NORTHEAST KANSAS CITY:
A STUDY OF NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY AND URBAN DESIGN

by

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A MASTER'S REPORT

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Abstract

This report acts as an independent study which contributes to the author's participation in the 2012-213 Kansas City Design Center planning and urban design studio. The project focuses on Independence Avenue in Kansas City, MO, the commercial and transportation backbone of seven neighborhoods, collectively known as Northeast Kansas City. Residents of these neighborhoods place great value in the "diversity" which exists in their neighborhoods, and have made it clear that this should be encouraged as a major part of the Northeast's identity. This inspired the author to pursue a deeper understanding of the idea of diverse neighborhoods, how they fit into the "sustainable development" consciousness, and ultimately how one can plan and design for neighborhood diversity. The resulting study consisted of two levels of analysis. First, analyzing the mixture of age, sex, household type, race, and income level at the regional, city, and neighborhood scale, in order to understand what social diversity means in the Kansas City context, and define how diverse Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods are. The second was an analysis of conditions in the built environment. Using the Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods, and a common commercial district/social seam between the two as a case study, the author intended to analyze how successful or unsuccessful the typical Northeast neighborhood is at encouraging diverse populations. Ultimately, these analyses yielded two main conclusions. The first is that neighborhood diversity means drastically different things depending on how you define and measure the term. The second is the notion that social seam commercial districts are a unique spatial typology, which requires special design consideration, and can be most catalytic to setting the tone for future growth. Finally, the author concludes with the idea that one cannot necessarily plan or design for diverse neighborhoods, but they can do so in ways which empower diversity, and be conducive to things which support diverse neighborhoods. However, the built environment only makes up a portion of the things which influence neighborhood diversity, requiring an involved and invested community who values social diversity in their neighborhood.

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Chapter 1 - Background

Introduction

This Master's Report is an independent student study which complements the author's participation in the Kansas City Design Center (KCDC) 2012-2013 multidisciplinary planning and design studio. Research, analysis, and conclusions from this report will not only help inform design proposals from the studio, but they will contribute to the conversation and knowledge base surrounding urban issues and planning efforts in Kansas City.

To set the background for this report, KCDC is a multi-disciplinary planning and design studio, comprised of architecture and planning students from Kansas State University and the University of Kansas. KCDC is an educational partner to the Mid-America Regional Council (MARC) and Kansas City, MO Department of City Planning and Development. In particular, this year's KCDC studio works in part with MARC's Creating Sustainable Places (CSP) initiative. CSP was developed by local Kansas City Area governments, with the help of a grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), as a region-wide effort to explore how Greater Kansas City can become more sustainable as it grows, ages, and becomes more diverse (CSP, 2012).

The focus area for the 2012-2013 KCDC is the Independence Avenue corridor in Kansas City, MO. Independence Avenue is located northeast of downtown Kansas City, and the study area stretches roughly from The Paseo in the west to I-435 in the east. Independence Avenue acts as the commercial and transportation backbone for seven neighborhoods collectively known as Northeast Kansas City (also known as the Historic Northeast or simply the Northeast): Pendleton Heights, Scarritt Renaissance, Indian Mound, Forgotten Homes, Independence Plaza, and

Sheffield. Figure 1.1 shows a map of the Northeast, with Independence Avenue and neighborhoods marked.
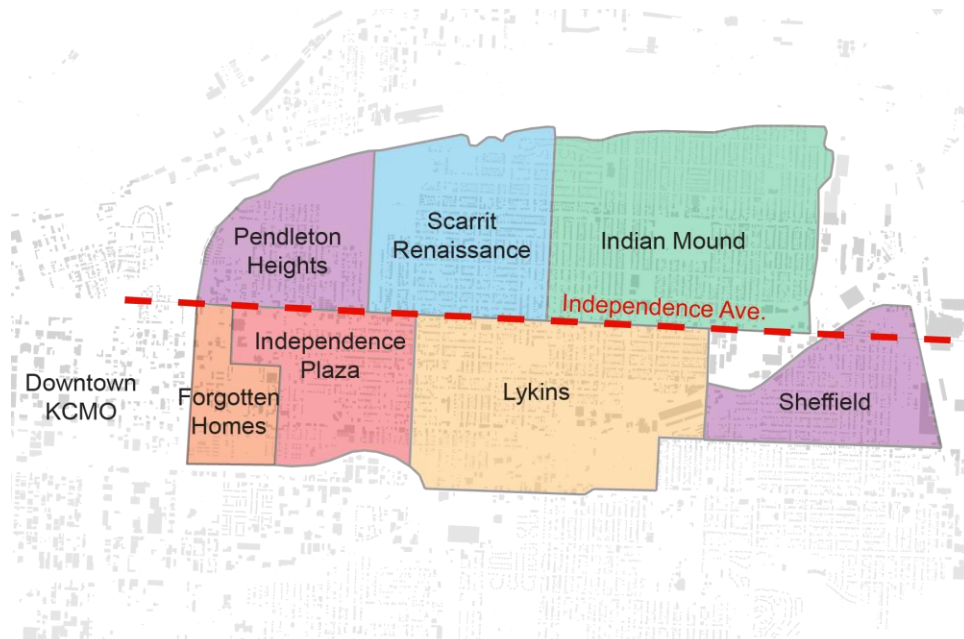
Figure 1.1 Context Map of Northeast Kansas City (Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

Initial development of the Northeast began in the late 19th century, and took off following George E. Kessler's Park and Boulevard plan in 1893. Kessler's plan not only created a framework for automobile circulation in Kansas City, but also established Independence, Gladstone, and Benton Boulevards as premiere real estate for Kansas City's elite to build their homes. These areas became the Pendleton Heights and Scarritt Renaissance neighborhoods, and many of the American Foursquare, Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Italianate, and Craftsman Bungalow homes built in the early 20th century still stand. Further south and east, the remaining Northeast neighborhoods developed with more modest homes, housing the families of those who worked in the East Bottoms and Blue Valley industrial areas. However, some of these worker housing neighborhoods (particularly south of Independence Avenue) were demolished and redeveloped into more suburban-scale neighborhoods by urban renewal projects in the 1950's (City of Kansas City, MO, 2011).

One of the most important defining characteristics of Northeast Kansas City is the cultural diversity within the neighborhoods. Ethnic diversity has been a part of Northeast Kansas City since the beginning. One of the most prominent early ethnic groups in the Northeast was Italian Americans. The Italian population in the early 20th century drove the establishment of a number of community institutions in Pendleton Heights, which are survived by the Don Bosco Center, Sons of Columbus, Scuola Vita Nouva Charter School, and the Christ Presbyterian Church/Bisceglia Italian Cultural Center (City of Kansas City, MO, 2011).

The industrial worker housing in Indian Mound, Lykins, and Sheffield neighborhoods created more ethnic diversity in the early 20th century. The attraction of low-level industrial worker jobs in the East Bottoms and Blue Valley attracted many of the often poor and lower-class Irish, German, and Eastern European immigrants to the area (City of Kansas City, MO, 2011).

Like most American cities in the mid-20th century, the construction of the highway system, as well as a decline in heavy-industrial sectors of the economy, inspired much of Kansas City's more affluent, white populations to move out of the city and into the suburbs. This pattern resulted in a demographic shift in Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods. As the descendants of the European immigrants moved elsewhere, African American populations from other parts of the city, as well as new immigrant populations took their place.

These days, Northeast neighborhoods have a number of ethnic populations from all over the world. The primary places of origin for these groups are Mexico, Vietnam, North and East Africa, and the Caribbean (City of Kansas City, MO, 2011). These communities not only manifest themselves in ethnic businesses in Northeast commercial districts, but they also act as support systems which both attract and retain new immigrants coming to Kansas City. Because

of these ethnic enclaves, almost 20% of the population of the Northeast is foreign-born (City of Kansas City, MO, 2011). This cultural mix is unique to the Northeast, as nowhere in the region has a similar variety of races and ethnicities (City of Kansas City, MO, 2012).

The history of these neighborhoods and their deep rooted diversity are the two most celebrated characteristics of the Northeast. Residents of Northeast Kansas City hold these two factors in high regard because they set them apart from other Kansas City neighborhoods. Residents have also made it clear in previous plans and public input sessions that these are neighborhood qualities that they would like to encourage and preserve (City of Kansas City, MO, 2012). At present time, however, Kansas City and the Northeast neighborhoods face a dilemma: the Northeast is changing.

The economic side of the mid-to-late-20th century demographic shift was a pattern of decline and disinvestment in Northeast neighborhoods. These neighborhoods, like many urban neighborhoods, became stricken with concentrated poverty, unemployment, blight, and crime for decades. This resulted in Northeast Kansas City having a very negative reputation within the region. However in recent years, thanks to growing neighborhood activism and the attraction of a historic yet affordable housing stock, outside interest and investment is returning to Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods.

Most of the Northeast neighborhoods are considered "transitional": having problems with vacancy, unemployment, and crime, yet still having established populations, and even some reinvestment efforts. However, Pendleton Heights, Indian Mound, and part of the Scarritt Renaissance neighborhood are becoming more "stable", or having a population that is more established and actively seeking improvement in their neighborhood. This shows that reinvestment efforts seem to have begun around the more historic neighborhoods, and seem to be

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moving south. The map in figure 1.2 shows the current status of Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods.
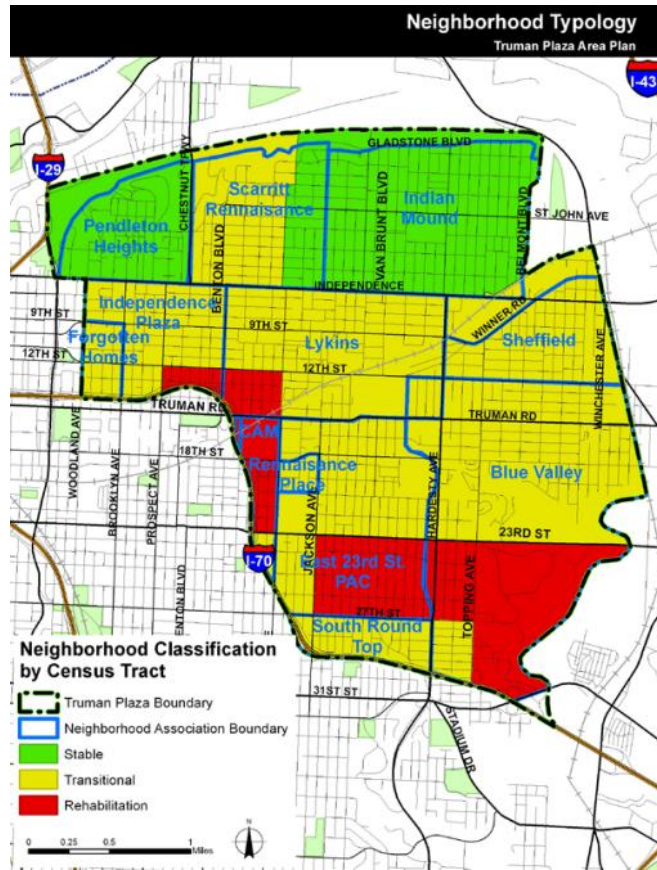
Figure 1.2 Neighborhood Classification (City of Kansas City, MO, 2012)

Reinvestment in declining neighborhoods is commonly seen as a positive economic and social stabilizing force, but it also has the ability to perpetuate and relocate the same disinvestment and negative reputations to other parts of the city. Moreover, forces like gentrification can destroy economic and cultural diversity that exists in these neighborhoods, replacing it with a more homogenous population.

With these dynamics in mind, I intend to use this Master's Report as a supplement to the 2013 KCDC studio's vision for a sustainable Northeast Kansas City, by understanding and analyzing neighborhood diversity at a number of levels.

First, I review literature having to do with sustainability, neighborhood diversity, and urban design in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of why neighborhood diversity is essential to sustainable cities, what it means to be a diverse neighborhood, and how the built environment can promote or oppose a diverse population. Second, I inventory and analyze economic and demographic indicators at the regional, city, and neighborhood scale in order to understand how diverse Northeast Kansas City is, and what a diverse neighborhood in Kansas City, MO may look like. Finally, I use two Northeast neighborhoods as cases to study how the built environment and urban design impacts population diversity in Kansas City, MO.

Literature Review

Literature on the topics of sustainability, diversity, urban design, and planning are almost limitless. Especially when discussing sustainability, a common theme with these topics is that everything is interrelated. Therefore, the challenge with reviewing literature as a precursor to this report is effectively covering necessary material and ideas while maintaining utmost relevancy to the Independence Avenue case. With this in mind, I chose to pursue my sustainability research through the lens of the planning profession, with an emphasis on diverse neighborhoods. Finally, I review planning, urban design, and sociology literature which discuss topics and strategies relevant to diversity. This section of the proposal will take the following course:

1. Sustainability

   A brief discussion of sustainability guided by the Creating Sustainable Places initiative and the planning profession

2. Diversity

   Why is population diversity necessary for sustainable neighborhoods and regions?

   What does a diverse neighborhood look like?

   Obstacles to diversity

   Encouraging and Maintaining Diversity

3. Design Strategies

4. Incentives to encourage development

5. Conclusion

Sustainability

The document commonly credited as the beginning of a global consciousness and concern with sustainability is Our Common Future, also known as the Brundtland Report (United Nations (UN),1987). This report was the product of the World Commission on Environment and Development which met from 1984 to 1987. The Commission discussed crisis issues like a rapidly growing population, access to resources, over-use and hazards surrounding how humans use natural resources, pollution and destruction of natural ecosystems, food security, transition from generally rural to generally urban populations, and more on a global scale. As recent understanding about these issues revealed, these global crises are both extremely complex, and interrelated. The document identifies three factors: the environment, the economy, and human needs, as three forces which, not only effect the other two with every action they take, but require each other to be healthy in order to function most efficiently (UN, 1987).

With this consensus, the Commission proposed what it called "sustainable development", defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (UN, 1987, p. 37). Their proposal called for a worldwide paradigm shift which places utmost importance on meeting the basic needs of people the world over (particularly the poor), while operating within the ability of the environment to produce for those needs (UN, 1987). The report then includes seven critical objectives of sustainable development, listed and briefly explained in Table 1.1.

Reviving growth	Sustainable development must address the problem of massive amounts of people living in absolute poverty, or unable to satisfy even their most basic needs. Poverty reduces people's ability to use resources sustainably. Encouraging economic growth and higher incomes in third world countries will enable more sustainable lifestyles
Changing the quality of growth	Growth that is encouraged must be less material- and energy-intensive and have a more equitable impact. This type of growth manages ecological and human capital, improves distribution of income, and makes economies less vulnerable.
Meeting essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water, and sanitation	This objective is paramount. Impoverished people cannot meet these needs on their own. Rather than outside forces meeting their needs, it is best to enable them to meet their own needs.
Ensuring a sustainable level of population	Rapidly growing populations, particularly in developing nations, places more burden on already strained systems, creating massive shortages of food, housing, water supply, etc. Encouraging a more stable population birth/death rate makes taking on the issue of sustainability more manageable.
Conserving and enhancing the resource base	To sustainably meet the needs of the population, natural resources must be conserved and used responsibly. The report calls for major change in policy to discourage high level of consumption from both individuals and industries. Sustainable development also pursues resource, technology, and practice alternatives which more effectively manage consumption.
Reorienting technology and managing risk	Re-focusing technology development to be concerned with realizing social goods like resource conservation, air and water quality, etc. Policy should provide incentives to encourage this technology.
Merging environment and economics in decision making	Integrate economic and ecological considerations into decision making, because they are integrated in how they function in the world. Consider linkages between industry and environment, as well as between different and seemingly unrelated industry sectors. Make industries take responsibility for the effects they have on the environment and other industries.

Table 1.1 Critical Objectives for Sustainable Development (UN, 1987)

As a future planner a logical next step is to examine how these global-scale principles fit into the planning profession. As is customary with major urban issues, the American Planning Association (APA) produced a policy guide which discusses the idea of sustainability, as well as suggests policy changes to make a city more sustainable. The APA's defines sustainability very

similarly to (UN, 1987):

> "Sustainability is the capability to equitably meet the vital human needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs by preserving and protecting the area's ecosystems and natural resource" (APA, 2000).

However, to take discussion of the word further, the APA has identified four goals/dimensions of the sustainability issue from the planning perspective in the form of four mission statements for planners regarding sustainability:

1. "We want to sustain communities as good places to live, and that offer economic and other opportunities to their inhabitants.

2. We want to sustain the values of our society — things like individual liberty and democracy.

3. We want to sustain the biodiversity of the natural environment, both for the contribution that it makes to the quality of human life and for its own inherent value.

4. We want to sustain the ability of natural systems to provide the life-supporting "services"that are rarely counted by economists, but which have recently been estimated to be worth nearly as much as total gross human economic product" (APA, 2000).

These dimensions apply the idea of sustainable development, proposed by (UN, 1987), to issues facing American cities. One thing the APA did very well in their discussion of sustainability is discussing the products of "unsustainabililty", or the negative effects that unsustainable development has created. They not only provide a list of global-scale indicators, similar to ones discussed in (UN, 1987), but also a list of community-scale indicators that can be observed in cities in the United States. Table 2 lists and discusses community-scale indicators.

Suburban Sprawl	Current growth in urban and suburban land use far exceeds the population growth in many major metropolitan centers in the U.S. Between 1970 and 1990, for example, metropolitan Chicago's population grew by 4% while the amount of land dedicated to housing grew by 46%. During that same period, metropolitan Cleveland's population fell by 11% but developed land still increased by 33%. This trend has resulted in increased costs for public services, the decline of central cities, increased vehicle miles traveled and emissions of carbon dioxide, the destruction of farmland and open space, and arguably a loss of community.
Segregation/Unequal Opportunity	Communities all over the United States continue to be largely divided along economic and racial lines, both physically and socially. Poverty is increasing among whites as well as minorities. Minority groups continue to have less access to economic opportunities, adequate food and shelter, and needed services. Nationwide, nearly 28% of people of color live below the poverty level, as compared to about 11% of whites. Loss of Agricultural Land and Open Space. From 1970 to 1990, more than 19 million acres (30,000 square miles) of rural lands were developed. Every year, construction transforms 400,000 acres of high quality farmland. This amounts to 45.6 acres every hour of every day. Such development weakens the agricultural basis upon which people depend, as well as the natural resources upon which all life depends.
Depletion and Degradation of Water Resources	Groundwater over-pumping is occurring in many of the nation's regions. In California, groundwater overdraft averages 1.6 billion cubic meters per year, which amounts to 15% of the state's annual groundwater use. Depletion of the High Plains Aquifer System, which underlies nearly 20% of all irrigated land in the U.S., totals 325 billion cubic meters while current annual depletion is estimated at 12 billion cubic meters. Despite progress made under the Clean Water Act, carcinogens have been found in wells in fourteen different states throughout the Corn Belt and many of the nation's waterways remain badly polluted. In addition, the continuing increase in impermeable surfaces such as parking lots and buildings acts to prevent groundwater recharge, create destructive runoff patterns, and destroy the treatment capacity of natural systems.
Loss of Wetlands	Among the most productive ecosystems in the world, wetlands on non-federal lands in the U.S. are disappearing at a rate of 70,000 to 90,000 acres annually. In the 1600s, over 220 million acres of wetlands are thought to have existed in the lower 48 states. By the 1980s, only an estimated 103 million acres remained.
Traffic Congestion and Air Pollution	Vehicle-clogged roadways and deteriorating air quality diminish quality of life and health for millions of Americans in cities, suburbs, and outlying areas. Since 1970, vehicle miles traveled have increased by 121%, more than four times the population growth over that same period. Traffic congestion is estimated to cost the nation $168 billion in lost productivity. Although air quality has improved in several metropolitan areas due to more stringent emission standards, 46 million Americans continue to live in counties that do not meet federal air quality standards.

Disproportionate Exposure to Environmental Hazards	Low-income people and people of color continue to be disproportionately exposed to environmental hazards in urban and rural areas. In Los Angeles County, California, minorities are three times as likely as whites to live within half a mile of a large, hazardous waste treatment, storage, or disposal facility. Nationwide, Black children from poor families are five times as likely to have dangerous blood lead levels than wealthier White children. White children from households with annual incomes of under $6,000 are three times as likely as White children from families with incomes over $15,000 to have dangerous blood levels of lead.

Table 1.2 Indicators of Community "Unsustainability" (APA, 2000)

As a final link in the sustainability understanding, the guiding principles of the Creating Sustainable Places initiative provide a set of more specific, site concepts, tailor-made for greater Kansas City. Three of these principles (equity, environment, and economy) are very similar to (UN, 1987) and (APA, 2000)'s main points, however, MARC takes another step and identifies places and processes as equally important factors to social, environmental, and economic considerations. This is because CSP has such a specific focus of implementing sustainability goals in Kansas City on a very local scale. Table 3 lists the five guiding principles of CSP, with the principles and processes sections highlighted.

Equity	Residents of all races, economic means, and abilities are welcome and equipped to participate in all aspects of community life. A region is most likely to be sustainable and…competitive, if all its residents are active participants in its economy, community, and public life.
Environment	The environment and our natural resources and assets are preserved, protected and restored. Natural assets such as wetlands and open space provide benefits, including clean air and water, that are essential or the health and vitality of the region's residents and places.
Economy	A competitive, robust economy is supported and promoted by fostering innovation, supporting quality education, and enhancing access to quality jobs. A sustainable region requires a productive, resilient, adaptable and innovative economy. Full participation in the economy by a well-educated workforce with easy access to next-generation job opportunities strengthens the economy, increases quality of life, and makes the region more sustainable. Increasingly, the strength of a region's economy is measured by how well it competes across the country and the world, not by how much it competes within itself.
Places	Sustainable places are vibrant, efficient, enduring, and characterized by: Reinvestment in existing communities and neighborhoods, choices in modes of transportation and housing style, development along corridors and activity centers (enabling connected and efficient development), design for more active lifestyles with access to healthier food, preservation of unique community characteristics as assets to neighborhood and community identity, and resource conservation/energy efficiency.
Processes	Partnerships between government, private sector, regional institutions, and the public to support more coordinated policy and investment. Engage stakeholders and members of the public, especially if they are not typically engaged in decision making processes. Organizational and institutional processes should promote learning from the past and build capacity for change. Decision making processes should explore multi-benefit solutions which focus on the environment, economy, and society equally.

Table 1.3 Creating Sustainable Places Guiding Principles (MARC, 2012)

These guidelines are slightly different from (UN, 1987) and (APA, 2000) because of their scope. Implementations of CSP visioning will be community-scale, block-by-block interventions, which accomplish regional goals. In these guiding principles, MARC puts a focus on not just ability to meet basic needs, but people's ability to be active stakeholders in their community. This idea of involvement and participation is directly connected to the places and processes principles. Places puts focus geographically to point development to key situations

along corridors and around points of interest. Finally, planning and implementation processes that are sustainable engage stakeholders and encourage involvement of many interest groups and concerned parties (MARC, 2012). This union of diverse stakeholders enables a more system-wide decision making mindset, considering as many effects as possible

Diversity

Neighborhood diversity is a well-discussed topic in planning literature, however, I was hard-pressed to find any literature that seemed to give a good, general definition of the term "diversity." Most tended to discuss the topic, but skirt providing a definition, because diversity is difficult to define. In this situation, the dictionary seems to be the best source for defining the term "diversity': "the condition of having or being composed of differing elements, *especially* the inclusion of different types of people (as people of different races or cultures) in a group or organization" (m-w.com, 2013). This definition is simple, but it provides an understanding that diversity is less of a concrete, quantifiable fact, and more of a nuanced heterogeneity among a population.

Planning literature regarding neighborhood diversity tends to focus on race. However, I was drawn to Talen's (2012) discussion of diverse neighborhood, because she uses the term "social diversity". Social diversity implies that diverse neighborhoods are diverse on a number of indicators: age, sex, race and ethnicity, family type, and income.

Social diversity in planning and sociological literature is often connected to the major problem of segregation and unequal access to necessities along racial and economic lines. This corresponds to the same segregation/unequal opportunity issue mentioned previously as an indicator of "unsustainability", and is a major problem in cities all over the world (APA, 2000).

Why is population diversity necessary for sustainable neighborhoods and regions?

Concentrated wealth and poverty and racial segregation across a region is unsustainable because it severely weakens these low-income neighborhoods and puts them at a major disadvantage (Turner and Rawlings, 2009). Since deteriorated neighborhoods cannot compete with wealthier neighborhoods, housing values do not appreciate well, even if they are maintained. This sustains lower property values, impairing residents' ability to accumulate wealth. Lower property values, paired with higher vacant and abandoned properties, make for lower local tax revenue, which makes public service delivery more burdensome on the entire city/region. Since there is less tax revenue coming in, money spent trying to maintain deteriorating infrastructure in these areas cannot be spent investing in projects which could actually help revitalize the neighborhood (Rusk, 2001).

Segregation and inequality for minorities and the poor are primarily driven by separate geographic concentrations of wealth and poverty, which formed as a result of both racially discriminatory housing policies in the early to mid-20th century, as well as sprawling suburban development which has persisted for over half of a century (Massey, 1990). To make a long story short, as automobiles became more popular in the 1940s and 1950s, upper and middle class whites chose to move out of the core city to developments along the urban periphery en masse. Minority and lower-income populations were generally left in the urban core, and in some cases were even forced by deed restrictions and redlining to congregate in specific areas of the city, creating a distinctive segregation between wealthier, predominantly white populations in the suburbs, and poorer minority populations in the city. Over time, this segregation intensified, leading to disinvestment and fewer opportunities in inner-city neighborhoods, which lead to problems such as poverty, unemployment, crime, and poor school quality and attendance, etc.

These conditions continued to compound over generations, becoming more hopeless, and repelling re-investment efforts (Rusk, 2001), (Massey, 1990), (Patillo, 2005).

Region-wide racial and economic segregation is a wicked problem, with no clean-cut answer. Rusk (2001) provides in-depth analysis of attempts at fixing this, and other related urban issues, in a number of cities. His conclusions were that local-scale nonprofit groups, economic development councils, and public housing authorities cannot fix these problems on their own. The solution is working against segregation and inequality region-wide, because they are issues whose causes and effects reach across entire regions, not just within the confines of city limits. Rusk observes a number of methods to accomplish this regionalist solution. Some of these will be discussed later, but in general, he proposes regional governance or inter-jurisdictional revenue-sharing schemes, and policy to encourage greater economic and cultural diversity among neighborhood populations, to eradicate pockets of concentrated poverty. By sharing some tax revenues between rich and poor areas of a region, money can be made available for reinvestment in declining neighborhoods. However, by encouraging neighborhoods to become more integrated and diverse, concentrated poverty does not exist, or at least not nearly to the same extent (Rusk, 2001).

Aside from re-shaping segregated and unequal regions, literature attributes a number of positive characteristics to diverse populations. Diversity enhances creativity (Simonton, 1999). Established and supported immigrant populations encourage more people to move to that neighborhood from the group's homeland since a familiar network already exists (Putnam, 2007). This not only encourages population density, but also can bring young, working age people to a neighborhood, which will become more and more important as the baby boom generation continues to age (Putnam, 2007). Also, literature suggests that students who attended culturally

diverse schools are more culturally sensitive, less prejudiced, and more comfortable in diverse

group work situations (Wells et al., 2005). Research even suggests that racially diverse situations

lead college students to more complex thinking (Antonio et al., 2003).

What do diverse neighborhoods look like?

Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart (1997) analyzed 14 stable racially diverse urban communities

(most of which were economically diverse as well) in 9 U.S. cities in order to propose policy that

could strengthen these communities. To define what it meant to have a "diverse" neighborhood,

they suggested that racial mixing (percentage of each race group) be similar to that of the overall

city characteristics. They chose census tracts which had a racial mixture within 5% of the city

average, then used interviews and field research to understand what contributed to sustained

diversity. Their study yielded a comprehensive list of characteristics of diverse urban

communities:

1. Attractive physical characteristics - Physical elements which define character of the

   neighborhood. Unique architectural styles, amenities, businesses, meaningful

   connectivity to the rest of the city, etc.

2. Two diversity types - Racial/ethnic diversity within blocks, and "pockets" of 2-3

   blocks with culturally homogenous populations

3. Social seams - This idea was taken from Jacobs (1961). Essentially, these are common

   spaces where all different types of people go. These could be parks, stores, a collection

   of stores, events, festivals, etc.

4. Awareness of Diversity - Residents are aware of the stable diversity that exists in their

   neighborhood, and they value it.

5. Active community-based organizations and institutions - These entities act as support

systems which encourage diversity, as well as community organizing bodies which

promote involvement and neighborhood unity.

6. Moral or value-oriented components to organizations and institutions - When making

decisions about the community, the question "What makes a good community" is

asked more frequently than "How will this affect my property value?"

7. Effort to spur economic development - These are usually niche products and services

which are unique to the neighborhood and give it more identity (Nyden et. al., 1997).

Maly (2005) also identifies two different diversity styles. These styles describe how

neighborhood diversity developed, and how it sustains itself. Communities that are "diverse by

circumstance" have little organization - no planning for or intention of diversity. These

communities are multi-race/ethnicity, but not dominated by any particular one. Diverse by

circumstance communities are relatively stable because the various interests that exist within the

community keep each other in check (Maly, 2005).

On the other hand, "diverse by direction" communities are consciously diverse, and use

various tools to maintain their diversity. Diverse by direction leadership seeks Community

Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds, and other external investment sources to improve and

maintain housing stock and environment within the community. Diverse by direction also uses

regulation on the housing market, like equity insurance programs to maintain property value, and

partnerships between government and community groups to monitor housing discrimination.

These communities are actually fairly unstable because they rely heavily on regulation and

public investment, yet there is more active involvement and control from the top down.

Opposition to Diversity

Despite the proposed positive effects on sustainability goals, there are a number of forces

that act against diversity on various scales. As well, literature is not all supportive of diverse

neighborhoods. This portion of the discussion of economic and culturally diverse neighborhoods

explores the forces and ideas that challenge diversity.

Population Movement

People are free to locate their home wherever they choose. This conscious selection of

home site is called migration (Grier, 1978). Free mobility of the population is not necessarily a

problem for diverse, it's merely a market fact that must be planned for. However, when

population movement is forced and people are displaced, then it can become a major challenge to

neighborhood diversity. Displacement is caused by three factors: construction of a new building

on the site, disasters, and market conditions (Grier, 1978). Construction and disasters are fairly

straightforward and self-explanatory, but market conditions causing displacement are major

concerns for maintaining a diverse neighborhood.

Displacement

First, declining property value can result in abandonment of a property or withdrawal of

essential services to the site. At a certain point, a property is no longer profitable to maintain, and

a property owner will vacate if they cannot sell the property. Disinvestment can cause wealthier

residents of declining areas to relocate out of fear for losing property value (Grier, 1978).

Reinvestment

Second, and most applicable to the situation of diversity in Northeast Kansas City, is

displacement caused by reinvestment. This form of displacement takes place when reinvestment

or renewed interest in an area attracts more affluent residents, causing property values to

increase. Increased property value means higher property taxes, higher rents, and higher

maintenance cost to deal with increased code enforcement (Grier, 1978). Reinvestment can be

dangerous for maintaining diversity because it creates barriers to specific economic classes, and can even replace them with other, wealthier ones.

The causes of displacement from reinvestment are three fold. First, incumbent residents invest in their property and upgrade it, increasing their property value. This investment can come from private sources or government programs aimed at improving neighborhood housing stock. Second is competition, where demand for a specific housing type increases due to broader housing market shifts, driving up the value put on property in the area (Grier, 1978).

The final cause of displacement is known as gentrification: where more affluent, and often times a homogenous group of more affluent residents replace incumbent lower-income residents and renovate and re-invest in the property (Grier, 1978). Gentrification often has a negative connotation to it because it can completely disrupt a diverse community. However, gentrification is not necessarily bad. In the case of declined areas receiving reinvestment, it is the first step in the neighborhood gaining a more sustainable income and race mix (Maly, 2005).

Criticism of Diverse Neighborhoods

There is no guarantee that diverse communities will be a solution to issues like segregation and inequality between neighborhoods (Turner and Rawlings, 2009). First, a diverse community is not necessarily conflict-free. Intolerance and incompatible lifestyles between different demographics and subcultures who live in the same neighborhood could actually turn into hostility and division (Fainstein, 2005). Survey results in Putnam (2007) show that people in diverse communities have less trust for their neighbors. This research even suggests that people in diverse cities even have more distrust people of their own race, not just people who look different from them. Putnam's (2007) research even goes as far to say that people who live in

more diverse areas demonstrate:

1. "Lower confidence in local government, local leaders and the local news media.

2. Lower political efficacy – that is, confidence in their own influence.

3. Lower frequency of registering to vote, but more interest and knowledge about politics and more participation in protest marches and social reform groups.

4. Less expectation that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action (e.g., voluntary conservation to ease a water or energy shortage).

5. Less likelihood of working on a community project.

6. Lower likelihood of giving to charity or volunteering.

7. Fewer close friends and confidants.

8. Less happiness and lower perceived quality of life.

9. More time spent watching television and more agreement that 'television is my most important form of entertainment'."

Design Strategies

Two main texts which stand out as authoritative sources on diverse community design strategies. The first is a pivotal piece of planning literature, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961), by Jane Jacobs. Jacobs spends a great deal of time discussing the merits of neighborhood diversity in the built environment, which can be directly applied to diversity and sustainability goals. The second is Emily Talen's, Design for Diversity: Exploring Socially Mixed Neighborhoods (2010). This work not only culminates Talen's entire research career so far, it is also driven by incredibly robust and exhaustive literature review in exploring urban design strategies which promote neighborhood diversity. The main idea that these two authors

propose is mixing uses in order to best support a diverse population, and maintain neighborhood vitality. First, I will examine the idea of mixing uses, then discuss a variety of strategies and concepts which enable these ideas.

Mix

Talen suggests that diverse places require a mixture of housing types and a mixture of services and facilities in order to support a diverse set of needs (2008). This idea is also parallels one of Jacobs's main arguments: for a neighborhood to have sustained vitality (i.e. be socially and economically sustainable), it must have a mixture of uses and building types in the same small area (1961). Contrary to modern planning ideals of separating uses into specific zones, mixing uses includes combining residential, office, retail, entertainment, civic space, government uses, etc. within very close proximity to each other (Atlanta Regional Commission, 2012).

Proper housing mixture consists of three considerations. First is mixing of housing types: different tenures (renter, owner), and different sizes and forms (single family, multi-family). Second is mixing housing ages - retaining existing housing stock and incorporating new housing units. Older units are often more affordable, and as in the case of Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods, have historic qualities which add to neighborhood character and promote identity. The final side of housing mixture is including policy which sustains varying stages of affordability levels. This can range from various tax abatement programs (as will be discussed later) to form-based code which better handles mixture of housing types on the same blocks (Talen, 2008).

Social and economic diversity also requires a mixture of facilities and services on a smaller, neighborhood-scale footprint. This mixture of uses should be based off of needs of

local diverse populations. As well, Jacobs (1961) suggests a mixture of use types in one place facilitates constant activity in a neighborhood because different people will be attracted to different uses from day to night. By including uses which attract people of different cultural backgrounds, economic status, etc. (i.e. commercial retail and restaurants, different government and social institutions, as well as various housing styles which cater to a range of incomes and family styles) a particular site or stretch of street can illicit interaction between diverse populations (Talen, 2008). This idea is echoed in (Nyden, et. al., 1997), when they talk about the idea of "social seams", or places which attract and link people of diverse backgrounds.

Implementation

Jacobs (1961) and Talen (2012) identify a number of strategies and concepts which enable this mixture of uses, and therefore diversity in the neighborhood. These strategies include density, connectivity and accessibility, diversity in building stock, and public safety.

Density

Jacobs (1961) is a great advocate for density, saying that for urban areas, densities above 100 dwelling units/acre are necessary for neighborhood vitality and sustaining this mixture of uses (1961). This proposal may seem staggering, especially compared to typical suburban development that may only have 2-3 or fewer dwelling units/acre, however, this density makes sense for a number of reasons. First, this mixing of uses implies a smaller footprint: having more uses in immediate relation with each other. Of course, this means that density of housing units must be higher, as they are a part of these uses. Second, when discussing diversity among population, sociological evidence supports the idea that denser populations allow for greater diversity in a smaller area (Fischer, 1975). When population is more spread out, Fischer argues, there is greater capacity for segregation among different groups.

Connectivity and Accessiblitiy

The overall concept with designing development for connectivity and accessibility is to make it so people can get to the uses on the site as efficiently as possible, via as many modes of transportation as possible. This is taking a system-wide mindset of different transportation networks into account when applying urban design. By placing developments along public transit lines and pedestrian and bicycle infrastructure, it makes them accessible to anyone, regardless of their means of mobility. By designing with short blocks, intensity of uses, and with sidewalks and pedestrian access in mind, developments can be more "walkable": not only more accessible, but having more amenities that are attractive to investment, as well as facilitating informal interaction between people in the space, and therefore greater neighborhood vitality (as discussed previously). As well, designing to comply with Americans with Disabilities Act standards allows all members of the community to access the site, regardless of disability (U.S. Department of Justice, 2010)

Building Stock

Jacobs (1961) defends the idea of having a variety of building types, ages, and conditions. In short, having a diverse building stock can allow for more diverse uses and tenants. This can mean everything from allowing for greater range of housing style and affordability options, to allowing for artist studio space in the same areas as office space. This is one way that Talen (2008) challenges traditional planning ideals which dictate building height, lot coverage, etc., saying that diversity in population and land use is better accomplished when building stock is not uniform. These proposals, however, are not without debate. Especially when it comes to building age and historic buildings, economists are skeptical of Jacobs' beliefs, saying that these structures are often the attractors of gentrifying populations, and do not really contribute to diversity.

Public Safety

Finally, a key element behind successful public space, which this mixture of uses and multi-modal connectivity is based on, is safety. Put simply, if people do not feel safe in a space, then they will not go there. This can be a major issue, especially in parts of a city that are redeveloping, which is where much of the thought about sustainable development takes place. Jacobs (1961) explains that density helps with this issue by having "eyes on the street". This generally means making public space open and visible to passersby, store fronts, and windows of offices and residences.

Oscar Newman is most well-known for his writing on public safety through design (1996). Newman developed the concept of "defensible space". Having defensible space, Newman write, is to restructure "the physical layout of communities to allow residents to control the areas around their homes," including streets, grounds outside of buildings, and lobbies and corridors within buildings (p. 9). Essentially, the idea of defensible space is empowering residents, business owners, and people using public spaces to police their own space by making the physical environment difficult to conduct undesirable activity in. These ideas grew into a series of writings, and became the basis for Crime Prevention Trough Environmental Design (CPTED) strategies.

CPTED strategies take the idea of defensible space and breaks it into three concepts:

1. Natural Surveillance: improving visibility through improved lighting, designed landscaping, and the use of transparent building materials.

2. Natural Access Control: Clearly define entrances making sure they are visible, well lit, and overlooked by windows if possible.

3. Territorial Reinforcement: Develop or create areas or places where the users feel a strong sense of ownership (International CPTED Assoc., 2012).

Employing these ideas through code and design guidelines can help control crime in areas without necessarily having police patrols.

Incentives and Enabling Policies

One challenge to diverse neighborhoods is market conditions which favor development that does not support diversity. In these situations, economic development and redevelopment tools can be employed to make diversity-friendly development more feasible. This final section identifies some of the policies which can help development which supports diverse neighborhoods.

The following table includes a list of development tools and programs available for development in Kansas City, Missouri, assembled by the Economic Development Corporation of Kansas City (2012). These programs are in place in order to support development and investment in areas that may not be as desirable under normal market conditions. Some of these incentives, like the Planned Industrial Expansion Area (PIEA), Urban Renewal Area (URA), Enhanced Enterprise Zone (EEZ), and Community Improvement Districts (CID) are only available in specified areas of the city, or require creation of a special district in order to access the benefits of the program. Others are more flexible on location, but the cost to create the program or the competition for limited funds and vouchers makes attaining the benefits extremely difficult. This is the case in situations like Chapter 353 tax abatements, which require blight studies and development plans, and Low-Income Housing Tax Credits, which are in high demand and require a very competitive application process. Tax Increment Financing (TIF) uses dollars from increased property taxes to fund project costs, essentially borrowing against future property tax increases that will incur from the development.

Program	Agency	Main Incentive	Costs to Create
Planned Industrial Expansion Area (PIEA)	Planned Industrial Expansion Authority (PIEA)	Real property tax abatement (10 years of 100% of increased property tax, then 15 years of 50% tax increase)	• Fees = $6,000 • Blight study and general dev't plan required = $7,000 - $15,000 • Attorney and consult fees
Chapter 353	City of Kansas City Dept. of City Planning and Development	Real property tax abatement (10 years of 100% of increased property tax, then 15 years of 50% tax increase)	• City fees = $500 - $5,000 depending if commercial or residential • Blight study and general dev't plan required • Attorney and consult fees
Urban Renewal Area (URA)	Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority (LCRA)	Real property tax abatement (10 years of 100% of increased property tax)	• LCRA $4,000+ fee • Commercial project application fee $2,000 • Financial analysis to see if project exceeds $2 Million • Attorney and consultant fees
Tax Increment Financing (TIF)	TIF Commission	For up to 23 years, 100% of the increased property taxes and 50% of other local taxes may be available to pay for some or all eligible project costs	• TIF Commission fee = $20,000+ • Attorney and consultant fees • TIF Commission gets 5% of TIF revenues generated
Enhanced Enterprise Zone (EEZ)	Enhanced Enterprise Zone Board, Missouri Department of Economic Developmen (MoDED)	State tax credits and local real property tax abatement for creating jobs (10 years abatement of 50% of the increased taxes)	• EEZ Board application fee = $300 • Tax abatement fee ranges from 1.5 cents per sq. ft. to 0.5 cents per sq. ft. depending on building's total square footage.
Chapter 100	City of Kansas City	Bond financing for business expansions and new businesses to Kansas City	
Rebuilding communities	MoDED	40% income tax credit or 40% specialized equipment credit for new business, 25% specialized equipment credit for new business	
SBA – 504	Economic Development Corp. of KC	Low-cost, fixed-rate second mortgage financing for fixed assets.	
Community Improvement District (CID)	City of Kansas City, Independence Avenue has its own CID	Cost sharing for additional public services or improvements through self-imposed property/sales tax, and special assessments	
Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC)	Missouri Housing Development Commission (MHDC)	Federal Tax Credits – Federal tax credit equal to 9% or 4% of eligible costs for 10 years for development of "affordable" housing for low- or moderate- income households.	• Highly competitive application process • A percentage of residential units must be rented to low- and moderate-income households • Must remain "affordable" for at least 15 years • Usually needs a managing partner and a number of passive investors

Historic Tax Credit (HTC) (Federal/Missouri)	(National Park Service/Missouri Dept. of Natural Resources)	20% federal /25% Missouri tax credit equal to (20%/25%) of eligible rehabilitation costs for historic buildings	• Building must be eligible or listed on National Register of Historic Places • Must submit an application, and must perform certified rehabilitation
Rehabilitation Tax Credit (RTC)	U.S. Internal Revenue Service	10% Federal income tax credit for eligible rehabilitation costs for non-historic buildings	Building must have been built prior to 1936 but are not a "certified historic structure"

Table 1.4 Economic Development Incentive Programs Available in Kansas City, MO (Economic Development Corporation of Kansas City, 2012)

Summary

The task of Kansas City Design Center's 2012-2013 studio is to explore sustainable futures for the Independence Avenue corridor, as well as the neighborhoods of Northeast Kansas City. Pursuing sustainability in a planning and urban design context generally means working toward a goal where people are able to meet their basic needs, without inhibiting each other or future generations to do the same. Population diversity is a crucial part of sustainability because diverse neighborhoods distribute wealth and poverty more equally and equitably than racially and economically segregated clusters seen in today's cities. Diverse neighborhoods have greater capacity for vibrancy, especially if the community is engaged and values the social and economic mix it has. Mixing various housing types with commercial, service, and institutional uses through strategic, well connected developments can provide support for people of all different cultural and economic backgrounds, and create social seams where they can interact with each other on a day to day basis. On top of the benefits of diverse neighborhoods, Northeast Kansas City has a cultural richness unlike any other in the region, so working to preserve diversity will not only strengthen the community, but also emphasize one of its most celebrated assets.

To bring this information all back to the KCDC project, I intend to use the remainder of this report to compare existing conditions in Northeast neighborhoods to the literature reviewed

in this section: particularly the work of Nyden, et. al. (1997), Talen (2012), and Jacobs (1961).

Chapter 2 lays out my methodology for analyzing diversity and urban design in the Northeast

study area.

Chapter 2 - Methodology

Prologue

This study's intention is to understand how sustainability, planning, and urban design theories explored in reviewed literature can be applied to a real-world situation, and inform design strategies in the KCDC 2012-2013 studio project area. First, I aim to understand what diversity means in Kansas City, and analyze how diverse the Northeast really is. I will accomplish this through local demographic and economic analysis, using Nyden, et. al. (1997)'s methods of comparing neighborhood race mixes to those of the city overall to identify diverse neighborhoods. However, I take this idea two steps further. Instead of examining only race data, I compare the age, sex, race, household type, and income indicators identified by Talen (2012) between Northeast neighborhoods and not just the city overall, but also the entire region, as per Rusk's (2001) conclusions about urban issues needing regional solutions. Second, I will apply the concepts from Nyden, et. al. (1997), Jacobs (1961), Talen (2012), as well as public safety concepts from the International CPTED Association (2012), to the build environment in the Northeast in order to assess how successful or unsuccessful it is at promoting a diverse neighborhood.

For the neighborhood scale analysis (both demographic/economic indicators, and the built environment concepts) I use the Scarrit Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods as cases to represent the Northeast Kansas City study area. I chose these two neighborhoods in particular for three reasons. First, they are centrally located, and make up the heart of Northeast Kansas City. They are also adjacent to one another (one on the north side and one on the south side of Independence Avenue). Second, they were originally developed at different times and in different ways, which has had an effect on which types of residents live in these neighborhoods.

Scarrit Renaissance was one of the original well-to-do neighborhoods in Kansas City, and therefore now has more historic homes, including some large mansions. Lykins, on the other hand, developed some years after Scarrit Renaissance, as a more modest, blue-collar neighborhood for workers in nearby industrial areas. Third, the border between the two neighborhoods is created by a neighborhood-scale commercial district on Independence Avenue, which acts as a perfect sample for analyzing how design of social seam areas in the Northeast can impact neighborhood diversity.

Description of Sample and Measurement Techniques

The sample for this study comes from two main levels. First, population-focused diversity indicators from the U.S. Census and American Community Survey are used to understand and analyze diversity for the Kansas City, MO-KS region, the City of Kansas City, MO, all seven Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods as a whole, and the two sample neighborhoods, Scarrit Renaissance and Lykins. The sampling units for this portion of the study are percentages of people who fall into age, sex, and race categories, and percentages of households and families who fall into household type, family income, and household income categories.

The second level is the neighborhood-focused built environment. The samples for this level of analysis will be the Scarrit Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods, particularly the commercial district along Independence Avenue which acts as both a border and a social seam between the two. Units for this portion will be qualitative analysis of how the characteristics of diverse urban communities identified by Nyden, et. al. (1997), and concepts outlined in the Design Strategies section of the Literature Review (from Jacobs (1961), Talen (2012), and International CPTED Assoc. (2012).) are employed in Kansas City neighborhoods. These

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concepts include population density, housing style and tenure, ommercial building use, local and regional connectivity, and public safety through CPTED guidelines

Analytic Strategy

Methods for accomplishing the proposed analysis are as follows:

Diversity Analysis

The first level of analysis examines the demographic and economic diversity indicators form Census and American Community Survey. Data retrieved will be in the form of the following geographies: Greater Kansas City, MO-KS Metropolitan Statistical Area, City of Kansas City, MO, and the Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods. The following Jackson County, MO census tracts will represent each neighborhood:

- 6, 7, 8 (Indian Mound)

- 9 (Scaritt Renaissance)

- 10 (Pendleton Heights)

- 18 (Independence Plaza)

- 19 (Lykins)

- 20 (Sheffield)

- 154 (Forgotten Homes)

The final geographies which will be used in the Diversity Analysis portion of this report will be the City, Metropolitan Statistical Area/Region, the Northeast overall (the combined data of the neighborhoods), and finally, the Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins neighborhood. This data will be converted into Microsoft Excel data tables, and ultimately graphs, and charts which measure the percentage of population, households, and families which fall into different categories. When possible, data from each of these geographies will be combined into the same graph, allowing for better comparison.

Analysis of this data will be based on the style of Nyden et al. (1998). The region and city-wide social diversity indicators will set a diversity standard which neighborhood-level indicators will be compared to. Whether or not a neighborhood is diverse will be based on how close it comes to regional mix.

Urban Design Analysis

The second level of analysis focuses on two realms of the built environment: Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods, as well as the commercial district on Independence Avenue between Indiana Avenue and Norton Avenue. This analysis requires a combination of Census data and field observation. The elements which this study focuses on come from concepts identified by Jacobs (1961), Talen (2012), and International CPTED Assoc. (2013).

Analysis of the two neighborhoods will utilize population count, housing vacancy, and housing tenure data for Census blocks in Jackson County census tracts 9 (Scarritt Renaissance) and 19 (Lykins). This data will be displayed visually using ArcGIS in order to see patterns among neighborhood blocks.

The second realm of built environment analysis is site observations in the commercial district. In particular, the main points of consideration for site will be building uses, building site placement, condition, and façade style, bus routes and neighborhood scale, and finally comparing CPTED concepts to existing conditions.

The intention with the Urban Design Analysis is both to understand conditions in these neighborhoods which influence diversity, in particular how well the commercial district functions as a social seam.

__Validity__

This study is valid for two reasons. First, it analyzes neighborhood diversity on a comprehensive scale. Age, sex, household type, race, and income are indicators of social diversity. These indicators contribute to true social diversity in a neighborhood, or can be lines which segregation can form upon. By analyzing all of these five indicators, one can have a full understanding of what neighborhood diversity means in Kansas City, and just how diverse the Northeast is.

However, a problem seems to arise when employing the comparative approach that Nyden et. al (1997) used. Primarily, this approach does not necessarily establish a definition of diversity in the first place, which can lead to some concerns regarding whether or not the diversity standard set forth by regional or city indicators is even diverse at all. Of particular concern is the race portion. If the city, and especially the region overall is dominated by whites, to the point that it is not very diverse in the first place, then this standard does not seem to hold up. This, I think, is a situation unique only to race indicators, as the term "diversity" implies a notion of heterogeneity, regardless of what the city or region overall may look like. On the other hand, when examining income, a desirable standard for a diverse neighborhood is one which is similar to city- and region-wide mix, because it prevents economic segregation.

Second, by focusing in on housing and commercial development in Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins, one can gain a more complete picture of the existing conditions in the Northeast which impact diverse populations. Comparing existing conditions to the suggestions laid out in reviewed literature informs the KCDC studio project of how design interventions can best protect the most prized asset that the Northeast has.

Chapter 3 - Analysis

The levels of diversity analysis that I intend to examine are twofold. The first examines diversity indicators inspired by Talen (2012) and Nyden, et. al. (1997): comparing neighborhood age, sex, race, household, and income data to the city overall. However, this study differs from from Nyden, et. al. (1997) because I chose to include two other scales of indicator analysis: the overall Kansas City, MO-KS region, and combined data from all seven neighborhoods in the Northeast. This idea is inspired by both Rusk's (2001) conclusions that urban issues require regional consideration, as well as the assertion that sustainable development requires social, economic, and environmental system-wide approach (UN, 1987).

The second level of analysis focuses on the built environment at a neighborhood scale. For this task, I examine two adjacent neighborhoods in Northeast Kansas City: Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins, and the commercial district along Independence Avenue which makes up the border between the two. I use the ideas suggested by Jacobs (1961) and Talen (2010) to examine how successful or unsuccessful these neighborhoods and their shared commercial district are at encouraging a diverse population.

Diversity Analysis

This section intends to understand what neighborhood diversity means in Kansas City by comparing how diverse the city, region, and focus neighborhoods are.

The term "diverse neighborhood" essentially means having a non-homogenous mixture of social, economic, and cultural traits. Nyden et. al. (1997) claimed that for an inner-city neighborhood, the optimum mixture of these traits is one which mimics that of the city overall.

The idea is that if neighborhoods had the same mixture as the city, then there would not be uneven concentration of wealth, poverty, minorities, etc.

The following four sections analyze age and sex, household type, race, and income for the region, city, and Northeast neighborhood scale. Each indicator section has a discussion of data for each geography, with a summary section at the end which draws conclusions.

Age and Sex

The following is a series of population pyramid graphs for each of the five geographic scales. These graphs show the percentage of the population (male in blue, female in red) which fall into particular age groups.
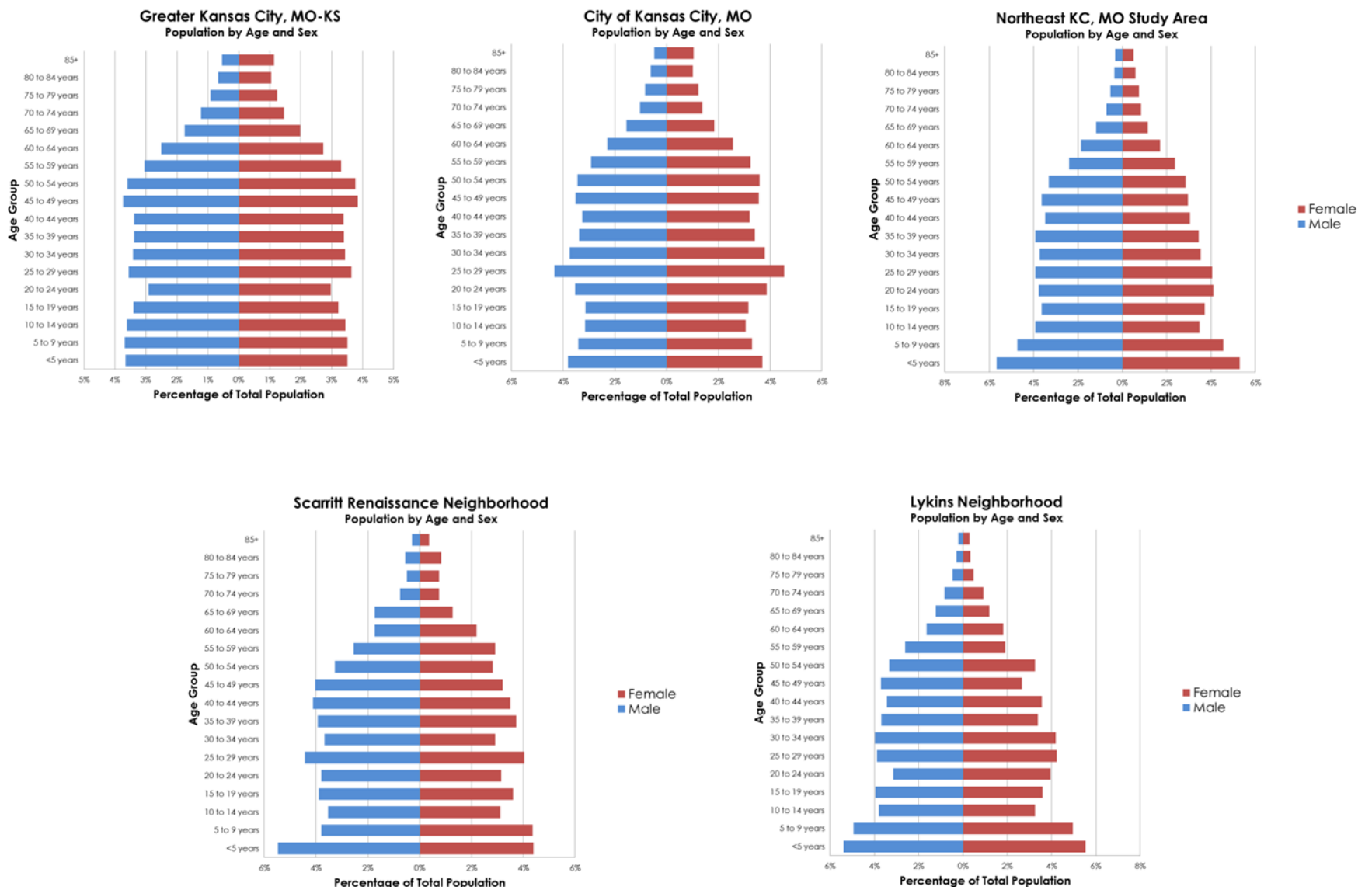
Figure 3.1 Age and Sex Graphs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)

Region

Trends on the graph show a large spike in number of people between the ages of 40 and 60. This is a pattern seen across the United States. These age groups are members of the so called "Baby Boomer" generation, born in the years immediately following World War II and the Korean War. As well, there is substantial younger-to-middle aged adult population (late twenties to early forties), and a less pronounced spike in children under ten years old.

City of Kansas City, MO

Same as the Kansas City MO-KS region, the City of Kansas City, MO has a a large proportion of people aged 45 to 60, people in their late twenties and early thirties, and young children. However, these population spikes are more pronounced in the City, especially in the young adult and young children ages. This gives evidence of a substantial number of young adults who have chosen to live in the city as they begin their careers and start families.

Northeast Kansas City

The most notable pattern is the large percentage of young children (under 10 years old). Possibly related is a lesser pronounced spike in young adults, particularly women in their twenties. This can be attributed to a significant number of young families in the region. However, the young adult population has noticeably more females than males.

Scarritt Renaissance

Scarritt Renaissance is actually fairly close to the diversity precedent set by the City overall: high percentages of middle-aged adults, adults in their late twenties, and young childrend. The main differences are in the youngest and oldest age groups. Scarritt Renaissance

has a greater percentage of children under 9 years old, and a smaller percentage of residents over 70 years old, compared to all of Kansas City, MO. Compared to the seven Northeast Kansas neighborhoods combined, Scarritt Renaissance has a slightly greater concentration of both middle-aged adults (age 40 to 54) and adults in their upper-twenties.

Lykins

The most noticeable trend in the Lykins neighborhood age groups is the large percentage of children under nine years old. The remainder of the population tends to fall into the late twenties to early thirties, and the early fifties age group, making the population overall much younger than region or City.

Summary

Overall, the region and city seem to be fairly diverse as far as age. As noted, similar patterns of higher and lower percentage are seen between the City and region, but the City has more pronounced spikes in these areas. However, Kansas City, MO has a higher percentage of young adults, and slightly lower percentage of Baby Boomers, which is the inverse of the region. In all, there is no drastically major concentration in select age groups, which means that the diversity standard set by the region and city is a healthy, diverse mix

Focusing in on the Northeast Kansas City study area, a different pattern from the City and region emerges. There are fewer older adults and more young children, and still a higher, but far less prominent percentage of people in their twenties. This is a much less diverse compared to the region and city, because the younger age groups seem to dominate.

At the neighborhood scale, we see a split between Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins Scarritt Renaissance seems to follow the pattern of the City, but Lykins follows the pattern of the

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average in the Northeast neighborhoods. Scarrit, like the rest of the city, is actually fairly diverse, because despite having spikes in particular age groups, it still has people of other ages to fill in the gaps. On the other hand, Lykins residents, like the Northeast overall, seem to concentrate in younger age groups. This means that Lykins is not very diverse in the age indicator, because it lacks the older population. At the neighborhood scale is where we also start to see differences in male and female populations. These differences do not seem to be strong enough to affect diversity on a broad scale, but trends like considerably more females aged 20 to 24 in Lykins, can point to other dilemmas, like single mother households.

Household Type

This section analyzes how households are structured in Kansas City. The following doughnut charts show how family and nonfamily households break down into more specific household configurations.

Greater
Kansas City, MO-KS
Households

Total Households: 799,367

Avg. Household size: 2.51

Avg. Family Size: 3.08

Female 9%
Nonfamily 6%
Married Couple 21%
Female 65+ 6%
With Children 31%
Householder Living Alone 28%
Nonfamily Households 34%
Family Households 66%
Single Mother 7%
Male 10%
Single Father 2%
Male 65+ 2%
No Children 35%
"Other" Family 14%
Married Couple 21%
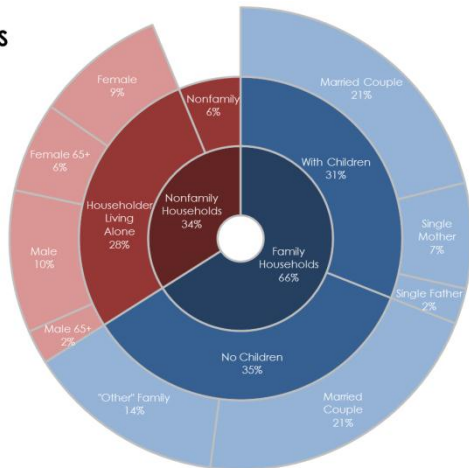
City of Kansas City, MO
Households

Total Households: 192,406

Avg. Household size: 2.34

Avg. Family Size: 3.07

Female 12%
Nonfamily 9%
Married Couple 15%
Female 65+ 6%
With Children 26%
Householder Living Alone 35%
Nonfamily Households 43%
Family Households 57%
Single Mother 9%
Male 14%
Single Father 2%
Male 65+ 3%
No Children 30%
Married Couple 15%
"Other" family 16%
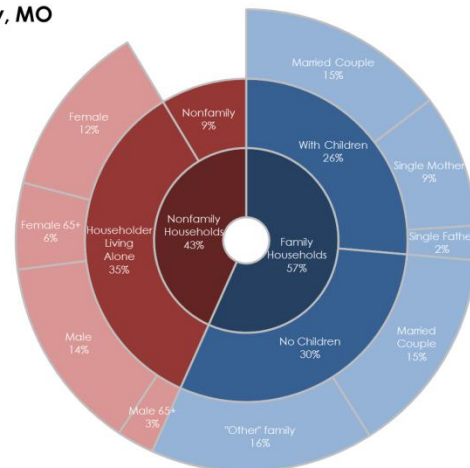
Northeast KC, MO
Study Area
Households

Total Households: 11,001

Avg. Household size: 2.92

Avg. Family Size: 3.61

Female 12%
Nonfamily 8%
Married Couple 18%
Female 65+ 6%
With Children 36%
Householder Living Alone 28%
Nonfamily Households 36%
Family Households 64%
Single Mother 14%
Male 14%
Single Father 4%
Male 65+ 3%
No Children 28%
"Other" family 10%
Married Couple 15%
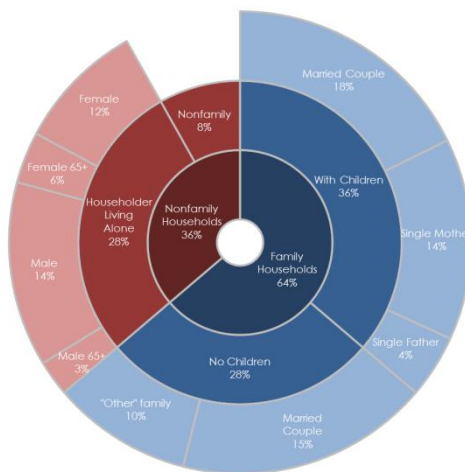
Scarritt Renaissance
Neighborhood
Households

Total Households: 1,065

Avg. Household size: 2.86

Avg. Family Size: 3.55

Female 9%
Nonfamily 11%
Married Couple 14%
Female 65+ 3%
With Children 31%
Householder Living Alone 27%
Nonfamily Households 38%
Family Households 62%
Single Mother 17%
Male 12%
Single Father 4%
Male 65+ 3%
No Children 31%
"Other" family 10%
Married Couple 16%
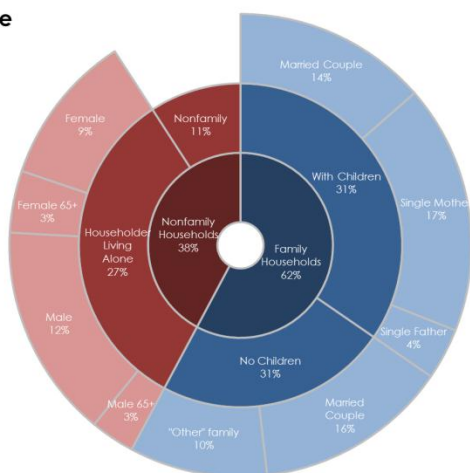
Lykins
Neighborhood
Households

Total Households: 1,142

Avg. Household size: 2.93

Avg. Family Size: 3.75

Female 11%
Nonfamily 8%
Married Couple 17%
Female 65+ 3%
With Children 34%
Householder Living Alone 32%
Nonfamily Households 40%
Family Households 60%
Single Mother 12%
Male 16%
Single Father 5%
Male 65+ 3%
No Children 26%
"Other" family 9%
Married Couple 17%

Figure 3.2 Household Type (American Community Survey, 2013)

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Region

The majority of households in the Kansas City region are family households. Of those family households, most are married couples; equally split at 21% with children, 21% without. On the other side, nonfamily households are primarily people living alone, as compared to multiple nonrelated roommates sharing a residence

City of Kansas City, MO

Kansas City, MO is also mostly family households, but only makes up 57%, as compared to the region's 64%. Of those family households, around half are married couples (30% of the total households), and half of those married couples have children (15% of the total households). A fact to note is that the vast majority of single-parent households are single mothers. These households make up 9% of all Kansas City households.
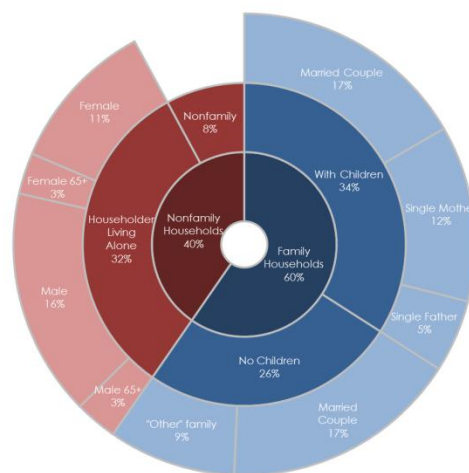
On the non-family side, the majority of households are people living alone (35% of the total), with only 9% of the total households in Kansas City being a non-relative roommate scenario. Of the single-person households, males and females are split almost equally.

Northeast Kansas City

The Northeast neighborhoods have a very similar family to nonfamily household ratio as the regional count. However, families with children make up more of the households in the Northeast. This difference can be attributed by the most noteworthy fact about the Northeast's households: there is a considerably high percentage of single mother households in the Northeast. Northeast Kansas City households have twice the percentage of single mother households (14% vs. 7%), and 5% more than the City (9%).

As well, Northeast Kansas City families and households have more people than the city and region, averaging around half of a person larger.

Scarritt Renaissance

The most notable statistic with Scarritt Renaissance households is the fact that 17% of the 1,065 households in the neighborhood are single mother households. This is interesting, because the age and sex data analyzed in the previous section did not necessarily show more females of any age group than males. There is a larger share of family households (particularly married couples with or without children) than the City, but smaller than the region or the Northeast neighborhoods combined. As well, there is a slightly higher percentage of unrelated roommate households in Scarritt Renaissance than the other areas.

Lykins

Households in Lykins are similar to Scarritt Renaissance, but with a smaller percentage of single mother households. The difference in single mother households is found in married couple households (with or without children). Interestingly, despite the considerably higher percentage of young children seen in the previous section, Lykins does not have a considerable difference in families with children. This means that families with children in Lykins could be larger than in the other areas of study, which is reaffirmed by Lykins's family size that is slightly larger on average than Scarritt, and almost 3/4 of a person larger than City and regional averages.

Summary

As was seen in the previous section, the City of Kansas City, MO is considerably different from the region as a whole. The Kansas City region is dominated by families, since suburban housing development caters more closely to that lifestyle. The City, on the other hand,

is still mostly families, but has a smaller ratio, since city dwellers have a higher percentage of people living alone or sharing a residence with a nonrelative. Judging by this data, the City of Kansas City, MO is much more diverse than the region, as it has an almost perfectly even mix of married couples with and without children, "other" family configurations, and male and female homeowners who live alone. City household mix seems to be a more desirable and even diversity standard than the region, which is dominated by families.

The Northeast neighborhood household mix is closer to that of the region, but offset by the fact that it has three times as many single mother households. This proves to be less diverse than even the region, because the family households which dominate it are less diverse. Scarritt Renaissance has essentially the same household mix as the Northeast in general, only with an even higher single mother household percentage, making it even less diverse. Lykins seems to be a cross between the Northeast and the City of Kansas City when it comes to household mix. Lykins has a similar distribution to Kansas City, with the exception of having twice the percentage of single mother households. Lykins is definitely the more diverse of the two study neighborhoods, but patterns in Northeast neighborhoods show a problem with disproportionately too many single mother households, which affects household diversity.

__Race__

This section examines racial diversity by looking at the proportion of each race group in the study areas. The stacked bar graph compares the percentages of each race for each study scale.
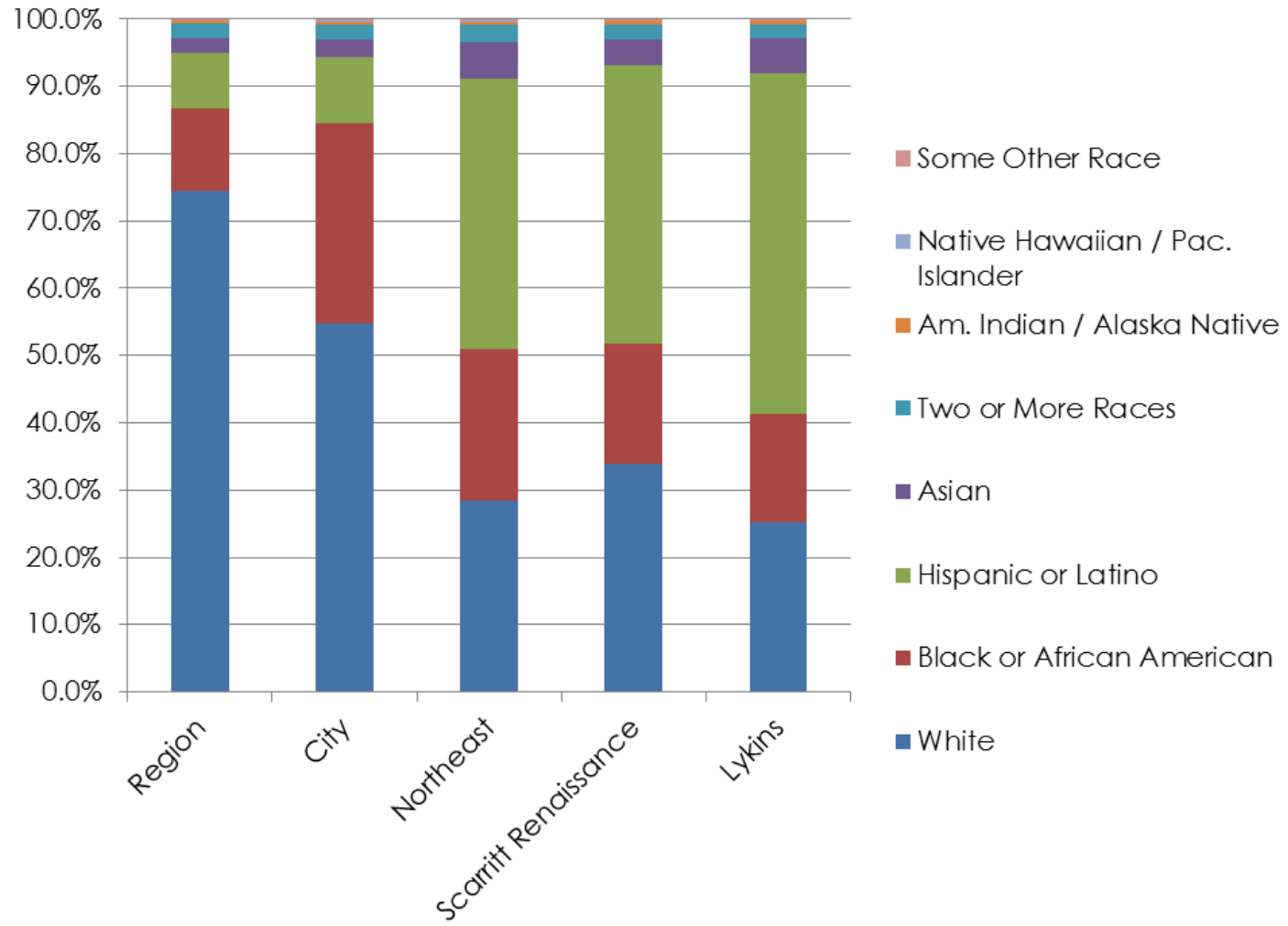
Figure 3.3 Race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)

Region

One of the more striking differences between the Kansas City region and the City of Kansas City, MO is the race mix. With the inclusion of the suburban areas, the region is almost 75% white. Interestingly, the main difference caused by the predominantly white suburbs is the size of the Black/African American population. While the difference in percentage of other races (Hispanic/Latino, Asian, etc.) is very slight change between the City and the Region.

City of Kansas City, MO

The majority of Kansas City residents are white, making up about 55% of the population. The remainder is mostly made up of Black/African American and Hispanic or Latino populations, making up about 30% and 10% respectively. The Asian population and people who are of multiple races make up about 2.5% each, and the final 1% is made up of very small populations of American Indian/Native Alaskan, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and people of some other race not mentioned.

Northeast Kansas City

A main component of the Northeast's identity is their cultural diversity. As the chart shows, this area has a very high Hispanic and Latino population. This well-established Hispanic and Latino community has become a magnet for recent immigrants coming from Central and South America, as well as other Hispanic and Latino Americans moving to Kansas City from other parts of the country. As well, the Asian population in the Northeast, although still small, is twice the percentage (5%) that exists in the City and region.

Scarritt Renaissance

Scarritt Renaissance has a fairly similar race mix to the Northeast, but has a slightly smaller Black/African American and Asian population, and slightly larger Hispanic/Latino and White population.

Lykins

Lykins is mostly made up of Hispanics/Latinos, with a smaller White and Black/African American population than the other study areas. As well, the Asian population is slightly more concentrated than the rest of the Northeast neighborhoods, but three times as concentrated as City and regional averages: giving evidence of a small, but established Asian population.

Summary

Race is where we see the least diversity in Kansas City. The City of Kansas City, MO is about 55% white, 30% black/African American, and 10% Hispanic/Latino. For reference, the United States of America was overall about 64% white in 2010. This means that the City is actually more diverse than the national average, but even so, still not very diverse since the white population dominates by a wide margin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). With the addition of the suburbs, the region is far less diverse: being almost 75% white.

The Northeast shows a completely different race mix. Instead of being predominantly white, the Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods are 40% Hispanic/Latino. Scarritt Renaissance is right on par with the Northeast, and Lykins has an even higher concentration of Hispanics/Latinos, about 51%. As well, the Northeast neighborhoods have twice the Asian percentage of city.

These patterns show two things. First, when employing the comparative method that this study proposes (inspired by Nyden et. al (1997)), we conclude that the Northeast neighborhoods

are not very diverse, or do not have a very equitable racial mix. Through this lens we identify an instance of minority concentration and clustering in an urban neighborhood, which gives evidence of the racial segregation issue discussed previously.

On the other hand, if you apply a more general understanding of diversity as having a heterogeneous race mixture that is not dominated by whichever race dominates the region (in this case whites), then the Northeast is very diverse. Of course, the Hispanic/Latino population is definitely the most dominant in the Northeast, but not necessarily as dominant as the white population is on city and regional scale. In the Northeast, we see is a much greater percentage of two of the least prevalent races in Kansas City: Hispanics and Latinos, and Asians. This gives evidence of a cultural richness in Scarritt Renaissance, Lykins, and the Northeast that would not exist if the racial composition was closer to that of the City and region.

All in all, this data seems to point to a diversity condition in Kansas City. Kansas City, MO, and especially the region as a whole is not very racially diverse in the first place. However, racially diverse neighborhoods do exist in Kansas City, MO but do so a result of racial clustering and segregation mechanisms which create higher minority concentrations in inner-city neighborhoods. In the case of the Northeast, these neighborhoods are diverse in a cultural variety sense, but it is a positive result of what could be considered an otherwise negative urban pattern.

Income

These two graphs compare household and family income across the five scales. Rather than simply looking at the income per capita of Kansas City, considering household and family income gives a more accurate view of how much money people in the city have to live on.
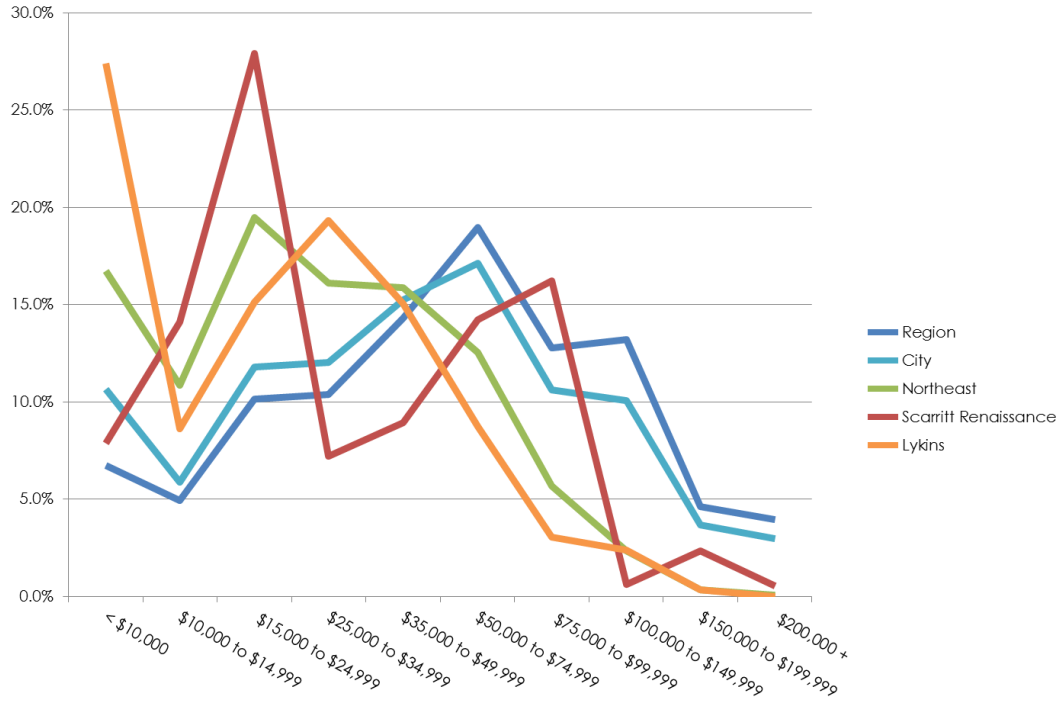
48

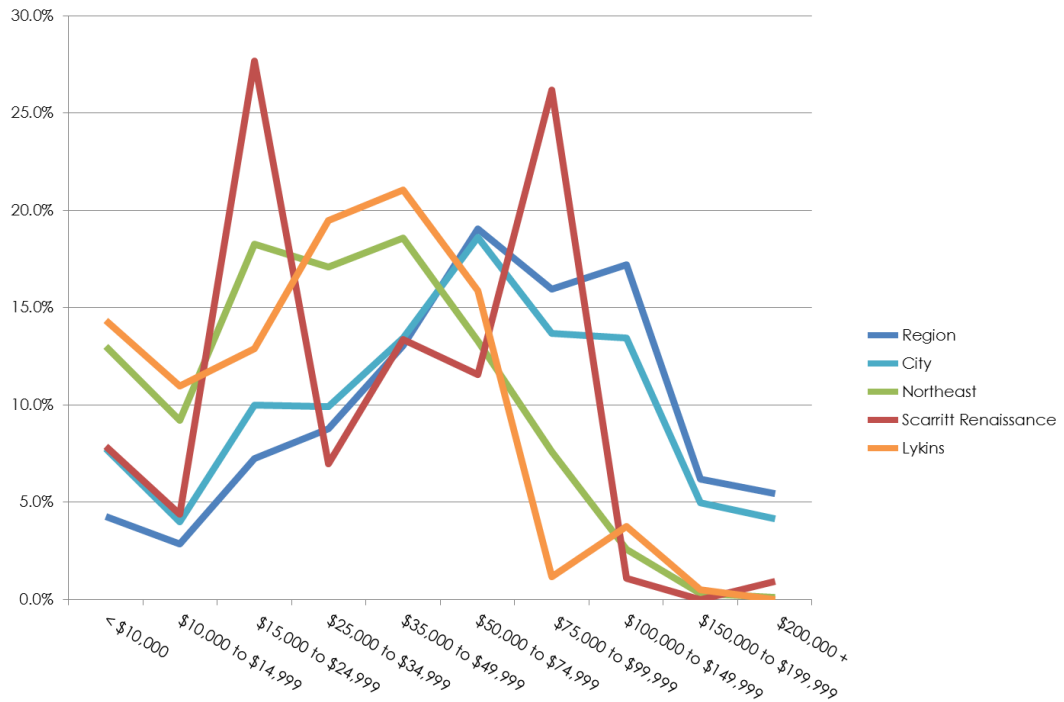Figure 3.4 Household Income (American Community Survey, 2013)

Figure 3.5 Family Income (American Community Survey, 2013)

Region

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Overall, the table shows a near parabolic curve, with the lowest and highest income ranges having fewer households and families, and the middle ranges having the most. The majority of households and families in the Kansas City region live off of between $35,000 and $150,000 per year. In both household and family income, 19% make $50,000 to $75,000 per year.

City of Kansas City, MO

The City of Kansas City, MO actually has a very similar income distribution to the Region. The main difference is a fairly slight shift toward the lower income ranges. This is evidenced by average household and family income that is around $10,000/year less than the whole region.

Notably, both household and show a considerable spike of people who make less than $10,000 per year.

Despite this spike, the average income for both is significantly higher than their median income, meaning that there are still enough extremely high incomes to counteract the number of low- and moderate- income households and families.

The distribution of household income is much more balanced, compared to the family income. This difference is possibly caused by the majority of nonfamily households in Kansas City being single-person.

Northeast Kansas City

Interestingly, the household income and family income distribution for the Northeast is almost the same across the two indicators. What both of these graphs show is that residents of the Northeast have lower incomes than the city in general, as shown by higher percentages toward

the lower incomes, and the much lower median and mean incomes. Similar to the rest of Kansas City, there is a considerable spike in people who are making less than $10,000 per year, but this proportion is slightly higher than the rest of the city. As well, the share of very high income households and families is almost nonexistent, compared to all of Kansas City, where richer areas hold many more people making more than $100,000 per year.

Scarritt Renaissance

Scarritt Renaissance has an income mix that is drastically different from all other study geographies. These tables show that the majority of households and families sit in the $15,000 to $24,000 per year range or the $50,000 to $100,000 per year range. This shows evidence of Scarritt Renaissance as a transitional neighborhood. This contrast between low and upper-middle income households and families could represent two groups: people living in lower quality, older housing (whether it be apartments, older single family houses, or larger houses that have been divided into apartments), and people who are purchasing and rehabilitating the older, larger, more historic homes.

Comparatively, the City, and even the Northeast have a much more varied income distribution. Similar to the rest of the Northeast, Scarritt Renaissance has little to no households and families making over $100,000 per year, as compared to the 16% of households and 22% of families in Kansas City. However, the two lowest income levels in Scarritt Renaissance is nearly identical to those of the rest of the city, meaning that the neighborhood only lacks a more balanced mid- and high-income distribution.

Lykins

The most notable trend in Lykins neighborhood incomes is the substantial percentage (nearly 30%) of households that make less than $10,000 per year. The distribution of income ranges is also skewed toward the lower end of the scale, meaning that incomes are slightly lower overall than the city and even the Northeast. However, whereas the Northeast has a more gradual curve in family income, Lykins family incomes almost stop at $75,000 per year, with about 5% of families making more than that.

Summary

Income diversity is somewhat difficult to define. In the case of an urban neighborhood, the point is not to necessarily be "diverse", but have the same pattern as the city or region. Rusk's (2001) main conclusion was that urban problems were created and prolonged due to the fact that wealth is concentrated in specific city neighborhoods, and in regional suburbs outside of city limits. In line with Rusk's analysis, we see the City and region having two different income mixes. The region seems to be more evenly distributed: with fewer households and families in the most extreme low and high income ranges, and more in the middle income ranges. The City of Kansas City, MO, however it is skewed more toward the lower ranges, meaning that overall incomes are lower. Although there is still a fairly diverse distribution of low, middle, and high incomes, both regionally and in the City, Kansas City, MO is already in weaker financial standing, which is a negative sign.

The two focus neighborhoods lack the income diversity seen in city and regional distributions, but in unique ways. Lykins has the lowest incomes overall, with 30% of households and 14% of families making less than $10,000 per year, and only around 14% of households and 16% of families make more than $50,000 per year. Compared to regional and

even City income distribution, Lykins lacks not only the higher incomes, but even the higher middle incomes that can be found in other parts of the city and region. The pattern that is left is two large spikes: one in the lowest income ranges, and another at around $30k per year. This pattern is not diverse, because Lykins not only has lower incomes overall than the city and region, but the family and household incomes in the neighborhood tend to fall within only two, very low ranges.

Scarritt Renaissance is similar, but with slightly higher family and household incomes. This difference from Lykins is most likely due to Scarritt Renaissance's more attractive and historic housing stock, which has attracted and and held some higher income populations. Scarritt Renaissance, also has two very distinct income groups: $15k to $25k, and $75k to $99k, with the remainder of households and families primarily falling between the two. While this is a more diverse mix than Lykins, it is not very diverse, as there is a stark contrast between ranges.

Diversity Analysis Summary

After analyzing demographic diversity indicators for Scarritt Renaissance, Lykins, and the Northeast neighborhoods as a whole, and comparing them to City and region-wide data, I now return to the original two questions driving the demographic analysis of this report: What does neighborhood diversity look like in Kansas City?, and How diverse are the Northeast neighborhoods?

Diversity in Kansas City

Overall, Kansas City is diverse in some aspects, but not others. Regional and city-wide data show a fairly diverse age and sex makeup. The primary age groups are three noticeable generations: the Baby Boomers (aged in their fifties and sixties), young adults (in their twenties

and thirties), and younger children. The City of Kansas City, MO has strong diversity of household type, but suburban development gives the region a disproportionate amount of family households. Racially, the region is not diverse: dominated by the white population, which makes up almost three-quarters of all residents. The City has a more stratified racial mix: it is still over half white, but has a greater percentage of minority populations, in particular Blacks/African Americans. Income-wise, the region is fairly diverse, but more of the wealth lies in suburbs outside of Kansas City, MO, giving the City a lower average income.

The Scarritt Renaissance neighborhood is diverse in age, sex, and race indicators, but not so much in household types and income. Scarritt Renaissance has an acceptable age and sex distribution because it is very similar to that of the City. However, Scarritt Renaissance is less diverse when it comes to household type. According to the data Scarritt Renaissance seems to have a disproportionate concentration of single mother households, compared to the city average. Income in Scarritt Renaissance families and households is not diverse. Instead of having a more widely distributed income levels, Scarritt Renaissance has only two main income groups: those who make $15k to $25k per year, and those who make $75k to $99k per year. Compared to regional and city income distributions, Scarritt Renaissance lacks middle and very high income households and families.

Lykins is really only racially diverse. The population in Lykins is mostly in younger age groups, lacking the older adult and senior citizen populations found in the City and region. Households in Lykins are fairly similar to the diversity seen in the City overall, but has a higher concentration of single mother households. Lykins has the lowest income diversity of all of the areas studied, with a very high number of households and families that make less than $10k per year, and very few which fall into middle and high income categories.

Race in the Northeast poses a special situation for this study. As far as comparing the racial mix in the Norhteast neighborhoods to that of the City and region, one would say that Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins are not diverse. However, when applying the dictionary definition/broader understanding of diversity, one would say that these neighborhoods are actually more diverse than the city overall. What this points to is the same inner-city minority clustering and segregation which was discussed previously. However, due to the various ethnic groups who are established in the Northeast, these neighborhoods did not become racially homogenous ghettos, but racially diverse areas, where some of the smaller race groups in the city (Hispanic/Latino and Asian) are actually most numerous.

Built Environment Analysis

The second and final section to this report aims to understand how the built environment in Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins impacts, or can impact neighborhood diversity. I accomplish this task by comparing the ideas examined in the "Design Strategies" section of the literature review to what is happening in the focus neighborhoods. The physical analysis of the two focus neighborhoods will consist of two parts. First, I will examine the housing situations in both neighborhoods, looking at block level population density, housing tenure, and vacancy. Second I will analyze the Independence Avenue commercial district which makes up the border between Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins. The aim of this is to determine how successful or unsuccessful this district is at being a social seam by looking at building use, access and connectivity, and public safety.

Site Introduction

The following map shows the Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins focus neighborhoods, as well as the commercial district between them.
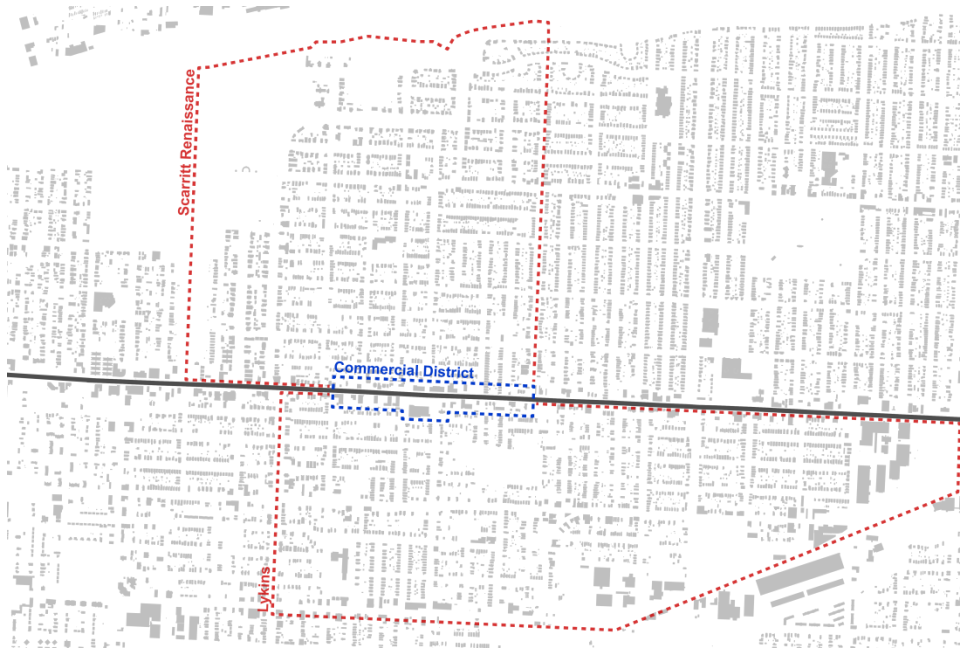
Figure 3.6 Focus Neighborhoods and Commercial District
(Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

The two focus neighborhoods have been introduced previously, so this will serve as a brief introduction to the commercial district. The district spans about seven blocks, from Indiana Avenue in the west, to Jackson Avenue in the east, in a valley between the two highest points on Independence Avenue The main anchor of the district is the centrally-located Cosentino's Apple Market grocery store, which takes up an entire block. The remaining building uses are mostly small, locally-owned businesses.

One of the defining elements of this district is the influence of the cultures from the ethnic groups who reside in the Northeast. There are a number of ethnic stores and restaurants in this district: Thai, African, Middle-Eastern, but most are Hispanic. These establishments give

this commercial district very distinct character due to their unique building use and colorful facades.

Figure 3.7 Ethnic Restaurant Façade Photo by J. Nelson

Density

Jacobs (1961) claims that population density is one of the most essential ingredients for vibrant and diverse neighborhoods. Having a high concentration of people who live in a specific area ensures a more reliable market to support nearby businesses. As well, nearby public areas like parks, plazas, and commercial establishments will have more people in them, which allows for healthier, more diverse "social seams" within the city. The map below shows the population density of Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins by having a dot for each person who lives there. The data is on the Census block level, so we can see how this density is distributed throughout the two neighborhoods.

Figure 3.8 Population Density in Focus Neighborhoods (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)

The map shows that population density in Scarritt and Lykins is fairly low and uniform, but has specific blocks where density is higher. This pattern is due to the mostly single family home structure of these neighborhoods. Where there are higher amounts of density are where there are apartment buildings within the neighborhoods.

Overall, Scarritt Renaissance has a higher population density, mostly due to the more intense built environment in the neighborhood. Upon further field study, I found that larger collector streets in Scarritt are still mostly residential blocks, but usually have some sort of multi-family housing configuration along it. On the other hand, collector streets in Lykins are usually fronted by (often vacant) commercial and light industrial uses, due to southern Lykins being close to industrial areas.

Finally, in both neighborhoods, there is a relative lack of density in the blocks surrounding the Independence Avenue commercial district that is a part of this study. People

living further away from possible social seams is the opposite of the density suggested by Jacobs (1961).

Housing Vacancy

Having vacant housing in a neighborhood not only diminishes vacancy, but also detracts from public safety and discourages investment in the neighborhood. The map below shows the concentration of vacant housing units by block.
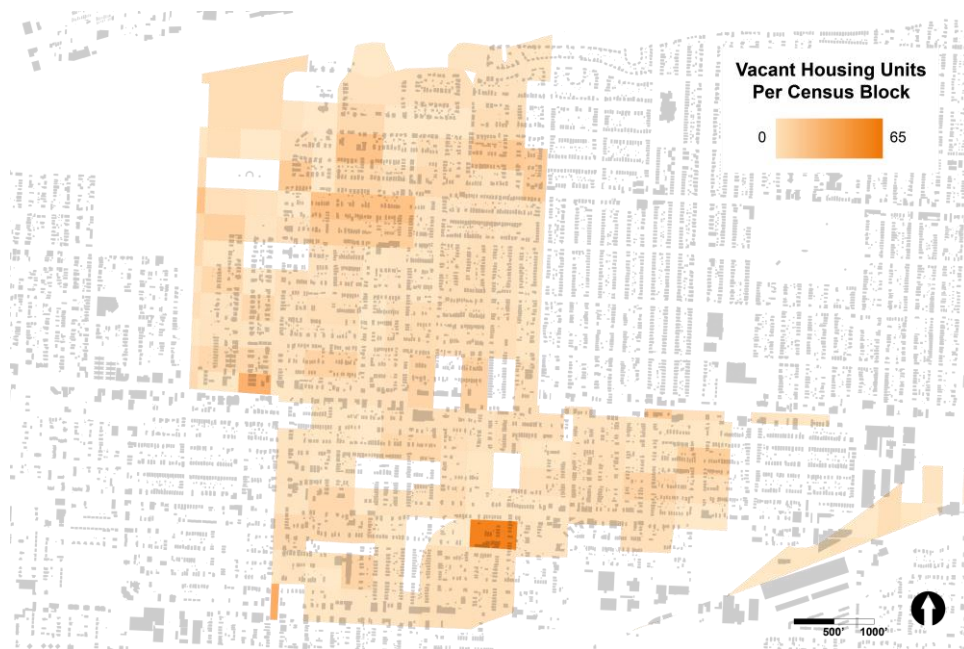
Figure 3.9 Vacant Housing (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)

Interestingly, Lykins seems to have less vacancy than Scarritt Renaissance. However, since the intensity of housing units is lower in Lykins, this vacancy still has a significant effect on population density. Scarritt Renaissance has slightly more vacancy than Lykins, which could be expected since Scarritt Renaissance has more housing units overall. However, in some of the more historic areas in northern parts of the neighborhood, there are blocks of vacant apartment buildings, which is shown in the dark red blocks. Despite the fact that people are moving into

and rehabilitating historic homes in this part of Scarritt, historic apartment buildings are a much more daunting renovation task, and are therefore less desirable real estate.

Similar to the population density, vacant housing seems to concentrate in areas further away from the commercial district. This could be attributed to fewer housing units in these blocks. However, it could also mean that homes in blocks nearer to Independence Avenue and commercial areas are more desirable than similar homes in other parts of the neighborhoods.

__Housing Tenure__

This section looks rental and owner-occupied housing units in Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins. Home ownership encourages investment in a neighborhood, but rental housing encourages a mixture of different household types and income levels. Literature suggests a mixture of different types of housing tenure can encourage a more diverse neighborhood population. The following two maps show the concentration of owner-occupied and rental housing in Scarritt and Lykins. The same color scale is used for both maps in order to most effectively compare the number of units of each tenure style.
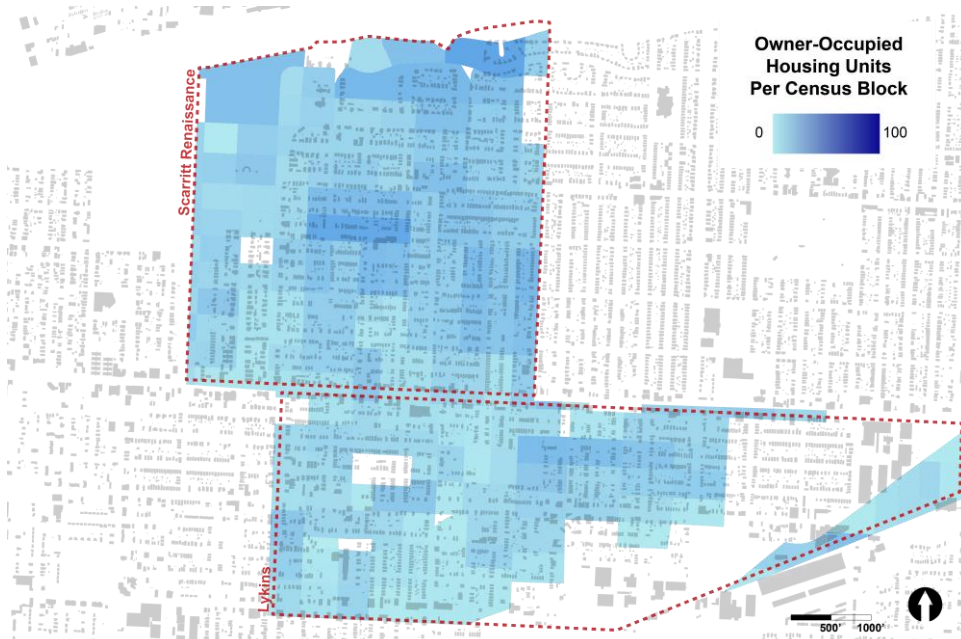
Figure 3.10 Owner-Occupied Housing Units Per Census Block (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)
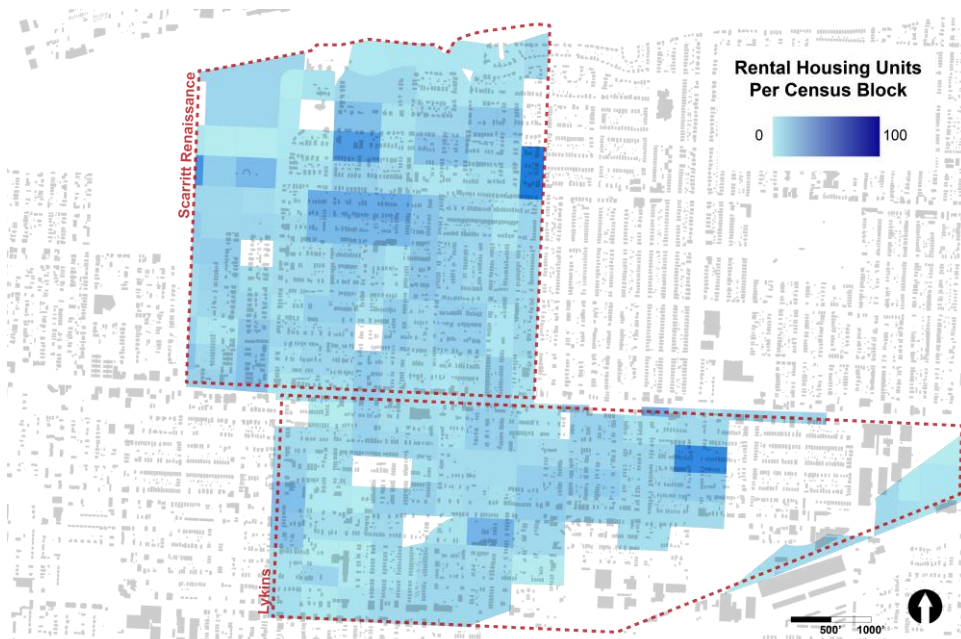

Figure 3.11 Rental Housing Units Per Census Block (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)

Data shows that there is a decent mixture of housing tenure in these two neighborhoods. Both

Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins are predominantly owner-occupied, but as the maps show, rental

housing units are spread into the same blocks. Upon observing Lykins residential blocks, I found that

many of these rental units are single family homes which have been converted into multiple units. Scarritt has a similar pattern, but in some northern blocks, there are actual apartment buildings (darker orange blocks on the map).

<u>Summary</u>

When looking at the physical characteristics of Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins, we see that these neighborhoods do little to encourage vibrant and diverse communities. Most importantly, population density is lowest around areas which have the most ability to act as vibrant social seams, like the commercial district along Independence Avenue

However, there are some more promising qualities about the study neighborhoods. First, despite having lower population density, there is less vacancy in the blocks closer to the commercial district. This means that, despite there being fewer housing units, these areas are still attractive blocks to live in, compared to other parts of the neighborhood.

Second, there is a mixing of owner-occupied and rental housing in Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins. This mixing of housing tenures is something that literature suggests will encourage neighborhood diversity. The most equitable mix is in Scarritt, where the rental properties are actually apartment-style units. Comparatively, much of the rental housing in Lykins are single family homes that have been modified to accommodate multiple units. This is usually seen as a less desirable configuration, as it does not hold true to original neighborhood character. However, Talen's (2012) assertion that diverse neighborhoods require a variety of different types and conditions of housing actually seems to permit this behavior, as it allows for a mixture cheaper rental housing among owner-occupied single family homes.

Independence Avenue Commercial District Analysis

The second part of the analysis of the built environment in Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods looks at the Independence Avenue commercial district which acts as a border and possible social seam between Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins. Using site observation, I analyze how building use, access and connectivity, and public safety in this district can impact overall neighborhood diversity.

Building Use

Jacobs (1996) and Talen (2012) suggest that vibrant social seams that support diverse neighborhood populations require a mixture of building uses. This does not necessarily mean a mixture of different types of stores and restaurants, but a mixing of retail, restaurants, services and institutions which cater to a wide variety of people.

Anchor Site

Figure 3.12 Cosentino's Apple Market (Nelson, 2013)

As stated in the site introduction, the anchor site for the district is the Cosentino's Apple Market grocery store. The map below shows the buildings in the commercial district, with Cosentino's highlighted.

Figure 3.13 Cosentino's Apple Market Site (Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

Not only is this building centrally located, but it also happens to be one of only three

supermarkets in Northeast Kansas City, and is therefore an important destination for Northeast

residents. This is also a great anchor use for a neighborhood social seam, because it offers

essential goods, and can serve people of all walks of life.

According to public input and stakeholder conversations, Cosentino's does not quite meet

the role that it could for residents. Due to an aging building and limited variety of products (since

the building is relatively small for a supermarket), residents often choose to drive to other parts

of town to buy their groceries. For residents who do not have the ability to drive, they feel

trapped into going to this store because they have no other choice.

District

The rest of the building uses are inventoried on the matrix below.

Use	Number
Ethnic shops	4
Restaurants (all of which are ethnic)	7
Bakery/Café	2
Bar	2
Grocery store	1
Retail *The actual function of these stores is difficult to read. They often have normal retail wares, as well as cellular phone services, food, etc.	6
Hair/nail salon	6
Electronics sale/repair	3
Money services (tax, check cashing, remittances, insurance)	4
Convenient/liquor store	2
Auto supply/service	4
Pharmacy	1
Adult store	1

Table 3.1 Building Uses in the Independence Avenue Commercial District

These uses establish a fairly diverse set of attractions to the district, but they are lacking in some ways. The most interesting observation about building use in this district is the ethnic shops and restaurants. All of the seven restaurants in these blocks are ethnic (mostly Hispanic or Thai). There are also four ethnic shops: three Hispanic and one Middle-Eastern. They all sell different ethnic foods, and two sell other goods which pertain to the Hispanic community. These businesses define this district, because a similar concentration of authentic ethnic stores and restaurants is difficult to find in Kansas City. The Hispanic businesses in particular are usually painted bright colors, which some residents like and some dislike, but it gives this district a distinct character all the same.

Figure 3.14 Colorful Building Façade photo by J. Nelson

Figure 3.15 Colorful Building Façade photo by J. Nelson

Despite the unique ethnic businesses, the other retail stores and services that exist in this district lack diversity. Many of the stores are second hand stores which sell anything from furniture to electronics to clothing. Although they may meet the needs of the residents of these neighborhoods, these types of uses do not necessarily facilitate vibrant urban public spaces. As well, the services offered are also fairly uniform. There are at least six barber shops or hair or nail salons within these seven blocks. The remainder is money services (check cashing, tax service, etc.), electronics repair, and one insurance agent/notary. Interestingly, there are a number of these service establishments that are specifically geared to the Hispanic and Latino

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community, offering computers and internet stations, international money wiring, and even
things like help with vehicle registration and airline travel

Connectivity and Accessibility

A social seam needs to be an area easily accessed by anyone. This means that people
should be able to get to and move around the site with whichever means they have available to
them. Considerations for a neighborhood scale commercial district such as this one are things
like how easy is it to walk to and walk around the area, and how connected it is to nodes in other
parts of the city.

As far as access from the adjacent neighborhoods, the commercial district between
Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins is fairly easy to walk to. The following map shows a quarter-
mile buffer around the commercial district. People who live in areas shaded in blue can walk to
the district within a few minutes.

Figure 3.16 Map Showing ¼ Mile Walking Radius (Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

There is also a city bus which runs down Independence Avenue, with multiple stops in the commercial district. This bus is part of a system which connects to all over Greater Kansas City.

Within the district, pedestrian movement is less than desirable. Building scale and site placement in the central part of the district is conducive to pedestrian access. People can park their car or get off a bus at a bus stop and easily walk to multiple establishments. However, Independence Avenue is a state highway, so there is a constant stream of fast moving traffic, making the road difficult and unsafe to cross without a crosswalk. Unfortunately, there are only at two intersections in the entire district. The map below shows the location of the two intersections with crosswalks.

Figure 3.16 Crosswalk Locations in Commercial District (Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

Safety

If public spaces are viewed as unsafe to be in, it makes it almost impossible for them to become the desirable centers of activity which diverse neighborhoods can be built around. According to local stakeholder discussion, public safety is a major issue for Independence

Avenue and the Northeast neighborhoods. Even though Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins are

transitional neighborhoods which have problems with crime, urban design can play a major role

in how difficult it is to commit crime. This final section of analysis will examine the commercial

district based on the three CPTED concepts.

Natural Surveillance

The idea of natural surveillance is to make public spaces more visually permeable, which

discourages illicit activity from taking place. This can be accomplished by doing things like

having windows on businesses which allow owners to watch the space in front of their store,

minimizing fencing, landscaping, and walls which allow people to hide behind them and not be

seen, and providing adequate lighting.

Independence Avenue is known for things which inhibit natural surveillance. In

particular, businesses owners along Independence Avenue tend to cover up windows with

advertisements and product displays, making it impossible for people inside to watch over the

public realm outside. On top of that, the crime problem in Northeast neighborhoods has driven

most business owners to bar their windows, creating more visual obstacles and disconnection

between indoor and outdoor spaces. The following two images are examples of cluttered and

barred windows

Figure 3.17 Cluttered Windows photo by J. Nelson

Figure 3.18 Barred Windows photo by J Nelson.

On top of bad impenetrable window treatments, there are a number of brick walls and opaque fences in this commercial district, which create more hidden spaces.

Lighting is also a major issue relating to surveillance in the commercial district. As the map below shows, street lights only exist on the south side of Independence Avenue, and other lighting is few and far between.

Figure 3.19 Lighting Elements Along Independence Avenue
(Basemap from City of Kansas City, MO, 2013)

This leaves almost the entire north side of the commercial district in darkness once the sun goes down, allowing criminal activity to be carried out undetected. There is a considerable difference in graffiti on building facades from the north side to the south because of this. During winter months, this is even worse because the sun sets earlier. People may be discouraged from patronizing a restaurant in this district for dinner at a reasonable early evening hour because they are afraid of the dark.

Natural Access Control

Natural access control was not much of an issue for the commercial district between Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins, due to the fact that there are not many private spaces along Independence Avenue However, one concern would be access to alleys behind buildings. Especially in the cases of buildings which front the street and have parking in the rear, anyone can have access to these alley spaces from the side or even walking between houses on the second half of the block. Since these alley spaces are somewhat secluded due to the fact that they

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are behind buildings, it makes these areas unsafe and undesirable to be in, especially after dark with no light source.

Territorial Reinforcement

There seems to be a disconnect between local business owners and the idea of territorial reinforcement. It may be because of the unsafe neighborhood with rampant crime and vandalism, but as the excessive window coverings show, business owners seem to have turned their back on the street.

With territorial reinforcement in mind, residents claim ownership of the space adjacent to the one they own, whether it be the street outside of their house, lawn outside of their apartment building, or sidewalk in front of their restaurant, etc. Perhaps there is a cultural barrier, as many of these business owners seem to be of a non-American ethnic background, but this ownership of the public realm outside of your space is not really seen in this district.

Claiming territorial ownership of the public realm is something that, paired with better façade visibility, can have the most effect on public safety in this district. If business owners and patrons alike reached out and included to the sidewalks and parking lots outside of their buildings, then the commercial district would undoubtedly be perceived as a safer place to be.

Commercial District Summary

The Independence Avenue commercial district between the Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods seems to have the backbone of a vibrant, diverse inter-neighborhood social seam, but its success is crippled by a few major factors. First, the Cosentino's Apple Market grocery store is an excellent anchor use for the district, as it meets basic needs of the nearby residents, while having the capacity to attract people of every possible economic class,

ethnicity, age, etc. However, due to the poor quality of the store, people tend to avoid going there, and end up driving further away for groceries.

In the same vein, building use in the district is also a double edged sword. The ethnic businesses in the district give the area a very distinct character that is not really seen elsewhere in Kansas City, MO. This unique character is a trait that Nyden et. al. (1997) say successful and stable diverse neighborhoods have. However, the rest of the building uses in the district all seem to be either a barber shop, second hand store, auto supply/services, or money services. This not only means that there is a lack of diversity among available goods and services in the district, but the ones that are there are not the type which can attract people from elsewhere.

The scale of the district is such that pedestrians from adjacent neighborhoods can access the area very easily. As well, the bus line which stops in multiple places within the district's seven blocks or so give the area a regional connection. Building scale in the district is not very big, but many of the buildings are located up toward the street front, giving this area a very walkable quality. However, there are only two intersections in this district which have crosswalks. Since Independence Avenue is a busy state highway, this creates a very strong north-south division down the middle of the district, and inhibits its internal walkability.

Finally, public safety is a major issue impacting all of Independence Avenue and the Northeast, and this district is no exception. The most pressing matter seems to be a breakdown of understanding in business owners. Instead of fostering a stronger connection between a shop or restaurant and the public sidewalk space in front of it, many business owners have decided to cover windows with bars and dislplays in what seems to be the name of security. However, based on CPTED principles, the more a resident or business owner embraces the public realm's

relationship to the space inside their store, the more control they have at keeping undesirable

activity away.

Chapter 4 - Conclusions

For the 2012-2013 school year, Kansas City Design Center is tasked with envisioning a more vibrant and sustainable Independence Avenue Corridor in Northeast Kansas City. In our pursuit of proposing sustainable development, the idea of diverse neighborhood populations became an important part of the conversation. This is mostly due to the fact that Northeast Neighborhoods have a number of ethnic populations, which contribute to a cultural diversity not seen anywhere else in the Kansas City region. Residents of these neighborhoods are proud of their diversity, and were very clear that they want to sustain and further celebrate it as this area enters a period of reinvestment.

This talk of "diversity" lead me to pursue the topic through this report. I chose to research the dynamics of diverse neighborhoods, as well as how a diverse population fits into the idea of sustainability, and finally how urban design can impact neighborhood diversity. For my study I decided to first analyze demographic and economic indicators (age, sex, household type, race, income) at the neighborhood, City of Kansas City, MO, and Greater Kansas City, MO-KS regional scale in order to understand what diversity meant for Kansas City, and how diverse Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods are. Second, I analyzed conditions in Scarritt Renaissance, Lykins, and the commercial district between them, to see how well the built environment in the Northeast could support diverse neighborhoods.

After analyzing all aspects of social diversity for urban neighborhoods and understanding how successful social seams in the Northeast are at promoting this diversity, it is plain to see that Northeast Kansas City has a lot of room for improvement. Despite the racial and ethnic diversity, Northeast Kansas City neighborhoods tend to lack age and sex, household, and

income diversity that is crucial to more sustainable neighborhoods. As well, social seam commercial areas in the Northeast are not very strong, and tend to fail to attract and support people from all walks of life. These findings have lead me to two conclusions: one about the nature of diversity itself, and the other about the urban design of diverse neighborhoods in Northeast Kansas City.

<u>Diversity Means Different Things Depending its Definition</u>

The first conclusion which this study yielded was the fact that diversity carries a number of meanings depending on the situation or how one defines it. As literature review showed, the term "diversity" is used mostly in relation to race. Similarly, local planning documents and conversations with residents and stakeholders revealed that the Northeast community values the diversity that exists in their neighborhoods. What they really meant was they value the existence of a number of unique ethnic populations which contribute to a cultural richness that is unlike anywhere else in Greater Kansas City.

On the other hand, Talen's (2012) concept of social diversity encompasses not only race, but age, sex, household, and income indicators, which is a significantly more robust meaning of the term. This understanding of diversity relates better with the concept of "sustainable development" from the Brundtland Report (UN, 1987), the APA's (2000) discussion of sustainability and "unsustainability", and Rusk's (2001) conclusion that urban issues are results of regional dynamics. These approaches require comprehensive or system-wide approach to understanding issues which face our world and our cities, taking into account as many factors as possible, and trying to understand their impact on each other. The elements of social diversity do not function independently; they most often connected to each other as part of a set of greater social and economic forces.

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As my analysis concluded, the definition of diversity also includes how one measures it. I identified two ways of looking at neighborhood social diversity. The first was a general dictionary definition (m-w.com, 2013), which seems to be what most literature uses when they discuss the topic. This definition is more normative, although broad and simple, emphasizing a heterogeneous mixture in neighborhood population. The other was the more relative and quantifiable approach from Nyden et al. (1998), which set the racial mix found in the city overall as the standard of "diversity" which neighborhoods should strive for. Nyden et al.'s (1998) measurement works well when looking at how these diversity indicators are distributed geographically across a city, or especially a region, as Rusk (2001) advocates.

Conflicts can arise between these two definitions. In particular, analysis showed that northeast Neighborhoods would generally be considered racially diverse. This was due to a more evenly distributed percentage of different races, higher percentage than city average of smaller race groups (Hispanic/Latino and Asian), and a lack of dominance of Whites, which comprise over half of the city and regional population. However, the city and region are not what one would call diverse, because they are mostly White, with very small populations of minorities. When establishing non-diversity as a standard of diversity, the results yield a backwards interpretation, and neighborhoods which really are diverse, are considered not diverse.

Finally, social diversity operates at a number of scales. A neighborhood, or even a city or region can be considered diverse based on the mix found in their diversity indicators. However, what these indicators do not show is how these factors are distributed geographically. I suggest that consideration of how diverse a defined geographic area is should also take into account how evenly things like races, sexes, household types, races, and income levels are distributed across that area. This geographic distribution plays a huge role in neighborhood diversity because each

of these indicators are part of a zero-sum game: where there is a concentration of one type of person or household, there is a lack of concentration of the same type in another location. This is particularly true at the regional scale

Social Seams and Anchor Sites

The second conclusion is that social seams are unique space typologies which are critical to the health of diverse neighborhoods. interventions which affect neighborhood diversity, the most critical sites are neighborhood social seams: in the Northeast's case, commercial districts on Independence Avenue. These social seams are most important because they are where diverse neighborhoods show their true colors. It is in these spaces where a diverse population interacts with one another and showcases their diverse identity. Social seams, especially in the Northeast's case, can also stitch together neighborhoods which are different and may not necessarily be diverse individually.

The placement of commercial districts in the Northeast is typically on the border between two or more neighborhoods. These neighborhoods on their own are not diverse, and may never become diverse. However, these neighborhoods are different enough that combined they have a better chance of becoming a diverse Northeast community. The commercial districts between these neighborhoods can bridge the borders that different development styles have created, and allow for a common place of interaction among residents. This facilitates not only exposure of each individual to people who are different from them, but possibly even a place where people of different backgrounds, especially ethnic backgrounds, can celebrate their differences as a community.

To function properly, these districts rely on a handful of interrelated factors. These include building uses, public safety, and connection to residences. Despite having the proper

building framework and scale, the district along Independence Avenue between the Scarritt Renaissance and Lykins neighborhoods seems to lack in each of these areas. The result is a district which people try to avoid. In fact, analysis of population density shows that blocks in and immediately surrounding this commercial district have the fewest people living in them. On top of that, the poor public safety due in part to the lack of people in the area has made business owners in this district close themselves off from the public space outside: placing signs and displays in the windows, and barring their windows and doors. Essentially these neighborhoods and business owners have abandoned this district, which only perpetuates the problems, making it a less desirable place to be, failing as a social seam.

This condition gives evidence to an important theory: the two most important parts of a social seam commercial district is a strong anchor use and a safe and attractive public realm. First, there must be a main building or use which the district builds itself off of. This use should be a place where people of all backgrounds come out of common necessity. The commercial district analyzed in this study has the Cosentino's Apple Market grocery store as its anchor. This is a perfect anchor building because it is one of the few supermarkets the Northeast, and one of only a handful of such places in the entire city. By meeting a common need for food and nourishment, a grocery store can bring together a diverse community, and foster interaction not only in the store, but in the district that it is a part of. Unfortunately, the old and deteriorating building that this store is located in contributes to the district's failure, because residents would rather drive elsewhere in the city for food than go there.

Second, a safe and attractive public realm can bind a commercial district together, and connect it to residences in the immediate vicinity and in adjacent neighborhoods. The importance of this space cannot be underestimated. While the district's anchor brings people, the public

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space is a common territory which has the greatest capacity for impromptu exchange and interaction between residents and building uses. This space relates the anchor site to smaller building uses within the district, allowing for people to come for one reason, but stay for another. As analysis also concluded, the quality of district public spaces not only affects how much people enjoy being in them, it impacts the success of both businesses and nearby residential neighborhoods. A social seam cannot simply exist because of attractive commercial uses or more people living in around these areas, it requires public space that business owners and residents can take ownership of: space which gives meaning to the social seam. Much like the architecture of the built environment, the public domain in an urban commercial district requires careful, thoughtful, and relevant design, because it is the heart of the social seam.

Especially in the case of Independence Avenue commercial districts, this space falls usually within road right-of-way: the street and sidewalk space between building facades and parcel lines. While each building site can change based on the owner or the tenant, this is the only space which can be truly designed to be a cohesive element. On top of that, designing for a social seam which brings together a diverse population requires a more involved approach. Taking cues from the vibrant colors and painted signs of Hispanic restaurants and markets on Independence Avenue, this public realm can be a blank canvas on which residents express who they are through color, materials, plants, lighting, furniture, and signage. In the Northeast, doing things like reducing traffic lanes on Independence Avenue in order to have more sidewalk space and reduce vehicle speeds can help to establish that these blocks belong to the people of nearby neighborhoods, not the automobiles passing by.

Can One *Actually* Plan and Design for Social Diversity?

These conclusions seem to point to the answer to a bigger question: can one *actually* plan and design for a socially diverse neighborhood? The findings in this study would say no. Age, sex, household, race, and income diversity of a neighborhood is contingent on an array of factors, which are influenced, but not controlled by the built environment. What planners and designers can do, is create environments which enable and encourage a mixture and mixing of ages, sexes, household types, races, and income levels. Designers can design for comfortable and unique spaces, and planning regulations can mandate building forms and uses which encourage variety, safety, and connectivity. Ultimately, the built environment can do very little unless it has a community which values and empowers social diversity as a vital part of their identity.

Returning to Nyden et al.'s (1998) conclusions, four of the seven common traits of racially diverse neighborhoods have to do with how actively a community is investing in itself and values their diverse neighborhood. The neighborhoods that make up Northeast Kansas City may not quite be socially diverse, but they have a growing base of invested residents, organizations, and business owners who want their neighborhood to become a unique and valued part of Kansas City. The community is proud of their heritage, their character, and the cultural diversity that they do have. Organizations and concerned citizens are working to bridge racial and cultural gaps between neighbors, and are using resources available to them to advocate for investment in their community. Kansas City Design Center's work on the Independence Avenue corridor fills the void between urban design and planning and community activism. By performing in-depth analysis and working with stakeholders and residents, the studio's design has identified an existing framework of three main commercial districts along Independence Avenue, with four possible anchor sites. By exploring design and planning interventions which

establish strong and meaningful anchor sites and safe and comfortable public spaces, these

districts can become catalytic social seams, instead of places to avoid. By designing in ways

which promote and encourage diversity, these districts can once again become the backbone of

the Northeast, and set the tone of future redevelopment efforts.

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