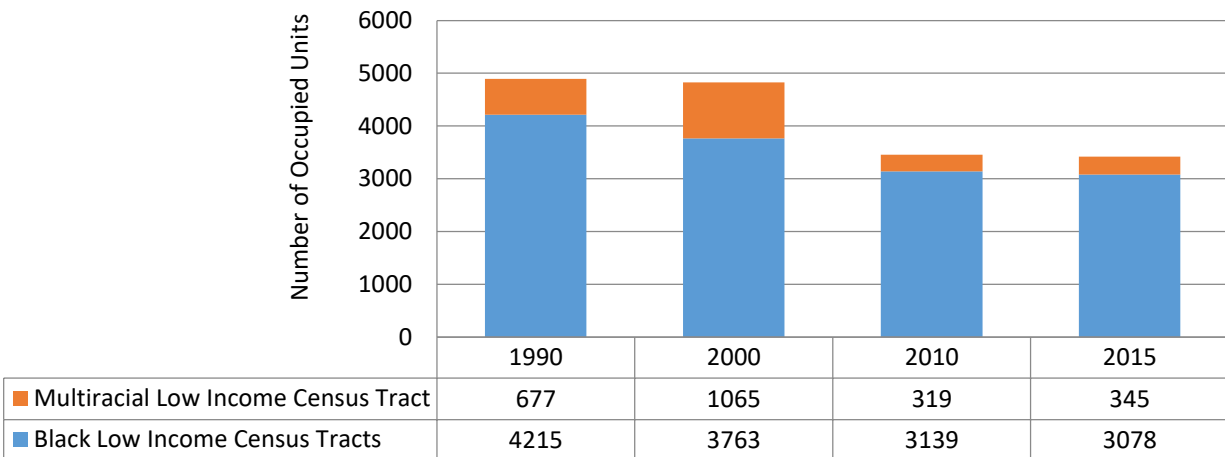
Figure 26. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Census Tracts
Number of Occupied Units, 1990-2015

From 1990 to 2015, the owner occupancy rate steadily increased from 11 percent to 23 percent in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts (Figure 26). Whereas, in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract, the number of the renter occupied units decreased significantly from 2000 to

2010 (Figure 27). The *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract is home to IIT campus and a number of adult care centers. Adult care centers are defined as group quarters by U.S. Census and are not included in data about housing units. By looking at the significant decrease in the number of the occupied units, it is most probable that the adult care centers decreased the number of housing units and owner occupancy.
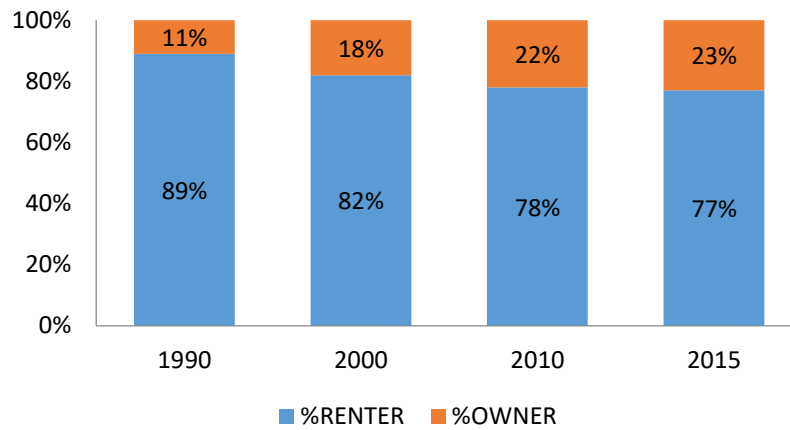
Figure 27. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income Census Tracts Owner/Renter Occupancy, 1990-2015
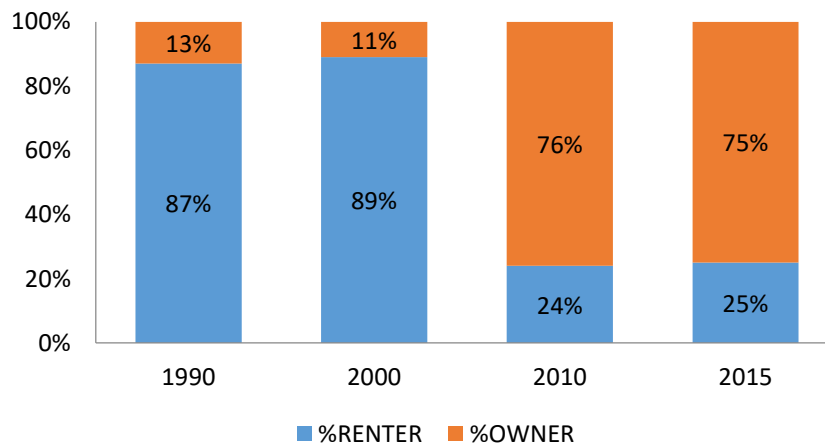
Figure 28. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income Census Tracts Number of Occupied Units, 1990-2015

The median house value increased significantly in Bronzeville from 1990 to 2015. The percent increases in the median house value in three of *Black Low Income* Census Tracts were 410, 360 and 134 percent (Figure 28). The median house value in the fourth census tract, Tract 8395, was already much higher than the adjacent tracts in the district before historic district designation.

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 3511	$48,361	$309,786	$375,000	$222,500
Tract 3514	$48,009	$146,357	$165,900	$245,000
Tract 8395	$257,281	$345,876	$389,700	$264,600
Tract 8396	$100,130	$278,565	$287,500	$234,700
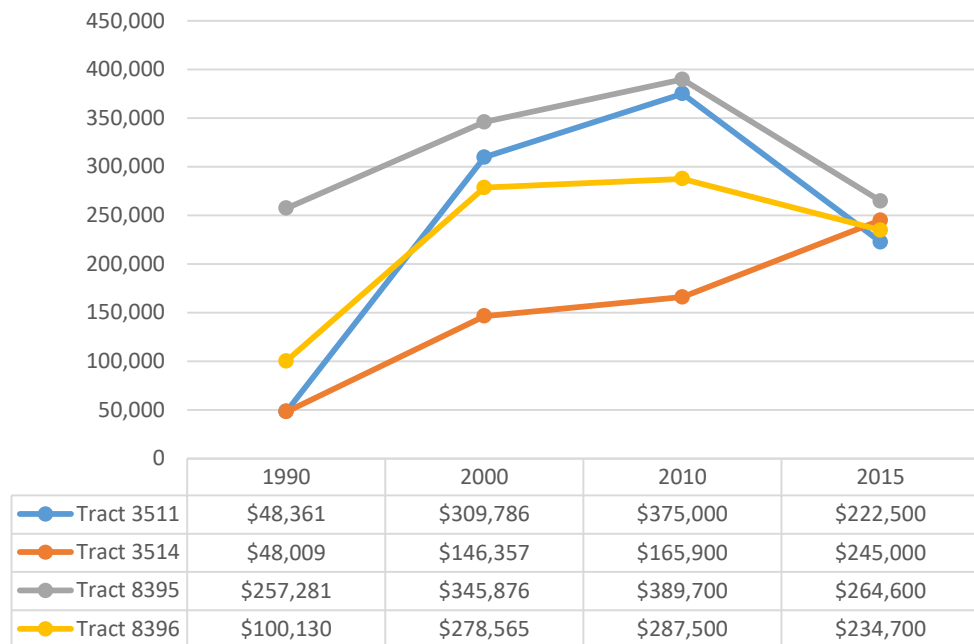
Figure 29. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income Census Tracts Median House Value, 1990-2015

The reason behind this notable difference is most likely another landmark district designation. The Calumet-Giles-Prairie Landmark District, which has a collection of row houses dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries and including early works by Louis

H. Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, was designated in 1988 (The City of Chicago, 2010). As shown in Figure 29, Calumet-Giles-Prairie Landmark District is also within the Tract 8395, and the 1980 U.S. Census Data informs that the median house value in the district was $80,537 before its designation[4].
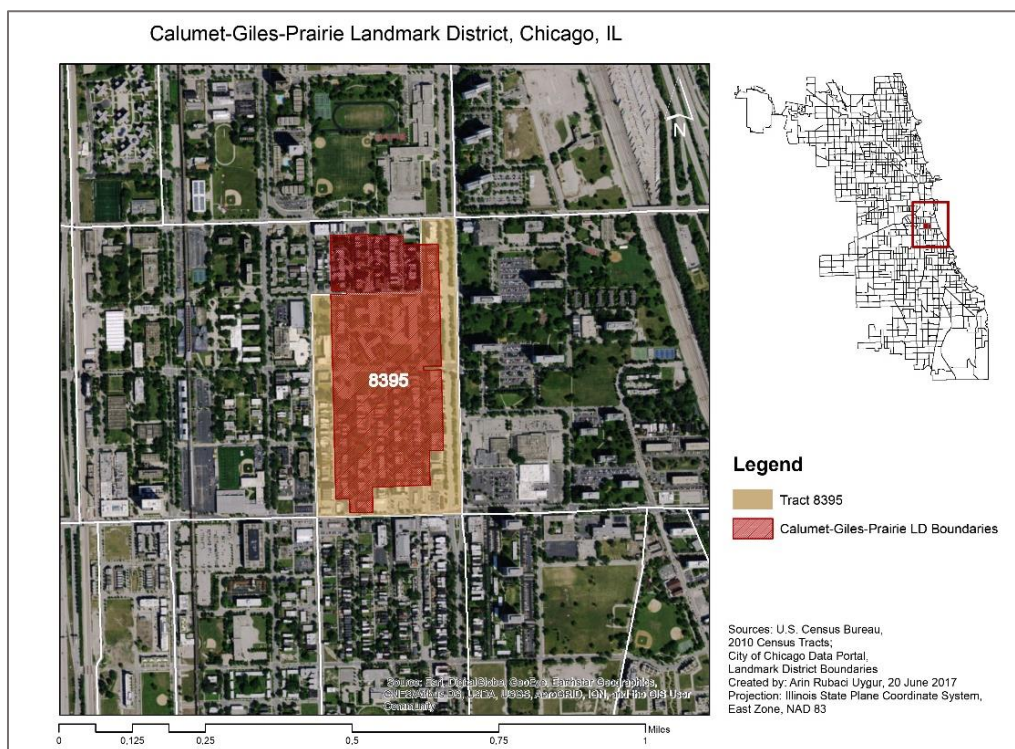
Figure 30. Calumet-Giles-Prairie Landmark District

The matched-pair analysis in the first part of this study has shown that the change in median house value is statistically significant in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts when compared to non-landmark census tracts. The increase in median house value is substantially

---

[4] All values are in U.S. dollars.

higher for Bronzeville Black Low Income census tracts than control census tracts (Figure 30). The only census tract that did not seem to change much is the one that had already designated a landmark district as mentioned. All census tracts saw significant increases once historic designation took place. This increase in median house value indicates that the district is on the verge of a socioeconomic change. The median income in the *Black Low Income* Census Tracts does not seem to have changed substantially yet, but the average income has increased which indicates that higher income households have started to move into the area.
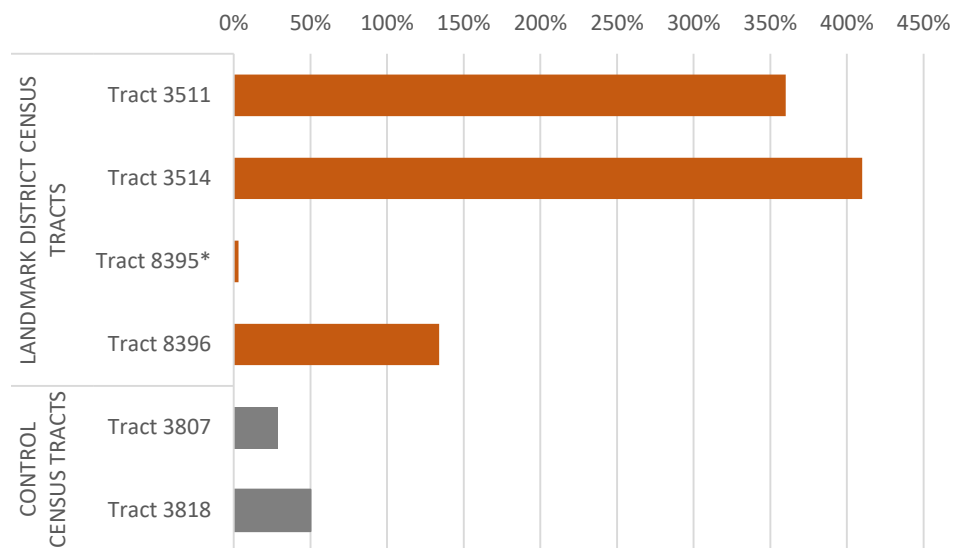
*Tract 8395 had already been designated as a landmark district before1990.

Figure 31. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Black Low Income and Control Census Tracts Percent Change in Median House Value, 1990-2015

The *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tracts have also seen an increase in median house value (Figure 30). However, it seems to have decreased after 2010. When we look at all

five of the census tracts, we see that by 2015 they ended up with very close median house values even though their pre-designation values varied. It seems that the designation had an effect of homogenizing the area with respect to house value.
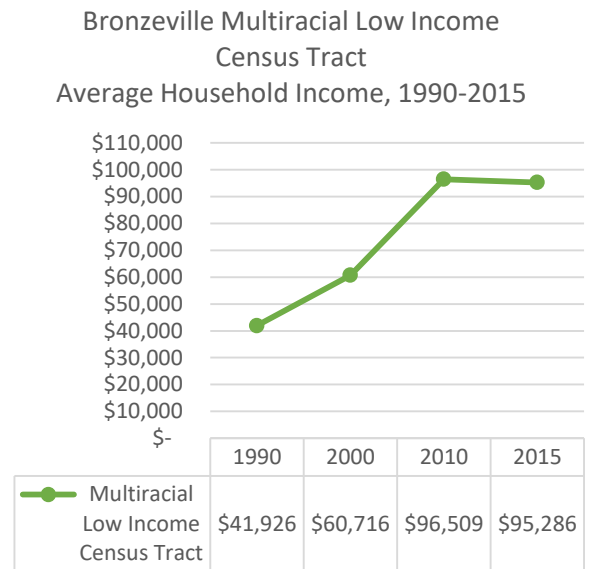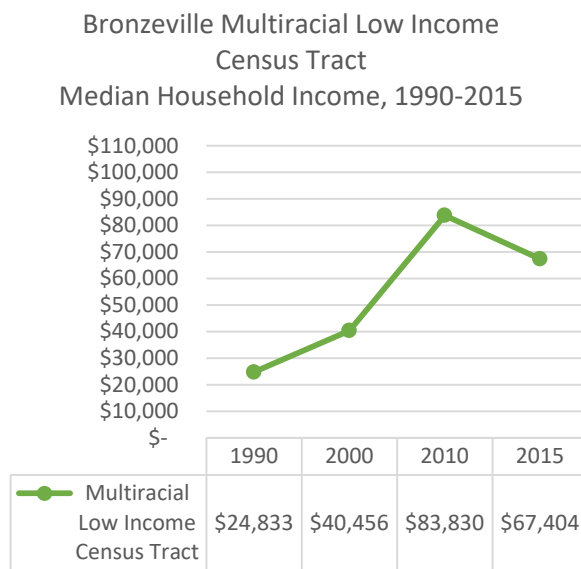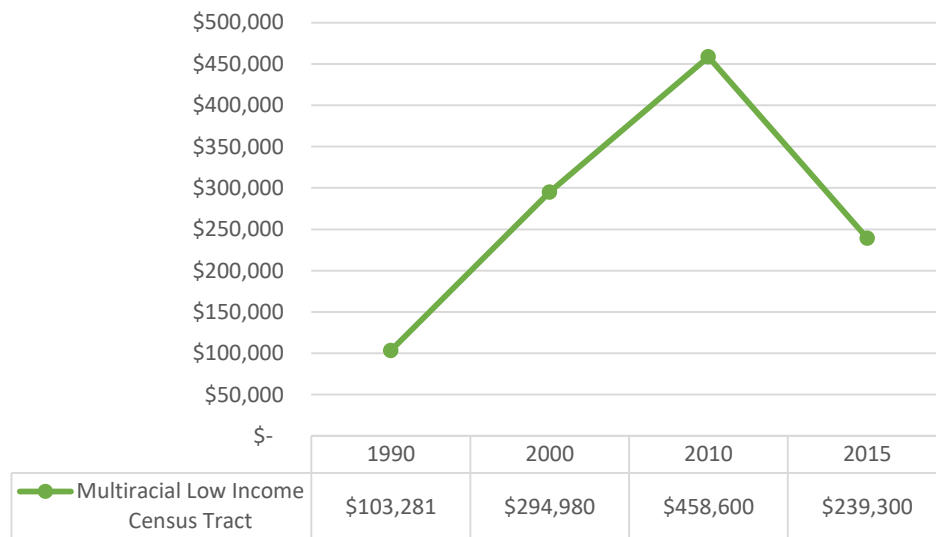

Figure 32. Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District Multiracial Low Income Census Tracts Median House Value, 1990-2015

The historic designation of Bronzeville derived from the neighborhood organizations' intention to maintain the racial composition of the neighborhood. They argued that historic designation by boosting tourism would encourage small business development and provide job opportunities to low income residents. While the intent to maintain the racial composition was shared by both low and middle income residents, the neighborhood organizations which

were dominated by middle-class, contributed to rising property values. A study, based on extensive participant observation and interviews, reveals the conflict between lower- and higher-income residents (Hyra, 2006). Higher income residents frequently expressed their preferences for community improvement in neighborhood organizations, by advocating for reinvestment by the black middle class and the removal of the poor. It was considered to be the only appropriate mechanism for the revitalization of Bronzeville (Boyd M. , 2000). As a reaction to the MSPDC, the coalition of neighborhood organizations, and the city, a grassroots non-profit organization, Housing Bronzeville, was formed in 2004 to oppose displacement and call for affordable housing. Housing Bronzeville persistently demanded that the vacant lots in the area be used for affordable housing, but those demands were systematically ignored (Sternberg & Anderson, 2014). On the other hand, redevelopment efforts have slowed down by the recession leaving a small room for the emergence of affordable housing projects. However, real estate experts inform that commercial and residential developments are picking back up (Trotter, 2016). The Mariano's, high-end grocery store, has just been built and opened its doors on the site of the Ida B. Wells Homes which is expected to bring in more interest and investment to the area and accelerate gentrification.

Within the 19 years after landmark district designation, the total population and the number of occupied units in the landmark district area decreased due to the demolition of the public housing projects. The continuous trend of decline indicates that there were not many new developments in the area after historic designation. The racial composition only slightly changed maintaining the black majority of the population. However, the educational attainment of the households changed, especially in the *Black Low Income* Census Tracts. The share of the population that has higher education increased whereas the population that has

less than high school education decreased substantially. Interestingly, median household income seems to have fluctuated throughout the years after historic district designation, ending up with almost the same value and even with a decrease in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts. The average income, meanwhile, has seen significant increases. It indicates that there has been an influx of high income households but not yet enough in number to increase the median income. On the other hand, both the median and the average income significantly increased in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract paralleling the findings of the matched-pair analysis. The answer to the question of why the change in the median income differs for the Multiracial and *Black Low Income* Census Tracts in the same landmark district area seems to be the relative desirability of the Multiracial Income Census Tract because of its diversity and the existence of IIT. Another factor affecting both the decrease in the number of the occupied units and the increase in the number of owner-occupied units in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract turns out to be a number of adult care centers that probably decreased the number of units as they are counted not as housing units but group quarters and replaced the renter-occupied units. In the *Black Low Income* Census Tracts, the owner occupancy rate also increased but at a much slower rate. It seems that in the absence of a substantial number of new developments, the units have gradually been turning from renter- to owner-occupied. The median house value also increased drastically throughout the district area, and as the matched-pair analysis shows the increase is attributable to historic district designation. The only census tract that did not see a substantial change had already been designated a landmark district before the Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District designation, and therefore, had already experienced an increase in house values.

This case study has shown not only how a non-white low income neighborhood is affected by historic district designation but also the factors in play for designation and neighborhood change. Bronzeville, as a neighborhood portrays conflicting spatial images. On the one hand, it is seen as a thriving neighborhood, and the other, as a neighborhood still suffering from crime and having a stock of deteriorating building and weedy vacant lots. The historic designation was the result of the deliberate attempts of the residents to preserve the cultural heritage of African American urban pioneers and to keep the neighborhood predominantly black. Even though the intent to preserve the racial composition has been successful, the rising average income and median house value indicate that some low income households are being displaced as a result of "Black gentrification," pointing that gentrification is less about race but is a class issue. It is also important to note that the neighborhood, despite rehabilitation tax credits and other incentives provided for the landmark district, seems not to receive as much investment and the plans to promote the neighborhood as a tourism node have not come to fruition as expected. Although the reasons behind this should further be investigated, it is clear that the racial preconception ingrained in the society had an influence on investor and consumer behavior.

5.3 Washington Square

Washington Square Landmark District has its name from Washington Square Park, the oldest documented extant park in Chicago. The land was donated to the city by the American Land Company in 1842 to ensure the success of their real estate investments. This method of land speculation was widely used, and it was the way Chicago's earliest parks were established (National Park Service, 2003). In the course of time, the park became a prominent

gathering place and an important node in local social life. By the 1910s, the park began to be used as a public forum for "soapbox" orators (The City of Chicago, 2010). For the decades to follow, it was popularly known as Bughouse Square and became the center of Bohemian life in Chicago (National Park Service, 2003).

The park sparked a rapid development of the surrounding streets and row houses. In the late 19th century, a rare collection of masonry dwellings some of which are a part of the Washington Square Landmark District were built for Chicago's elite by the city's earliest and best architects (The City of Chicago, 2010). After World War II, the soapboxes became less common, and by the 1970s the surrounding area had changed dramatically. Many of the historic structures were demolished, and high-rises began to appear in their places. During this period, Washington Square was also remodeled by the Chicago Park District (National Park Service, 2003).

The park continued to attract development to the surrounding area and increased height and density began to threaten the historic significance of the neighborhood. Upon this threat, the Washington Square was designated a Chicago Landmark District in 1990. The original designation included the Newberry Library and the former Unity Church (Figure 31).
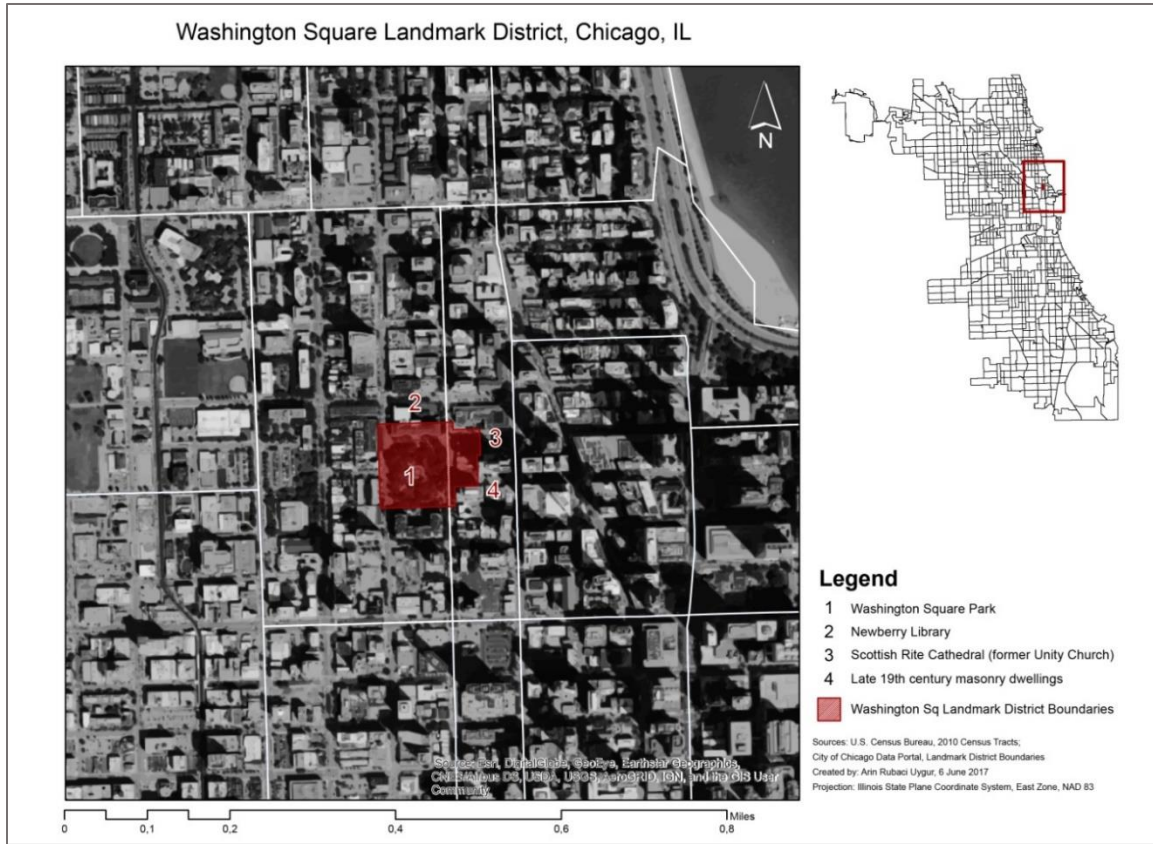
Figure 33. Washington Square Landmark District
with W Division St to north, W Chicago Ave to south, N State St to east and N Wells St to west.

The Newberry Library was established in 1887 by a bequest from the estate of Walter Loomis Newberry, an early Chicago pioneer involved in banking, shipping and real estate (Briggs & Peters, 2005). The building was designed for the library, and opened in 1893. Fellowships for advanced research were introduced in the 1940s and gradually became major feature of the library. In 1982, a book stack tower was added to the building to provide secure conditions for the collections, and the interior of building was renovated for staff activities and public programming (The Newberry, 2011). Today, it continues to operate as an independent research library that offers an extensive collection of rare books, maps,

manuscripts, and other printed material (Figure 32). Annually, the Newberry Library continues to hold a debate in the park to revive the role Washington Square Park played in the city's history (National Park Service, 2003).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "The Newberry Library." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 34. The Newberry Library

The Unity Church was founded by the members of the First Unitarian Church in 1867. It survived the Great Chicago Fire of 1871 but was severely damaged. The structure's roof was rebuilt and interior redesigned. In 1910, it was taken over by the Scottish Rite, which was associated with Masonic Fraternal Organization. The building went through several changes

over the years. The rose window was infilled and the stained-glass windows were covered. The Enterprise Companies purchased the Cathedral in 2005 together with the adjacent mansions and vacant land. The developer restored the church according to its original design in exchange for additional development rights for the adjacent new development project (Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 2011) (Figure 33).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "The Unity Church." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 35. The Unity Church/ Scottish Rite Cathedral

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "The late 19th century masonry dwellings in Washington Square Park Landmark District." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 36. The late 19th century masonry dwellings in
Washington Square Landmark District

The landmark district designation also includes the three mansions adjacent to the Unity Church: Carpenter House, Taylor Home, and Thompson Residence. The mansions were built in the late 1880s, and are rare examples of elaborate masonry dwellings built for the city's elite after the Great Fire. The Enterprise Companies purchased all three together with the Cathedral and sold separately around 2009 (Figure34).

The Washington Square Landmark District Boundaries fall within two census tracts both of which are *White Middle Income* census tracts according to their pre-designation socioeconomic characteristics (Figure 35).
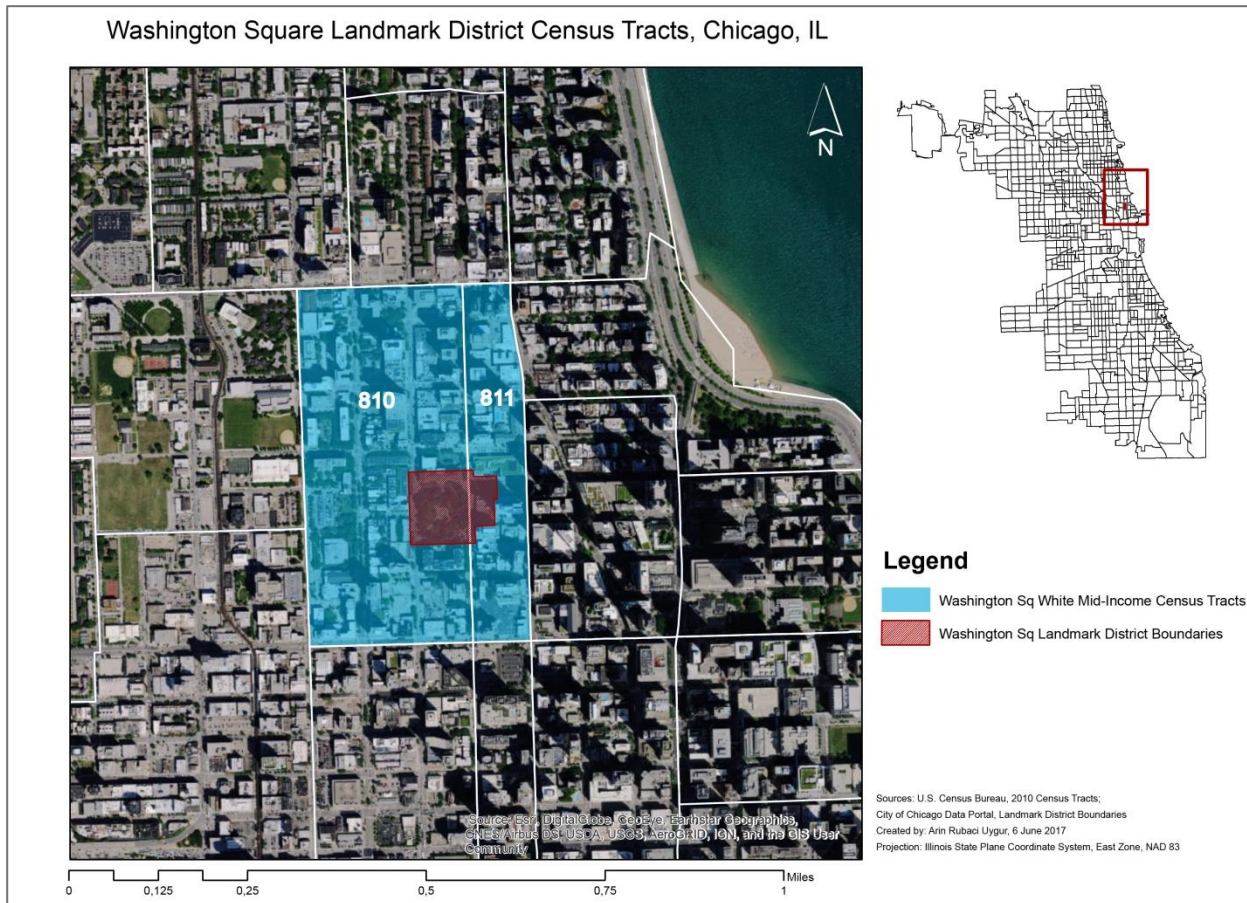
Figure 37. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts

The Washington Square Landmark District got extended twice, first in 2002, and second in 2005. The extensions added the remaining late 19th century residences in the neighborhood to the landmark district (Figure 36).

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "Isaac Maynard Row Houses." 2017. JPEG file.

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "855-867 N Dearborn Street." 2017. JPEG file

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "22-28 West Chestnut Street." 2017. JPEG file.

Photo: Rubaci Uygur, Arin. "827-833 N Dearborn Street." 2017. JPEG file.

Figure 38. The examples of late 19th century row houses in Washington Square Landmark District Extensions

The first Chicago Landmark district extension in 2002 included the row houses in Dearborn and Chestnut Streets, and the second extension added the Isaac Maynard Row Houses (Commission on Chicago Landmarks, 2008). Both the extension in 2002 and 2005 fall within the same two census tracts of the original designation (Figure 37).
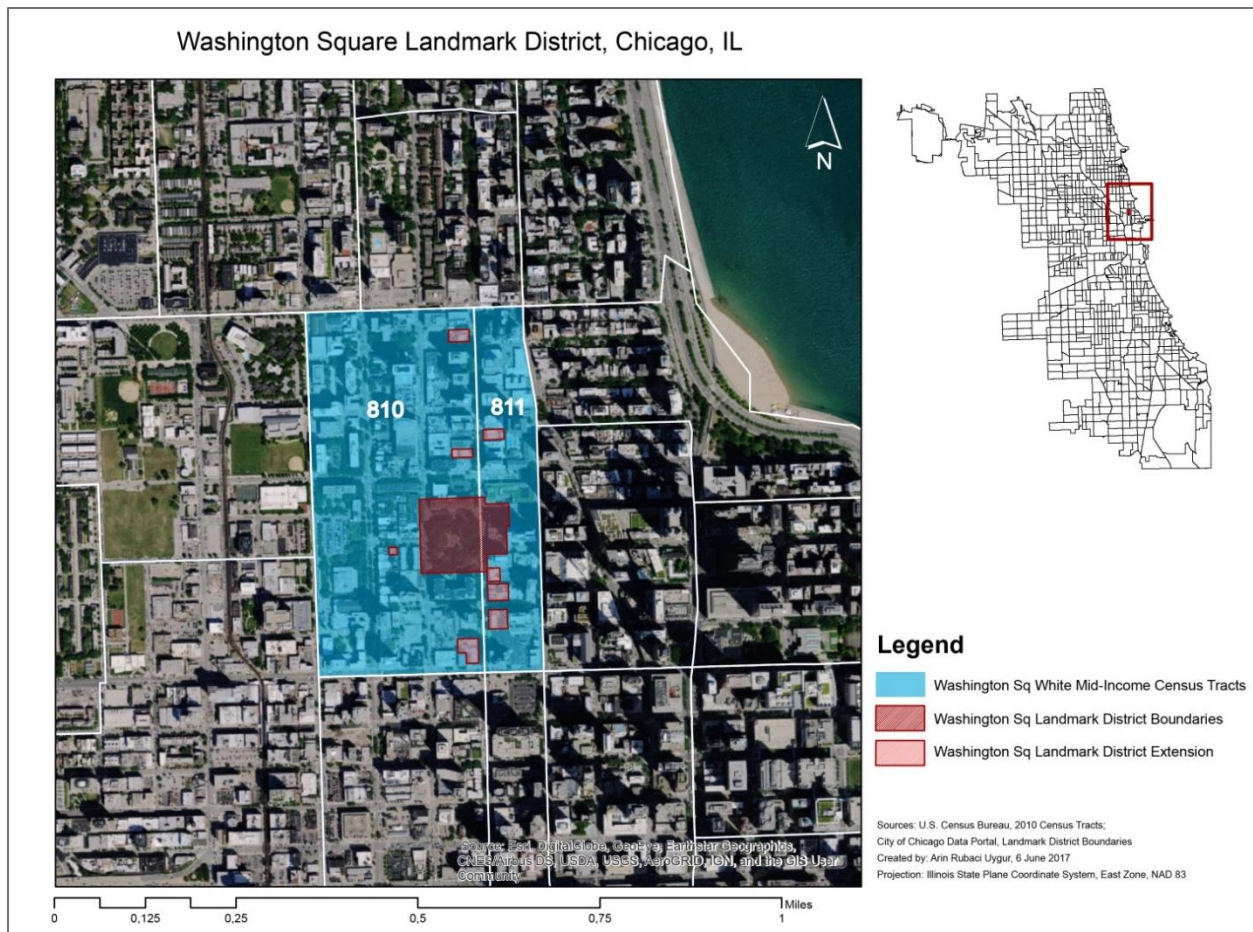
Figure 39. Washington Square Landmark District Extensions

The total population of the Washington Square Park Landmark District area increased

from 9,163 to 11, 133, 21.5 percent from 1990 to 2015 (Figure 38). The Washington Square

Park is just 0.3 miles to North Michigan Avenue, one of Chicago's upscale shopping

destinations. Named the Magnificent Mile by developer Arthur Rubloff in the 1940s, the area

was successfully promoted and developed, and became one of the most prestigious addresses

of the city. Consequently, the census tracts surrounding North Michigan Avenue have seen

many developments. For example, the total population of the adjacent census tract, the control census tract, increased 85.1 percent within the same time frame (Figure 39).

	1990	2000	2010	2015
White Middle Income Census Tracts	9,163	11,048	11,186	11,133
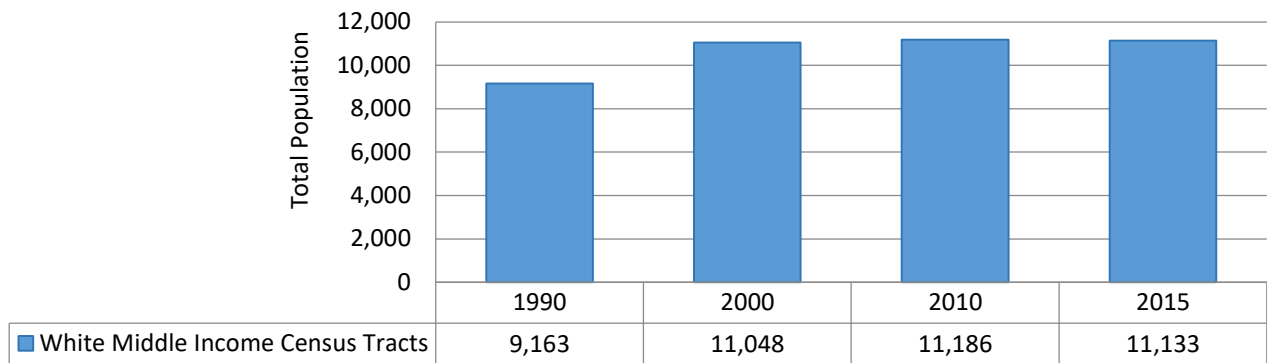
Figure 40. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Total Population, 1990-2015
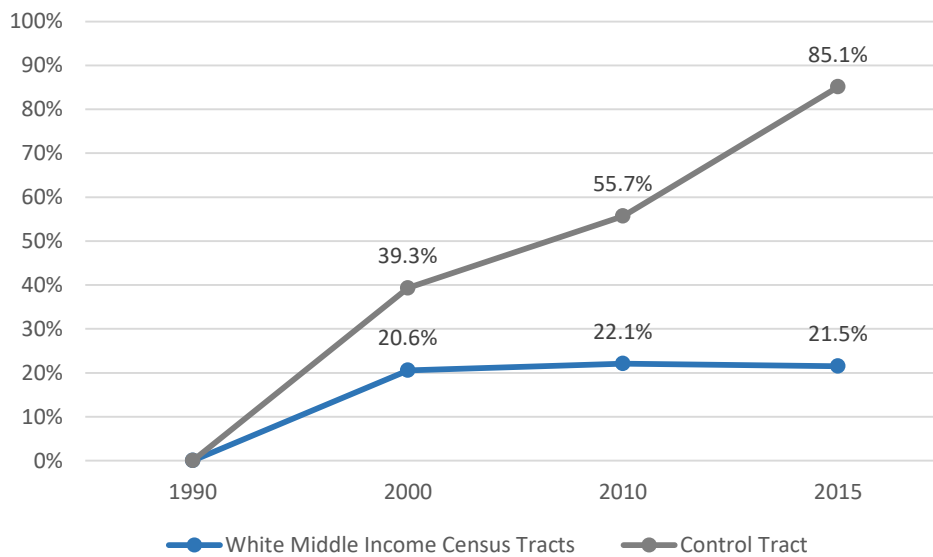
Figure 41. Washington Square Landmark District and Control Census Tracts
Total Population Change Comparison, 1990-2015

Paralleling the change in total population, the number of total occupied units increased from 5,609 to 7,136 units, only 27.2 percent in the Washington Square Park Landmark District area from 1990 to 2015, whereas in the control census tract it increased 104 percent (Figure 40 and 41).
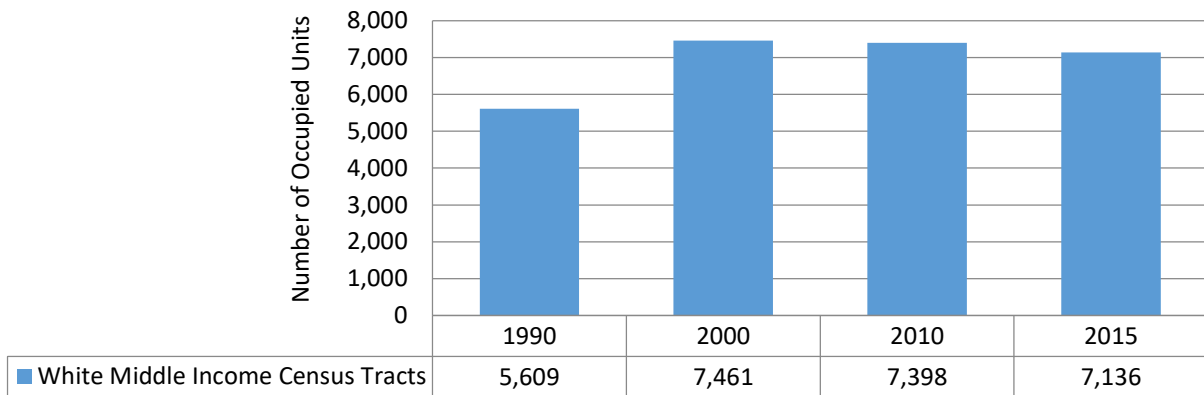
Figure 42. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Number of Occupied Units, 1990-2015
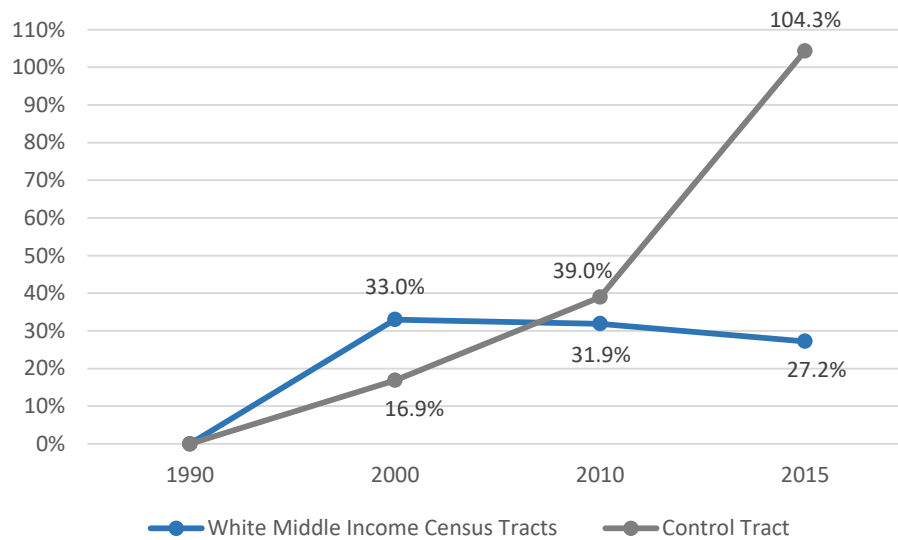
Figure 43. Washington Square Landmark District and Control Census Tracts
Total Occupied Units Change Comparison, 1990-2015

The comparison of the change in total population and number of total occupied units reveals that the concerns about the threat of historic buildings being replaced by new developments were valid, and the designation limited the number of new developments protecting the historic structures in the district. The matched-pair analysis have also shown that the difference between landmark and non-landmark census tracts is statistically significant, and therefore, attributable to historic designation.

The racial composition of the landmark district area did not change significantly after the historic designation. While the area remained predominantly white, only the black population seems to be replaced by other races (Figure 42).
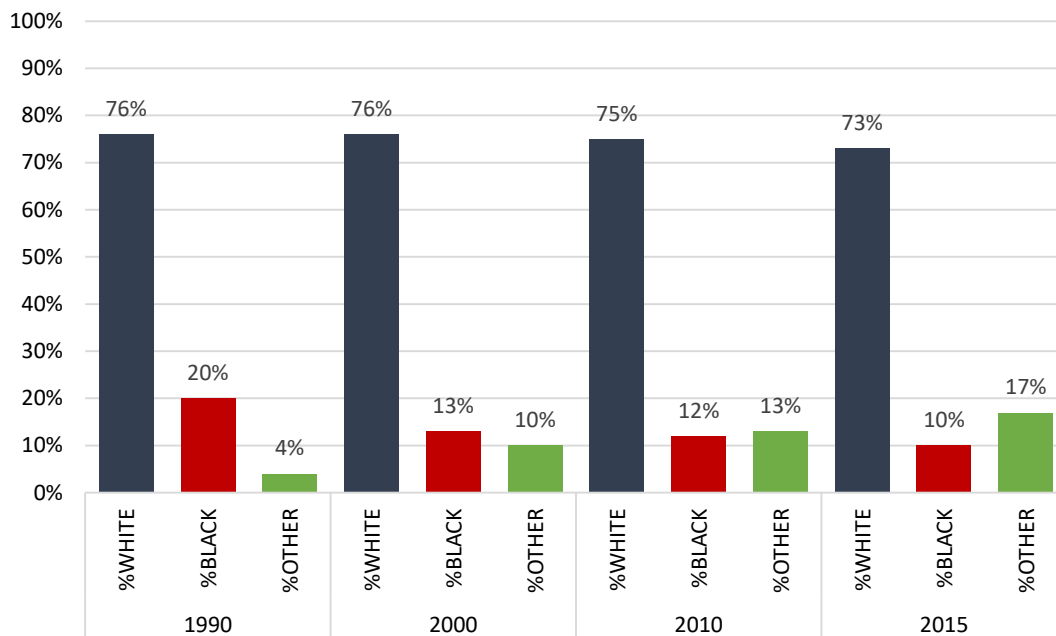
Figure 44. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Racial Composition, 1990-2015

The district had already high educational attainment before designation. The desirability of the neighborhood attracted the well-educated to the area beginning with the establishment of Washington Square Park, and the development of the Magnificent Mile furthered the demand throughout the years. The share of the population that has higher education increased 11 percent after historic designation. The share of the population that has college degree remained the same, and both high school and less than high school decreased (Figure 43).

	1990	2000	2010	2015
%HIGHER_E	53%	61%	67%	64%
%COLLEGE	23%	20%	17%	24%
%HIGH	12%	10%	10%	7%
%LESS_HIGH	10%	9%	6%	5%
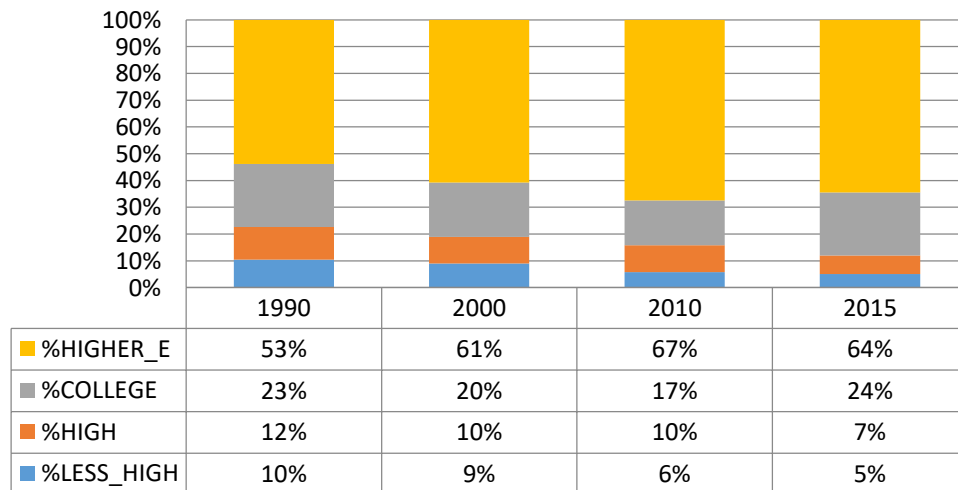
Figure 45. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Educational Attainment, 1990-2015

Even though higher educated population increased, the matched-pair analysis has revealed that the percent change in landmark district census tracts is significantly smaller than non-landmark census tracts. When compared with the control census tract it turns out that the

increase was 34 percent in the non-landmark census tract versus 11 percent increase of landmark census tracts. This difference of increase between landmark and non-landmark census tract is not surprising considering the total population change. Since there were no limitations to new developments, the total population of surrounding census tracts increased more resulting in an increase in the share of the higher educated population since the houses in the neighborhood are affordable for middle to high income households.

The unemployment rate in the landmark district area remained low throughout the years, which is expected looking at the trend of the educational attainment change.
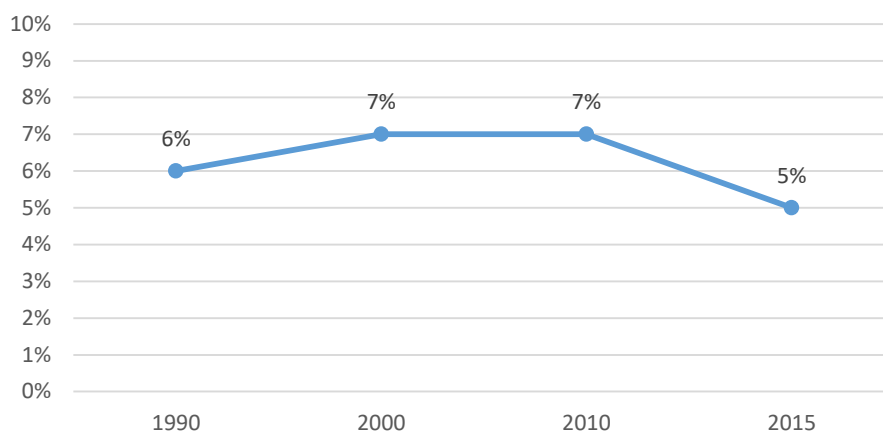
Figure 46. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Unemployment Rate, 1990-2015

The median household income remained almost the same in one of the census tracts of the landmark district area, tract 810 and decreased 18 percent in the other, tract 811. The median income in Chicago was also almost stagnant between 1990 and 2015, following a

similar trend to the tract 810 of the landmark district. The median income in Chicago was $48,558 in 1990 and $48,552 in 2015[5]. On the other hand, the median income in tract 811 decreased. However, when we look at the average household income of the same tract we see that it is much higher than the median income indicating that it is also home to some higher income residents probably preferred because of its proximity to the Magnificent Mile. There may be several factors affecting the decrease in average income in tract 810, one of which may be the case that with increase of commercial establishments in some parts of the area, it has ceased to be desirable for high income households.

Washington Square Park Landmark District Census Tracts
Median Household Income, 1990-2015

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 810	$38,797	$48,388	$49,008	$40,041
Tract 811	$69,863	$67,737	$60,079	$57,332

Washington Square Park Landmark District Census Tracts
Average Household Income, 1990-2015

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 810	$58,298	$78,390	$82,180	$56,325
Tract 811	$101,840	$99,738	$101,151	$92,196
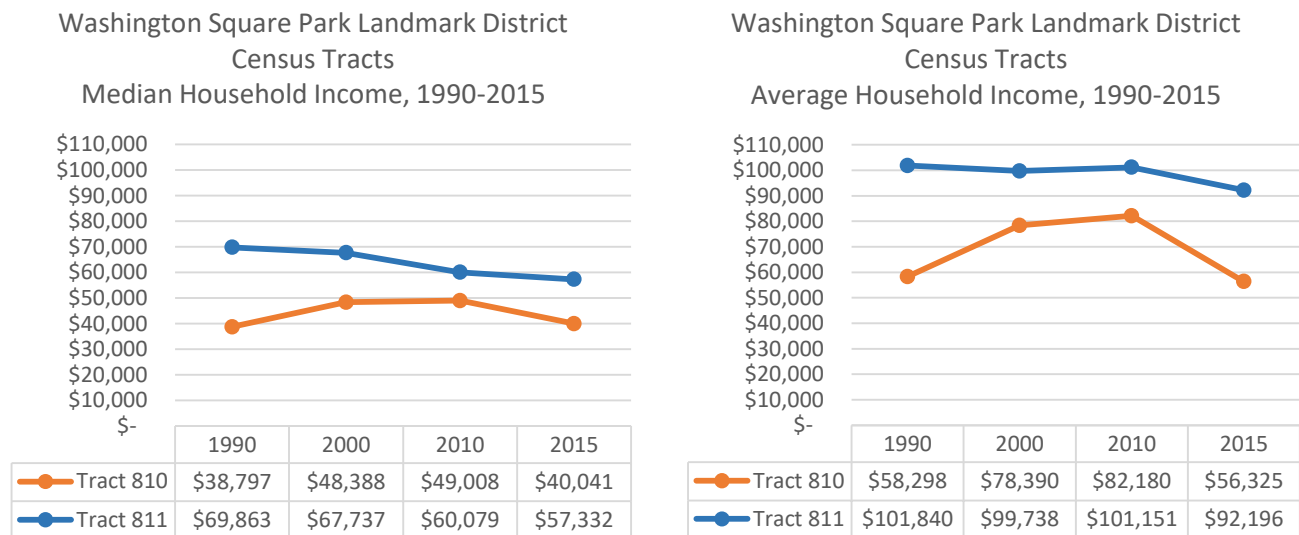
Figure 47. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Median and Average Household Income, 1990-2015

---

[5] All in 2015 U.S. dollars.

The district was composed of mostly renter-occupied units before historic designation. The owner-occupied units in the district area were just 8 percent of all occupied units. After the designation the share of the owner-occupied units increased to 19 percent and remained constant afterward keeping the majority of the units renter-occupied (Figure 46).
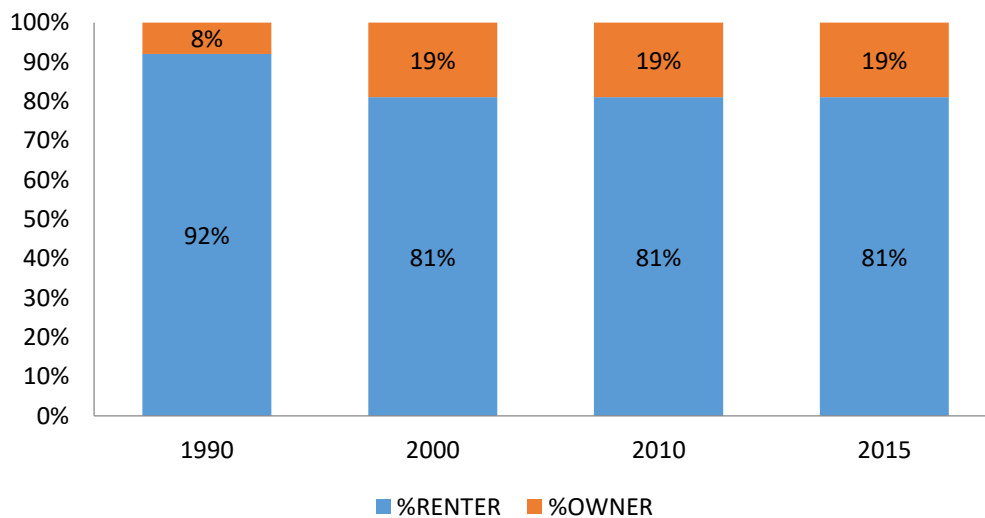
Figure 48. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Owner/Renter Occupancy, 1990-2015

The median house value decreased significantly in both census tracts of the district from 1990 to 2000 (Figure 47). The reason for this decrease in median house value may depend on the increase in the number of owner-occupied units from 1990 to 2000 as U.S. Census data provides median house value for owner-occupied housing units. It may be the case that the owner occupied units that are added to the building stock or converted from

renter-occupied had lesser value than the existing stock and decreased the median. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even though decreased significantly, the median house values of both census tracts were still much higher than the median house value of the city of Chicago which was $198,676 in 2015 U.S. dollars.

Between 2000 and 2015, the median house value in the census tract that is closer to the Magnificent Mile (Tract 811) increased 42.5 percent, whereas, in the other census tract, it decreased 21 percent. It might be expected that in the absence of new developments, the limited amount of available housing units should increase their value considering the demand. However, the age and the quality of the housing stock of landmark tract might be less desirable than adjacent tract causing a decrease in the house value. Since the matched-pair analysis did not show any significance for the change in median house value in *White Middle Income* Census Tracts, the changes are not attributable to the historic designation and may depend on other factors as discussed, which are beyond the scope of this research.

	1990	2000	2010	2015
Tract 810	$835,328	$445,129	$436,900	$361,300
Tract 811	$615,505	$321,903	$438,800	$458,600
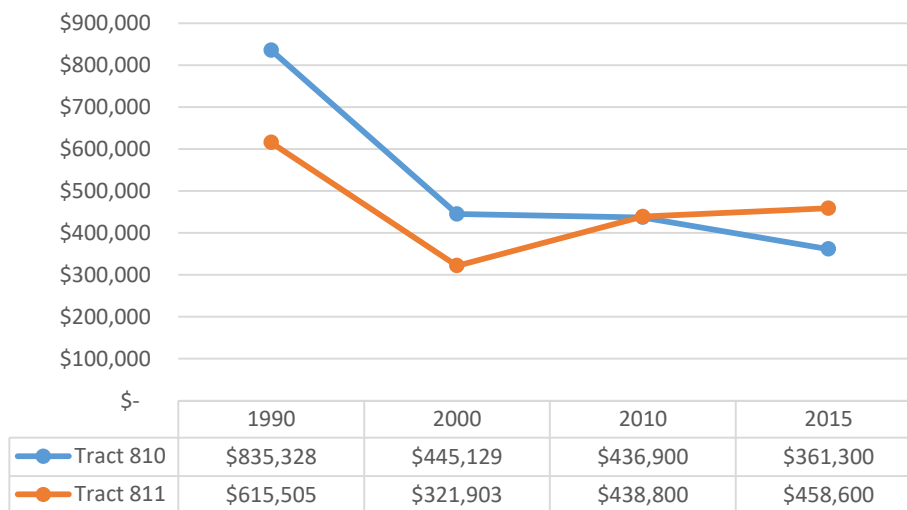
Figure 49. Washington Square Landmark District Census Tracts
Median House Value, 1990-2015

The landmark designation of Washington Square Park District came much after the redevelopment of the area. After the 1970s, the construction of the John Hancock Center and Water Tower Place triggered new high-rise developments on and around the Magnificent Mile. In fact, the median years structure built in Washington Square Park Landmark Census Tracts according to 1990 U.S. Census data were 1973 and 1977. It is clear that the redevelopment wave caused the demolition of many of the elaborately designed late 19th century houses for larger apartment buildings in and around the district.

The district and in general Gold Coast neighborhood which includes the landmark district area, after being swept away in the Great Fire of 1871, was largely rebuilt with fine houses for Chicago's upper-middle-class residents. By the early 1900s, the neighborhood was built up with large to medium sized stone and brick mansions and row houses. In the early 20th century the Gold Coast neighborhood also begin to acquire some tall apartment buildings close to North Lake Shore Drive. By the time of the Great Depression of the 1930s, there were mostly single family and row houses with a small amount of apartment buildings and hotels. The depression and the World War II years saw little development but by the 1960s the demand for apartments increased, and the neighborhood found its final character after the redevelopment wave of 1970s.

The original designation of Washington Square Park Landmark District in 1990 included only the park, the Newberry Library, the Unity Church and the adjacent three mansions. The protection of historically significant residences came much later with the district extensions in 2002 and 2005. Even though the historic designation came late, it was successful in limiting the new developments and preserving the historic structures that had

survived. Comparing it with the control census tract in the neighborhood, it his seen that the change in total population and the number of units were significantly lower in landmark district census tracts. Related to the higher increase in population, the increase in the share of the population with higher education is also higher in non-landmark census as the neighborhood attracts middle and upper-middle class well-educated residents. The racial composition of the predominantly white landmark census tracts did not change much except the fact that the percentage of black population decreased and appears to be replaced by other races. However, this change depends not on historic designation but a part of a trend in the larger neighborhood as it is seen that non-landmark census tract also went through a similar change.

There is also no evidence that the landmark designation had an effect on the change in median income or median house value. The matched-pair analysis in the first part of the study has shown us that the difference between landmark and non-landmark census tracts are not statistically significant. It seems that the location of the census tract has more influence on both than the historic designation as both ended up with higher values for the census tract that is closer to the Magnificent Mile.

The case study of Washington Square Park Landmark District, consistent with the findings of the matched-pair analysis, revealed that after historic district designation the change in population and the number of units are lower in landmark district census tracts when compared to the non-landmark census tracts in the same area. Protecting the historically significant buildings limited the number of new developments and the influx of new residents. Related to this, the increase in the share of the population with higher education is also lower

in landmark district area than in non-landmark census tracts which received more middle-class well educated new residents. On the other hand, the historic district designation does not seem to have led any other significant changes in the socioeconomic structure of the neighborhood.

5.4 Conclusion

Both case studies enabled us to see how historic preservation has been utilized and how outcomes differ for neighborhoods that have different socioeconomic characteristics. In Bronzeville, the historic designation was seen as a strategy that would help maintain the racial composition while helping the revitalization of the neighborhood. However, it is seen from the case study that maintaining the racial composition does not necessarily eliminate displacement. The rise in the income levels, educational attainment and house values indicates "Black Gentrification" and reveals that gentrification is related more to class than race. Nevertheless, it is also true that despite the economic incentives available for landmark districts, the neighborhood did not thrive as expected since it has kept being perceived as a neighborhood struggling with crime despite its historical value. The conflicting perceptions of Bronzeville seem to have a negative effect on the outcomes that were expected from historic district designation. The revitalization efforts have been slow and presenting the neighborhood as a tourism node appears not to be successful yet. Consequently, small business establishments and the job opportunities for low income remain unrealized.

Conversely, the demand for Washington Park Square Landmark District, which is a predominantly white neighborhood in the central part of the city, was already so overwhelming that only by a historic designation that the remaining few structures have been

saved. As the neighborhood has already been developed, there have not been any significant changes in the socioeconomic structure of the neighborhood. The effect of historic designation on the area was just limiting the number of new developments, and therefore occupied units and population increase.

The analysis of the case studies reveals that there are many factors affecting the outcomes of historic preservation policies such as racial preconceptions and geographic location as well as the socioeconomic structure of the neighborhoods. In non-white low income neighborhoods increasing median income and median house value indicates that gentrification is underway, whereas in white middle to high income neighborhoods historic preservation just lives up to its promise of protecting the historical structures without any changes to the socioeconomic structure of the neighborhood.

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Even though there have been many studies focusing on the impacts of historic preservation, the subject matter is still ripe for further investigation of how socioeconomically different neighborhoods get affected from historic preservation policies. This thesis has sought to make a contribution to the growing number of the studies by analyzing the impacts of historic district designation in Chicago and how the designation impacts vary for neighborhoods with different socioeconomic characteristics. Chicago, as a city with both diverse and segregated neighborhoods, offers an ideal case study to explore the differences of impacts for dissimilar neighborhoods.

The research looks at the socioeconomic changes that took place in and around the 59 Landmark Districts after their designation. The study began with the identification of the socioeconomic characteristics of each landmark district area that is defined by the census tracts containing the landmark district boundaries, and selection of control census tracts that have similar socioeconomic characteristics and geographic location. The analysis resulted in the creation of 7 typologies: *White Affluent*, *White Middle Income*, *White Low Income*, *Black Middle Income*, *Black Low Income*, *Multiracial Middle Income*, and *Multiracial Low Income*. The analysis reveals that there were no census tracts that can be defined as *Black* or *Multiracial Affluent*. *White Low Income* census tracts were taken out of the analysis since there were only two of them.

Since the research focuses on the socioeconomic changes that can be attributed to the historic designation, a matched-pair analysis is conducted. First, all landmark district census tracts regardless of their socioeconomic status were included in the analysis. The variables that are used to identify socioeconomic changes in the identified landmark district areas are the changes in 1) total population, 2) white population, 3) black population, 4) the share of the population that has less than high school education, 5) the share of the population that has higher education, 6) unemployment rate, 7) median household income, 8) total occupied units, 9) renter-occupied units, 10) median house value. The result of the analysis indicates that the percent changes in landmark district census tracts are not significantly different from the non-landmark tracts at .05 significance level. However, when the dataset is split according to the typologies, percent changes in some variables turned out to be significant even for a much more limited number of samples. It is probably the case that in the initial analysis, the percent changes in different types of census tracts were canceling each other out.

The matched-pair analysis of different typologies reveals that neighborhoods that are socioeconomically different from each other get affected by designation differently. For both middle income and high income predominantly white landmark census tracts, the total population and total occupied units percent change were significantly smaller than for non-landmark census tracts. This might be a result of the regulations that are set for historic preservation in landmark districts which forbids the destruction of existing buildings and sets height and mass limitations for new developments. The other significant variable for white landmark census tracts is about educational attainment. In *White Affluent* landmark census tracts the change in the share of the population that has less than high school education is higher than non-landmark census tracts. For *White Middle Income* typology, the change in the

share of the population that has higher education is higher in the non-landmark census tracts than in landmark census tracts. The changes in both educational attainment variables in white high and middle income census tracts are most likely to depend on the higher percent change of occupied units and population in non-landmark census tracts. Other than limiting new development, historic designation seems not to lead to a change in the socioeconomic characteristics of white neighborhoods.

Conversely, the historic district designation leads to a significant increase in median house value in *Black Low Income* and a similar increase in median income in *Multiracial Low Income* neighborhoods. The mean percent change in the median house value in *Black Low Income* landmark district census tracts is 72 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts, and the mean percent change in the median income in *Multiracial Low Income* landmark census tracts is 83 percent higher than non-landmark census tracts. These results indicate that landmark designation leads to displacement and gentrification in non-white low income neighborhoods.

For *Black Middle Income* census tracts, the mean increase in the unemployment rate in non-landmark tracts is significantly higher than landmark district census tracts indicating that landmark district designation might have a positive effect on employment opportunities. For *Multiracial Middle Income* typology, on the other hand, the percent change in the population with higher than college education in landmark district census tracts is significantly higher than non-landmark tracts. It seems to be the case that people with higher education preferred landmark census tracts to non-landmark districts to live, and as *Multiracial Middle Income*

census tracts tend to be away from city center, control census tracts seem not be particularly preferable.

The most important finding of the analysis is how the impacts of historic designation differ for white middle-high income and non-white low income neighborhoods. In white middle and high income neighborhoods the historic district designation does not lead to a considerable change other than limiting new developments, whereas, in non-white low income neighborhoods, it is clear from the significant increases in median house values and median household income that it brings about gentrification and displacement of low-income residents. Another important finding is that none of the typologies have shown any significance for change in racial composition. Therefore, it is also important to acknowledge that displacement is not necessarily a racial but a class issue. Low income households regardless of their race are being replaced from neighborhoods that have become desirable by the middle class. However, since the poverty rate is lower for the white population[6], it is only logical to assume that other races are disproportionately affected by displacement. Since the analysis finds out that there are no significant changes between landmark and non-landmark census tracts for racial composition, it shows that the gentrifiers are not always white households.

According to the findings of matched-pair analysis which has provided important insights as to how the impacts of historic designation vary for different neighborhoods, case studies are selected to further investigate the motive of historic designation decisions, the

---

[6] According to the 2015 ACS data of U.S. Census Bureau, the poverty rates by race in the U.S. are as follows: White 12.7%, Black 27%, American Indian 28.3%, Asian 12.6%, Native Hawaiian 21%, Some other race 26.5%, Two or more races 19.9%

characteristics of landmark district areas, and how changes occur. Since the most important finding of the analysis is how the socioeconomic changes in white and non-white neighborhoods differ after historic district designation, two landmark district areas, one composed of *White Middle Income* census tracts and the other composed of non-white low income census tracts are selected.

The first case study Black Metropolis – Bronzeville Landmark District was one of the largest black communities in the urban North along with Harlem in New York and was known to be the center of African American entrepreneurship in the 1920s. However, by the mid-twentieth century, Bronzeville went through a steep decline as a result of economic hardship, deindustrialization, and urban renewal program. The construction of public housing and the campus of the IIT destroyed many historical structures. Public housing projects soon proved to be aggravating the problems associated with segregation and institutionalization of the inner city ghetto. After decades of neglect, in the 1980s, a coalition of black middle income homeowners and activists began to get mobilized. The historic designation was the result of the deliberate attempts of the residents whose intents were to preserve the cultural heritage of African American urban pioneers and to retain the neighborhood predominantly black. The landmark district area was composed of four Black and one Multiracial Income Census Tracts.

After landmark district designation, the total population and the number of occupied units in the landmark district area decreased. The decrease was due to the demolition of the public housing projects. However, the continuous trend of decline indicates that there were not many new developments in the area after historic designation. The racial composition of

the area did not see much change and remained predominantly black. Still, the educational attainment of the households changed, particularly in the *Black Low Income* Census Tracts. The share of the population with higher education increased, whereas the population that has less than a high school education decreased significantly. The median household income fluctuated throughout the years after historic district designation, ending up with almost the same value and even with a decrease in *Black Low Income* Census Tracts. However, the increase in the average household value indicates that there has been an influx of high income households although not enough yet in number to increase the median income. On the other hand, the median income increased substantially in *Multiracial Low Income* Census Tract paralleling the findings of the matched-pair analysis. The median house value also increased remarkably throughout the district area.

In Bronzeville, the intent to preserve the racial composition seems to be successful, but the rising average income and median house value indicate that some low income households are being displaced as a result of "Black gentrification." On the other hand, it should also be noted that the neighborhood, despite rehabilitation tax credits and other incentives provided for the landmark district, did not see many developments and the plans to promote the neighborhood as a tourism node seems not to be fully realized. Bronzeville, almost 20 years after its historic district designation, is still seen on the one hand as a neighborhood on the rise, on the other as a neighborhood with deteriorating buildings, vacant lots, and crime issues. The reasons behind this should further be investigated and can be a subject for future research. However, it is clear that the racial preconceptions have a role to play in the decision-making of both investors and potential residents.

The second case study, the Washington Square Park Landmark District, is part of a neighborhood that was developed right after the Great Fire of Chicago as a residential district by the end of 19th century and is close to one of the most popular commercial arteries of the city. Especially after the 1970s, new high-rise developments began to replace elaborate late 19th century houses. The historic designation protected the Washington Square Park and the limited stock of remaining historically significant structures. At the time of the designation, the landmark district area was composed of two *White Middle Income* census tracts.

The landmark district area when compared to adjacent census tracts have seen lower increases in total population and the number of occupied units. As the neighborhood is in the part of the city that is highly demanded, the adjacent census tracts received new developments whereas landmark designation limited the number of developments since the existing structures cannot be demolished and replaced with new high-rise apartments. The racial composition which was predominantly white since the development of the neighborhood after the Great Fire did not change much. The share of the population that has higher education increased but not as much as control census tract which is also related to the relatively smaller increase in total population. The median income in one of the census tracts in the Washington Square Park Landmark District remained almost the same following a similar trend to the median income in Chicago after historic district designation. In the other census tract, it decreased a little but was still higher than the median income of Chicago. The district area is composed mostly of renter-occupied units. However, just after the designation there has been a small increase in the owner occupancy and remained unchanged afterwards. The median house values decreased from 1990 to 2015, but still are much higher than the median house value of Chicago. As the matched-pair analysis showed, there is no evidence for *White Middle*

Income census tracts that the changes in median house value are related to historic district designation. It seems that other factors like the location, the size, the type and the year of the structure built are all influential for the *White Middle Income* census tracts which are usually in already developed and desirable neighborhoods.

The case studies reveal that how both the outcomes and the reasons for historic district designation differ for different neighborhoods. In Washington Square Park District, historic preservation served the purpose of protecting historically significant structures from the threat of new development. In Bronzeville, the aim was to keep the neighborhood's racial composition while preserving the African American cultural heritage and historic preservation was successful in doing both. However, it was also expected that historic district designation would promote economic development by increasing the visibility and reputation of the neighborhood. Even though the literature review reveals that historic preservation is frequently utilized as an economic development tool as it revitalizes underused urban areas by attracting businesses, creating jobs, and boosting heritage tourism, the case of Bronzeville indicates that there are multiple factors affecting the outcome of historic preservation efforts. Bronzeville seems not to receive as many investments or revitalized as much as might have expected in 19 years since the historic designation. On the other hand, the median house values in the area have skyrocketed, and we know from a couple of studies that were based on participant observation and interviews that higher income residents advocated for more reinvestment by the black middle class and the removal of the poor in neighborhood organizations (Boyd M., 2000; Hyra, 2006). Supporting the findings of the matched-pair analysis, the case study shows that gentrification is not limited to the displacement of racial and ethnic minorities by white middle class. As in the case of Bronzeville, it is also possible

that they are displaced by the same racial group. Acknowledging and preserving the cultural heritage of minorities do not necessarily mean that low income households in the community will be cared for.

The findings of this study point out that historic district designation does not bring about the same outcomes for each neighborhood. Low income neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable when profit motives govern the urban revitalization process, and it is crucial to make sure proactive interventions are in place so that low income residents will not be displaced. There are a number of cities which have successfully mitigated the negative consequences of preservation policies. In Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation restored and rehabilitated historic row houses and small apartment houses through the establishment of revolving funds backed by local banks (Allison, 2005). Through city grants, it set up a program of low-interest loans for the rehabilitations and the city also agreed to pay for façade restoration in return for a guarantee for continued maintenance of historic houses (Hurley, 2010). Similarly, the Historic Savannah Foundation through private grants and public funds purchased 400 rental properties before the market increased their values and after making necessary repairs rented them out to low income households from the neighborhood (Hurley, 2010).

In San Antonio, after experiencing the negative impacts of historic district designation, the Planning Commission established a subcommittee to propose proactive steps to avoid displacement in its next historic district, Government Hill. As a result of the subcommittee work, tax incentives are provided to prevent displacement due to rising taxes and property

taxes are waived up to ten years for developments that offered 40 percent of its units affordable (Allison, 2005).

There are a variety of strategies that can be useful in mitigating the negative impacts of the historic designation. Community organizations can play an important role partnering with private investors to reserve some of the rehabilitated units for low income households. However, the federal, state and local government agencies can play a more powerful role by strategically targeting rehabilitation tax credits, building permit waivers and other economic incentives so as to ensure that affordable units are provided for low income households of the historic districts. Targeting the incentives provided for historic preservation could encourage much needed mixed-income developments providing affordable units to neighborhoods that are on the verge of gentrification.

6.2 Limitations and Future Research

Identifying appropriate control groups is one of the main challenges of statistical studies. As previously stated in the Methods and Data section, since the landmark districts are close to each other at the city center as well as near north and south sides and along the shoreline, it was particularly challenging to find a non-landmark census tract from the limited number of remaining census tracts in the same area. As a result, in some cases, the same census tract is selected as a control tract for multiple landmark census tracts. However, it was important to select the control tract from the same geographic area especially when the tracts are in the city center where the demand is high. Even though a particular attention is paid to the matching process, it is not possible to claim that all factors that might lead to a neighborhood change are taken into consideration.

Even though the sample sizes are limited the matched-pair analysis delivered strong results, and the case studies supported the findings and explained the reasons behind the changes or changelessness in the neighborhoods. Increasing the number of case studies might be useful to further investigate the factors in play in other landmark district areas.

Future research should also look into the amount of rehabilitation tax credits, building permit waivers, and other grants that were provided by the city to each district to identify which typologies benefitted from the economic incentives of the district designation most, and to figure out whether there is a relationship between the amount of credit used and the neighborhood change. Existing strategies that are being used to prevent displacement in historic districts should also be further investigated to identify best practices and develop effective policy recommendations.

LANDMARK AND CORRESPONDING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

Tract ID	D. Year	LD	Typology	White Population	Black Population	Other Races	Less than High School	High School	College	Higher Education	Employed	Unemployed	Median Income ($)	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Vacancy
17003108381	1970	1	BL	12%	84%	5%	48%	38%	8%	6%	92%	8%	38,903	5%	82%	13%
17003100818	1970	0	BL	28%	72%	0%	55%	36%	8%	1%	87%	14%	31,154	2%	98%	4%
17003103904	1970	1	BL	5%	94%	1%	33%	49%	14%	4%	96%	4%	47,678	11%	89%	10%
17003104205	1970	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	36%	47%	14%	3%	95%	5%	52,749	12%	88%	14%
17003100605	1970	1	WM	97%	1%	2%	41%	48%	9%	2%	96%	4%	51,409	16%	84%	12%
17003100624	1970	0	WM	98%	0%	2%	43%	47%	8%	2%	96%	4%	59,266	27%	73%	7%
17003100611	1970	1	WM	86%	0%	14%	35%	49%	12%	5%	95%	5%	57,434	16%	84%	6%
17003100610	1970	0	WM	85%	0%	15%	39%	45%	13%	3%	95%	5%	51,130	12%	88%	6%
17003100802	1970	1	WM	97%	2%	1%	7%	21%	48%	25%	98%	2%	117,458	3%	97%	6%
17003100814	1970	0	WM	95%	3%	2%	13%	35%	34%	18%	97%	3%	-	0%	100%	18%
17003100711	1970	1	WM	91%	3%	6%	26%	28%	28%	17%	97%	3%	69,590	19%	81%	13%
17003100704	1970	0	WM	93%	1%	6%	45%	35%	13%	7%	96%	4%	55,534	19%	81%	18%
17003100314	1970	1	WM	98%	0%	2%	15%	39%	34%	12%	98%	2%	91,178	3%	97%	2%
17003100609	1970	0	WM	97%	1%	2%	22%	41%	27%	10%	97%	3%	78,148	5%	95%	7%
17003100713	1970	1	WM	94%	2%	4%	14%	29%	37%	19%	98%	2%	83,597	11%	89%	4%
17003100632	1970	0	WM	98%	1%	1%	15%	36%	35%	15%	99%	1%	109,266	4%	96%	3%
17003100712	1970	1	WM	94%	3%	4%	28%	33%	28%	12%	96%	4%	58,210	12%	88%	15%
17003100703	1970	0	WM	93%	1%	6%	40%	39%	17%	5%	95%	5%	52,626	18%	82%	7%
17003100701	1970	1	WM	91%	1%	8%	16%	31%	33%	19%	97%	3%	80,439	5%	95%	20%
17003100632	1970	0	WM	98%	1%	1%	15%	36%	35%	15%	99%	1%	109,266	4%	96%	3%
17003100714	1970	1	WM	96%	2%	2%	15%	33%	37%	15%	97%	3%	100,378	6%	94%	8%
17003100632	1970	0	WM	98%	1%	1%	15%	36%	35%	15%	99%	1%	109,266	4%	96%	3%
17003100702	1970	1	WM	89%	2%	9%	27%	35%	28%	11%	98%	2%	60,500	12%	88%	10%
17003100703	1970	0	WM	93%	1%	6%	40%	39%	17%	5%	95%	5%	52,626	18%	82%	7%
17003100717	1970	1	WM	92%	7%	1%	31%	37%	16%	16%	96%	4%	63,488	24%	76%	11%
17003102819	1970	0	WM	93%	7%	0%	54%	38%	5%	2%	93%	7%	-	1%	97%	17%
17003100715	1970	1	WM	95%	3%	2%	9%	26%	42%	24%	97%	3%	93,921	9%	91%	12%
17003100814	1970	0	WM	95%	3%	2%	13%	35%	34%	18%	97%	3%	-	0%	100%	18%
17003100716	1970	1	WM	93%	4%	4%	23%	29%	34%	14%	97%	3%	64,563	21%	79%	10%
17003102819	1970	0	WM	93%	7%	0%	54%	38%	5%	2%	93%	7%	-	1%	97%	17%
17003103907	1970	1	WM	78%	20%	2%	11%	38%	33%	19%	98%	2%	92,956	12%	88%	5%
17003104109	1970	0	WM	90%	7%	3%	12%	32%	30%	26%	96%	4%	85,277	12%	88%	12%
17003100607	1970	1	WL	86%	3%	12%	38%	43%	15%	4%	91%	9%	47,995	5%	95%	11%
17003100610	1970	0	WL	85%	0%	15%	39%	45%	13%	3%	95%	5%	51,130	12%	88%	6%
17003100321	1970	1	WL	89%	4%	7%	37%	46%	13%	4%	93%	7%	44,398	3%	97%	14%
17003100315	1970	0	WL	82%	8%	10%	40%	42%	15%	3%	94%	6%	42,669	2%	98%	13%
17003103905	1970	1	BM	29%	69%	2%	15%	45%	21%	19%	93%	7%	73,426	22%	78%	2%
17003104105	1970	0	BM	11%	88%	1%	28%	50%	18%	5%	97%	3%	50,940	7%	93%	6%
17003103301	1970	1	BM	28%	70%	2%	34%	45%	16%	5%	98%	2%	50,940	0%	0%	14%
17003103510	1970	0	BM	13%	86%	1%	9%	35%	41%	15%	98%	2%	82,357	2%	98%	2%
17003108331	1970	1	ML	55%	44%	1%	47%	44%	7%	2%	88%	12%	27,486	5%	79%	20%
17003108330	1970	0	ML	43%	56%	0%	37%	59%	4%	1%	93%	7%	-	0%	0%	14%
17003103906	1970	1	MM	54%	45%	2%	11%	30%	24%	34%	98%	2%	93,903	36%	64%	13%
17003104107	1970	0	MM	58%	36%	6%	14%	23%	29%	33%	97%	3%	64,636	16%	84%	2%
17003100812	1970	1	WA	97%	2%	1%	9%	33%	41%	17%	99%	1%	126,150	11%	89%	18%
17003100814	1970	0	WA	95%	3%	2%	13%	35%	34%	18%	97%	3%	-	0%	100%	18%
17003100813	1970	1	WA	97%	0%	2%	7%	30%	42%	22%	99%	1%	141,874	14%	86%	12%
17003100814	1970	0	WA	95%	3%	2%	13%	35%	34%	18%	97%	3%	-	0%	100%	18%
17003100801	1970	1	WA	98%	1%	1%	7%	28%	48%	16%	98%	2%	188,221	15%	85%	14%
17003100814	1970	0	WA	95%	3%	2%	13%	35%	34%	18%	97%	3%	-	0%	100%	18%
17003108395	1980	1	BL	1%	99%	0%	40%	42%	10%	7%	83%	17%	42,279	23%	77%	19%
17003106121	1980	0	BL	4%	93%	3%	31%	56%	12%	1%	84%	16%	31,700	31%	69%	10%

LD: 1 = Landmark, 0 = Control

LANDMARK AND CORRESPONDING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

Tract ID	D. Year	LD	Typology	White Population	Black Population	Other Races	Less than High School	High School	College	Higher Education	Employed	Unemployed	Median Income ($)	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Vacancy
17003108420	1980	1	ML	47%	36%	16%	21%	28%	14%	38%	91%	9%	31,421	5%	95%	8%
17003103403	1980	0	ML	52%	8%	40%	35%	53%	5%	6%	96%	4%	36,619	36%	64%	7%
17003107502	1980	1	MM	59%	40%	1%	8%	38%	28%	26%	93%	7%	68,748	65%	35%	3%
17003106610	1980	0	MM	58%	36%	6%	22%	53%	15%	9%	94%	6%	59,772	64%	36%	4%
17003107206	1980	1	WA	98%	2%	1%	4%	28%	26%	42%	94%	6%	95,055	91%	9%	3%
17003107205	1980	0	WA	100%	0%	0%	7%	44%	23%	26%	95%	5%	87,223	83%	17%	0%
17003100812	1980	1	WM	94%	3%	3%	2%	21%	22%	55%	97%	3%	80,728	42%	58%	14%
17003100814	1980	0	WM	88%	7%	5%	6%	24%	16%	54%	96%	4%	73,244	11%	89%	16%
17003100813	1980	1	WM	95%	2%	3%	3%	22%	21%	53%	98%	2%	92,334	52%	48%	12%
17003100814	1980	0	WM	88%	7%	5%	6%	24%	16%	54%	96%	4%	73,244	11%	89%	16%
17003107203	1980	1	WM	94%	5%	1%	7%	31%	25%	37%	97%	3%	92,376	95%	5%	1%
17003107205	1980	0	WM	100%	0%	0%	7%	44%	23%	26%	95%	5%	87,223	83%	17%	0%
17003107207	1980	1	WM	71%	28%	1%	7%	48%	19%	25%	97%	3%	58,375	50%	50%	3%
17003106605	1980	0	WM	97%	0%	3%	19%	58%	14%	8%	94%	6%	57,088	65%	35%	3%
17003107202	1980	1	WM	69%	29%	2%	9%	38%	21%	32%	95%	5%	70,401	74%	26%	3%
17003107005	1980	0	WM	88%	10%	2%	17%	55%	17%	11%	95%	5%	77,526	90%	10%	1%
17003101609	1980	1	WM	94%	0%	6%	19%	54%	14%	13%	92%	8%	55,596	47%	53%	4%
17003101613	1980	0	WM	93%	0%	7%	29%	53%	12%	6%	94%	6%	41,044	34%	66%	2%
17003108311	1980	1	WM	93%	0%	7%	28%	54%	10%	7%	93%	7%	48,962	38%	62%	4%
17003102002	1980	0	WM	89%	0%	11%	28%	53%	11%	8%	92%	8%	49,816	40%	60%	2%
17003100801	1980	1	WM	97%	1%	1%	4%	17%	23%	56%	98%	2%	82,168	40%	60%	7%
17003100814	1980	0	WM	88%	7%	5%	6%	24%	16%	54%	96%	4%	73,244	11%	89%	16%
17003101201	1980	1	WM	98%	0%	2%	10%	38%	20%	31%	95%	5%	91,004	95%	5%	2%
17003101203	1980	0	WM	96%	0%	4%	13%	38%	21%	28%	97%	3%	85,069	90%	10%	1%
17003100701	1980	1	WM	88%	5%	7%	5%	18%	19%	58%	98%	2%	53,618	25%	75%	9%
17003100632	1980	0	WM	90%	5%	5%	5%	27%	19%	48%	96%	4%	56,519	27%	73%	6%
17003103819	1990	1	BL	0%	100%	0%	39%	27%	21%	13%	78%	22%	15,582	19%	81%	10%
17003103812	1990	0	BL	0%	100%	0%	60%	18%	17%	5%	76%	24%	16,169	9%	91%	14%
17003108365	1990	1	BL	1%	99%	0%	56%	22%	16%	6%	56%	44%	16,077	2%	98%	11%
17003103807	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	66%	21%	11%	3%	71%	29%	11,884	6%	94%	28%
17003108364	1990	1	BL	0%	99%	0%	55%	22%	18%	5%	66%	34%	9,989	12%	88%	50%
17003103801	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	60%	21%	15%	4%	65%	35%	9,229	18%	82%	17%
17003103602	1990	1	BL	0%	100%	0%	46%	34%	17%	3%	45%	55%	9,621	2%	98%	33%
17003103801	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	60%	21%	15%	4%	65%	35%	9,229	18%	82%	17%
17003103902	1990	1	BL	1%	99%	1%	37%	26%	23%	15%	76%	24%	25,572	20%	80%	30%
17003103812	1990	0	BL	0%	100%	0%	60%	18%	17%	5%	76%	24%	16,169	9%	91%	14%
17003103901	1990	1	BL	0%	99%	1%	53%	18%	23%	7%	74%	26%	16,900	17%	83%	36%
17003103807	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	66%	21%	11%	3%	71%	29%	11,884	6%	94%	28%
17003103903	1990	1	BL	2%	98%	0%	58%	23%	15%	4%	77%	23%	11,722	3%	97%	19%
17003103807	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	66%	21%	11%	3%	71%	29%	11,884	6%	94%	28%
17003105002	1990	1	BL	2%	96%	2%	40%	26%	29%	5%	80%	20%	33,773	47%	53%	11%
17003104913	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	41%	25%	28%	6%	76%	24%	40,041	55%	45%	10%
17003104914	1990	1	BL	2%	97%	1%	32%	29%	33%	7%	84%	16%	33,688	29%	71%	11%
17003107107	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	39%	30%	25%	6%	83%	17%	39,354	38%	62%	11%
17003102924	1990	1	BL	1%	99%	0%	40%	31%	24%	5%	75%	25%	32,992	23%	77%	10%
17003102922	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	53%	22%	21%	4%	74%	26%	30,736	31%	69%	11%
17003108395	1990	1	BL	1%	98%	1%	52%	20%	14%	14%	86%	14%	17,024	22%	78%	20%
17003103818	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	42%	28%	22%	9%	69%	31%	25,899	11%	89%	20%
17003103514	1990	1	BL	1%	99%	1%	53%	29%	17%	1%	54%	46%	17,777	21%	79%	14%
17003103807	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	66%	21%	11%	3%	71%	29%	11,884	6%	94%	28%
17003108396	1990	1	BL	0%	99%	0%	54%	17%	17%	12%	73%	27%	19,137	18%	82%	22%
17003103818	1990	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	42%	28%	22%	9%	69%	31%	25,899	11%	89%	20%

LD: 1 = Landmark, 0 = Control

LANDMARK AND CORRESPONDING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

Tract ID	D. Year	LD	Typology	White Population	Black Population	Other Races	Less than High School	High School	College	Higher Education	Employed	Unemployed	Median Income ($)	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Vacancy
17003103511	1990	1	BL	0%	100%	0%	44%	25%	25%	6%	76%	24%	14,194	1%	99%	18%
17003103807	1990	0	BL	1%	99%	0%	66%	21%	11%	3%	71%	29%	11,884	6%	94%	28%
17003104909	1990	1	BM	1%	99%	0%	28%	26%	31%	16%	82%	18%	53,454	59%	41%	7%
17003105001	1990	0	BM	1%	98%	1%	26%	25%	37%	12%	87%	13%	56,020	57%	43%	2%
17003107505	1990	1	BM	26%	73%	1%	22%	24%	28%	26%	91%	9%	70,299	70%	30%	3%
17003107112	1990	0	BM	1%	98%	1%	26%	24%	36%	13%	90%	10%	68,063	75%	25%	4%
17003102414	1990	1	ML	57%	19%	24%	47%	17%	16%	19%	87%	13%	33,158	18%	82%	17%
17003102434	1990	0	ML	50%	4%	46%	65%	18%	10%	7%	91%	9%	39,112	23%	77%	19%
17003102413	1990	1	ML	59%	26%	15%	46%	15%	18%	21%	81%	19%	38,553	24%	76%	25%
17003102434	1990	0	ML	50%	4%	46%	65%	18%	10%	7%	91%	9%	39,112	23%	77%	19%
17003108420	1990	1	ML	37%	42%	21%	41%	9%	9%	41%	93%	7%	24,833	13%	87%	15%
17003104102	1990	0	ML	42%	49%	9%	3%	13%	27%	57%	94%	6%	36,699	10%	90%	10%
17003102405	1990	1	MM	45%	15%	40%	37%	11%	24%	29%	87%	13%	49,618	30%	70%	16%
17003102402	1990	0	MM	56%	4%	40%	51%	24%	14%	11%	91%	9%	46,852	18%	82%	11%
17003102412	1990	1	MM	50%	23%	27%	38%	15%	29%	18%	88%	12%	42,694	29%	71%	16%
17003102402	1990	0	MM	56%	4%	40%	51%	24%	14%	11%	91%	9%	46,852	18%	82%	11%
17003107202	1990	1	MM	51%	48%	1%	9%	17%	32%	42%	93%	7%	82,669	77%	23%	5%
17003107005	1990	0	MM	64%	34%	2%	19%	37%	28%	16%	94%	6%	73,667	90%	10%	2%
17003107502	1990	1	MM	46%	53%	1%	14%	20%	33%	33%	92%	8%	68,983	65%	35%	2%
17003107005	1990	0	MM	64%	34%	2%	19%	37%	28%	16%	94%	6%	73,667	90%	10%	2%
17003107201	1990	1	WA	76%	23%	1%	6%	13%	28%	53%	94%	6%	113,108	93%	7%	1%
17003107205	1990	0	WA	99%	0%	1%	7%	25%	28%	40%	93%	7%	92,836	84%	16%	2%
17003100811	1990	1	WM	81%	15%	4%	6%	10%	24%	60%	95%	5%	69,863	16%	84%	11%
17003100817	1990	0	WM	74%	17%	9%	9%	13%	25%	54%	93%	7%	59,875	3%	97%	17%
17003105003	1990	1	WM	71%	5%	24%	38%	26%	24%	13%	92%	8%	44,882	51%	49%	11%
17003105203	1990	0	WM	75%	0%	25%	46%	38%	12%	5%	86%	14%	45,580	74%	26%	5%
17003100619	1990	1	WM	87%	6%	7%	8%	15%	23%	54%	96%	4%	51,966	22%	78%	6%
17003100609	1990	0	WM	81%	13%	6%	11%	13%	23%	54%	96%	4%	53,829	33%	67%	9%
17003108391	1990	1	WM	73%	21%	6%	12%	9%	18%	61%	97%	3%	90,042	29%	71%	16%
17003100803	1990	0	WM	77%	20%	3%	13%	11%	18%	58%	94%	6%	78,517	19%	81%	20%
17003108390	1990	1	WM	71%	22%	6%	13%	9%	20%	59%	96%	4%	89,740	33%	67%	13%
17003100803	1990	0	WM	77%	20%	3%	13%	11%	18%	58%	94%	6%	78,517	19%	81%	20%
17003100810	1990	1	WM	72%	24%	4%	14%	16%	23%	48%	94%	6%	38,797	3%	97%	12%
17003100817	1990	0	WM	74%	17%	9%	9%	13%	25%	54%	93%	7%	59,875	3%	97%	17%
17003108410	2000	1	BL	3%	92%	5%	54%	21%	22%	4%	74%	26%	13,192	4%	96%	17%
17003103406	2000	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	28%	45%	25%	1%	68%	32%	12,660	1%	99%	10%
17003104302	2000	1	BL	2%	96%	2%	20%	22%	33%	25%	87%	13%	36,624	18%	82%	9%
17003104304	2000	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	31%	24%	33%	12%	79%	21%	38,696	36%	64%	13%
17003108418	2000	1	BL	0%	98%	2%	33%	29%	30%	8%	82%	18%	39,829	47%	53%	15%
17003104309	2000	0	BL	0%	98%	2%	27%	25%	33%	15%	79%	21%	40,856	34%	66%	10%
17003106909	2000	1	BL	0%	98%	2%	22%	28%	36%	13%	81%	19%	40,126	35%	65%	13%
17003104304	2000	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	31%	24%	33%	12%	79%	21%	38,696	36%	64%	13%
17003106915	2000	1	BL	1%	97%	1%	29%	22%	41%	8%	82%	18%	33,795	31%	69%	11%
17003106904	2000	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	30%	27%	33%	10%	79%	21%	34,113	31%	69%	11%
17003104401	2000	1	BL	0%	98%	1%	27%	28%	33%	12%	82%	18%	36,576	15%	85%	10%
17003106904	2000	0	BL	1%	98%	1%	30%	27%	33%	10%	79%	21%	34,113	31%	69%	11%
17003108396	2000	1	BL	2%	97%	1%	36%	18%	29%	17%	86%	14%	36,504	39%	61%	18%
17003103814	2000	0	BL	0%	99%	1%	35%	27%	35%	3%	72%	28%	27,866	13%	87%	33%
17003103301	2000	1	BM	30%	60%	9%	16%	12%	29%	43%	92%	8%	58,926	34%	66%	11%
17003103403	2000	0	BM	29%	2%	69%	40%	28%	9%	23%	95%	5%	57,260	42%	58%	7%
17003108363	2000	1	BM	16%	75%	9%	8%	10%	38%	44%	88%	12%	44,205	34%	66%	7%
17003104105	2000	0	BM	16%	76%	8%	20%	19%	28%	33%	91%	9%	45,468	24%	76%	13%

LD: 1 = Landmark, 0 = Control

LANDMARK AND CORRESPONDING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

Tract ID	D. Year	LD	Typology	White Population	Black Population	Other Races	Less than High School	High School	College	Higher Education	Employed	Unemployed	Median Income ($)	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Vacancy
17003106914	2000	1	BM	0%	99%	1%	18%	29%	39%	15%	85%	15%	46,737	54%	46%	9%
17003104701	2000	0	BM	1%	97%	2%	28%	30%	29%	12%	82%	18%	49,595	67%	33%	10%
17003104402	2000	1	BM	0%	99%	1%	20%	24%	35%	21%	90%	10%	45,905	30%	70%	7%
17003104409	2000	0	BM	1%	98%	1%	26%	23%	35%	16%	85%	15%	43,243	60%	40%	11%
17003103204	2000	1	ML	58%	16%	26%	52%	0%	10%	38%	71%	29%	43,578	60%	40%	2%
17003102831	2000	0	ML	36%	33%	31%	12%	12%	24%	52%	94%	6%	40,148	11%	89%	5%
17003104106	2000	1	ML	52%	30%	18%	11%	12%	16%	61%	89%	11%	38,976	26%	74%	6%
17003104107	2000	0	ML	53%	29%	18%	7%	7%	16%	70%	98%	2%	42,847	29%	71%	4%
17003108432	2000	1	ML	40%	2%	58%	56%	17%	16%	11%	93%	7%	43,505	34%	66%	10%
17003103108	2000	0	ML	37%	1%	62%	63%	14%	18%	5%	90%	10%	42,834	24%	76%	11%
17003108411	2000	1	ML	6%	6%	88%	48%	22%	13%	18%	96%	4%	36,742	33%	67%	8%
17003103404	2000	0	ML	27%	0%	73%	42%	25%	18%	14%	97%	3%	32,808	37%	63%	10%
17003100317	2000	1	ML	49%	22%	29%	26%	14%	20%	40%	92%	8%	42,323	20%	80%	6%
17003100313	2000	0	ML	52%	22%	26%	19%	17%	23%	41%	94%	6%	43,457	32%	68%	5%
17003103206	2000	1	MM	48%	38%	14%	11%	12%	26%	51%	89%	11%	64,506	18%	82%	19%
17003100817	2000	0	MM	62%	25%	13%	10%	12%	26%	53%	96%	4%	65,437	19%	81%	11%
17003102206	2000	1	MM	52%	6%	42%	36%	19%	21%	23%	92%	8%	47,786	23%	77%	7%
17003102107	2000	0	MM	48%	3%	49%	42%	23%	22%	13%	89%	11%	52,907	35%	65%	6%
17003102106	2000	1	MM	44%	3%	53%	46%	21%	21%	12%	92%	8%	46,703	36%	64%	6%
17003102107	2000	0	MM	48%	3%	49%	42%	23%	22%	13%	89%	11%	52,907	35%	65%	6%
17003102212	2000	1	MM	39%	10%	50%	41%	21%	19%	19%	90%	10%	51,914	25%	75%	10%
17003102227	2000	0	MM	33%	14%	53%	43%	24%	20%	13%	88%	12%	41,356	23%	77%	11%
17003102213	2000	1	MM	37%	6%	56%	49%	17%	20%	14%	88%	12%	45,498	22%	78%	6%
17003102227	2000	0	MM	33%	14%	53%	43%	24%	20%	13%	88%	12%	41,356	23%	77%	11%
17003102211	2000	1	MM	43%	11%	46%	51%	17%	14%	18%	89%	11%	44,623	23%	77%	10%
17003102227	2000	0	MM	33%	14%	53%	43%	24%	20%	13%	88%	12%	41,356	23%	77%	11%
17003102226	2000	1	MM	37%	15%	48%	43%	21%	23%	13%	89%	11%	45,108	20%	80%	11%
17003102227	2000	0	MM	33%	14%	53%	43%	24%	20%	13%	88%	12%	41,356	23%	77%	11%
17003102225	2000	1	MM	25%	10%	65%	48%	24%	16%	11%	86%	14%	49,108	32%	68%	10%
17003102227	2000	0	MM	33%	14%	53%	43%	24%	20%	13%	88%	12%	41,356	23%	77%	11%
17003108309	2000	1	MM	55%	4%	42%	35%	17%	19%	29%	92%	8%	58,582	40%	60%	6%
17003101608	2000	0	MM	57%	1%	42%	35%	24%	21%	20%	91%	9%	58,602	44%	56%	6%
17003102205	2000	1	MM	59%	6%	35%	28%	14%	22%	36%	96%	4%	53,186	30%	70%	9%
17003101608	2000	0	MM	57%	1%	42%	35%	24%	21%	20%	91%	9%	58,602	44%	56%	6%
17003103102	2000	1	MM	51%	4%	45%	36%	16%	23%	26%	94%	6%	50,192	25%	75%	13%
17003106009	2000	0	MM	45%	5%	50%	36%	27%	19%	18%	89%	11%	45,553	34%	66%	12%
17003100712	2000	1	WA	89%	5%	6%	3%	5%	11%	80%	99%	1%	111,111	41%	59%	2%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003100710	2000	1	WA	87%	5%	8%	4%	3%	7%	86%	79%	21%	138,827	44%	56%	4%
17003100627	2000	0	WA	87%	2%	11%	10%	7%	15%	67%	97%	3%	101,791	41%	59%	6%
17003108325	2000	1	WA	87%	5%	8%	12%	10%	15%	63%	97%	3%	116,971	48%	52%	6%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003100711	2000	1	WA	90%	3%	7%	2%	4%	8%	86%	89%	11%	134,429	36%	64%	4%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003108326	2000	1	WA	92%	4%	5%	2%	2%	8%	88%	98%	2%	154,221	51%	49%	4%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003100718	2000	1	WA	80%	15%	4%	3%	4%	13%	81%	99%	1%	126,738	53%	47%	4%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003108310	2000	1	WA	83%	2%	15%	14%	7%	12%	68%	99%	1%	114,533	53%	47%	6%
17003100705	2000	0	WA	91%	3%	6%	14%	8%	7%	71%	100%	0%	127,445	47%	53%	6%
17003103201	2000	1	WM	75%	11%	14%	1%	8%	19%	73%	98%	2%	109,372	55%	45%	12%
17003100814	2000	0	WM	77%	7%	16%	2%	5%	16%	76%	96%	4%	93,789	39%	61%	14%

LD: 1 = Landmark, 0 = Control

LANDMARK AND CORRESPONDING CONTROL CENSUS TRACTS

Tract ID	D. Year	LD	Typology	White Population	Black Population	Other Races	Less than High School	High School	College	Higher Education	Employed	Unemployed	Median Income ($)	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Vacancy
17003100810	2000	1	WM	76%	14%	11%	12%	11%	21%	56%	91%	9%	48,388	16%	84%	8%
17003100817	2000	0	WM	62%	25%	13%	10%	12%	26%	53%	96%	4%	65,437	19%	81%	11%
17003100811	2000	1	WM	78%	13%	9%	4%	8%	18%	69%	97%	3%	67,737	23%	77%	11%
17003100817	2000	0	WM	62%	25%	13%	10%	12%	26%	53%	96%	4%	65,437	19%	81%	11%
17003102423	2000	1	WM	75%	2%	23%	20%	15%	18%	47%	96%	4%	66,904	34%	66%	9%
17003102429	2000	0	WM	75%	2%	23%	19%	15%	24%	41%	94%	6%	54,710	38%	62%	8%
17003102424	2000	1	WM	80%	1%	20%	16%	13%	20%	51%	94%	6%	57,156	18%	82%	7%
17003102429	2000	0	WM	75%	2%	23%	19%	15%	24%	41%	94%	6%	54,710	38%	62%	8%
17003102422	2000	1	WM	66%	4%	30%	23%	15%	14%	48%	94%	6%	63,638	26%	74%	9%
17003102429	2000	0	WM	75%	2%	23%	19%	15%	24%	41%	94%	6%	54,710	38%	62%	8%
17003100713	2000	1	WM	91%	3%	6%	2%	3%	10%	84%	99%	1%	87,790	39%	61%	5%
17003100703	2000	0	WM	90%	1%	9%	1%	4%	12%	82%	97%	3%	101,209	30%	70%	8%
17003100621	2000	1	WM	86%	3%	11%	9%	7%	13%	70%	97%	3%	76,903	14%	86%	5%
17003100610	2000	0	WM	92%	1%	7%	5%	3%	18%	74%	97%	3%	87,157	18%	82%	6%
17003100629	2000	1	WM	91%	2%	7%	2%	5%	9%	84%	99%	1%	101,751	31%	69%	4%
17003100628	2000	0	WM	91%	2%	7%	3%	6%	13%	79%	99%	1%	119,138	40%	60%	3%
17003102203	2000	1	WM	61%	5%	35%	27%	18%	22%	33%	97%	3%	61,599	34%	66%	8%
17003102101	2000	0	WM	51%	3%	46%	36%	26%	22%	16%	90%	10%	61,418	40%	60%	7%
17003102204	2000	1	WM	65%	4%	31%	28%	15%	23%	35%	95%	5%	61,553	37%	63%	6%
17003101608	2000	0	WM	57%	1%	42%	35%	24%	21%	20%	91%	9%	58,602	44%	56%	6%
17003102421	2000	1	WM	65%	4%	32%	32%	18%	19%	31%	93%	7%	49,374	26%	74%	13%
17003102432	2000	0	WM	63%	2%	35%	38%	20%	16%	27%	98%	2%	61,429	34%	66%	19%
17003100630	2000	1	WM	85%	3%	12%	1%	5%	9%	85%	98%	2%	87,532	28%	72%	3%
17003100703	2000	0	WM	90%	1%	9%	1%	4%	12%	82%	97%	3%	101,209	30%	70%	8%
17003100634	2000	1	WM	85%	4%	11%	2%	10%	11%	77%	98%	2%	73,068	25%	75%	5%
17003100631	2000	0	WM	85%	4%	11%	4%	6%	16%	74%	98%	2%	68,634	22%	78%	4%
17003100633	2000	1	WM	85%	4%	10%	5%	8%	14%	73%	97%	3%	64,927	28%	72%	4%
17003100632	2000	0	WM	85%	4%	11%	5%	10%	17%	68%	95%	5%	68,318	27%	73%	4%
17003100701	2000	1	WM	88%	2%	9%	4%	6%	11%	79%	97%	3%	66,961	32%	68%	3%
17003100632	2000	0	WM	85%	4%	11%	5%	10%	17%	68%	95%	5%	68,318	27%	73%	4%
17003100702	2000	1	WM	90%	2%	8%	5%	4%	7%	84%	99%	1%	85,594	29%	71%	4%
17003100703	2000	0	WM	90%	1%	9%	1%	4%	12%	82%	97%	3%	101,209	30%	70%	8%
17003102405	2000	1	WM	81%	3%	16%	5%	5%	13%	77%	92%	8%	95,760	64%	36%	6%
17003102222	2000	0	WM	71%	4%	25%	24%	13%	18%	45%	97%	3%	66,956	50%	50%	12%
17003102403	2000	1	WM	82%	2%	16%	9%	10%	20%	61%	97%	3%	87,804	39%	61%	9%
17003100629	2000	0	WM	91%	2%	7%	2%	5%	9%	84%	99%	1%	101,751	31%	69%	4%
17003102415	2000	1	WM	63%	3%	34%	27%	16%	13%	43%	95%	5%	78,397	30%	70%	13%
17003100707	2000	0	WM	63%	22%	15%	25%	17%	13%	45%	88%	12%	67,295	33%	67%	12%
17003102414	2000	1	WM	69%	12%	19%	15%	10%	23%	53%	96%	4%	69,444	26%	74%	10%
17003100707	2000	0	WM	63%	22%	15%	25%	17%	13%	45%	88%	12%	67,295	33%	67%	12%
17003100715	2000	1	WM	89%	5%	6%	2%	5%	9%	84%	98%	2%	103,276	42%	58%	3%
17003100815	2000	0	WM	82%	7%	11%	2%	5%	23%	71%	96%	4%	107,065	27%	73%	19%

LD: 1 = Landmark, 0 = Control

REFERENCES

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. (2014, September 12). *Historic Preservation Programs and Officers*. Retrieved from Advisory Council on Historic Preservation: http://www.achp.gov/shpo.html

Allison, E. W. (2005). *Gentrification and historic districts: Public policy considerations in the designation of historic districts in New York City* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://www.allisongroup.com/ericwallison/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/EWA_Dissertation_Full.pdf

Anderson, M. B., & Sternberg, C. (2012). "Non-White" Gentrification in Chicago's Bronzeville and Pilsen: Racial Economy and the Intraurban Contingency of Urban Redevelopment. *Urban Affairs Review, 49*(3), 435-467.

Andrus, P. W., Auer, M. J., Bedinger, C. R., Henry, S. L., Morris, S. A., & Renaud, J. W. (1992). *The National Register of Historic Places*. Retrieved April 26, 2017, from National Park Service: https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/strevman/strevman6.htm

Birch, E. L. (2002). Having a longer view on downtown living. *Journal of American Planning Association, 68*(1), 5-21.

Birch, E. L., & Douglas, R. (1984). The Planner and the Preservationist: An Uneasy Alliance. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 50*(2), 194-207.

Boyd, M. (2000). Reconstructing Bronzeville: Racial Nostalgia and Neighborhooh Redevelopment. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 22*(2), 107-122.

Boyd, R. L. (2015). The 'Black Metropolis' in the American Urban System of the Early Twentieth Century: Harlem, Bronzeville and Beyond. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(1), 129–144.

Briggs, M. T., & Peters, C. H. (2005). *Newberry Library*. Retrieved June 16, 2017, from Encyclopedia of Chicago: http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/888.html

Buckley, J. M., & Graves, D. (2016). Tangible Benefits from Intangible Resources: Using Social and Cultural History to Plan Neighborhood Futures. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 82*(2), 152-166.

Carr, J. H., & Servon, L. J. (2009). Vernacular Culture and Urban Economic Development. *Journal of American Planning Association*, 28-40.

Chicago Department of Planning and Development. (1997). *The Black Metropolis - Bronzeville District Preliminary Staff Summary of Information* . Chicago: The City of Chicago.

Chicago Department of Planning and Development. (2011). *2011 Preservation Excellence Awards.* Chicago: The City of Chicago.

Chicago Department of Planning and Development. (2016). *2016 Preservation Excellence Awards.* Chicago: The City of Chicago.

Chicago Department of Planning and Development. (2016, August 2). *City-Owned Land Inventory.* Retrieved June 19, 2017, from Chicago Data Portal: https://data.cityofchicago.org/Community-Economic-Development/City-Owned-Land-Inventory/aksk-kvfp

Choldin, H. M. (2005). *Chicago Housing Authority*. Retrieved June 18, 2017, from Encyclopedia of Chicago: http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/253.html

Clark, D. E., & Herrin, W. E. (1997). Historic Preservation Districts and Home Sale Prices: Evidence from the Sacramento Housing Market. *The Review of Regional Studies*, 29-48.

Commission on Chicago Landmarks. (2008). *Chicago Landmarks.* Chicago: The City of Chicago.

Coulson, N. E., & Leichenko, R. M. (2004). Historic Preservation and Neighbourhood Change. *Urban Studies, 41*(8), 1587-1600.

Douthat, C. (1994). Economic Incentives for Historic Preservation in Oakland, California. *Forum Journal, 9*(1).

Fainstein, S. (2000). New Directions in Planning Theory. *Urban Affairs Review, 35*(4), 451-478.

Feser, E. (2013). Isserman's impact: Quasi-experimental comparison group designs in regional research. *International Regional Science Review, 36*(1), 44-68.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class.* New York: Basic Books.

Fowler, C. S., Lee, B. A., & Matthews, S. A. (2016). The Contributions of Places to Metropolitan Ethnoracial Diversity and Segregation: Decomposing Change Across Space and Time. *Demography, 53*(6), 1955–1977.

Gale, D. E. (1991). The Impacts of Historic District Designation Planning and Policy Implications. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 57*(3), 325–40.

Gilderbloom, J. I., Matthew J. Hanka, M. J., & Ambrosius, J. D. (2009). Historic preservation's impact on job creation, property values, and. *Journal of Urbanism, 2*(2), 83–101.

Gorska, K. M. (2015). *Different Shades of Change: Historic Districts in Los Angeles and their Impact on Gentrification and Neighborhood Trends* (Doctoral dissertation). UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Retrieved from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/18b913wq

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity : An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change .* Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1992). Social Justice, Postmodernism and the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 16*(4), 588–601.

Harvey, D. (2000). *Spaces of Hope.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hayden, D. (1988). Placemaking, Preservation and Urban History. *Journal of Architectural Education, 41*(3), 45-51.

Hayden, D. (1995). *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hayden, D. (2003). Restoring women's history through historic preservation. In G. L. Dubrow, & J. B. Goodman, *Restoring women's history through historic preservation* (pp. 199-213). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Heintzelman, M. D., & Altieri, J. A. (2013). Historic Preservation: Preserving Value? *The Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics, 46*(3), 543–563.

Hurley, A. (2010). *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hyra, D. S. (2006). Racial Uplift? Intra-Racial Class Conflict and the Economic Revitalization of Harlem and Bronzeville. *City and Community*, 71-92.

Hyra, D. S. (2012). Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing Past to the Present. *Urban Affairs Review, 48*(4), 498–527.

Isserman, A. M., & Merrifield, J. (1982). The use of control groups in evaluating regional economic policy. *Regional Science and Urban Economics, 12*(1), 43-58.

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* New York: Vintage Books.

Kaufman, N. (2009). *Place, Race, and Story.* New York: Routledge.

Kinahan, K. L. (2016). *Neighborhood Revitaliztion and Historic Preservation in U.S. Legacy Cities* (Doctoral dissertation). ETD Archive. Retrieved from http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1882&context=etdarchive

Lee, A. J. (2004). From Historic Architecture to Cultural Heritage: A Journey Through Diversity, Identity,. *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism, 1*(2), 14-23.

Leichenko, R. M., Coulson, N. E., & Listokin, D. (2001). Historic Preservation and Residential Property Values: An Analysis of Texas Cities. *Urban Studies, 38*(11), 1973-1987.

Lipman Frizzell & Mitchell LLC. (2003). *Historic Rehabilitation and Economic Revitalization Tax Credit Act: Economic and Fiscal Impacts.* Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Downtown Partnership.

Listokin, D., Lahr, M., Heydt, C., & Stanek, D. (2011). *Second Annual Report on the Economic Impact of the Federal Historic Tax Credit.* Washington, DC: Historic Tax Credit Coalition.

Listokin, D., Listokin, B., & Lahr, M. (1998). The Contributions of Historic Preservation to Housing and Economic Development. *Housing Policy Debate, 9*(3), 431-478.

Mason, R. (2005). *Economics and historic preservation: A guide and review of literature.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

McCabe, B. J., & Ellen, I. G. (2016). Does Preservation Accelerate Neighborhood Change. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 82*(2), 134-146.

McLendon, T., Klein, J., Listokin, D., & Lahr, M. (2010). *Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation in Florida.* Florida: Florida Department of State.

Minner, J. (2016). Revealing synergies, tensions, and silences between preservation and planning. *Journal of American Planning Association, 82*(2), 72-87.

National Park Service. (1997, September 10). *Chicago Travel Itinerary: Overton Hygienic Building*. Retrieved June 15, 2017, from National Park Service: https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/chicago/c19.htm

National Park Service. (2003). *Washington Square National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* Retrieved June 15, 2017, from Illinois Historic Preservation Agency: http://gis.hpa.state.il.us/pdfs/200826.pdf

National Trust for Historic Preservation. (2016). *Heritage Tourism.* Retrieved April 20, 2016, from National Trust for Historic Preservation: http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/economics-of-revitalization/heritage-tourism/#.Vxu851aDGko

National Trust for Historic Preservation. (2017). Main Street Impact. Retrieved June 09, 2017, from Main Street America: https://nmsc.connectedcommunity.org/home/mainstreetimpact

National Trust for Historic Preservation. (2017). Our History. Retrieved June 09, 2017, from Main Street America: https://nmsc.connectedcommunity.org/home/about-us

Nevitt, M. P. (2014). The National Historic Preservation Act: Preserving History, Impacting Foreign Relations? *Berkeley Journal of International Law, 32*(2), 388-443.

Newsom, M. D. (1971). Blacks and Historic Preservation. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 423–31.

Noonan, D. S. (2007). Finding an Impact of Preservation Policies: Price Effects of Historic Landmarks on Attached Homes in Chicago, 1990-1999. *Economic Development Quarterly, 21*(1), 17-33.

Noonan, D. S., & Krupka, D. J. (2011). Making—or Picking—Winners: Evidence of Internal and External Price Effects in Historic Preservation Policies. *Real Estate Economics*, 379–407.

PlaceEconomics. (2013). *Profits Through Preservation: The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Utah.* Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.placeeconomics.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/profits-through-preservation_utah-shortreport.pdf

Powe, M., Mabry, J., Talen, E., & Mahmoudi, D. (2016). Jane Jacobs and the Value of Older, Smaller Buildings. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 82*(2), 167-180.

President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. (2005). *Cultural and Heritage Tourism in the United States.* Retrieved April 20, 2016, from President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities: http://www.pcah.gov/sites/default/files/05WhitePaperCultHeritTourism_2.pdf

Ryberg-Webster, S. (2013). Preserving Downtown America: Federal rehabilitation tax credits and the transformation of U.S. cities. *Journal of American Planning Association, 79*(4), 266-279.

Ryberg-Webster, S., & Kinahan, K. L. (2014). Historic preservation and urban revitalization in the twenty-first century. *Journal of Planning Literature, 29*(2), 119-139.

Rypkema, D. (1994). *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide.* Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Rypkema, D. (1995). Economics and Historic Preservation. *Historic Preservation Forum, 9*(2), 39-45.

Rypkema, D. (2003). The Importance of Downtown in the 21st Century. *Journal of American Planning Association, 69*(1), 9-15.

Rypkema, D., Cheong, C., & Mason, R. (2011). *Measuring economic impacts of historic preservation.* Washington, DC: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

Saito, L. T. (2009). From "Blighted" to "Historic": Race, Economic Development, and Historic Preservation in San Diego. *Urban Affairs Review, 45*(2), 166-187.

Schaeffer, P. V., & Millerick, C. A. (1991). The Impact of Historic District Designation on Property Values: An Empirical Study. *Economic Development Quarterly, 5*(4), 301-312.

Schill, M. H., & Nathan, R. P. (1983). *Revitalizing America's cities : Neighborhood Reinvestment and Displacement.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* New York: Routledge.

Sternberg, C., & Anderson, M. (2014). Contestation and the Local Trajectories of Neoliberal Urban Governance in Chicago's Bronzeville and Pilsen. *Urban Studies, 51*(15), 3198-3214.

Strauss, C., Lord, B., & Powell, M. (2002). *Path Of Progress Heritage System: Visitor Characteristics and Economic Impacts.* Hollidaysburg: Westsylvania Heritage Corporation.

Swaim, R. (2003). Politics and Policymaking: Tax Credits and Historic Preservation. *The Journal of Arts, Management, Law, and Society, 33*(1), 32-39.

The City of Chicago. (2010). *Black Metropolis District*. Retrieved June 05, 2017, from The City of Chicago: https://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/districtdetails.htm?disId=6&counter=28

The City of Chicago. (2010). *Calumet-Giles-Prairie District*. Retrieved June 20, 2017, from The City of Chicago: http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/districtdetails.htm?disId=8

The City of Chicago. (2010). *Chicago Defender Building*. Retrieved June 16, 2017, from City of Chicago: https://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=1271

The City of Chicago. (2010). *Washington Square District*. Retrieved June 15, 2017, from The City of Chicago: https://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/districtdetails.htm?disId=35

The City of Chicago. (2014, January). *Economic Incentives for the Repair and Rehabilitation of Historic Buildings.* Retrieved from The City of Chicago: https://www.cityofchicago.org/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Incentives_Flyer.pdf

The City of Chicago. (2014, May 1). *Landmarks Ordinance.* Retrieved from City of Chicago: https://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Chicago_Landmarks_Ordinance_2014.pdf

The Newberry. (2011). *History*. Retrieved June 14, 2017, from The Newberry: https://www.newberry.org/history

Thomas, J. M. (2012). Social Justice as Responsible Practice: Influence of Race, Ethnicity, and the Civil Rights Era. In B. V. Sanyal, *Planning Ideas That Matter: Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice.* (pp. 359-386). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Thompson, E., Rosenbaum, D., & Schmitz, B. (2011). Property values on the plains: The impact of historic preservation. *The Annals of Regional Science, 47*(2), 477–491.

Trotter, G. (2016, October 10). In Bronzeville, new Mariano's store reflects a change long coming. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://www.chicagotribune.com/business/ct-bronzeville-marianos-1011-biz-20161010-story.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017, March 20). *Comparing 2015 American Community Survey Data*. Retrieved from U.S. Census Bureau: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/guidance/comparing-acs-data/2015.html

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2004). *HOPE VI Demolition Grants: FY 1996 - 2003.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2017). *HOPE VI*. Retrieved June 18, 2017, from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development: https://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6

Wilson, D. (2004, April). Making Historical Preservation in Chicago: Discourse and Spatiality in Neo-liberal Times. *Space and Polity, 8*(1), 43-59.

Wojno, C. (1991). Historic Preservation and Economic Development. *Journal of Planning Literature, 5*(3), 296-306.

Zahirovic-Herbert, V., & Chatterjee, S. (2012). Historic Preservation and Residential Property Values: Evidence from Quantile Regression. *Urban Studies, 49*(2), 369-382.

Zhang, W., & Logan, J. R. (2016). Global Neighborhoods: Beyond the Multiethnic Metropolis. *Demography, 53*(6), 1933–1953.

Zhang, Y. (2011). Boundaries of Power: Politics of Urban Preservation in Two Chicago Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 47*(4), 511-540.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The Cultures of Cities.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

VITA

NAME:	Arin Rubaci Uygur
EDUCATION:	B.Arch., Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2000
	M.U.P.P., Urban Planning and Policy, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, 2017
PROFESSIONAL AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:	Research Assistant, Urban Transportation Center, University of Illinois at Chicago, Fall 2016-Spring 2017
	Rom Architects, Partner Architect, Istanbul, 2007-2014
	Ekip Construction, Project Coordinator, Istanbul, 2005-2007
	Adidas, Architect, Istanbul, 2002-2005
PRESENTATIONS:	Transport Chicago, Chicago, IL, 2017, Poster Presentation: *"Catching up to automated technology: How DOTs can stay ahead of the curve for freight."*
	CUPPA Showcase of Student Work, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2017, Poster Presentation: *"The Impacts of Landmark District Designation."*
PUBLICATIONS:	Ginsburg, R., and Rubaci Uygur, A. (2017). Catching up to Automated Technology: How DOTs Can Stay Ahead of the Curve For Freight. Chicago: Urban Transportation Center at the University of Illinois at Chicago.
PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP:	Chamber of Architects of Turkey